

Gender and Academic Careers in Portuguese and Turkish Higher Education Institutions

Yükseköğretim Kurumlarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Akademik Kariyer: Portekiz ve Türkiye İçin Kültürlerarası Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma

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Abstract

A major paradox has developed in higher education institutions. Although participation rate of female undergraduates has increased significantly, the participation of women in academia has not increased by the same proportion. Moreover, women experience several challenges. This research examines the participation of academic women in higher education (HE) in Portugal and Turkey. Education statistics for these countries show that women continue to lag behind men in academia specifically in science, mathematics, and engineering. Also, education stereotyping continues; with women relegated to so-called women's disciplines and programs in engineering, physics, and the so-called hard sciences continue to be dominated by men. This paper examines the gender effect on academic career development and the main differences in male and female academic careers to determine the real impact of gender on the development of academic careers.

Keywords: gender; Academic careers; higher education; segregation; inequality; women in academia

Öz

Türkiye ve Portekiz'de yükseköğretim kurumlarında lisans düzeyinde kız öğrencilerin sayısı büyük oranda artmasına rağmen, kadın akademisyenlerin üst düzey yönetimdeki yüzdesi aynı oranda artmamıştır. Her iki ülkede de kadınlar mesleki alanda farklı birçok sorun ile karşılaşmaktadır. Bu alan araştırmasında, Portekiz ve Türkiye'de yükseköğretim kurumlarında kadın akademisyenlerin durumu ve düşük temsil oranının nedenleri incelenmektedir. Her iki ülkedeki eğitim istatistikleri, yükseköğretim kurumlarında kadınların hem genel olarak, hem de Fen, Matematik ve Mühendislik alanlarında erkeklerden geride kaldığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca, "mühendislik, fizik ve diğer pozitif bilimlerin" erkek egemen özelliğinin devam edeceğine ve kadınlara daha uygun olduğu düşünülen bazı alanların bulunduğuyla ilişkin eğitimde kalıplaşmış bir önyargı halen devam etmektedir. Bu çalışmada akademik kariyer gelişiminde toplumsal cinsiyetin etkisi, kadın ve erkek akademisyenlerin kariyer gelişimindeki başlıca farklılıklar karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Akademik Kariyer, Yükseköğretim, Toplumsal Cinsiyete Dayalı Ayrımcılık, Eşitsizlik.

Introduction

This paper reports on a comparative analysis of gender and academic careers in Portugal and Turkey. This research is a part of the studies undertaken under the network titled *Women*

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in *Higher Education Management* (WHEM). WHEM began in 2007 and includes eight countries, namely, Australia, the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden and Turkey. The aims of the network are to capture cluster information about senior managers and their organizations and therefore to analyse gender, power, and management in the countries involved in WHEM (Bagilhole & White, 2011). This paper examines the participation of women as academics and explores their underrepresentation as senior managers in higher education institutions (HEIs) in two WHEM countries: Portugal and Turkey.

Two research questions are important: (1) What are the causes for this gender imbalance? (2) What are the main factors that determine male predominance in senior management?

Portugal and Turkey are countries with different cultural, historical, and social contexts. These two countries also have different higher education (HE) systems. Portugal has a binary system (university and polytechnic institutes as both public and private institutions) and Turkey has a unified system. Moreover, in the last decades, significant changes have been occurring in the HE systems in both countries (Amaral & Magalhães, 2004; Amaral & Magalhães, 2005; Machado-Taylor, Meira Soares, & Gouveia, 2010; Özkanlı, 2007). Turkey, like Portugal, has experienced rapid growth in HE. Both countries have experienced massification processes with an exponential expansion of their systems and rapid growth in the number of HEIs, growth in the number of students and in the number of academic and administrative staff. With the expansion of the HE system and the increase in the number of students, one should observe an increase of women undergraduate and postgraduate students, a strong presence of women in academia, and an increasing feminization, particularly in disciplines such as humanities and the social sciences. However, with respect to women in senior management, the statistical data collected show that in Portugal and Turkey, academic management positions are still male-dominated. As stressed by Bagilhole (2002: 20), "The higher education sector has been slow to embrace equality issues compared with other institutions and even other levels of the education system".

