

A PhD in Sociology: Motivations, Expectations and Challenges

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Following the 2022 Bulletin dedicated to Bachelor and Master students' motivations to study sociology, this Bulletin is addressing the experiences and aspirations of current and recently finished PhD students in sociology across Switzerland. In this context, we have gathered five insightful contributions for our call offering diverse perspectives as the students are at different stages of their doctoral studies and come from different institutional contexts.

Opportunities to engage in a PhD in sociology have expanded over the past years. Worldwide and also in Switzerland the number of PhD students is continuously growing. However professional trajectories after achieving this course of study often remain uncertain with a mismatch between the increasing number of qualified scholars and permanent positions in academia. Hence, we deemed it important to provide PhD students in our field with the opportunity to contemplate their circumstances. Their views are important in the context of increasing concerns of political and academic institutions regarding the integration of postdoctoral fellows as well as the discontent expressed by graduate students themselves. This discontent is evident through their activism across universities addressing issues pertaining to their working conditions and future prospects. This introduction delves into various topics tackled by the authors of the five contributions presented in this Bulletin. These encompass their *reasons* for selecting sociology, the *challenges* they encounter while conducting a PhD, and their *hopes and apprehensions* regarding their future professional paths.

As previously highlighted in Bulletin 161, opting for sociology is frequently not the primary

motivation upon entering an academic program, as the discipline remains relatively obscure at the secondary education level. Similarly, this was the experience of a few of the PhD students who contributed to this Bulletin. Sociology, at times, comes into the academic realm unexpectedly – perhaps encountered in a class offering sociological perspectives on subjects linked to their primary field of study. Upon discovery, sociology frequently acts as an illuminating lens, allowing individuals to grasp complex social phenomena. In this context, sociology not only answers longstanding queries but also fosters curiosity for exploring new questions. However, once dedicated to the discipline, several contributors underscore their enduring commitment, spanning from their undergraduate studies to obtaining a PhD. This sustained involvement stems from their belief that there is always more to discover and to learn within the realm of sociology. The attraction of sociology also rests in its potential for instigating action. Some students express their hope that their research could contribute to societal change, hence having political implications outside of the academic ivory tower. In addition, a doctoral degree is also presented as a credential or as a source of legitimacy marking one's recognition as an accomplished scholar. One student pursuing a “dual profile”, combining a professional activity outside academia while conducting a PhD research, views this fusion as advantageous for her future professional career outside academia.

While the opportunity to cultivate individual research and the increasing autonomy attained during this stage of academic training is praised by the authors of this Bulletin, some emphasize the challenges associated with defining a research

topic sufficiently or engaging in interdisciplinary work. Although encouraged in academia, interdisciplinarity can sometimes challenge the cultivation of a strong sociological identity. Being a PhD student is also characterized by isolation, compared to research conducted at the bachelor and master levels where students often cooperate. However, different resources offered at the local or regional level are appreciated since they help to break isolation and to share concerns. For instance, in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the Conférence universitaire de Suisse occidentale (CUSO)¹ offers regular disciplinary modules (sociology, gender studies, etc.) and a programme in general skills (writing, project development and management, etc.).

Moreover, embarking on a PhD journey exposes one to the academic working environment with its elevated standards, which often remains distant for bachelor's and master's students. The authors of the contributions reflect on their encounter with the "productivity imperative", measured by publications, and the heightened exposure to time pressure and constant demands from supervisors or students in case of teaching obligations. They express concerns regarding their ability to manage these multifaceted demands and highlight the potential impact on their mental well-being. Despite acknowledging the existence of numerous personal challenges throughout their doctoral journeys, the contributors remain steadfast in their conviction that the pursuit is indeed worthwhile.

Working conditions of PhD students are also determined by different formats under which a PhD can be pursued. While some positions are combined with teaching obligations within departments or institutes limiting the individual research

time, others are located within a predefined project often funded through external agencies such as the Swiss National Science Foundation. Alternatively, some students, combine an "outside job" with conducting their PhD project. Closely related to the format are questions about whether the contract is fulltime or parttime and whether the duration is four or five years. Moreover, wages depend on this as well. Overall, this has direct consequences on how much time students can devote to their own research and also to what extent they can freely develop their research agenda. In the Swiss context, each university and institution has developed its own policies regarding these issues. For example, the University of Lausanne complements a Swiss National Science Foundation contract of 70 percent to match the employment rate of teaching assistants.

Within universities, collectives of students have formed to denounce their working conditions and the lack of perspectives for their professional future. For example, at the University of Geneva, the Association de l'Université de Genève pour la relève académique de la Faculté des sciences de la société (AGRASS)² is asking for professional and academic conditions that are compatible with the institution's charter for ethics, and working conditions that acknowledge their competencies and support high quality teaching and research. It also demands the development of policies to create stable, advanced positions with the institution. In 2021, this culminated in a nationwide petition circulated across various disciplines in Switzerland, advocating for improved working conditions and the establishment of more stable

1 <https://www.cuso.ch/>, accessed November 22, 2023.

2 <https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/faculte/agrass/>, accessed November 22, 2023.

positions.³ Supporters of this initiative emphasize that the precarious situation faced by doctoral students is widespread across countries, reflecting the influence of neoliberal management practices that have become prevalent within academia. These conditions have detrimental effects not only on the well-being of young scholars but also on the quality of the research they produce. These demands resonate with the findings of the Swiss Academy for Human and Social Sciences, published in 2018, advocating for structural change within universities. The report emphasizes the necessity for an increase in stable academic positions to accommodate highly skilled researchers. It also highlights that the percentage of stable academic positions is much lower in Switzerland compared to England or the United States (ASSH 2018).

Another significant concern highlighted by the authors in this Bulletin is the relationship between PhD students and their supervisors. This concern primarily stems from power imbalances, potential tensions, and, in some cases, instances of abuse within this dynamic. To address these issues, some universities have implemented policies aimed at safeguarding students. For instance, at the University of Zurich, supervisors are prohibited from co-authoring articles with their doctoral students as a measure to mitigate these power dynamics and maintain a level of academic independence for the students. Young women express concerns regarding gender inequalities, related to work-life balance and attitudes prevalent in their work environment. A recent paper shows that, in the United States, the workplace atmosphere plays a major role in women's decision to leave academia, surpassing the importance of work-life balance (Spoon et al. 2023).

Additionally, the issue of competition among PhD students is highlighted by various authors, a process exacerbated by the lack of clear opportunities upon the completion of the PhD. The journey of being a PhD student, especially as the cycle nears completion, demands individuals to position themselves regarding what comes next. This collides with the widely acknowledged uncertainty surrounding the postdoctoral phase, marked by consecutive fixed-term contracts, pressures to pursue international mobility, and a scarcity of opportunities for permanent academic positions. While PhD students often feel the pressure to strive for such a goal, they also sense that they have limited control over their capacity to achieve it. The disparity between the number of doctoral students and the number of professorship positions, as the almost exclusive option to stay in academia, is highly demotivating for PhD candidates. This situation creates a “leaky pipeline” resulting in institutions losing a significant portion of the academic potential they train (ASSH 2018). In this context and besides supporting the 2014 Federal Council demands for structural change within universities, the Swiss Academy for Human and Social Sciences also called for the elaboration of attractive alternative paths. More concretely they asked that universities create alongside professorships permanent positions for highly trained scholars to support teaching and research. Moreover, positions outside the university, referred to as the “third space”, should be valued. These encompass activities related to teaching, quality management, online learning or research management. In its “generic skill” programme, some of the CUSO activities are already dedicated to supporting the integration of PhD graduates into this “third space”. These activities assist them in identifying opportunities that align with their professional profiles and expectations.

3 <https://campaign.petition-academia.ch/text-de-fr-it-en/>, accessed November 22, 2023.

Finally, as regard their own expectations for the future, the authors emphasize the importance of challenging the prevailing narrative within universities which dictates that completing a PhD should inevitably result in an academic career. They advocate for a shift in perspective among PhD supervisors, urging them to recognize and support the exploration of alternatives beyond the traditional academic path. Encouraging a mindset that promotes various career models will empower doctoral students to consider diverse professional trajectories.

As indicated at the beginning, within this Bulletin we have gathered five contributions. The first contribution, authored by Sara Vallerani, delves into her initial apprehensions at the commencement of her contract with the University of Geneva. Following this, Helen Yu Tang, a PhD candidate specializing in Organization Studies and Cultural Theory at the University of St. Gallen, shares reflections on navigating a “dual path” with a contractual commitment outside of the university. Tamara Bosshardt and Antonia Velicu, both studying at the University of Zurich, discuss the myriad of challenges encountered throughout their trajectories, underscoring their unwavering passion for the discipline despite the obstacles inherent in completing a PhD. Ophélie Bidet’s contribution, originating from the University of Neuchâtel, captures the final stages of her trajectory and is oriented towards exploring future opportunities, since she remains open to various pathways within and outside academia. Lastly, Lena Ajdacic, who

recently defended her PhD at the University of Lausanne, grapples with external pressures to define her postdoctoral trajectory while being dedicated to producing impactful and meaningful research.

We want to express our gratitude to the students who generously shared their thoughts and experiences, offering rich and nuanced insights. Their contributions stand as significant reflections on the present status of Sociology PhD students. Clearly depicted within these texts is the delicate position in which young scholars find themselves – navigating their career trajectory with a blend of enthusiasm amid escalating insecurity and uncertainty. Given this context, it is imperative to persist in the discourse about enhancing and expanding the working conditions and alternative career pathways for PhD graduates in Switzerland. Continued discussions aimed at improving and developing these facets remain crucial in addressing the challenges faced by emerging scholars and are pertinent for the continuation of our discipline.

