Academic Discourse by Turkish Women1
“Rules of the Game”

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Abstract

Faculties of education have a specific and gender-based history. It is significant for the academic discourse of women to speak of trouble some process that they experience in the creation of a “leadership” career in their career stages. The attempt to configure women business life academically turns into action through the gains achieved by their lives. Qualitative research method has been used in this study and semi-structured interview was conducted for a few hours. The study group is composed of 7 women working in faculty of education who has a history of leadership in higher education academy or currently is in that position. However, it is aimed to identify their role about the academic career and management responsibilities of the participants and depict their success, disappointments and faculty culture. Research results show that women in academics follow two types of discourse while assuming the management role: winning and losing. These groups of women academics display differences in terms of cultural differences, ways of solving problems, perspectives, social and cultural perceptions and managerial organization skills. Consequently, this study includes the discussions where the experiences of women academics in “winning” or “losing” the game are introduced and the recommendations are made.

Keywords: Turkish Women, Leadership, Bourdieuan Theory

Introduction

From past to present, in every part of the society, women and men have worked together, but their contributions have not been evaluated in a same level and the women have been of secondary importance. It has been hard to enter and promote in such duties as administration which needs power, prestige and status. The female administrators who want to reach top-level administrative positions have encountered a “glass ceiling”, and especially they have been represented remarkably limited numbers in the positions which require top-level responsibility (Arkan, 2003). The perception of top-level administration jobs as “business of a man” (Streitmatter 1999), and patriarchal system require the female leaders’ temperate behaviors in the way of speech and wearing that they use while they expressing themselves in order to protect their rights as women.

Both in the world and in our country it is clear that the participation of women in business life and their promotion to the administration levels have been encountered a lot of barriers during the process. These barriers are closely related to the social and cultural characteristics of the societies.

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However the women in Turkey have begun to be out of traditional lines in every stages of life, they have not been represented enough especially in administration duties (Acuner & Sallan, 1993). It is really difficult for the women to survive within this system with the existence of sexual differentiation. The main purpose of this essay is to put forward the difficulties of the women working or worked as administrators in Education Faculties that they come across during the process of “leadership” careers. The difficulties of dealing with two opposite positions like “female” and “administrator” are seen in such places (Hughes, 2004; Pini, 2005). Some organizations including the universities have some sexist utterances (Krefting 2003; Acker & Weber 2006). Apart from the research done on leadership in higher education, there are very few articles about “mid-level leadership” such as head of faculty or head of department (Inman, 2011).

In the literature there are some studies that emphasized women and leadership, (Tucker, & Bryan, 1991; Swartz, 1997; Brown, Ummersen & Stumick, 2001; Turner, 2002; Acker, 2003; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Chung, 2008; Özkanlı & White, 2009; Hacifažılıoğlu, 2010; Odihambo, 2011; Hoskins,2012), and also many scholars describe the career choices and life paths of women generally, and including studies on the status of women in higher education and the professions, their career development (Solomon, 1985; Arnold, 1993; Betz & Fitzgerald,1987) and their experiences and achievement over time (Arnold, 1993; Nidiffer, 2003; Madsen, 2008). Besides, some feminist scholars, including (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberg & Tarule, 1986). Against this background, several studies have focused on Bourdieuian lens and women (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; McNay, 2000; Shi, 2001; Naidoo, 2004; Marginson, 2008; Blackmore & Sachs 2007; Thorpe, 2009; Kjol, 2009; Acker, 2010; Hoskins, 2015).

If we deal with the question of “what is the secret of success in administration abilities of women in academic field?” within the perspective of Bourdieu, it is seen that fundamentally it is acquired by the individuals life experiences but afterwards it is shaped by social metamorphosis and turned into a kind of habit. At this point, it is suitable to mention about the saying of Umberto Eco “I never promised you a rose garden”. Since this way is full of difficulties. The study is related to the part of Bourdieu (1988) which is identified as “academic field”. In this study I tried to present how the women trying to make academic leadership careers exemplify “fish in water”; and using “play” metaphor I tried to show female academicians’ administration potentials and their problems. The main goal of this study is to put forward the difficulties of the women working or worked as administrators in Education Faculties that they come across during the process of “leadership” careers. This article aimed to find answer to this research question: how can Bourdieu’s concept of field be considered as an understanding of academic women and the experiences of women?