The reasons for a comparison of Portuguese and Turkish HEIs is that they have different academic traditions and approaches to the improvement of participation of female academics, which in turn impacts on the representation of women in senior management. Portuguese universities traditionally have been based on the collegial model, whereas the foundation of Turkish universities was provided by reforms introduced by Atatürk in 1923. Portuguese HEIs have equal employment (EEO) and Portugal introduced the right to equal salary in 1969, whereas Turkey does not have any specific EEO legislation, although an EEO Commission in Turkish Parliament was established in February, 2009. Moreover, policies that support women in the labour market differ in the two countries. In Turkey, recent changes in labour laws introduced paternity leave for workers. Portugal is one of the OECD countries with a national paid maternity leave scheme and is a member of the European Community (EC) and therefore is adopting European directives concerning the parity of women. Portugal was one of the first countries in the world to have higher education. The origin of Portuguese universities traces back to the middle of the 13th century; however, it was only in 1911 that the first woman become a full professor. (Other important events related to women in education include: In 1889, the first woman received a bachelor's degree in medicine, 1890 marked the creation of secondary schools for woman, and in 1913, the first woman received a bachelor's in law). Today, there are 16 public universities, 16 public polytechnics, 40 private universities, 42 private polytechnics in Portugal.

In Turkey, the right to HE for women was first given in Constitutional Monarchy period (Kurnaz, 1996). On February 5, 1914, Darülfünun (university) started to accept girls (Ergün, 1978; Spuler, 1975). In 1933, Darülfünun was closed for university reform and instead Istanbul University was established. Since that time, many universities have been established in Turkey. Today, there are 170 HEIs (2 higher technology institutions, 104 state universities, and 66 private universities). In addition, 5 state universities and 3 private universities have been established by law but have not yet started to operate. During the Republic, women developed their university education, academic promotion, and appointment to managerial ranks rights.

Women were admitted to the academic professions for the first time in 1932, but their larger scale recruitment started in 1940s (Köker, 1988). Since 1993, there has been a significant increase in the number and share of women teaching staff in Turkey. This is similar to what is happening in Portugal, where, according to Taylor, Graça, Machado, and Sousa (2007), there has been an increasing feminization of academia in the last decades. All indicators suggest that the percentage of women in academia since 2000 will continue to increase (Observatório da Ciência e do Ensino Superior [OCES], 2004). The number of male academics is greater at 59% in years 2000, 2001 and 58% in 2002. Those figures place Portugal in a leading position for gender parity among OECD countries (Ministry of Science, Technology, and Higher Education [MSTHE], 2006a). Data show that Portugal and Finland are the two member states of the EU-15 that have more than 2 women for every 10 men in academia (European Commission [EC], 2004).

However according to MSTHE (2006b):

The expansion has not been uniform across disciplines. Initially it began in those areas regarded as socially more acceptable and that more easily allow women to pursue a professional career. Eventually, a growing proportion emerged in less traditional areas such as economics, law and engineering, and today women are a majority in every programme except the more technological ones (p. 51).

In Portuguese HEIs, the figures for 2008 continue to show that the proportion of women academics (43.4%) is lower than the proportion of men academics (56.6%). Analysis by type of institution indicates that women are in fewer in number than with men, especially in public HE (university and polytechnic). In private HE, the number of women academics in polytechnic institutes is greater than the number of men in universities (GPEAR/MCTES, 2008).

Despite that men are the majority; the differences between the two subsystems (universities and polytechnic institutes) must be stressed. This difference is important in that the polytechnic subsystem has less power and social prestige than universities and, especially, because it is in the polytechnics that the deterioration in the terms and conditions of academic employment is more in evidence (Taylor et al., 2007).

The different distribution of men and women inside of HEIs reveals the presence of horizontal and vertical segregation. In 2005, women were the majority in education (63%) and arts and humanities (54%) and men were the majority in engineering (77%). Gender representation in academic rank also is different. The number of women decreases when one ascends the academic career categories, both in universities and polytechnics. At the beginning and in the middle of the career, the percentage of women stands between 39% (trainee assistant) and 45% (assistant) but, at the top, this percentage decreases to 32% (associated professor) and 22% (full professor; MSTHE, 2006a, 2006b).

In Turkey, there are disciplinary differences, with women best represented in language-based studies for almost every grade and worst represented in engineering and technology. The number of women academics varies in different disciplines. For example, in medical sciences and literature, the share of women is more than 40% and it is 30% in engineering and architecture. These percentages are impressive because in areas such as natural sciences, medicine, and engineering, women are generally under-represented academically in the world (Özkanlı & White, 2011).

Although women's participation rates in some fields (i.e., humanities, arts, medicine) are above the overall participation rate in all fields, in Turkey, academic women are not exclusively concentrated in fields that are generally considered appropriate for the feminine identity. On the contrary, particularly in the earlier years of the Republic, the proportion of women in natural sciences and engineering departments was higher than in the social sciences, humanities, or education (Acar, 1991). Currently, women are more or less evenly distributed among scientific fields. Academic women in Turkish universities have their highest share in the literature.