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Diving Deep: Reasons, Expectations, and Contradictions in Choosing to Pursue a Doctoral Program in Health and Urban Sociology

Sara Vallerani, PhD student in sociology, University of Geneva

Introduction

In this contribution, I propose some reflections on three foundational dimensions pertinent to my doctoral path in sociology, specifically the drive towards interdisciplinarity, the aspiration to move research beyond the ivory tower of academia, and the precarization of academic work. These three dimensions intertwine aspirations, experiences, contradictions, and concerns for those embarking on a doctoral program and a potential subsequent academic career. Before delving in, I would like to provide some contextual information about my research. I recently started a PhD in Switzerland, in the department of Sociology of the University of Geneva, after studying and working in Turin and Rome. My reflections are a direct result of the experiences and studies I have undertaken thus far, primarily within the Italian context.

My research project resides at the intersection of the sociology of health and urban sociology, aiming to investigate the intricate relationship between health, healthcare, and the urban context, with a specific emphasis on urban public health. This theme engages with various issues that have come to the forefront in the (post?) pandemic context, such as the proximity and participation within healthcare services. I have chosen to embark on the doctoral program because I would like to continue studying and conducting research on these topics, ideally in an ongoing dialogue with colleagues, who are pursuing similar research in different contexts, and with an attitude that remains open to the unexpected and unforeseen. This contribution is structured into three sections, each delving into a

dimension associated with my choice to undertake a doctoral program and the ensuing experience. The first section explores the ambivalence of interdisciplinarity, taking into account narratives that present it as a desirable horizon and the contradictions illuminated by some scholars. The second section addresses the challenge of disseminating research beyond the confines of academia, while the final section is dedicated to examining the process of academic labour precarization and its tangible, everyday consequences.

I have recently commenced a doctoral journey, and as a result, my experience and knowledge of the three issues I discuss in this contribution are still limited. Therefore, it is important to emphasize that this text does not aim to exhaust these topics or to address them comprehensively. Instead, my objective is different: it is to introduce some reflections on these matters and share some of the concerns that occupy my daily doctoral path. For this reason, this contribution lacks a definitive conclusion but rather comprises a series of open questions that I hope can serve as subjects for reflection and discussion with my colleagues in the coming years.

Interdisciplinarity: Between Rhetoric and Risks

The first issue that intertwines expectations, aspirations, and contradictions concerns interdisciplinarity. My research spans two distinct branches of sociology and has the potential to engage in a dialogue with both urban studies as well as public health and medical studies.

These potential intersections make the prospect of conducting interdisciplinary, if not transdisciplinary,¹ research particularly enticing even before embarking on a doctoral journey. However, while interdisciplinary research is promoted on the one hand, on the other, it proves challenging to implement, both due to the organization of university departments and issues related to the disciplinary recognition of researchers themselves. Thus, a primary contradiction lies in the gap between rhetoric and reality.

However, interdisciplinarity conceals some contradictions as it is not a neutral and uncontroversial subject, despite often being presented as a desirable approach for researchers (van Teijlingen et al. 2019; Pilnick 2013). In this regard, Michael Burawoy has written an important essay in which he identifies the most significant danger of interdisciplinarity as “to abandon disciplines for a superficial fusing of incompatible frameworks, repressing their elaborate structures that have been created in a painstaking fashion by the collaborative work of generations of scholars” (2013: 13). The risks outlined by Burawoy reside, among other factors, in the existing power dynamics between different disciplines, especially in the context of universities restructuring along neoliberal lines. In this context, the power relations between faculties and departments are often imbalanced along hierarchies, leading to consequences in the allocation

of funds, the definition of research directions, the evaluation criteria, and the flows of knowledge production. These reflections on interdisciplinarity have nuanced my expectations regarding the construction of an interdisciplinary doctoral research project. This does not imply refraining from building collaborations with colleagues from other disciplines but signifies doing so while being aware that interdisciplinarity involves negotiation processes (Pilnick 2013) related to various factors, such as the legitimacy of scientific knowledge, power dynamics within the university and departments, trajectories of research fund allocation, etc. These processes may result in an imbalance among different disciplines, impacting the potential of interdisciplinary research. This imbalance is not solely related to economic resources; it conceals significant epistemological and methodological issues. Within the realm of the so-called “hard sciences”, the legitimacy and utility of knowledge produced by the social and human sciences, particularly those employing qualitative approaches, are often questioned or even unrecognized in the context of health sciences and healthcare.

From my perspective, the sociological standpoint can significantly contribute to the production of knowledge in both healthcare disciplines and the functioning of healthcare systems. This involves considering Straus’ (1957) distinction between the sociology of medicine and sociology in medicine. Both types of sociology in relation to medicine must address the theme of building research projects or research actions that are truly integrated. This means constructing projects collaboratively from the early stages, combining different knowledge and perspectives. This serves to avoid two things: discovering things that other disciplines already know and making sure that colleagues from other disciplines are not brought

1 Terms like “multidisciplinarity”, “interdisciplinarity”, and “transdisciplinarity” are sometimes used interchangeably. However, these terms are not synonymous: multidisciplinarity refers to the juxtaposition of different disciplines; interdisciplinarity involves the interconnection of various disciplines; and finally, transdisciplinarity entails questioning disciplinary boundaries themselves and their subsequent transcendence (van Teijlingen et al. 2019).

into a project midway and treated merely as the “armoury of tools” (Pilnick 2013).

This connects to the second point of reflection that I propose in this paper, which concerns the dissemination and potential contribution of the research I am conducting.

Emerging from the Ivory Tower: Can We Exceed Academic Walls?

One of the reasons that led me to choose to pursue a doctoral program is the desire to conduct research that can transcend the walls of the ivory tower of academia. Therefore, I have developed an expectation that the results of my research may, in the future, contribute, for example, to informing local and urban healthcare policies or improving the functioning and accessibility of a specific service. Once again, expectations encounter the contradictions of reality.

In this case, the primary contradiction pertains to the fact that knowledge produced by the social sciences is not always considered legitimate or actionable. Returning to examples related to healthcare research, an area I am more familiar with, sociological research in this field can facilitate access to the narratives, experiences, and perceptions of patients and healthcare professionals. Furthermore, it sheds light on many of the determinants of health or enables the analysis of the processes of exclusion and inclusion within national healthcare systems, or the role of markets and other social actors. These are just a few examples, but the central point is that sociology generates knowledge that can impact the existing state of affairs. However, this knowledge is not always valued in healthcare contexts, especially when produced using qualitative or art-based methodologies (Popay and Williams 1998; Boydell et al. 2016; Bosco and Vallerani 2023). While these challenges are not encountered universally, and

there is an increasing awareness of the value of such knowledge, it remains a central point of reflection concerning my doctoral program and the future of my research.

These themes are intertwined with the third topic of this paper: working conditions and employment continuity within the ivory tower.

Living in the Ivory Tower: Working Conditions, the Gender Gap, and Employment Continuity

This latter topic is perhaps the most tangible and widely shared concern among those starting a PhD. When I began my doctoral program, I was aware of the conditions within the academic labour market. Indeed, as Loher and Strasser (2019) explain well, uncertainty is the hallmark of the neoliberal university and results from various “precarity policies” that have reshaped the European university system in recent years and the lives of those working within it. Moreover, the growing instability of academic careers is not entirely “democratic” and affects individuals differently based on various factors, such as gender. Indeed, precarity and uncertainty intersect with processes that perpetuate gender asymmetries (Bozzon et al. 2017). Furthermore, the gendered dimension of the precarization of academic work was overlooked for a long time, despite universities being considered “gendered organizations” (Zheng 2020). Women are underrepresented at the higher levels of academia due to mechanisms such as the so-called “leaky pipeline”, which entails a decrease in the number of women as one ascends the academic hierarchy, and the “glass ceiling”, which represents a set of invisible barriers that make the career path for women colleagues more challenging compared to their men counterparts (Filandri et al. 2023). Additional elements of inequality include differences in salary levels between women and

men, reduced funding for research, and a gendered distribution of organizational work. For instance, as noted by Misra et al. (2012), women spend more time on teaching and service activities.

What consequences does this insecurity, causing intermittence and difficulty in employment continuity, have? How does it impact our research choices and, in general, our professional paths? Is it, for instance, a factor influencing doctoral students' choices regarding which subjects of study to prioritize or which research methods to employ? For me, these questions do not yet have answers, and with a reasonable number of years ahead, I believe it will be interesting to keep them in mind throughout the doctoral journey to observe their developments.

At the same time, while the existence of these “precarity policies” in academia as intended by Loher and Strasser (2019) is a well-known subject today, experiencing their tangible consequences on a daily basis is another story. In my experience, there are some dysfunctional dynamics that particularly impact my work. The first concerns the productivity imperative within academia, the so-called “publish or perish”. This notion of needing to publish as much as possible primarily affects the quality of research. Fortunately, there is an increasing awareness of the problematic nature of this mechanism, and many scholars are striving to replace “publish or perish” with “publish less, publish well”.

A second problematic dynamic involves competition among researchers, especially in the early stages of their careers. In my personal experience, these competitive dynamics affect the overall atmosphere and well-being within departments and research teams, contributing to further fragmentation of research work rather than fostering collaboration.

The combination of job insecurity with competitive dynamics and productivity imperatives has alarming consequences for the mental health of researchers. In my view, it is essential to dedicate time and energy to collectively reflect on the construction of alternatives.