Bourdieu’s Conceptual Framework

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu focuses on social reproduction and cultural capital. He states that unpracticed theory cannot be verified and so the established theory should be put into practice. Pierre Bourdieu constantly highlights that theory and methodology is an interconnected process. According to him, theory is not a process that directs practice as is. He doesn’t aim to create a theory which is theoretically perfect but not practiced or even not aimed to practice. He gives importance to and mentions about the concepts by considering their benefits (Wacquant, 2003, p. 35; Deer, 2008, p. 200-201). Bourdieu’s theory is intertwined with many concepts such as field, habitus and capital (Bourdieu 1984).

This reversal connection between practice and theory represents “reflexive” part of Bourdieu’s sociology. Bourdieu usually tries to define concepts like field, habitus, doxa, illusio and capital by addressing them all together. On the other hand, the barriers of “reflexivity” is societal rather than epistemological because reflexivity usually examines "charismatic representations" of intellectuals who constantly consider themselves exempt from any kind of social sets. According to Bourdieu “reflexivity” can save intellectual from illusion by discovering societal in the individual one, non-personal hidden under intimacy and universality in privacy (Wacquant, 2007, p.511). One of the most important features of Bourdieu’s sociology of reflexivity is its focusing on dialectical process between the individual and structure and it’s advising the researcher to consider him/ herself as a part of the event/ case that is to be examined.
The researcher by this way will easily be able to see what historical circumstances and interactions made the questioned incident/case reach that state and his/her own point of approach to the case by considering his/her personal historical, cultural and social background. This reversal process will methodologically contribute a lot to get beneficial outcomes from the research.

Besides, Bourdieu suggests “game model” as an example to facilitate understanding the concepts developed. That is, the place where the game is played is the area and the players must have some expected benefits to involve in the game. These interests are the “illusio” concept. This concept means that the game is considered worth being played and the game rules (i.e. doxa) are not questioned. Getting involved in the game means valuing the game to play. Through this involvement, the value is not questioned; the settlement of the area (rules, doxa) recognized (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 405). Bourdieu (1988) uses “play” and “player” metaphors while describing the field which he named as academic field by using the theme of (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, s.98). Female leaders of academic environment sometimes successfully complete the process of administration by learning “how to swim”; some of them are seen that they have been “drowned” instead of swimming (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, s.127), many administrators learn their abilities by “sinking” or “swimming” under the administrative burdens with a sudden dive (David 1989).

Bourdieu’s another concept of “area” is a place where social locations which have various capitals exist and where the individuals put their struggle into action. The area is a power field who imposes its own determinations to those entering this area. For example, someone who wants to be a scientist has to obtain scientific capital in that field and accept that the habitus of that scientific community will be the starting point for him/herself, in other words s/he has to obey the rules of the area (Wacquant, 2007, p. 63). Bourdieu’s notion of area is very important and beneficial. According to Bourdieu, “each person occupies a position in a given “social field” defined by the amount of capital one possesses” (Tolar, 2009, p.31). The field of the academic discipline is in permanent conflict, as faculty and departments engage in strategies or “position takings” “directed towards the maximizing of symbolic gain” (Bourdieu, 1993; cited Mendoza, Kuntz & Berger, 2012, p.560-561).

At the same time, Bourdieu (1990) mentions about that there are some “habits “hinders the individuals being the game. He puts forward that habit proceeds unconsciously till the events come out with essential questioning, and its own personality develops as a consequence (Acker, 2010). Thanks to “habitus” the individual gains a capability of finding solutions for different conditions (Wacquant, 2003, p.27). So, habitus is a set of action trends which accommodates the person in social order. That helps individuals get oriented both psychologically and biologically to involve in the game (Calhoun, 2007, p. 104). In other words, according to Bourdieu, habitus can be defined as a whole of aptitudes which have been developed based on physical and practical sense rather than conscious while the individuals adapt themselves in the conditions emerged in their societal world. It is a concept used for a set of thought, behavior and taste models, which he feels create the bond between social structures and social practice. Habitus is a policy that provides solutions considering the individual’s gender and place in the social structure, to get rid of dilemmas s/he came upon as a result of the obligations (Bourdieu, 2002, p.558).