In Portuguese HE, the percentage of men is greater than that of women in almost all areas of education considered. The exceptions are health and social protection and education, in which women are in greater numbers than men. The area in which this study verified the greatest difference between men and women is engineering, manufacturing industries and construction (76.2% of men and 23.8% of women; GPEARI/MCTES, 2008).

In Turkey, during 2011-2012, 41% of all academic personnel in the universities were women (Council of Higher Education [YÖK], 2012). This percentage is 43.5% in Portugal (PORDATA, 2011). Those percentages are higher compared with some countries in Europe (6 % in Holland, 10 % in Germany, 17 % in Italy, 37 % in United Kingdom; Özdemir, 2006). In Turkey, 28% of professors, 32% of associate professors, 35% of assistant professors, 39% of instructors, 60% of language instructors, 45% of specialists, 48% of research assistants, 67% of translators, and 31% of education and training planners are female. The proportions of women academics at the upper levels are very close. The proportion of women in lower academic positions is higher than their overall participation rate. In Turkey, 60% of all academic personnel are women language instructors and 39% of all academic personnel are women instructors.(YÖK, 2013).For public universities, the figures for the year 2008 show that the highest proportions of academics are assistant professors (44.6%), assistants (24.8%), or associate professors (15.7%). In each academic position, we observed more men than women. The biggest differences between men and women were observed in the highest academic positions, full professor and associate professor, in which we verified much higher proportions of men than women. In public polytechnic institutes, the highest proportions of academics were adjunct professor (39.7%) and assistant 2^o triennium (22.1%). We observed more men than women in the highest categories (GPEARI/MCTES, 2008).

In private universities, the highest proportions of academics were assistant (41.2%) and assistant professor (26%). As in public universities, for each academic position, we observed more men than women. The biggest differences between men and women were observed in the highest academic positions, full professor and associate professor, for which we verified much higher proportions of men than women. With respect to private polytechnic institutes, the highest proportions of academics were assistant 2^o triennium (49.9%) We verified more men than women worked as coordinator professors and as assistant 1^o triennium. In general, the proportion of woman was lower for all academic positions and in addition, it is evident that the higher the position, the lower is the proportion of woman (GPEARI/MCTES, 2008).

In Turkey, women who pursued a master's or doctorate as a research assistant in the universities constituted 44% of the total research staff (Sağlamer, 2005). In Portugal, in 2008, 67% of academics were women who had a Ph.D. or a master's degree (GPEARI/MCTES, 2008).

Method

This field study is a part of a cross-cultural research. It presents a brief overview of women in academia in Portugal and Turkey and then examines the participation of women in senior management positions. The paper concludes with final thoughts. A cross-cultural project undertaken by WHEM (including eight countries: Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Turkey, Sweden and the United Kingdom) found that the proportion of women at the professorial level varied in the eight countries but was generally low for full professors, except in Turkey, where 29% of full professors were women (see Table 1). These findings are consistent with those of the OECD (2006) that women in the EU comprise less than 20% of senior academic staff in most countries (Özkanlı et al., 2009).

Table 1

Percentage of Female Professors/Associate Professors

Country	Full Professors	Associate Professors
Australia	17	25
Ireland**	11	14
New Zealand	14	20
Portugal	22	32
Turkey	29	33
The United Kingdom	15	27

Note. Including the seven universities supported by the state (excludes St. Patricks Catholic University, Maynooth; the Colleges of Education; National College of Art and Design and Royal College of Surgeons Ireland and the Institutes of Technology). Adapted from M. Machado-Taylor, O. Özkanlı, K. White, & B. Bagilhole, 2007 Breaking the barriers to women achieving seniority in universities. Paper presented at the 29th Annual EAIR Forum, Innsbruck, Austria.

It is interesting to note that in the eight country cross-national study by WHEM (2012), Portugal and Turkey had the highest proportion of women at the full professor and associate professor levels.

Historical, social, and cultural factors explain the relatively high representation of Turkish women in professorial positions; they were supported to advance to senior academia (Özkanlı & White, 2008). In Turkey women are supported by their families to advance to senior academia which is accepted as a prestigious job. Another reason for high representation of women relates to the status of academic jobs. Ozguc (1998) suggested that traditionally male graduates pursued career opportunities offering better financial prospects outside the university sector and therefore male graduates became increasingly uninterested in academic careers. This has resonance with the Reskin and Roos' (1990) gender queues argument that men, owing to changing market conditions, may leave the competition for certain jobs and women take their place in the queue, leading to the gendering of those previously contested jobs (Özbilgin & Healy, 2004, p.361). It is true for Portuguese HE as during the Colonial War (1961-1974), women were placed in some jobs that had been traditionally male-dominated.

