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Abstract

The article analyzes the situation of women in the professional labor market of university teachers in the context of modernization of higher education. The main trends in the transformation of the higher school personnel in Russia are distinguished taking into account gender factors. The dynamics of indicators characterizing the number and professional and qualification characteristics of teachers in Russian universities are presented and the gender structure of university research and pedagogical staff is analyzed. Based on the results of sociological studies, including a survey, conducted independently by the authors, the following indicators have studied: dynamics of working conditions, organization of the educational process and professional motivation of women teachers. The authors propose a model for segmenting the labor market of women teachers, in which the main criteria are labor efficiency and the competitiveness of women teachers. The objective and subjective factors causing the emergence of gender disparities in the higher-education teaching personnel, as well as the causes of unequal access to the high-status vocational positions for men and women under current conditions are revealed.

Keywords

University teachers – Professional labor market – Gender structure – Labor market segmentation

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Introduction

The modern system of higher education in Russia is being actively modernized. Changes taking place in the Russian education system¹, as well as the reasons for the changes as strategic tasks, technologies for their implementation and their effectiveness, are of interest to Russian researchers. In the education system, a situation has historically developed when there are significantly more female than male teachers. However, at the present stage of the development of society, significant structural changes are taking place in the personnel policy of higher education in Russia and the situation is changing². The behavior strategies of Russian teachers in the labor market are changing, as well as the conditions in the labor market related to educational services. A significant amount of research has been devoted to these aspects³ Both Russian and foreign specialists study the dynamics of changes in the working conditions and workload of higher school teachers. For example, the USA and Europe also show negative trends, such as lower wages, worsening social status and deteriorating quality of teacher work of⁴. Gender aspects of the problems associated with the professional labor market of the university teachers are a relatively new topic for the Russian scientific community. Most often this problem was revealed in the historical context. Although officially in the Soviet Union women's access to education was based on equal principles with men, for many decades the imbalance in the professional status of the genders was very noticeable. The number of women employed in higher education was gradually increasing. For example, between 1939 and 1959, the proportion of women dealing with research and teaching in the university increased from 31 to 38%, having reached 50.9% by 1970⁵.

¹ E. Kryukova; N. Starostenkov; S. Krapotkina; E. Timoshina; D. Makeeva y T. Yudina, "Socio-economic problems of today's high school students in the context of reforming the educational system of the Russian Federation", *Journal of Advanced Research in Law and Economics*, Vol: 7 num 2 (2016): 285-291 y E. M. Kryukova; E. A. Vetrova; O. A. Urzha; Z. K. Alieva; E. Konovalova y N. Bondaletova, "Problems of attracting foreign investment in Russia", *Journal of Applied Economic Sciences*, Vol: 11 num 2 (2016): 239-346.

² E. V. Potekhina, "Finansirovanie sistemy vysshego obrazovaniya v sovremennykh usloviyakh: magistrallye napravleniya modernizatsii", *Social Policy and Sociology*, Vol: 16 num 3 (2017): 41-50; I. G. Shadskaya; I. S. Stepnov; S. I. Stepnova y N. A. Kozlova, "Obuchenie i razvitie personala kak klyuchevoj faktor konkurentosposobnosti organizatsij sfery uslug", *Social Policy and Sociology*, Vol: 15 num 2 (2016): 62-70 y I. Ilyina; E. Kryukova; E. Potekhina; I. Shadskaja y E. Abyzova, "Russian lectures at the crossroads of reforms: Strategies for survival and adaptation", *European Research Studies Journal*, Vol: 20 num 2B (2017): 86-97.

³ YU. A. Melnichuk, "Molodye prepodavateli vuzov kak osobaya social'naya gruppa (na primere vuzov g. Moskvy)", *Social Policy and Sociology*, Vol: 16 num 6 (2017): 62-73; YA. M. Roshchina, *Trudovye strategii prepodavatelej vuzov. Monitoring ehkonomiki obrazovaniya. Monitoring of education economics. Information and analytical materials based on the results of sociological surveys* (Moscow: National Research University Higher School of Economics, 2017) y T. S. Demcheko; P. Karácsony; I. YU. Ilyina; M. V. Vinichenko y A. V. Melnichuk, "Self-marketing of graduates of high schools and young specialists in the system of personnel policy of the organization", *Modern Journal of Language Teaching Methods (MJLTM)*, num 7 Vol: 9 (2017): 58-65.