Bourdieu (1986) describes many types of capital such as economic, cultural, academic, social, and intellectual etc. In his studies, Bourdieu focuses on especially “French university system (academic field), in order to guarantee the power of university members there are two types of capital: academic and intellectual capital” (Bourdieu 1988; Kloot, 2009, p.474).

**Bourdieuian Lens: Women as an Academic Leader**

Women still under-represented in academic leadership positions. Above all, faculties of education have a specific and gender-based history. It is significant for the academic discourse of women to speak of troublesome process that they experience in the creation of a “leadership” career in their career stages. The attempt to configure women business life academically turns into action through the gains achieved by their lives. When the similar or high levels of academic administration are in relation, the female leaders in these statuses have the historical relation of “jobs for female” responsibility of its own in education faculties.
They may be expected to show interest to their colleagues in the faculty, and to lead to the democratic counseling methods. At the same time, as their male colleagues, generally in universities, particularly in faculties they will have been struggling with the obstacle applied by the responsibility and reform mechanisms that some of them require strict criteria in order to be applied by “administration”. As the ones being expressed their characteristics here, it is likely for academic female leaders to work in an extremely inconsistent and compressive field hereby (Blackmore & Sachs 2007).

According to Hacıfazlıoğlu (2010) “Leaders may feel themselves incompetent especially in the first few years. They might also come across some difficulties in carrying out their professional and personal lives” (p. 2260). Therefore, the research has been tried to reveal with the experiences of women in leadership position in education. On the other hand, many researchers have sought to understand the role of cultural context-habitus. According to Acker (2010) “in some male dominated areas female leaders are needed to outshine with their way of dressing or way of speaking to be able to be accepted as leaders without prejudgment” (135). Besides, Naidoo (2004) refers to Bourdieu to examine the differentiation of higher education institutions in South Africa. Naidoo (2004) pays attention to, “Bourdieu’s theoretical structure therefore contributes to the understanding of the relationship between macro sociopolitical forces and universities and, second, why institutions included in the same system create divergent strategic responses to external pressures” (p.467). Hoskins (2012) works on Bourdieu’s perspective, and Hoskins examines the impact of gender and social class to understand the complex choices these women made and how they experienced success within the Academy.

In short, as for Bourdieu (2001) expresses that there are symbolic limitations and difficulties in the lives of women, and in some fields the institutions and individuals are eager to change (Acker & Dillabough 2007; Clegg 2008; cited Acker, 2010, p.136). Deem, Hilyard & Reed (2007) wrote the following statements; female administrator academicians are aware of the pros and cons of being a female. Predominantly, the women participated in the study think that being a female administrator causes them to be more vulnerable than the male and to being evaluated by different standards (Acker, 2010).

As a result, Bourdieu’s sociology of reflexivity provides a convenient method for exploration of the location of events and cases. Area is the place the game (struggle) takes place. Individuals will gradually become familiar with some routes that will take them to the point in accordance with the capital they hold the rules (doxa) they agree without question, and the benefits (illusio) they believe to get at the end of the game. These behavior patterns about how to get to the result lead individuals by the situations they encountered to create a common whole of aptitudes. Bourdieu calls this whole “habitus” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2003, p. 82-83). So, the research has been tried to reveal with the experiences of women in leadership position in education. This research is aimed to identify their role about the academic career and management responsibilities of the participants and depict their success, disappointments and faculty culture.

Method

Qualitative research method has been used in this study and this study is planned as a phenomenological study (Creswell, 2004) and also semi-structured interview was conducted for a few hours. The study group is composed of 7 women working in faculty of education who has a history of leadership in higher education academy or currently is in that position. The survey was carried out in accordance with the principle of confidentiality of academic and corporate identity of the participants. In the study, individual information was kept coded. In this essay, a maximum variation sampling strategy was used the study group. The women who compose the group represent various region and types of universities in Turkey. The participants of the study that the qualitative data were gained from and the characteristics of the participants are shown on Table 1. The participants and for the names of women P1, P2, P3 were used. Interviews lasted approximately 40–60 min, and were transcribed. The interview transcriptions were sent to the students (Creswell, 2014), and the collected data, and after the transcription of the data were analyzed through a thematic analysis method by making use of common themes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003) and reflexive discourse analysis.
However, it is aimed to identify their role about the academic career and management responsibilities of the participants and depict their success, disappointments and faculty culture. Other questions, however, include the changes observed in recent years at the university, predictions about the future and the influence of management on their own lives. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) emphasize that the priority of qualitative studies is to understand the experiences. Within the scope of this study the interviews were carried out with the female leaders. The study conducted by interviewing with each participant more than once provided a chance of dealing with the experiences and thoughts of the women in the years when they were appointed to their jobs thoroughly within related context. The “play metaphor” was taken into account with the theme of “the ones who swim and sink” through the focusing of Bourdieu on the dialectic process between structure and individual by using one of the most important characteristics of reflexive sociology.