Conclusions

In this contribution, I have attempted to address three central aspects related to my doctoral journey. As outlined in the introduction, rather than formulating a traditional conclusion, I believe it is more beneficial to pose several open questions to facilitate collective reflection and discussion.

When it comes to interdisciplinarity, for example, it is intriguing to explore how to develop research projects and educational programs capable of broadening perspectives across diverse disciplines, fostering meaningful dialogue among them without overshadowing any specific field. What conditions are necessary for this to happen, and what factors influence power dynamics within and between disciplines and departments?

Regarding transcending the boundaries of academia, I am contemplating questions related to how to construct research projects that generate knowledge useful and comprehensible to the population, fostering moments of participation and discourse around them. In terms of working conditions and the dynamics of productivity and competition, I find it intriguing to consider how to establish alternative practices that challenge the mechanisms of the neoliberal academy, starting with micro-level dynamics within departments. If a solution exists, it can be pursued through substantial university funding on the one hand and, on the other hand, through a collective exercise of intelligence and creativity aimed at envisioning novel approaches to conducting research and teaching.

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Connecting Past Dots and Looking Ahead. A Reflection On Why and How To work As an External PhD Candidate In Sociology With a “Dual-role”

Helen Yu Tang, PhD student in Organization Studies and Cultural Theory, University of St. Gallen

Introduction

It's already dark outside and the moon is climbing high. After a full day of work, I was finally able to turn my mind from client requests, project decks, and market data to start thinking about my PhD project. But I often find myself too tired for creative thinking, so instead of switching to another topic, I could only switch off entirely and recharge for the next day. That's often the reality I face during a demanding working week as a consultant and an external PhD candidate. When I occasionally interact with other external PhD students, we often find we experience similar types of struggle.

However, I have never regretted choosing both to do my PhD and work at the same time. It gives me the opportunity for both academic training and professional practice for the future. More and more students are taking on part-time work during their full-time university studies (Hall 2010), and it can provide meaningful preparation to bridge the gap between the academic world and future career development (Gbolahan Gbadamosi 2015). The choice of course depends on a person's aspirations. It is probably unsuitable for those wishing to work in academia after their PhD. A number of studies have investigated people's initial motives for starting a PhD, such as improving their career prospects, personal development, and an intrinsic interest in their discipline (Brailsford 2010). But there have only been a few studies of aspirations and ways of adapting to the “dual-role” of PhD study and part-time professional work.

This text tries to answer the question from my personal perspective: why am I doing a PhD in

sociology at the University of St. Gallen (HSG), and what are my expectations of future career paths? After reading Bulletin 161 for bachelors and masters students (Burton-Jeangros, C. & Leemann, R.J. (2022),¹ I originally thought of chatting to or even interviewing some other PhD students to carry out a more representative case study of HSG, but due to the time constraints of other work and advice from my supervisor, I decided to include only my own perspective. This is also linked to a later part of this text on what I learned looking backwards. In order to adapt to the “dual-role”, it's important to focus on the most important things, manage expectations, and not to overthink a problem or overdo a task.

I will first look back and explain what motivated me to pursue my PhD in sociology, then gather what I've learned and reflections on dos and don'ts. Finally, I will look forward to how I might view myself in the later part of my PhD studies, as well as career and life prospects after graduation.

Looking Back – Motivations and Connecting Past Dots

From the seven texts in Bulletin 161, we can see a “red thread” in the motivations of bachelors and masters students in the form of engagement and activism. Sociology students across Switzerland aspire to engage actively on societal issues, us-

1 Choosing Sociology: Students' motivations and projections, <https://www.sgs-sss.ch/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/SSA-Bulletin-161.pdf>, accessed November 22, 2023.

ing their research to create positive change in the world, particularly by addressing inequalities and injustices. For example, a few words appear with high frequency in Bulletin 161, including “change” (24 times), “domination” (8 times), “responsibility” (7 times), “relevance” (7 times), and “reform” (6 times). Moreover, future career prospects were often not a motivation for choosing a field of study. In a way these two threads are connected. If one’s aspiration is to bring positive changes to an unjust system, one might not easily become reconciled to existing structures, which include career options offered by companies or certain public organizations that are important job providers. On the other hand, there are limited business opportunities for sociology students after graduation to enhance the employability of subsequent cohorts.

Sitting in front of a mirror and asking myself whether activism was my motivation, I would have to be honest and admit that, although it’s definitely an admirable study and career objective, it’s hard for me to commit myself to it. Maybe because I have always carried with me a kind of “work responsibility”, I see my PhD more as a realistic springboard – something I have wanted to invest in and try at least once, something I need to facilitate my career and life transition to gain an early foothold when starting anew in another country, and both an interesting and practical choice making it possible to balance the energy needed to meet the various aims I aspire to. What’s more, I am very interested in my PhD project and the topics I am working on – intergenerational transfer and the housing market in China – not as an insider, but analytically and from a reasonable distance.

Family tradition was not a factor in my choice of sociology, or social sciences in general. Both my parents are engineers. However, I don’t seem to have inherited their engineering talents as a

child. I started my bachelor’s education in finance and economics, which was practically beneficial. I entered into my first consulting internship during this time and have been working in similar fields throughout my career. But finance and economics did not awaken any “intrinsic interest”. To continue research in a topic over a period of years requires deep curiosity, or at least, one needs to feel “aligned with” a topic. I switched to social policy for my masters, focusing more on policies for the needy and societal challenges, moving a step closer to sociology for my PhD. There seems to be a slight separation of my “dual roles” of a consulting career and sociological research, but holistically they converge and support each other.

Another view in contrast to a message from Bulletin 161 is that I don’t see myself as privileged: as the old Chinese saying goes, “there are always people beyond people, and there’s always a sky beyond the current sky”. I think I am fortunate to be able to study a topic that I like, but I also understand that there are struggles, pressures, and to some extent an unclear future during and beyond my PhD. I will connect the dots once I graduate, and will look back gratefully when I am older.

At the University of St. Gallen, there’s no separate sociology discipline for PhDs. It’s included with study tracks from other institutes under an overarching program called the PhD in Organization Studies and Cultural Theory. It’s unusual, but fits well the university’s strong business focus. I found this broad setting beneficial in the way that it allows for combination with other disciplines and it is useful to get to know colleagues and be introduced to topics from different fields.

What I Have Learned and Reflections On Dos and Don'ts

Three years into my PhD, I have collected some dos and don'ts, which would hopefully be useful to other students and for myself as a reminder during the rest of my period of study:

1. Do not get overwhelmed by the vast complexity of your topic and try to develop too grand a theory

Working on a PhD project is also a learning process, and one thing I have learned is that the problem usually is not that the topic is too small and there's nothing to write about, but rather the opposite. Pick as small a topic as possible. Any interesting social phenomenon, when observed up close, is extremely complex. I try my best not to be overcome by the complexity, and to identify small actionable and practical areas of work, and to tackle each part step by step.

2. Try to get into a rhythm

I have to admit that I am very bad at this, but the results improve drastically when I manage it. This doesn't mean that we should fill our time to the max and leave no room for innovative thoughts. Rather you just have to sit down and get started. Often the first words are not satisfactory, but a rhythm helps and subsequent rereading helps you to improve.

3. Set fixed deadlines and manage your time

I like to work to deadlines – not that I like them particularly, but they do help with efficiency. Meeting my supervisor regularly means that I have to submit a text beforehand, and this gives me no excuse to put things off. Each of these mini “sprints” contributes to the goal.

4. Topics change, and that's OK

Most people do their PhD in 3–6 years. This can be quite a long time. Our careers may only be around 5 times as long – and our topics can change in the future. I was in full panic mode when my topic changed drastically in the middle of my PhD and I couldn't go to China for a field trip due to the strict Covid-19 travel restrictions imposed by the government. But later I gradually learned that it's OK, and that it could even bring a fresh perspective on my project. When I started my PhD in 2020, my topic, the Chinese housing market, was still at a prosperous stage. Only three years later, swirling crisis after crisis hovered over the market. On the surface, the project might have seemed to be falling apart, but much valuable advice and support from professors, family, and friends enabled me to adapt my project and even gather new energy.

Looking Forward – Plans and Expectations

I plan to spend less than two more years on my PhD. Currently I spend less than two days per week on my studies, but it fluctuates and I am able to focus more when external projects are less demanding. Two things that drive me forward are seminars at the university, and regular meetings with my supervisor. I prepare draft chapters in each cycle, receive very valuable feedback and implement the changes post-session.

Considering my career plan, I will most likely continue working in the consulting-related corporate sphere, with regard to which sociology training benefits my methodological skills. A similar expectation is that I will keep working towards integration into Swiss society. After growing up in China until my early 20s, studying and working in USA, and working briefly in Eastern Europe, there's a long way to go before becoming both

cross-cultural and deeply engaged in certain cultures and societies.

In summary, what generally motivates me to do the PhD is that it excites me by being challenging yet balanced. I am deeply thankful for the constant support of professors, family, friends, and work colleagues throughout the long journey of study, work, and life transition, and I am positive about accomplishing the goals ahead.

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Hinter den Kulissen der Forschung: Von Wölfen und Pantoffeltierchen

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Einleitung

Das Doktorat ist eine zeitlich befristete Transitionsphase zwischen Studium und (akademischer) Karriere. Mit den Worten von Gennep (1909) könnte man diese Lebensphase als *liminal space* beschreiben. Liminalität beschreibt Schwellenphasen und Zwischenräume, einen Zustand des nicht mehr und noch nicht: Nicht mehr Studierende*r, noch nicht Wissenschaftler*in. Die Navigation dieses *liminal space* macht einen nicht unerheblichen Teil des Doktorats aus.