Results and Discussion

Promotion and appointment to professorial positions is still an important issue for female academics and creates a barrier to their further advancement (Bagilhole & White, 2008: p. 245). Gender disparities across HEIs, the underrepresentation of female faculty in higher ranks of academic career, role conflict, "gender blind" Rectors and Vice Rectors assuming that gender inequality is not an academic problem are important factors affecting promotion and appointment processes in Portugal. Universities need to address the continuing underrepresentation of women in promotion to full professorships. Being a full professor is effectively seen as a prerequisite for the typical academic career path into senior management in several countries. Appointment, promotion, and professional advancement create barriers to the further advancement of women and are still important issues for female academics (Bagilhole & White 2008; Özkanlı et al., 2009; Machado-Taylor, Özkanlı, White & Bagilhole, 2007b). According to Özkanlı et al., (2009),

Contributing factors included: the link between low participation rates of women as professors and senior managers, role conflict, especially in Turkey (Özkanlı & White 2008); the interaction between gender and discipline that in a complex way impacts on career progression for women both in the arts and the sciences; and the divide between old and new universities, including differences in salary scales (Machado-Taylor, Özkanlı, White & Bagilhole, 2007; Taylor, Graça, Machado & Sousa, 2007: p. 245).

Turkey has the second lowest percentage and Portugal has the third (first is Ireland) of women in the position of rector or president. However, Portugal is in third place for the percentage of women vice rectors, after Sweden (highest percentage of vice rectors) and Ireland (second highest percentage). Turkey has the lowest percentages of women in all senior management positions (see Table 2).

Table 2

Percentage of Women in Senior Management in Cross-national Study

Country	Rector/President	Vice-Rector/ DVC/ Deputy President	PVC/Pro Rector/ Other Vice Presidents	Dean
Sweden*	37	35	53	31
Australia	21	26	31	25
Ireland+	0	29	25	12
New Zealand	12	17	17	17
South Africa	17	20	22	21
Portugal	7	27	16	23
Turkey	8	8	12	17
The UK	8	6	21	20

Note. Includes the seven universities supported by the state (excludes St. Patricks Catholic University, Maynooth; the Colleges of Education; NCAD and RSCI and the Institutes of Technology). * A. Goransson from Swedish State Calendar 2008. Adapted from M. Machado-Taylor, O. Özkanlı, K. White, & B. Bagilhole, 2007, Breaking the barriers to women achieving seniority in universities. Paper presented at the 29th Annual EAIR Forum, Innsbruck, Austria.

A new HE law went into effect in 1981, and new provisions were made for HE. Foremost among these was the re-establishment of the Council of Higher Education to steer important activities of HE institutions (i.e., planning, organizing, governance, instruction, and research). Second, provision was made for non-profit foundations to establish HEIs. The HEIs were radically reorganized. Also, in Portugal, a recent legal framework (since 2007) introduced changes in the governing boards of public HEIs. Moreover, those institutions can choose a foundational regime. In Portugal, rectors (universities) and presidents (polytechnic institutes) are elected by a general council (includes representatives of academic and administrative staff and students), whereas in Turkey, rectors in public universities are elected by teaching staff and in private universities are appointed by the board of trustees. However after all the president of the Turkish Republic has the authority to assign the rectors.

Nevertheless, the representation of women in senior management positions continues to be low, as illustrated in Table 3. However, the data in Table 3 refer only to public universities. The authors are aware from personal knowledge that at present, there are no female rectors or presidents in Portuguese HEIs. In both countries, the representation of women is higher as deans than as rectors/VCs, although representation at deputy rector/DVC level is relatively high in Turkey.

Table 3

Percentage of Women in Senior Management, 2011

Country	Rector/VC	Vice-Rector/ DVC/ President	Deputy	PVC/Pro Rector/ Other Vice Presidents	Dean
Portugal	0	19		18	15
Turkey	8	7		16	17

Note. Built by the authors based on Portugal, Public Universities' Websites; Turkey, YOK, 2012.

Moreover, in Portugal, women are more likely to be appointed to senior management in private universities and public polytechnic institutes rather than in more prestigious universities (Özkanlı et al., 2009). Similar trends are evident in Australia, the UK (Bagilhole & White, 2008), and in Ireland for the institutes of technology (O'Connor, 2007).