⁴ C. Musselin, "How peer review empowers the academic profession and university managers: Changes in relationships between the state, universities, and the professoriate", *Research Policy*, num 5 Vol: 42 (2013): 1165-1173 y D. L. Stocum, *Killing public higher education: The arms race for research prestige*. In *Killing public higher education* (Boston: Academic Press, 2013).

⁵ Zhenshchiny i deti v SSSR: statisticheskij sbornik (Moscow: State Statistical Office of the USSR, 1963) y Narodnoe obrazovanie i kul'tura v SSSR: statisticheskij sbornik (Moscow: Finance and Statistics, 1989).

At the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries, the sphere of higher education was the sphere of predominant female labor and the career growth of women in this field seemed most promising⁶. Gender problems of the modern university community have been studied by Russian researchers⁷. However, a comprehensive study of the previously mentioned problems has not yet been conducted.

Proposed Methodology

The need for a systematic analysis of the current gender situation is due to changes in the system of higher education in Russia. Due to the complex interaction of factors affecting the gender situation in higher education, it is necessary to use a wide range of scientific research methods. Thus, the following methods were used in our study: typological, historical-genetic, comparative micro- and macroeconomic analysis, methods of marketing analysis, namely the method of behavioral segmentation.

The empirical base included statistical data and results of sociological studies⁸. The study is largely based on the use of data obtained in the course of monitoring the sphere of higher education in Russia conducted by such a research center as National Research University Higher School of Economics⁹. In addition, we relied on other results of sociological studies, in particular, surveys conducted by the Russian State Social University (RSSU) in 2009-2016. RSSU studies were carried out in two stages.

During the first phase (2009-2012), a survey of RSSU teachers was carried out in the framework of the project entitled "The development of theoretical and practical basics of motivation and stimulation of the university teachers in the current context", (Analytical departmental target program of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation "The development of scientific potential of higher school"). At this phase, a total of 159 people were interviewed.

During the second phase (2014-2016), sample interviews with RSSU teachers on the problems of labor and employment conditions' transformation in higher education institutions were conducted. At this phase, a total of 37 people were interviewed.

⁶ N. A. Vinokurova, *Zhenshchiny i muzhchiny v nauke: dvojnój portret*. 1999. Available at: http://ecsocman.hse.ru/data/449/537/1217/011_vinokurova.pdf y T. N. Martynova, "Gendernye problemy vysshego obrazovaniya", *Basic Research*, num 1 (2005): 27-30. Available at: <http://fundamental-research.ru/ru/article/view?id=5609>

⁷ M. E. Baskakova. *Muzhchiny i zhenshchiny v sisteme obrazovaniya*. *Statistics and Sociology of Education*. 2011. Available at: <https://vo.hse.ru/data/2010/12/31/1208183318/Baskakova.pdf>; A. N. Bulgakov, "Kren v starenie. Dolya molodyh prepodavatelej vuzov prodolzhaet umen'shat'sya", *Education*, num 47 (2015). Available at: <http://www.poisknews.ru/theme/edu/16549/> y A. N. Bulgakov, "Kren v starenie. Dolya molodyh prepodavatelej vuzov prodolzhaet umen'shat'sya", *Education*, num 47 (2015). Available at: <http://www.poisknews.ru/theme/edu/16549/>

⁸ *Vysshee obrazovanie v Rossii: statisticheskij sbornik* (Moscow: Center for Research of Statistics and Science, 2002) y *Zhenshchiny i muzhchiny Rossii: statisticheskij sbornik* (Moscow: Rosstat, 2004).

⁹ N. V. Bondarenko; L. Gokhberg, I. Y. Zabaturina. *Indikatory obrazovaniya: statisticheskij sbornik* (Moscow: Higher School of Economics, 2017); N. V. Gorodnikova; L. M. Gokhberg y K. A. Ditkovsky, *Indikatory nauki: statisticheskij sbornik* (Moscow: Higher School of Economics, 2018) y *Monitoring ehkonomiki obrazovaniya, Information and analytical materials on the results of sociological surveys*. Moscow: Higher School of Economics. 2015. Available at: https://memo.hse.ru/data/2015/10/09/1077671726/%D0%9C%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B3_12_2015.pdf

This study provided a sufficient empirical base allowing us to conduct an in-depth analysis of the gender structure of the faculty of universities, draw conclusions and make suggestions and recommendations based on them.