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<th>Participant</th>
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<td>P3</td>
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Findings

Research results show that women in academics follow three types of discourse while assuming the management role. Using Bourdieu’s theoretical model as a lens for analysis, I sought to understand how the experiences of women academics. These three groups of women academics display differences in terms of cultural differences, ways of solving problems, perspectives, social and cultural perceptions and managerial organization skills. Consequently, this study includes the discussions where the experiences of women academics in "winning" or "losing" the game are introduced and the recommendations are made.

Theme 1: Winning as an Academic Field

P1 seems pleased about her duty at work. P1, who said that she was at an administrative position in a state university in the first years of her academic career, expresses the difficulties she came across in those years as follows;

In the first years of my duty as an administrator, the interest-based relations which are unlikable for the science and the negative attitudes of even my close friends from the academic environment caused me to think like this “I doubt whether the administration suits to me”. Especially, because of the attitude charged to the women, it was tried to represent me as if I could accomplish this duty. I was offended, but a professional strategy had a great impact on my success. Indeed, it is required to consider the difficulties as a part of experience. At this point, with a positive point of view and a strong character, the difficulties you experienced encourage you making decisions in an upper position. After a while you realize that you become more practical and you also learn analytic thinking.

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P5, stating that she got some assistance from a mentor in order to come over the difficulties, expresses her experiences as follows: I made it real with the help of mentor. It is obvious that new leaders need a professional network. Receiving support from a very specialized mentor in this field is the ideal way. All in all, it is a kind of strategy.

P3 puts forward how the change of institution influences the role of administration as follows:

I am in a position of administrator at a private university right now. I feel myself more autonomous, more effective, and even more creative. I feel tranquillity as an organization in a sense with the point of view and the experiences I earned in previous years.

P3 identifies the barrier of the gender to become an administrator and how she overcame this barrier as follows:

Unfortunately, gender is a great barrier to have a specific position in administration. Our women are still not brave enough to overcome this barrier. It is possible to identify the self-esteem, determination, patience and strategy as the elements bringing along the success in administration. There were such times that I had to act the male roles associated with the administration. Since, unfortunately, not just the abilities of yours but the role that you act may influence the people to bring you to a position. All in all, it is a strategy rule for a person who knows how to play this game.

The expressions of P5 about how the administration affects her private life:

Being an administrator brought with it self-destruction. For instance, I could not have spare time for my son, my husband even for myself. For the first years I had problems about time, but in time, the problem was solved when I made programed life my way of living. Now I am living as a person being much more aware of the value of time.

P5 states her role in her academic career as follows:

As for my role in my academic career, my dreams looked possible with using my administrative qualification. So, I carried out both scientific research and administration together.

P1 describes the culture of her university as follows:

As for my university culture, first of all confidence, respect, and high importance given to the effort especially working together with the people who have inner discipline both ensure me to work as an administrator more efficiently and the relations among people and confidence to the institution improve. Working as an administrator such an organization culture improves the individual, and I always have a desire to renew myself.

P3 narrates the changes in the universities as follows:

It is obvious that there have been changes in the universities in recent years. Especially the willingness of universities to renew themselves, increasing their connections with world universities and inclining to the accreditation can be taken into account as changes. I can say that as long as the universities become productive institutions taking the quality in the first place in the light of global developments, they will present a dynamic configuration.

The suggestions of P1 for the female academicians: My suggestion for female academicians, they should increase their experiences placing in every position of the administration. The important thing is to show a right attitude compounding the abilities with the right strategy.