In Vorbereitung auf ein Doktoratsstudium sei es daher hilfreich, sich ein realistisches Bild von diesem oft steinigen Weg zu machen. In einer Veranstaltung mit dem Titel «Der nächste Schritt: ein Doktorat?» wurde uns ausserdem geraten, «mit Freude und Stolz» zu doktorieren. Dieser Artikel geht der Frage nach, wie gut sich diese Tipps umsetzen lassen und wohin ein Doktorat führen kann. So individuell wie die Doktorierenden sind, so individuell verlaufen auch ihre Wege durch diese akademische Transitionsphase. Wir können daher nicht von allen Wegen erzählen, aber immerhin einen Einblick in unsere Wege zum, während und nach dem Doktorat geben.

Zum Doktorat

Was war denn eigentlich vor dem Doktorat? Welche Abzweigungen haben uns in den akademischen Mittelbau geführt? Zum Glück sind biographische Erzählung im Rückblick immer schlüssiger als im Moment des Erlebens. Aus sicherer Distanz wagen wir einen Erzählversuch.

Tamaras Random-Walk

Nach dem Besuch des mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Gymnasiums hatte ich zunächst wenig Lust, mich weiterhin mit Gleichungen und Formeln abzugeben, die sogenannte «Probleme» lösen würden. Ich hatte andere Probleme – und da ich am liebsten Texte las und diskutierte, schrieb ich mich an der Universität Zürich für Populäre Kulturen, Geschichte der Neuzeit und Philosophie ein. Nach zwei Semestern vermisste ich die Mathematik dann doch ein wenig. Weil ich an Alltagsphänomenen und Populärkultur insbesondere die Verbindung zu gesellschaftlichen Strukturen interessant fand, wechselte ich nach drei Semestern zur Soziologie. Hier konnten grosse Gesellschaftstheorien mit konkreten Datenanalysen kombiniert werden. Ein Traum wurde wahr.

Statistik auf gesellschaftsrelevante Themen anzuwenden, Auswertungen zu programmieren, Grafiken und Tabellen zu erstellen, hat mir grossen Spass gemacht. Mit der Übernahme eines Statistik-Tutorats konnte ich mein neues Wissen an Studierende weitergeben und wurde fürs Wiederholen der Inhalte sogar bezahlt. Einmal Teil des Unisystems, eröffneten sich neue Möglichkeiten: Mir wurden weitere Tutorate angeboten und ich fing bei einem Forschungsprojekt als studentische Hilfskraft an. Ob sich darin die “strength of weak ties” von Granovetter (1973) zeigt? Oder gehört die Stellenvergabe ohne Ausschreibung zu einem System, das privilegierte Personen bevorzugt, während Benachteiligte weiter übersehen werden (Keuschnigg & Wolbring 2017)? Wahrscheinlich stimmt beides ein bisschen.

Aus dem Biologieunterricht habe ich in Erinnerung, dass sich Einzeller so lange in eine

zufällig eingeschlagene Richtung (*random walk*) bewegen, bis sie auf ein Hindernis treffen oder die Nährstoffkonzentration sinkt. Meinem inneren Pantoffeltierchen gefiel es an der Uni gut: Je länger ich studierte, desto freier gestaltete sich die Themenwahl und ich wusste immer besser, was mich interessierte. Ich war überzeugt, dass die spannenden soziologischen Themen mit der Masterarbeit noch lange nicht alle ausgingen. So schien mir eine Fortführung meines gewaltfreien Marsches durch die Institution Universität sinnvoll. Bevor ich die Welt verändern konnte, wollte ich sie noch ein kleines bisschen besser verstehen.

Antonias Metamorphose

Story 2; zurück auf Start. Wie bei so vielen, führte auch mich erst der Umweg über eine frustrierende erste Studienwahl zur Soziologie. Ich begann ein rechtswissenschaftliches Studium, getrieben von idealisierten Vorstellungen und Träumen über meine zukünftige Karriere. Schon bald wurde ich von der Oberflächlichkeit des Studiums enttäuscht. Berufliches Fortkommen schien von der Willkür der Professor*innen abzuhängen. Ebenso frustrierend war das Belächeln meiner Ambitionen, etwas bewegen zu wollen, anstatt profitorientierte Arbeit zu verfolgen.

Die Begeisterung einer Freundin lockte mich zu einem Vortrag über Rechtssoziologie. Meine anfängliche Skepsis verflog schnell; hier ergab alles wieder Sinn. Mir wurde klar, welche Fragen ich stellen und beantworten wollte: Wer definiert Norm und Abweichung, und wie kann der Wunsch nach Normalität mit dem nach Individualität vereinbart werden? Ich wollte Theorien lernen, die die Welt in ihren Zusammenhängen erklären, Kriminalität nicht einfach auf Psychopathologie reduzieren, sondern auf unerfüllbare Erwartungen und die Wirkung von Labels. Ich wollte verstehen,

wie Bildung vererbt wird, warum Schwangerschaft ansteckend sein kann und Soziales nur durch Soziales erklärt werden kann. Ich war auch hungrig nach Methoden, nach Werkzeugen, um mit Empirie umzugehen – *without data, you're just another person with an opinion* (William Edwards Deming zit. in Kolasa et al. 2020).

Mit der Masterurkunde in der Hand stand ich da und dachte: «Ist das wirklich alles? Bin ich nun fertig?» Mein Wissensdurst war noch lange nicht gestillt. Auch war die Aussicht auf Lehrtätigkeiten sehr reizvoll. Die Verantwortung von Dozierenden ist gewaltig, bringt aber auch die Möglichkeit mit sich, Studierende zu kritischem Denken über Gesellschaft anzuregen. In einer komplexen Welt hilft die soziologische Perspektive, relevante Fragen zu stellen und Selbstverständliches zu dekonstruieren, um soziale, ökologische und ethische Herausforderungen anzugehen. Um die Köpfe von hungrigen Maturand*innen zu formen, ihr intellektuelles Potenzial und ihre Ambitionen zu fördern und so etwas zu bewegen, schien ein Doktorat ganz praktisch.

Gemeinsamkeiten

Während des Masterstudiums besuchten wir beide das Modul «Berufsperspektiven für Soziologieabsolvent*innen». Dort bemerkten wir, dass Soziologieabsolvent*innen, die in einem spannenden Job angelangt waren, alle ein Doktorat gemacht hatten. Eine ehemalige Doktorandin berichtete, dass Frauen aus den Sozialwissenschaften im Berufsalltag nicht immer ernst genommen werden – mit Dokortitel mildere sich dieses Problem zumindest ab. Wir beide wollten ernst genommen werden und das am liebsten in einem spannenden Job. Das Paula-Prinzip (Hede 1994) besagt, dass Frauen in hierarchischen Strukturen nur aufsteigen können, wenn sie ihre Kompetenz mit Zertifikaten

beweisen können oder bereits überqualifiziert sind. Frauen wird scheinbar nach wie vor weniger zuge-
traut und so trauen auch wir uns selbst weniger zu.

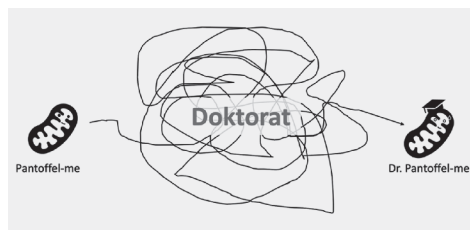
Nicht zufällig war für uns beide relevant, dass wir von Professor und Masterarbeitsbetreuer angefragt bzw. ermutigt wurden, uns auf die freie Doktoratsstelle an den jeweiligen Lehrstühlen zu bewerben. Hoffentlich nicht nur, mit Sicherheit aber auch, weil wir das Team bereits kannten, dort eine Masterarbeit geschrieben und für Studentinnenjobs angestellt waren. Informations- und Transaktionskosten tief zu halten, ist oft für alle Beteiligten von Vorteil. Auch wenn diese Tatsache laut Adamczak (2011) kein ausreichender Grund für den Beginn eines Doktorats ist, spielte dies für uns beide eine Rolle. Ohne Ermutigung von aussen, hätten wir uns ein Doktorat vielleicht gar nicht zugetraut.

Zuletzt fühlte sich der Bildungsweg für uns beide auch nach dem Masterabschluss nicht abgeschlossen an. Wir hatten Fragen, deren Antworten uns wirklich interessierten: wie wird in der Wissenschaft diskriminiert und wieso kommt es zu Fehlverhalten (Antonia) bzw. welche Auswirkungen haben Geldgeschenke in der Familie auf die Reproduktion von gesamtgesellschaftlichen Ungleichheiten? Wir wollten unser theoretisches und methodisches Wissen erweitern, ein tieferes Verständnis für die Welt und die Gesellschaft entwickeln, um irgendwann irgendwie irgendetwas bewirken zu können. Positive Erfahrungen während der Masterarbeit und den Tutoraten ermutigten uns, weiter in die akademische Welt einzutauchen. Wir Pantoffeltierchen waren in der Soziologie noch auf kein grösseres Hindernis gestossen und die Aussicht auf eine Bezahlung liess die gefühlte Nährstoffkonzentration auf jeden Fall ansteigen.

Mittendrin

Die Vorstellung des männlichen Wissenschaftlers, der als einsamer Wolf Ideen zu weltverändernden Weisheiten formt, ist längst veraltet. Wir experimentierten nicht mit Mäusen und weissem Kittel im Labor und entwickelten auch nicht zwischen Bücherstapeln und Zetteln eine bahnbrechende Gesellschaftstheorie. Für uns hatte Doktorieren eher mit der Überwindung von Einsamkeit, mit den Auswirkungen von Rollenkonflikten und einem Sprung ins kalte Lehrwasser zu tun.