Results Analysis. The number and vocational qualifications of university teachers: gender aspect

Women make up a large proportion of university teachers. Statistics allow analyzing the gender structure of the university teaching staff, as well as assessing the level of involvement of women in educational institutions' management.

	2000/ 2001	2005/ 2006	2010/ 2011	2011/ 2012	2012/ 2013	2013/ 2014	2014/ 2015	2015/ 2016
Total	49.5	53.4	56.3	56.3	56.5	56.6	56.8	57.0
State and municipal institutions	49.1	53.3	56.1	56.2	56.4	56.8	56.9	57.2
Private institutions	57.1	53.8	57.6	57.6	57.1	55.4	55.7	55.3

Table 1

The proportion of women in higher education teaching personnel (without external part-timers, at the beginning of the academic year, in % of the total number)

In the 2000/2001 academic year, female teachers were represented by almost 50% of the research and pedagogical staff of universities. We noted that in private educational organizations this indicator was most pronounced (Table 1). Further dynamics of the indicator were stable. Thus, in 2015/2016, the proportion of female teachers was 57%¹⁰. Between 2001 and 2016, this indicator also demonstrated growth in state and municipal universities, while in private educational institutions, on the contrary, it decreased. The reason for such changes is clear. This was due to the accreditation revocation in private educational organizations (in the last decade, the Russian Federal Service for Education Supervision has been actively checking educational institutions for compliance of educational programs with Federal Educational Standards)¹¹. The conducted study allows us to study the professional qualifications of women in universities (Table 2). Despite the predominant number of female teachers, the proportion of women in leadership positions is significantly lower than that of male teachers. Thus, women deans of faculties make up 45%; the share of heads of female departments is also lower than that of men¹². As we present the indicators, we would like to note that in the state and municipal higher education sectors, the share of women deans and heads of departments is lower than in the private sector.

¹⁰ N. V. Bondarenko, L. Gokhberg, I. Y. Zabaturina, *Indikatory obrazovaniya: statisticheskij sbornik* (Moscow: Higher School of Economics, 2017).

¹¹ E. Kryukova; N. Starostenkov; S. Krapotkina; E. Timoshina; D. Makeeva y T. Yudina, "Socio-economic problems of today's high school students in the context of reforming the educational system of the Russian Federation", *Journal of Advanced Research in Law and Economics*, Vol: 7 num 2 (2016): 285-291 y E. M. Kryukova; E. A. Vetrova; O. A. Urzha; Z. K. Alieva; E. Konovalova y N. Bondaletova, "Problems of attracting foreign investment in Russia", *Journal of Applied Economic Sciences*, Vol: 11 num 2 (2016): 239-346.

¹² N. V. Bondarenko; L. Gokhberg y I. Y. Zabaturina, *Indikatory obrazovaniya: statisticheskij sbornik* (Moscow: Higher School of Economics, 2017).

	Total	State and municipal institutions	Private institutions
Total	57.0	57.2	55.3
Faculty Deans	45.0	41.8	63.3
Heads of departments	44.2	43.0	51.0
Professors	32.9	33.4	28.6
Assistant Professors	59.2	59.2	59.0
Senior lecturers	70.4	70.4	70.5
Lecturers, teaching assistants	66.9	66.8	69.6

Table 2

The proportion of women in higher education teaching personnel by position, 2015/2016 (without external part-timers, at the beginning of the academic year, in % of the total number)

Women are less successful than men in their scientific careers (Table 3). First of all, this concerns the position of the professor as the most prestigious and high-status position in the university teaching staff. Women constitute less than one-third of university professors¹³. At the same time, they hold almost two-thirds of the associate professor's positions and more than 70% of the senior lecturer's positions. Approximately two-thirds of lecturers and assistants working at the departments are also women. The proportion of women holding positions of lecturers and teaching assistants in private universities is almost 70%.