The following quoted words of P7 show the importance of dreaming in the game: I had spent my first years experiencing in a state school. In those days my dream was to become an instructor at university. Then I was aware that I could reach my targets by making a career. I am the head of the department right now. My objective is to be able to become a dean... for sure my wish is in the name of representing all women.
Theme 2: Losing as an Academic Field

P4 undertook an administration duty at a university in the past and she completed academic phases by being assigned. She had frustrations here; she was isolated because of being a female, and some disagreements arose because of having different points of view with her colleagues. Finally, she continued as an academician in another university. She gave up administration in a sense.

P4 explains the difficulties that she encountered at university while she was an administrator as follows:

The workload and bureaucracy made me worn out. Constantly signing the papers, not giving my lectures time to time and considering the administration as my actual job proposed an identity question for me: Was I academician or administrator? It was hard to be both of them. I preferred being researcher academician to being administrator. I was so excited in the beginning. There was a desire of making innovation and changing something inside of me. I faced with the male academicians’ showdown, the effect of workload in time, different points of view with my colleagues, inexistence of supporters and a suspicious system.

P2 expresses her resignation from administration because of the difficulties she experienced as follows:

I resisted for sometime to administration. I can even say that I learned a lot of thing during my administration process. I believe that it is a matter of preference, character and a bit related to giving time to the job.

P6 describes the university’s culture as follows:

During my administration, the university culture had an environment closed to different opinions, having shallow relations, in which there is apparent gender discrimination and there is a superior competition.

She describes the sexism barrier to become an administrator:

Women behave less decisive than the men overtake administration positions and they prefer some responsibilities such as having a child as their priorities. The perception of inefficiency of women in administration, and considering the administration as a job of a man are among these barriers. I could not change this perception during my administration period.

P2 explains the influences of administration on her private life as follows:

Women have more responsibilities and priorities. Because of these reasons, the question “do we really want to take part in administration?” comes up. I am not married, but however I would like to spend much more time for myself in my private life. To be able to put something out you need to rest and relax yourself. Otherwise, a programmed and robot-like way of living is not up to me.

The expressions of P4 about her role in her academic career:

It is proper to say that I am in a role of researcher. My life is passion of interest and research.

P4 identifies the changes in universities as follows:

It is likely to see the changes of centuries in universities. The data have changed so rapidly that in this sense, the access to the data has improved with the help of technology. Especially with the help of increasing number of mobility of academicians, research opportunities have increased.

The suggestions of P2 for female academicians:

First of all, the female academicians need to desire administrate. Since being an academician requires much responsibility, if you try to carry out it with the administration it wants much more effort. Moreover, applying this under the pressure of bureaucracy seems to me as if restrictive in terms of my freedom. This should not be accepted as negative, the women should take part in administrative positions.
The following quoted statements of P4 show the importance of estimating the next step and adaptation in this game: For example, the female academicians may consider becoming the head of department. In the beginning you need some information related to be acquainted with the organization. Then, you need a vision about programme. Afterwards it is found out that the individual looks forward his previous comfortable environment, and it is seen that he/she suffers for not obtaining this comfort. Unfortunately, the ones who cannot predict the further step, who quit and the ones who cannot generate a new strategy might go out of play.

Discussion

This research used Bourdieu’s Theory to explore the reflections of academic women. The Bourdieuian analysis of the experiences of women working provides a better understanding of the impact women success (Bourdieu 1997).

According to the research results, many studies done about gender role expectations for women, similarly, showed that there was a significant correlation between gender role expectations and masculine leadership style. Bornstein (2008) pointed out that women created a transformational leadership over male within the context of associated transactional leadership. The notion of leadership in higher education is focused on a “traditionally masculine organizational structure” (p. 163). Besides that, according to Muller and Rowell (1987) “The main barrier is male hegemony that creates a cliche thought correlating the administration with masculinity and gender based social norms and gender role expectations for women often involve a focus on relationships, caring for others, and creating a harmonious atmosphere (Di Dio, et al., 1996; Fouad & Kammer; cited in Healey, 2009). The women are perceived as the caregivers of the family, and they are often dependent on their gender-defined characteristics (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Good leaders are considered as those who show masculine behaviors by the public (Reis, 2015). This case corresponds to the findings of our study. P3 identifies the barrier of the gender to become an administrator. P5 says how the administration affects her private life.