Abbildung 1 "Random Walk" – Verhalten bei Doktorierenden



Eigene Darstellung nach Kitche (2015).

Rudelfindung

Tatsächlich kann sich während des Doktorats aber schon bald das Gefühl eines einsamen Wolfes einstellen. Im Master ist der Studienalltag stark durch den Besuch von Lehrveranstaltungen strukturiert, in welchen man mit anderen Studierenden ein gemeinsames Thema diskutiert. Im Doktorat setzt man sich mit einem Thema auseinander, das so spezifisch ist, dass selten ein für andere Beteiligte gewinnbringendes Gespräch darüber geführt werden kann. Ausserdem erhöht sich der Anteil der Zeit, der selbst strukturiert werden muss, enorm, was auch zu gesteigerten Unsicherheiten führt: Ist das für meine Arbeit relevant? Arbeite ich genug? Was wird eigentlich von mir erwartet? Wie schmal ist der Grat zwischen Innovation und guten Gründen,

warum das bisher keine*r so macht? Was darf ich selbst entscheiden? Wann bin ich am produktivsten? Woher weiss ich, wann es Zeit wäre, aufzugeben? Langsam wird klar, warum eine bereits fortgeschrittenere Doktoratsstudentin im Kurs “How to finish your PhD successfully on time” auf die Frage, wie es so laufe, in Tränen ausgebrochen ist. Da wünscht man sich als Wolf schon mal das Rudel zurück.

Die oft isolierte Arbeit ist tatsächlich eine persönliche Grenzerfahrung. Dadurch bieten sich aber Gelegenheiten zur Auseinandersetzung mit Ängsten, die im Rudel weniger präsent wären. Es kann passieren, dass sich der Fokus des eigenen Projektes verschiebt, gesetzte Meilensteine dadurch nicht erreicht werden und das Durchhaltevermögen arg strapaziert wird. Allerdings gibt es für jede Doktoratsphase passende Weiterbildungen. Tauchen trotz optimierter Projektplanung Durststrecken auf, gibt es “Resilience and Well-being” oder “Resource-focused Stress Management”. Im Austausch mit anderen Doktoratsbetroffenen kann in solchen akademischen Selbsthilfegruppen zum Beispiel die eigene Arbeitsweise oder das impostersyndrom (Clance & Imes 1978) dekonstruiert werden. Es beschreibt, dass Frauen und Personen aus nicht-akademischen Familien trotz objektiver Erfolge und Qualifikationen oft glauben, “zu dumm” für ihre Position zu sein. Damit verbunden ist die Angst, den Job zu verlieren, sobald das angebliche Vorspielen der eigenen Kompetenz auffliegt. Solche Auseinandersetzungen sind auch für den Fortschritt der Doktorarbeit hilfreich: Erfolgreich implementierte Selbstmanagementstrategien steigern obendrein den Aktienwert der akademischen Ich-AG (Bröckling 2013).

Leittiere

Die grössten Firmenanteile der akademischen Ich-AG halten die betreuenden Professor*innen.

Oft sind sie sowohl Mentor*in, Arbeitgeber*in, Co-autor*in und Gutachter*in einer Dissertation. Damit sind Interessen- und Rollenkonflikte vorprogrammiert. Doktorierende unterbezahlt an Projekten arbeiten zu lassen, um sich unabhängig vom eigenen Anteil auf allen Papieren als Co-autor*in eintragen zu können, scheint eine beliebte Strategie. Nach neuester Promotionsverordnung der UZH dürfen Co-autor*innen zumindest nicht mehr Gutachter*innen sein. Dies entschärft die Abhängigkeit von Vorgesetzten, da die Bewertung der eigenen Doktorarbeit nicht von deren Wohlwollen abhängt.

Natürlich machen die vielfältigen Anforderungen an Professor*innen, wie Lehrtätigkeiten, Projektmanagement, Administration, Unipolitik, Mentoring und Netzwerkbildung, die Delegation von Arbeiten erforderlich. Doch nicht nur kleinere, unbeliebte Tasks wie die Webseitenpflege oder das Erstellen von Grafiken und Präsentationen, sondern auch grössere Aufgaben etwa die Bewertung von studentischen Arbeiten, die komplette Betreuung von Masterarbeiten und das Schreiben von Grants, die statt den Schreibenden den Professor*innen zugutekommen, werden auch mal delegiert. Diese Tasks werden bevorzugt an diejenigen im Team abgegeben, die ihre eigenen Grenzen am schlechtesten verteidigen. Die relative Unabhängigkeit der Lehrstühle führt bisweilen dazu, dass Machtmissbrauch lange unentdeckt bleibt und unter schalldämmende Büroteppiche gekehrt wird (Häusler 2019).

Welpentraining

Neben der Promotionsarbeit sind Doktorierende auch in die Lehre eingebunden. Das kann eine Assistenz bei Vorlesungen oder die selbstständige Konzeption und Durchführung von Seminaren und Vorlesungen sein. Immerhin kann der Sprung

ins kalte Lehrwasser durch den Besuch didaktischer Weiterbildungen abgemildert werden. Im riesigen Angebot der UZH haben wir uns einiges an Wissen über sinnvolle Konzeptionierung und Rhetorik angeeignet, dass wir gerne schon während des Studiums gehabt hätten.

Lehrveranstaltungen zu planen und durchzuführen braucht Zeit. Seminare zu aktuellen, spannenden Themen, didaktisch wertvoll und ohne den Rückgriff auf Erfahrungswissen und bestehendes Material zu konzipieren, braucht sogar sehr viel Zeit. Unweigerlich bleibt man oft hinter den eigenen Ansprüchen zurück, lernt dabei aber auch Prioritäten zu setzen und kann mit fortschreitender Semesterzahl zunehmend auf eigene Erfahrungen zurückgreifen. Lehrveranstaltungen bieten darüber hinaus die Möglichkeit, eigene Interessen zu vertiefen, die nicht direkt mit dem eigenen Dissertationsthema zusammenhängen. Spätestens im dritten Jahr des Doktorats fühlt sich eine inhaltliche Abwechslung ganz gut an.

In Lehrveranstaltungen sitzen junge, aufstrebende Köpfe vor uns, die darauf warten, gefüllt und geformt zu werden; bereit, sich auf intellektuelle Abenteuer einzulassen. Als Dozierende setzen wir Themen, stossen Auseinandersetzungen an und bewerten die Leistungen der Studierenden. Das ist eine grosse Verantwortung. Wenn wir sie fair und sinnvoll wahrnehmen, haben wir in der Lehre vielleicht sogar mehr Möglichkeiten einen kleinen Teil zum Wandel in der Welt beizutragen als mit unserer Forschung.

Danach?

Während der letzten Doktoratsjahre haben wir tatsächlich viel gelernt. Mit einer Erweiterung unserer Methoden- und Fachkompetenzen in den Bereichen der empirischen Sozialforschung, der Ungleichheits-, Wissenschafts- und Familien-

soziologie hatten wir gerechnet. Daneben haben wir aber auch unsere Sozial- und Selbstkompetenz erweitert. Weil das etwas abstrakt klingt, folgt hier eine – die restliche Artikelstruktur brechende – best-of-Aneinanderreihung unserer gewonnenen Einsichten und Fertigkeiten. Wir haben gelernt:

In 20 Prozent der Zeit wird 80 Prozent der Arbeit erledigt, in den restlichen 80 Prozent der Zeit an den letzten 20 Prozent gefeilt; einzuschätzen, ob der aktuelle Task zu den 80 Prozent oder 20 Prozent gehört; Perfection Is The Enemy Of Done denn oft ist «Gut genug» gut und auch genug; Wie viel Macht Deadlines haben; Ein Teil der 60–70 000 täglichen Gedanken unzensuriert aufschreiben hilft; Dem Prozess zu vertrauen, Plan und Realität aber regelmässig abzugleichen; Welche Büropflanzen überleben und welche nicht; Dort anzufangen, wo es gerade am einfachsten ist; Zeitmanagement und dass alles immer länger dauert; Grenzen zu setzen; Flexibel zu bleiben; Seminare zu planen und Studierende zu begleiten; Die Kreativphase von der Bewertungsphase zu trennen; Das Doktorat nicht als gesamtes Lebensprojekt zu sehen; Komplexe Sachverhalte verständlich darzustellen; Texte zu strukturieren; Zielkonflikte zu erkennen; Produktiv zu prokrastinieren; Relevante Termine mit dem Zyklus zu planen; Uns präventiv um das eigene Wohlbefinden zu kümmern; Krank sein zu dürfen; Ambiguitätstoleranz, Listen zu schreiben, um den Überblick zu behalten.

Die Promotion eröffnet faszinierende Einblicke in die Wissenschaft und die eigene Persönlichkeit. Das Doktoratsstudium zwingt zur Auseinandersetzung mit sich selbst, mit Grenzen und Stärken, der persönlichen Arbeitsweise, mit Stress und innerem Antrieb. Was machen wir in Zukunft mit dieser Fülle an Fähigkeiten und Erfahrungen? Die Weiterverfolgung einer akademischen Karriere ist zwar reizvoll, die Dominanz von Konkurrenz- und

Hierarchiestrukturen scheint auf Dauer aber zermürbend. Vorstellen können wir uns deshalb auch die wissenschaftliche Mitarbeit an privaten Forschungsinstituten, in der öffentlichen Verwaltung oder im Wissenschaftsmanagement. Vielleicht landen wir auch im Journalismus, der Politik, machen Stand-up-Comedy oder organisieren *Yoga-Retreats*?