	2008			2016		
	Researchers	Among them		Researchers	Among them	
		Doctors of sciences	Candidates of sciences		Doctors of sciences	Candidates of sciences
Men	19,506	2,538	6,770	2,3973	4,551	10,087
Age, years:						
up to 29 years						
inclusive	4,055	3	448	4597	3	822
30-39	3,284	94	1,353	5,517	199	3,032
40-49	3,298	349	1,412	3,473	457	1,947
50-54	2,951	384	909	1,703	426	793
55-59	2,224	450	928	1943	637	869
60-69	3,063	791	1,205	3,989	1,511	1,640
70 and older	1,231	467	515	2,751	1,318	984
Women	13,654	901	5,270	21,021	1981	10490
Age, years:						
up to 29 years						
inclusive	2,324	1	344	3,370	1	534
30-39	2,880	39	1,253	5,329	71	3,128
40-49	2,666	150	1,207	4,326	335	2,781

¹³ N. V. Gorodnikova; L. M. Gokhberg, K. A. Ditkovsky, Indikatory nauki: statisticheskij sbornik (Moscow: Higher School of Economics, 2018).

50-54	1,648	163	694	1,899	284	1,024
55-59	1,536	177	616	1,909	324	981
60-69	1,874	238	850	2,752	569	1,322
70 and older	726	133	306	1,436	397	720

Table 3
Researchers by age groups in higher education sector

As a result, we received the following results. Women teachers prevail at the lower levels of the structure of university faculty. The predominant share occupies the level of teachers and assistants. There are also more women associate professors without academic degrees and titles. However, at high levels in the hierarchy of the faculty structure, such as professor, dean, vice-rector or rector, the proportion of women teachers is much lower (7%). The most significant gap is found the professorship. The predominance of men here is most pronounced. In general, the gender structure can be characterized as a “vertical pyramid”.

Motivation and professional preferences of women university teachers

In the context of modernization of higher education, the university teachers are involved in the active process of individualization of their vocational strategies. According to the sociological research data, demographic characteristics are important factors of differentiation of professional behavior models.

Job satisfaction at the university is an integral indicator that includes all aspects of professional and extracurricular activities. The data of the sociological survey of RSSU teachers allow assessing the extent to which university teachers are satisfied with various aspects of their work (Table 4). More than 76% of teachers believe that their earnings do not correspond to labor efforts; the proportion of positive assessments is 6.4 times lower. The satisfaction of men with their salaries is higher; as the study showed, salaries of male teachers are 1.8 times higher than those of female teachers. The reason for this gap, in our opinion, is largely determined by the gender and differences in the vocational qualification structure. Thus, male teachers significantly prevail in higher status posts, which is reflected in wages.

	Yes	No	No answer
Total	11.9	76.2	11.9
Men	15.8	73.7	10.5
Women	8.7	78.3	13.0

Table 4

The answers to the question: "Do your earnings correspond to the costs of your work?"

Women are much less likely than men to be able to fully self-actualize in their professional activities (Table 5). More than 52% of male university teachers fully implement their abilities at work, while the proportion of similar answers among women is 1.3 times lower. At the same time, the proportion of those, who do not implement their ability is 1.8 times higher among men than that among women. Assessing the degree of their self-actualization in professional activities, women often avoid extreme, "polar" viewpoints. Thus, 43.5% of women surveyed noted that they do not always implement their abilities. In many ways, the opportunities for women's self-realization are connected with difficulties in the implementation of an academic career.

	Yes, in full measure	Not always	No, not implement	No answer
Total	45.2	35.7	11.9	7.2
Men	52.6	26.3	15.8	5.3
Women	39.1	43.5	8.7	8.7

Table 5

The answers to the question: "Do you fully implement your abilities at work?"

Women and men assess differently the attractiveness of work at the university (Table 6). Only every tenth man notes that the work at the university attracts him by providing an opportunity for professional growth, while the proportion of women giving similar assessment is two times higher. For women, a favorable socio-psychological climate in the team is a very important factor. The significance of this fact is noted by almost 48% of the surveyed female university teachers; while the proportion of similar assessments among men is 1.8 times lower. It should be noted that it is the moral and psychological atmosphere, along with a convenient class schedule, that are the factors sharing the first place in the assessments of women. In addition, women are more likely than men to note the importance of the university faculty member's high social status and good working conditions. It should be noted particularly that the level of salary in the university does not attract any surveyed woman, while 5.3% of men noted the importance of this factor.