A myriad, complex set of factors may explain the significant under-representation of women in senior management, especially in Turkey. These factors are located within discourse about gendered academic careers, gate keeping within disciplines, and gendered organizational cultures in HE. Women experience very different academic careers than men. It has been demonstrated that career mobility, experience outside academia, the process of appointment to senior management, and gender-stereotyping may slow down career progress for female academics and in turn impact their chances of becoming senior university managers (Bagilhole, 2007; Bagilhole & White, 2008; Carrington & Pratt, 2003; Husu, 2000; Neale & White, 2004; OECD, 2006; Özkanlı & Korkmaz, 2000a; Rees, 2005; Thanacoody, Bartram, Barker, & Jacobs, 2006; Van den Brink, 2007; Woodward, 2007).

In Turkey, the pattern of attrition (the higher the position in the hierarchy, the lower the percentage of women) persists in all disciplines including academic management. Turkish women and men interviewees in the WHEM project believed that there were no barriers to promotion for women in their university and several asserted that women can create their own barriers. Some considered that marriage; domestic responsibilities, role conflict, and the culture were barriers to promotion (Özkanlı et al., 2009).

The Portuguese interviewees (WHEM project) stressed that a woman's caring and intuition as well communication skills are appreciated by senior management teams. Those are perceived attributes that are associated with women and appreciated as leadership skills by HEI management.

In reports of studies conducted by Özkanlı and Korkmaz (2000a, 2000b, 2000c), the authors stated that the reason for this low rate is mostly the gradually increasing responsibilities derived from academic women's daily lives. In their studies, some academic women pointed to gender discrimination and others said that they were not willing to take administrative responsibility because they accepted and internalized traditional social roles of women and they gave a high priority to housewife and mother roles. Other studies have produced similar findings (Acar, 1986; Köker, 1988; Bagilhole, & White, 2011; Carvalho & Machado, 2010; O'Connor, 2010; Roos, 2008). In addition, according to Ersöz (1998), women avoid responsibilities that involve business trips and extra workloads because they fear that they may be unable to fulfil their traditional roles. Although other responsibilities can impact the career progression of women in universities, the allocation of workloads and gate keeping in particular disciplines are important factors (Özkanlı & White, 2008).

Özkanlı et al. (2009) stressed that "new managerialism" (NM) has had an impact on HE systems. Moreover, the authors stated that the "masculine culture reinforces the gender structure of HEIs and disadvantages women in management" (p. 145).

In addition to these factors, one also can point to other barriers, such as the sex-typed socialization, underinvestment in women's education, sex discrimination, the working of capitalism and patriarchy, as noted by Acker (1992). We cannot dismiss, however, the important impact of academic cultures on these vertical differences (Amâncio, 2003; Taylor et al., 2007).

Moreover, authors such as Schein (2007: 7) have acknowledged "barriers to women in management exist globally and the higher the organizational level, the more glaring the gender gap". Schein also noted a worldwide study done by Berthoin and Izraeli (1993: 7) that stressed "the persistent stereotype that associates management with being male". On the other hand, Bagillhole (2002: p. 20), referring to the Hansard Society Commission, stressed that :

The evidence points to the fact that women still face a combination of structural handicaps and prejudice: those who have been successful in achieving high office are frequently childless, still having taken longer than their male peers, while eminent women who have children feel that they would have gotten further if they had been able to have worked longer hours and been more mobile.

Conclusion

This paper analysed academic career progression of female professors and their under-representation in senior management positions in Portugal and Turkey. The study found that the representation of women in the professoriate in Portugal and Turkey is significantly higher than the other countries. We concluded that historical, social, and cultural factors explain the relatively high representation of Turkish women in professorial positions; they were supported in their advance to senior academia, whereas no barriers were perceptible for Portuguese women academics. We also noted that academic careers have been historically and socially constructed and gender-typed as safe and proper choices for graduate women in Portugal and Turkey (Özkanlı & White, 2008; Taylor et al., 2007).

Despite the relatively high representation of women in the professoriate in both countries, women are under-represented in senior management in HEIs. A myriad, complex set of factors may explain the significant under-representation of women in senior management. In both countries, the interviewees (male and female) for the WHEM project believed that there were no barriers to promotion for women in HEIs. Women may create their own barriers (e.g., by prioritization of housewife and mother roles) appreciate flexibility in work arrangements, and not be willing to take administrative responsibility. Some strategies are suggested at the final report of Council of Europe activities to increase the representation of academic women in university senior management (Council of Europe, 2000). Implementation of affirmative action policies to improve the conditions of family-work conciliation by developing the protection of women in the workplace and by promoting a more involved fatherhood in the family is very important for Turkey and Portugal. The improvement of childcare facilities at the workplace and the enhancement of leave arrangements for female academics, changes in the gender structure of the labour market may also be suggested for both countries.

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