Fazit

Dieser Artikel soll dabei helfen, sich ein realistisches Bild vom Doktorat zu machen und zu klären, wohin ein solches führen kann. Wir haben von unseren und anderen Erfahrungen berichtet. Trotzdem können wir nicht alle Perspektiven abdecken. So war die Finanzierung unserer Doktorate durch die Anstellung an der Universität Zürich sichergestellt. Doktorierende, die sich selbst um ausreichende Finanzierung kümmern müssen, stehen vor noch grösseren Herausforderungen. Obwohl sich die Bedingungen der Doktorierenden stark unterscheiden, zeigen sich immer wieder gemeinsame Erfahrungen: Der Wissensdrang, die persönliche Entwicklung und der ungewohnte Freiraum machen das Doktorat zu einer wertvollen Erfahrung. Es war nicht immer leicht, hat sich aber auf jeden Fall gelohnt. Nun ist die Transitionsphase (fast) vorbei. Stunden wir am Anfang, wir würden uns wieder in den Doktoratsdschungel stürzen.

Wir haben eine breite Palette von Fähigkeiten erworben, die in vielen Bereichen anwendbar sind. Wir haben erkannt, dass es hilfreich ist, sich in einem Rudel zu bewegen, und man Gleichgesinnte auch an unverhofften Stellen entdeckt, wie z.B. beim gemeinsamen Schreiben von diesem Artikel. Durch die persönliche Weiterentwicklung haben wir wertvolle Einsichten in unsere Arbeitsweisen und -muster gewonnen und wissen etwas besser, wohin wir (nicht) wollen. Wir verstehen zwar noch nicht die ganze Welt, haben aber gelernt, dass wir

genau da, wo wir gerade sind, auch im Kleinen Sinnvolles beitragen können. Wohin uns der Panstoffeltierweg führt, ist noch offen. Wir hoffen auf bewältigbare Hindernisse und eine stetig steigende Nährstoffkonzentration.

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Le doctorat en sociologie : un noviciat

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La question « Pourquoi un doctorat en sociologie ? » combine les deux questions que l'on m'a probablement le plus posées ces dernières années : « Pourquoi la sociologie ? » et « Pourquoi un doctorat ? ». Avec dans l'ombre, en troisième position, la sempiternelle question du « Et ça sert à quoi ? ». Écrire cette contribution, à l'aube de ma sixième année de doctorat¹ et de onze années universitaires à apprendre et faire de la sociologie, a donc été l'occasion bienvenue de faire le point sur mes réponses à ces trois questions pendant toutes ces années.

Qu'avais-je donc en tête lorsque j'ai signé pour un doctorat en sociologie ? D'abord et avant tout, l'envie de continuer à faire de la sociologie. À la lecture des contributions des étudiant·e·s de Bachelor et Master en sociologie du bulletin 161 de la Société suisse de sociologie², j'ai réalisé que mes motivations et mes intérêts pour cette discipline rejoignaient pleinement les leurs, et qu'ils étaient restés les mêmes au fil de mon parcours universitaire, à chaque moment où un choix pouvait ou devait être fait entre engagement et désengagement. J'ai découvert la sociologie alors que j'étudiais une autre discipline, lors d'un cours « mixte » de sociolinguistique. Cela fut une révélation. Je trouvais une discipline qui m'offrait des outils pour mieux comprendre le monde qui m'entoure, pour remet-

tre en question ce qui y était considéré comme une évidence et pour avoir une chance de l'influencer (positivement). Des pans entiers de mon existence s'en trouvaient ainsi éclairés d'une lumière et compréhension nouvelles. La sociologie m'apportait des réponses... et en même temps, beaucoup de nouvelles questions que je trouvais fascinantes. Cela m'a amenée à me réorienter et à choisir la sociologie pour mon Bachelor. À la fin de celui-ci, ce sont ces mêmes motivations qui m'ont fait m'engager dans un Master en sociologie. Et finalement, à la fin de mon Master, j'ai vu le doctorat comme une autre (dernière ?) opportunité de continuer à apprendre et à faire de la sociologie. Renouveler mes vœux, une nouvelle fois, envers une discipline qui m'apporte tellement dans mon rapport au monde et qui a littéralement changé ma vie et l'être social que je suis – en mieux, j'aime à le croire.

Mais si les mêmes motivations (passions ?) m'ont accompagnée lors de ces onze années, au début du Bachelor, du Master et du doctorat, les mêmes questionnements l'ont aussi. L'entourage et la société peuvent facilement questionner l'intérêt d'une formation en sociologie et ne pas être avares dans l'expression de leur incompréhension. Deux fois (Bachelor et Master) cela peut encore être une erreur, mais la troisième (doctorat) c'est que je le fais exprès ! Qu'attendais-je donc de cette discipline, à la fin ? Les questions relatives à l'après et au « pour quoi faire ? » se sont donc faites plus prégnantes que jamais depuis le doctorat. Pour quels débouchés professionnels, puisque « sociologue » n'est pas un métier ni un mot-clé qui se renseigne sur jobup ou job.ch ? Comment traduire la sociologie sur le marché du travail ? Elle reste une science obscure, un proche lui a même donné le sobriquet

1 Je tiens à préciser que j'ai réalisé ce temps de doctorat en tant qu'assistante-doctorante, c'est à dire exclusivement *au sein de et employée par* l'université, et que ce facteur est très certainement significatif quant à l'expérience que je vais retranscrire ici.

2 Il a pour titre « Choosing Sociology: Students' motivations and projections » et est consultable sur <https://www.sgs-sss.ch/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/SSA-Bulletin-161.pdf>, consulté le 22 novembre 2023.

de « magie noire ». Et « docteure » ? Quand je suis trop lasse, je traduis généralement cela par un « Ça veut juste dire que je vais écrire un livre ». Je suis issue d'un milieu ouvrier et modeste, je suis l'une des trois première-s de ma famille sur plusieurs générations à être allé-e-s à l'université et la seule à avoir atteint ce niveau d'études. A leurs yeux, « docteure en sociologie » est une double nébuleuse à consonnance cabalistique.

Passions, doutes et questions ... Finalement, existerait-il des « universels » à toutes les étapes d'un parcours en sociologie ?

Car après mon Master, je n'étais pas plus avancée qu'après mon Bachelor quant à la façon dont je « ferais sociologie » en dehors de l'université. Qu'avais-je donc en tête lorsque j'ai signé pour un doctorat en sociologie ? Pas de projet professionnel défini, en tout cas. J'ai envisagé le doctorat comme un bonus, voire même un temps de répit pour gagner du temps et repousser cette échéance et cette question de l'après, peut-être ? Et cela me semblait une alléchante continuité d'avec mon Master que j'avais particulièrement apprécié : continuer à écrire, continuer à découvrir la recherche en sociologie.

En effet, d'un côté, le doctorat me permet de réaliser une recherche de grande envergure, comme un « cadeau » de plusieurs années pendant lesquelles me faire plaisir sur une thématique de mon choix – choix qui n'est pas accordé à tou-te-s, je le reconnais d'ailleurs volontiers. Quand le mémoire de Master a été une joie mais a laissé un arrière-goût de « pas assez », la thèse devient cette merveilleuse opportunité de voir plus grand, de creuser plus profond, d'aller plus loin. De repousser et tester ses limites dans la réflexion théorique, dans ses stratégies méthodologiques, dans sa pensée de chercheuse ou chercheur, dans l'écriture et la navigation dans des centaines de pages. De faire une « vraie » recherche, sa recherche. Et par là-même,

de dessiner les contours de sa ou ses spécialités et d'affirmer son identité dans le champ de la sociologie. Choisir sa chapelle, choisir son camp, sa sainte patronne et les couleurs de son maillot. Pour ma part, je suis devenue Mme Pratiques Alimentaires Particulières. Au début de ce doctorat je n'avais pas de projet professionnel défini, non, mais une identité sociologique qui, elle, gagnait et allait gagner en définition.

Et de l'autre côté, le doctorat c'est aussi entrer dans la « cour des grand-e-s » dont on nous a fait lire les écrits depuis le Bachelor. C'est les rencontrer en chair et en os, avec un peu plus de légitimité malgré un syndrome de l'imposteur ou impostrice souvent présent, et cela tout en prolongeant un peu du confort du statut d'apprenant-e et de disciple. Qui sont les personnes derrière ces noms parfois lus et relus ? Je me souviens de l'émotion ressentie lors de la rencontre de chercheurs et chercheuses dont j'avais beaucoup apprécié les écrits et les travaux. C'était comme rencontrer une pop-star, idole de jeunesse ... façon sociologie, bien sûr. Le doctorat serait par définition une expérience plutôt solitaire de recherche et d'écriture, et c'est d'ailleurs un constat que j'ai souvent entendu de la bouche de post-doctorant-e-s : « Ton doctorat, tu le fais tout-e seul-e ». Mais je le vois aussi comme une expérience qui rend possible une multitude de rencontres avec la recherche, avec les femmes et hommes qui la font, lors de congrès, conférences, collaborations, écoles doctorales ... C'est un temps d'apprentissage et un temps très humain. Oui, c'est cela, le doctorat m'a permis d'humaniser un peu plus la sociologie, de lui associer beaucoup de visages et d'en voir la chair.