	Total	Gender	
		Men	Women
The high social status of the lecturer	16.7	15.8	17.4
Good working conditions	11.9	10.5	13.0
The possibility of interesting creative work	45.2	47.4	43.5
The possibility for professional growth	16.7	10.5	21.7
The good moral and psychological atmosphere in the team	38.1	26.3	47.8
Level of salary	2.4	5.3	0.0
Convenient class schedule	42.9	36.8	47.8
No answer	19.0	21.1	17.4

Table 6

The answers to the question: "What attracts you to work at the university?"

Thus, due to the emotional nature of women, the moral and emotional factors that are widely present in the university educational process are particularly important. It is the education sector that seems to women the most promising from the perspective of professional adaptation and promotion. For women teachers, the work schedule is especially significant, which, according to them, is formed based on their wishes; for men teachers, the possibility of professional growth is of great importance.

Segmentation of women university teachers

The teaching community is very heterogeneous. Currently, the segmented approach is relevant, since it allows fully disclosing the features of certain categories of employees.

One possible approach to segmentation is based on the division of female university teachers according to the following two basic criteria:

- competitiveness of university teachers in the labor market;
- labor productivity.

Depending on these factors, four main segments of female university teachers can be distinguished (Table 7). Conventionally, they can be called as follows.

- Stars;
- Administrators;
- Conscientious workers;
- Housewives, earning on the side.

Competitiveness of university teachers	Labor productivity of the university teachers	
	High	Low
High	Stars	Administrators
Low	Conscientious workers	Housewives, earning on the side

Table 7

Segmentation of female university teachers

Source: compiled by the authors

Consider the highlighted categories in more detail.

Stars

The most effective model is that of teacher-researcher, in which competitiveness is associated with a high level of labor efficiency. In this concept, a woman teacher is most successful in the following positions:

- researcher (has high scientometric indicators);
- teacher (effective communication with students and sufficient methodological support of the educational process);
- expert (participation in the work of supervisory structures that control the educational activity, as well as expert communities, councils, academies, etc.).

The achievement of these professional positions is most important for research and pedagogical university workers. For women teachers, it is especially significant since it allows them to move up the career ladder. However, women have to achieve these positions to the detriment of their personal lives since certain gender obligations lie exclusively with women and the use of the “teacher-scientist” strategy by a female teacher requires considerable time and, accordingly, rejection of personal life.

Administrators

In the structure of Russian universities, there are such elected posts from the number of scientific and pedagogical workers as the posts of dean and head of the department. These positions are related to teaching. However, they include a significant block of administrative work as well. Considering current trends in the modernization of higher education, namely, reduction in funding for servicing the educational process and

redistribution of these responsibilities by heads of departments and deans, the latter use their status to rearrange their pedagogical and research load among members of departments and faculties while mainly engaging in activities that support the educational process. Thus, achieved research results often do not reflect the real efficiency. This category of women – teachers – as well as the category of “stars”, is characterized by a lack of personal life and time.

Conscientious workers

This category is most important for the effective work of the university and, at the same time, represents the largest share in the structure of the university. It is precisely this category that largely determines the effective organization of work and communication. A conscientious employee is one who effectively organizes their time, complies with university guidelines and meets the declared scientometric requirements. It is worth noting that this category is relieved from the administrative burden and may be involved in performing managerial functions temporarily or occasionally. Women teachers of this category maneuver between the categories of “star” and “administrator”, i.e. can change their status depending on their life situation and personal needs for professional adaptation.

Housewives, earning on the side

Housewives working part-time are a category of female teachers for whom family values prevail and the family is more important than work. Due to financial, moral and other values, professional self-realization and earning are less important to them. It is quite difficult for this category to combine personal and professional goals in the modern educational environment. Their work is associated exclusively with earnings or possibility of social adaptation. This category of female teachers does not go beyond the timetable and all assignments beyond the timetable are perceived negatively and cause rejection.