Hill and Ragland (1995) show that the lack of self-esteem to become a female administrator. (P4). Women must form some relations with the society (Eagly & Carli, 2007). They must make connections relationships with all levels of staff, and build networks through self-initiation (Reis, 2015). This finding is similar to P5. This finding is similar to P5.

In every administrator’s career, there is a barrier related to the balance between their business life and family (Reis, 2015). The primary experience should help women improve their self-esteem, and so on. Furthermore, because of the limited numbers of women administrators there are very few female role models and mentors. Women must look for available mentors, fill gaps in their curriculum vitae, and seek experiences in public speaking, management and implementing change (Bornstein, 2008). Moreover, the study’s findings on participants’ mentor experiences show similarities with previous studies conducted by (Cullen & Luna, 1993; Eakle, 1995; Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996; Bornstein, 2008; Hacifazlıoğlu, 2010; Bakioğlu, Hacifazlıoğlu & Özcan, 2010). P1, who said that she was at an administrative position in a state university in the first years of her academic career, expresses the difficulties. Besides that, P5, state that she got some assistance from a mentor in order to come over the difficulties.

Bourdieu (2001) says that “there are symbolic restrictions and obligations in females’ lives, in some fields, the institutions and individuals are open to the change” (Acker and Dillabough, 2007; Clegg 2008; cited in Acker, 2010), and also “Participation in academia requires an accurate deciphering of the “rules” based on a dominant worldview with regard to behavior and practices within university culture” (Margolis & Romero, 1998; Bourdieu, 1986).

The administration for a woman can be seen as “accepted rules of a game” and struggle (P1, P3, P5, P7). For this reason, the institutions are related to the cultures. Under this circumstance, the administrator can only be “shaped” in an organizational structure and under the culturally possible conditions in a particular situation. As Bourdieu said either they won the game (P1, P3, P5, and P7) or they lost (P2, P4, and P6). Therefore, Women administrators may need irrelevant abilities in order to obtain and maintain their leadership roles (Lindsay, 1999; Chung, 2008). Many administrators learn their abilities by “sinking or swimming” under an administrative burden or with a sudden dive seen as a new purpose for them (David 1989).
To sum up, these expressions are similar to the expressions of our participants' expressions. Bourdieu (2001)'s the following is required to identify the attention of women leaders: It is common for women to experience a "double bind" when attempting to access power; "if they behave like men, they risk losing the obligatory attributes of 'femininity' and call into question the natural right of men to the positions of power; if they behave like women; they appear incapable and unfit for the job (p. 67). Bourdieu (1986) provides a means for conceptualizing how larger social structures are reproduced by and for individuals within a given societal or organizational field through the concepts of habitus and strategy. The social classification perspective of Bourdieu is a particularly appropriate choice given the important role that capital appears to play in today's higher education as characterized by the theory of academic capitalism.

As a result, the fact that it is not easy to employ more women in educational administration, because it requires a challenging cultural change in upper levels. On one hand, the academicians underline the points such as experience, confidence, courage, true strategy, enlarging the communication networks. On the other hand, they highlight the worrying key terms such as adaptation, prestige. Female profile needs a reformation. In a sense, it has to overcome its learned helplessness. They are supposed to apply for promotion without changing their profiles and not being obliged to generate masculine qualifications.

My Reflections on reflexivity

As is well known, one of the most important features of Bourdieu's sociology of reflexivity is its focusing on dialectical process between the individual and structure and its advising the researcher to consider him/herself as a part of the event/case that is to be examined. The researcher by this way will easily be able to see what historical circumstances and interactions made the questioned incident/case reach that state and his/her own point of approach to the case by considering his/her personal historical, cultural and social background. This reversal process will methodologically contribute a lot to get beneficial outcomes from the research. When I consider the personal image of this study, it sets an example for me to see my own personal career strategies to follow. Particularly, it helps me understand and analyze cases in my own interior world while at the same time trying to realize the exterior side of the event and cases, by the help of reflexivity method. I also have learned what struggle I should perform during my career especially when it comes to "social obstacles". Considering the selected case studies it is notable that there are female academics who win this struggle thanks to habitus and there are those who lose because they cannot adapt themselves in this area. I know the rope how reflexive awareness.

References