Mais paradoxalement, c'est aussi un de ces visages qui m'a fait considérer le doctorat, en amont. Avec du recul et en écoutant les diverses aventures d'autres collègues quant au choix – ou non-choix – de la personne qui dirigerait leur thèse,

je me rends compte que je suis de ces doctorant-e-s qui ont toujours pensé le doctorat en lien avec un-e professeur-e, comme un « package » indissociable, et non de manière isolée. Je n'ai pas signé pour un doctorat, j'ai signé pour un doctorat-en-sociologie-sous-la-supervision-de. En l'occurrence, j'avais déjà suivi certains de ses cours et il avait dirigé mon mémoire de Master. Il est probable que si cette offre ne s'était pas présentée à ce moment dans sa chaire, je n'aurais pas cherché ailleurs.

Qu'avais-je donc en tête lorsque j'ai signé pour un doctorat en sociologie ? Également l'envie d'essayer, de tester. Comme une attitude de « Pourquoi pas ? ». L'envie d'aller voir « de l'autre côté de la barrière » et d'avoir accès aux coulisses. À quoi ça ressemble, de faire de la recherche au quotidien ? À quoi ça ressemble, d'être professeur-e d'université et de jongler entre enseignement, recherche et supervision ? D'écrire un article pour un journal peer-reviewed ? Est-ce que les légendes concernant le ou la terrible reviewer #2 dont parlent les memes partagés par les doctorant-e-s du monde entier sur les réseaux sociaux sont vraies ? Je ne savais rien de tout cela. Être assistante d'un professeur, participer à des congrès ou aider à en organiser, publier, rencontrer d'autres doctorant-e-s, siéger à des commissions de nomination pour des postes de professeur-e-s... ces activités directement liées à mon doctorat m'ont permis d'en apprendre plus sur le monde académique. Très pragmatiquement. Ce doctorat a fait office de test de compatibilité grandeur nature, entre moi-même et ce dernier. Car après tout, s'il y a bien une carrière qui a été abordée ou tout simplement évoquée dans mon parcours universitaire en sociologie, c'est celle de la recherche et de la carrière académique. En plus de m'offrir un diplôme et la possibilité de (re)faire ce que j'aimais, ce doctorat me promettait un verdict. Il me permettrait de savoir si je pouvais réellement envisager – ou au contraire écarter – cette voie royale

dont les sirènes semblent appeler tout-e étudiant-e en sociologie après ses études. J'allais découvrir le prix de la recherche.

J'ai très vite senti l'omniprésence de cet enjeu, de cette injonction pesante et palpable à « cocher des cases » : mobilité internationale, publications, participations aux conférences, réseautage... Pour quelqu'un sans projet professionnel défini, on m'en avait trouvé un d'office. Si pendant le Bachelor et le Master le champ des possibles qui s'offrait à tout-e sociologue avait pu me sembler brumeux et diffus, il restait néanmoins multiple. À l'inverse, j'ai trouvé les discours beaucoup plus nets, rigoureusement orientés une fois en doctorat. Être doctorant-e, c'est être aspirant-e. L'objectif, qui m'était désormais présenté comme une évidence et une perspective commune, était de marquer des points, de capitaliser dès le premier jour pour augmenter ses chances de gravir les échelons et d'obtenir le graal : un poste de professeur-e. J'avoue m'être sentie comme une joueuse propulsée sur un terrain de jeu sans en connaître les règles, et avec quelques rounds de retard. Du moins, en comparaison à nombre d'autres aspirant-e-s que je pouvais voir s'activer avec conviction, détermination et une stratégie clairement établie pour les années à venir. Malheureusement, dans ces circonstances, les doctorant-e-s qui avaient d'autres aspirations que la carrière académique se faisaient rares aux conférences, écoles doctorales... La voix de celles et ceux qui regardaient ailleurs que l'université à l'horizon, parfois avant le doctorat déjà, n'a pas souvent porté jusqu'à mes oreilles. J'ai même parfois douté qu'elles ou ils puissent exister.

Qu'avais-je en tête lorsque j'ai signé pour un doctorat en sociologie ? Aucune idée de la façon dont je devrais gérer ce « travail ». Car oui, désormais, j'allais être rémunérée pour étudier, apprendre, lire, faire de la recherche, écrire. Et

j'allais en connaître les défis. Le doctorat en sociologie reste avant toute chose un doctorat, avec là aussi des universels, cette fois peu importe la discipline. Le rythme universitaire que j'avais connu jusqu'alors, d'une année pensée en semestres, avec les pauses bienvenues et cadencées des inter-semestres de Noël et de l'été, s'est complètement lissé. Les inter-semestres apportent leurs lots de copies à corriger, et loin de se présenter comme des vacances, ils deviennent les moments privilégiés pour les colloques et conférences, ils deviennent la période « allégée, sans les cours, ni les étudiant-e-s, ni les profs » idéale pour ... enfin travailler ! La machine académique ne dort jamais, les cerveaux sont toujours en ébullition. Il n'a pas été rare – au contraire – de voir des e-mails envoyés tard le soir, le week-end ou un jour férié. Il a été encore moins rare de recevoir des call for papers avec des délais qui se comptaient en jours. Comme l'a bien résumé @samanthaiam dans son tweet: « You don't owe anyone anything -unless you're an academic. Then you probably owe someone a draft. »³.

Les plus grandes difficultés du doctorat n'ont pas été là où je les attendais. Pas dans les abysses théoriques où j'allais m'aventurer, ni dans la complexité de l'accès au terrain en temps de pandémie, non. Mais bel et bien dans mon agenda. Comment gérer ce travail, disais-je ? Quand prendre ses semaines de congé ou ne pas regarder ses e-mails le weekend tient plus de la déviance que de la norme ; quand ne pas candidater pour un congrès ou décliner une opportunité de publication ou de mobilité est interprété comme du renoncement ; quand les réponses automatiques d'absence ne mentionnent jamais le mot « vacances » ... Comment préserver ma santé mentale et physique, trouver mon

équilibre vie privée-vie professionnelle, poser mes limites dans un milieu qui semble attendre que l'on donne tout, tout le temps ? Comment construire et trouver ma façon d'être doctorante, surtout si elle va à l'encontre de cette norme, aussi irréaliste et intenable soit-elle ? Comment payer le prix de la passion, le prix de la recherche ?

Il se dit qu'il faut un village pour élever un-e enfant, je suis convaincue qu'il en faut un également pour élever un-e doctorant-e. Pour trouver mes réponses, ma gestion de l'équilibre coûts-bénéfices de ma vie de doctorante, je reconnais avoir largement bénéficié de l'expérience et du regard sociologique – par formation ou pas – de jeunes docteur-e-s et de post-doctorant-e-s, avec entre autres leur vocalisation de l'après et de la précarité de la relève académique⁴. Tout comme j'ai bénéficié de la libération de la parole sur la santé mentale avec la pandémie de Covid-19, de la flexibilité de mon directeur de thèse ou de soutiens financiers accordés par mon Université et le Bureau Égalité pour financer et rendre possible mon travail de terrain, une publication en open-access et des congrès. Je n'étais finalement pas seule à signer pour ce doctorat en sociologie.

Au final, je vois mon doctorat en sociologie comme un noviciat. Un temps pour lequel je me suis sentie appelée, par passion pour une discipline enrichissante intellectuellement et humainement. Un temps de probation, aussi, de test de ma compatibilité avec une vie académique et de recherche. Un temps de formation et d'ancrage au sein d'une communauté. Un temps de réflexion et de perfectionnement, avant de choisir de renouveler mes vœux ... ou pas.

3 <https://twitter.com/samanthaiam/status/1402688587859116037>.

4 Par exemple, avec la pétition contre la précarité dans la relève académique et notamment le manque de postes stabilisés : <https://campaign.petition-academia.ch/text-de-fr-it-en/>, consulté le 30 septembre 2023.

Sociology Is No Fast-food Enterprise. To Embrace Complexity, We Need Reliable Working Conditions

Lena Ajdacic, Doctor in Sociology, Université de Lausanne

At the university of Lausanne, sheep graze in front of the entrance, and from the library you can oversee a lake with mountains in the background. The cafeteria serves vegan meals, and the IT service staff knocks on the door a day after you asked for help. During the PhD, I worked on top incomes, networks, and gender hierarchies in the financial sector. My office was on the fifth floor of Géopolis, a modern building covered in glass. On sunny days, the façade reflects punishingly hot rays of light on everyone sitting on the terrasse in front of the building. At first, one might think that the only flaws here are of architectural nature. Well, there are some more. They stretch beyond the fifth floor and lead straight into the very foundations of Swiss academia.

After my defense this summer, I talked to one of the members of my jury. The defense procedure in Lausanne is intense. It includes an internal and a public session, each lasting two to four hours. While I was relieved to have finally passed this ritual, the jury member was already thinking about my future. His advice was blunt: in the next phase you should expand your network and publish in diverse collaboration settings. I shrugged. You know, I answered, my major preoccupation right now is to scrutinize my research on being meaningful. Well, if you want to do meaningful research, he said, you better be strategic. Without a stable position, there won't be any of your research at all.

Embracing Complexity Takes Time

It might sound banal, but to me, sociology offers some of the most useful tools to disentangle power relations and inequalities that structure everyday life and societies – from the smallest interactions

to the broadest societal lines of conflict. Our discipline, I am convinced, can be an important voice in society. But doing sociology, contributing to the body of knowledge with meaningful, methodologically and theoretically sound research is not a fast-food enterprise. Embracing complexity takes time. And that is why I think it is important that in sociology we also turn our gaze inwards and acknowledge the existing flaws both in our own faculties and in the academic system more broadly.