Women teachers of this category use every opportunity to refuse further training and professional retraining, as well as participation in conferences and scientific events of the university. They also completely ignore social events, which causes a negative attitude both from the university leadership and their immediate colleagues. Moral incentives for this category do not matter at all. Material incentives have a rather dubious effect as well since “part-time housewives” are oriented to wages established and fixed in the employment contract that do not entail excess work and corresponding incentives for employment. Of course, this behavior strategy is reflected in the effectiveness of their work, as well as the work of the department and university as a whole. However, modern universities mitigate risks associated with such employees, relying on the conclusion of an “effective contract” and fixed-term employment contracts, which allows a fairly high degree of protection of the organization from this category of teachers.

Result and Discussion

The issues concerning the transformation of vocational activity and employment conditions of university teachers in recent years are debated a lot not only by the university teaching community but also by the general public. Gender aspects of the professional labor market transformation with regard to the university teachers are also of great interest. The results of the study were reported and debated at various scientific conferences. In particular, the dynamics of the professional labor market and the

adaptation strategy of various categories of the university teaching community to the new socio-economic conditions were the point at issue at the 17th International Social Congress (October 30-31, 2017). In the course of the discussion, it was noted that a significant increase in competition led to fundamental changes in the employment of university teachers, and increased gender disparities in the vocational qualifications hierarchy of the university teachers. In fact, assumptions about the gender-neutral nature of higher education are refuted by official statistics, since the differences in the position of men and women in the intra-university labor market are manifested primarily in unequal access to the most prestigious high-status positions in the university.

The professional activity of a university teacher always could be characterized as a high complexity work, which combines teaching, scientific, educational, and organizational functions. In recent years, the situation in the professional labor market of university teachers has become even more complicated, and the risk of job loss increases¹⁴. Differences between segments are growing, and women are often more vulnerable to competition. Without being exposed to overt discrimination, women nevertheless are often forced to choose less ambitious professional strategies, compared to men.

Conclusion

In recent decades, the proportion of women working as university professors has increased significantly, and now women make up 57% of the total number of university teachers.

With the external gender-neutral distribution of high-status positions in higher education, the vocational qualification structure is characterized by a vertical pyramid of women distribution, when evaluating their position in the context of the teaching staff hierarchy. The proportion of women at the lowest levels of the university hierarchy is almost two times higher than for men. Thus, women make up two-thirds of teaching assistants and lecturers, and more than 70% of the total number of senior lecturers. Completely different gender distribution is characteristic of professor's position: women occupy this position two times less than men.

At the same time, women have been very successful in taking up positions of administrative and managerial staff. Thus, 44-45% of all positions of department chairs and deans are held by women, and their proportion has been growing in recent years.

Thus, for the majority of women working in higher education institutions, the status of a professor is the most difficult to achieve. Managerial positions in recent decades have become more accessible to women, although at the highest levels of the career ladder, such as the level of the university rector their representation is still almost invisible.

The results of sociological surveys confirm that women are ready to build active career strategies in higher education. The proportion of women, for whom working at the university is attractive in terms of the opportunities for professional growth, is two times higher than that for men. Women are also much more likely than men to be fully engaged in professional activities.

¹⁴ I. YU. Ilyina, "Professional'nyj rynek truda i bezrabotica prepodavatelej vuzov v sovremennoj Rossii", *Social Policy and Sociology*, Vol: 14 num 5 (2015): 45-52.

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It should be borne in mind that the community of women university teachers is extremely heterogeneous. Some women perceive the dominance of men in the most prestigious segments of higher education not only as historically conditioned and natural but also as the only possible option of university staff distribution, i.e. they actually agree to recognize the intellectual superiority of men. But still, the main reason for the significant backlog of women in the race for scientific degrees and titles is associated with another cause. Women's main contradiction of the 20-21th centuries, namely, "family or work?" is still relevant for most female university teachers. A significant increase in requirements for the teaching staff, the need to perform not only voluminous pedagogical tasks, but also to implement scientific, methodological, and organizational functions force many women to make a choice between an active scientific career and a relatively quiet working practice in low positions. A significant proportion of women are forced to refuse to defend their doctoral thesis or move up the administrative and managerial ladder, because they are unable to make a successful career in a higher education institution, without prejudice to the interests of their family and, above all, children.

Thus, although the analysis of the professional labor market of university teachers does not allow revealing obvious discriminatory manifestations associated with unequal access to high-status vocational positions, nevertheless, gender disparities in the university teaching staff are obvious. So far, there are no prerequisites to change this trend.

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