A sociology that goes beyond the merely evident as well as the “hot topics” of the day needs sociologists in good and stable working conditions. So does a sociology that offers incisive, thoughtful contributions to ongoing debates outside of the academic ivory tower. Regardless of passports, gender, or parental status. There is no quick and simple solution to the injustices and dysfunctions that academia – and the discipline of sociology within it – has accumulated over time. But ending precarious employment conditions after the completion of the PhD would remedy many of them.

PhD With Higher Pay And Protected Research Time

In many respects, the university of Lausanne is a pioneer institution in the Swiss higher education landscape. Issues caused by the steep hierarchies remain and I will return to them later. But for now, I will do the sociologically unthinkable and point at some things that work well. Or, more accurately: things which work better than in some other places. For PhD students at the social science department at UNIL, this includes less feudal structures, higher pay, and some social support.

One main source of confusion when starting a PhD in social sciences at UNIL is that there are no indications of a “sociology department”, an “anthropology department”, and so on. Nor are there any “chair” denominations anywhere. In fact, the faculty is organized around thematic, often interdisciplinary labs instead of chair structures. This is not so much an exceptionalism of the UNIL itself, but a common organization structure of French speaking universities. I think it is important, because the lab structure breaks with the feudal traditions that are still widely prevalent in the Swiss German higher education landscape. Working in labs means that both PhD students and professors meet each other (*prima facie*) as equals. Colloquia, or seminars, for example, do take place within labs. For PhDs this facilitates exchange and solidarity with peers. But it also implies that professors are exposed to others with the same rank (and the same security of employment). Sole-dominance particularities, which can remain unchallenged in chair structures, are exposed to a certain social control. Moreover, when push comes to shove, a PhD student has the opportunity to change supervisors. Changing supervisors remains a painful procedure, but it is possible.

In many Swiss universities, the low Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) salary (starting at 47 040 CHF a year or 3920 CHF a month before deductions) is used as an argument to lower salaries of other PhDs. To hide the pay inequality or avoid issues with cantonal subsistence wages, universities lower the percentage of employment down to 60 percent or 70 percent, which leads to additional penalties for PhDs regarding child allowance and tax deductions. All the while, it is still expected of PhDs to work five days a week. In Lausanne, things go the other way around. The salary of SNSF employed PhDs gets topped up to equalize salary

differences to PhDs financed by the university. Employment contracts of 100 percent are the norm in our faculty and the rectorate is working on implementing the norm in other faculties too. Tightly linked to the salary and contract question is the matter of protected research time. Teaching often impedes PhDs from advancing on their own project. Thanks to recent and strong engagement of members of the mid-level staff associations, this is a binding rule at the institute of social sciences. Protected research time is set at a minimum of 50 percent for full-time employees. A maximum of 35 percent of working time can be demanded for teaching-related tasks.

One of the most basic observations during my time at UNIL is that there are some social support structures for PhDs. Upon arrival, a group of senior members of the institute took an hour to welcome the new PhDs personally, the secretary of our institute showed us around and we were contacted by three different mid-level staff associations. It further includes regular external check-ups on the well-being of PhDs, such as an annual survey conducted by the graduate center, an external entity. And, but this might just be in our lab, administration matches PhD students and a member of the senior staff (chosen by the PhD student) to talk confidentially about how everything is going in the second year. All this might sound minor, but I believe it is not. Feeling lost and lonely is a major pain for many PhDs – for good reason. I recall the case of a friend who started her PhD at another university. On her first day of employment, her supervisor was on a sabbatical, and she arrived without instructions on what to do and where to start. The institute’s secretary handed her some keys, but when she walked out, she realized that no one had bothered to tell her where her office was. My friend dropped out at her university a year later.

Feeling lonely during the PhD is not only devastating on a personal level, it comes with difficulties in network access, a lack of guidance and mentoring and has strong implications for the work we do too.

Steep Hierarchies

All in all, some institutes could benefit from having a look at UNIL in case they are interested in democratizing structures and supporting their PhDs. More equal institutions, protected research time, an institution with some social intelligence and higher pay do have a real impact on PhDs working conditions.

But to be clear, they remain attempts to dampen some of the adversities that dependency relations between PhDs and supervisors are prone to create. Among the most obvious observations is that there is no reliable means of redress against professors impeding PhDs from taking holidays or exploiting “their” PhDs into burnouts. There is a lack of stringent procedures and victim protection mechanisms in cases of harassment. And there is no active discussion nor support structure around mental health. Multiple successive contracts during a PhD instead of four or five-year contracts lead to issues related to residence permits for international PhDs, especially those from non-EU countries. Those are compounded by inequalities in access to unemployment benefits.

If everything goes well, the conditions allow social science PhDs at UNIL to have time to dive into complex and time-consuming reflections and social scientific endeavors. But if the supervisor lottery does not treat you well, if you run into issues that the SNSF seems to view as highly exceptional (for example having kids and falling sick for some time during the PhD), or if you encounter visa issues, things turn complicated quickly. This is to say that at the university of Lausanne, too, I have

seen many colleagues facing severe struggles during or right after their PhD.

Post-Doc Phase and Stable Employment

In my second year of the PhD, just before the pandemic hit, I participated in a PhD workshop on social class. With colleagues, we gathered in La Chaux-de-Fonds, the town of watches and Le Corbusier, where we were accommodated in a run-down hotel named «*élite*». Over dinner I sat next to René Levy, one of the pioneers of social stratification and inequalities scholarship in Swiss sociology. Now an honorary emeritus professor, René Levy studied at the University of Zürich in the 1960s and 1970s and set up a research centre on life course sociology at the University of Lausanne in the 1980s which still shapes Lausanne’s social sciences scholarship today. I wondered how someone like him, who has seen decades of Swiss sociology pass by, viewed changes and shifts within the field. René Levy drew a picture of the university before the Bologna reforms, of devoted and interest-driven thinkers gathering in sociology seminars and activist groups. A picture of Swiss sociology as a hot bed of subversion. I cannot deny wondering to what degree these views convey a romanticized relationship to the past. But certainly, reforms of higher education have had an impact on the university as an institution, with the entrepreneurial self-becoming a dominant representation across academia. Sociology as a discipline has not been immune to these developments.

As one advances in the academic ladder, competition for funding, pressure on publication output, and incentives to international mobility become increasingly pressing. The most problematic structural feature of Swiss academia, however, is the lack of stable outlooks. To me, entering the post-doc phase feels like taking a seat on the blazing

terrace of Géopolis without knowing how many years I will have to endure the heat.

In Switzerland, 78.4 percent of all staff at universities are on fixed-term contracts (BFS 2021). During the PhD, most employees are over 26 years old (93 percent, valid for SNFS population) (FORS 2022). In social sciences, the average age of reaching a permanent position is well above 40 years (SAGW 2018). This does not come without consequences. Temporary contracts are related to lower levels of job satisfaction (Castellacci & Viñas-Bardolet 2021). A lack of perspective over so many years of a life course negatively impacts health conditions (Evans et al. 2018) as well as family and network stability. It is one of the major factors contributing to the leaky pipeline in academia: although more women attain a master's degree in Switzerland (52 percent), their share at the highest level of university hierarchy still remains a mere 25 percent (Office fédéral de la statistique 2021). Selection, as it works now, favours above all those academics who are willing to change countries and those who do not have visa issues and care duties. It is not an even race.

The solutions are on the table (Petition Academia 2022). Institutions should acknowledge that the doctorate marks the end of the qualification phase. To let people rush from one project to the next after their PhD is not durable for anyone. There are many models out there on how to create permanent positions and flatten the hierarchy, such as the recent reforms in the Netherlands, the lecturer positions in the UK,¹ but also the so-called *Maîtres d'Enseignement et de Recherche*, which exist at the University of Lausanne. Similar positions have been created at the University of

Zurich (Communication of the University of Zürich 2022). These models should be considered, improved, and adapted with the aim to create stable conditions for the large and indispensable workforce of mid-level staff employees within Swiss academia.

We Are Not All In The Same Boat

Today, Swiss sociology would profit from an academic system in which those engaged in teaching and research do so on permanent positions. To get a thorough grasp on social phenomena is a time-consuming endeavour. It bears the risk of running into dead ends, of having to overcome contradictions revealed by messy empirical material. More so, to voice findings out loud needs knowledge of the society one lives in and the chance to live and take root at our places of work.

I hope that for future generations of sociologists, the academic system will transform into a more equal, more solidary, and stable place. That they won't spend up to fifteen years in the burning heat of academic precarity and insecurity rushing from one job to the next. I hope that we will have a sociology where the major advice after the defense is not "be strategic", but "scrutinize your research on being meaningful"! Sociology is no fast-food enterprise. To embrace complexity, we need stable working conditions.

This could be a nice end, but I have a modest request to share still. It is clear that we are not all in the same boat. Unfortunately, concerns of students, PhDs, and Post-Docs are often swept away in university politics, however finely-crafted and patiently repeated. I would therefore welcome if this series of calls gets expanded to the professoriate. If those with stable positions and decision-making power within our institutes shared their written thoughts on sociology as a discipline and

1 Bulletin SAGW (2017), «Akademische Karrierewege nach dem Doktorat», p. 64.

the issues for the precariously employed within it. I know it takes time.

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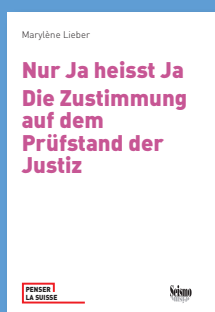


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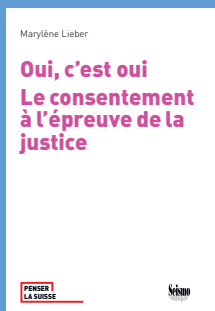


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