

# Chapter 10

## Academics' Professional Characteristics and Trajectories: The Portuguese Case

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### 10.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present a descriptive and interpretative approach on the changing professional characteristics and trajectories of Portuguese academics. In Portugal in the last 10 years, the academic profession has been the object of several empirical analyses. The aim of these analyses is diverse including: the work conditions, gender composition and dynamics, academics' participation in institutional decision-making, their relation with knowledge production and academics' professional satisfaction (Amaral et al. 2003; Carvalho 2012; Carvalho and Santiago 2010a, b; Dias et al. 2013; Santiago and Carvalho 2004, 2008, 2012; Santiago et al. 2014). The main concerns of these studies were to understand the effects of higher education changes on academics and their perceptions. However, the more subjective,

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personal characteristics and trajectories of academics, as professionals, have largely not been included in research in this field. The approach of this research can be an important conceptual and empirical insight to improve the knowledge over the potential changes in the Portuguese academics' professional trajectories, as well as in their professional cultures and identities.

Actually, it seems that change is not new in Portuguese academics' professional group. Carvalho (2012), based on historical changes in academia, identifies three different moments that shaped the academic profession, namely: the pre-democratic era; the democratic transformations era and, more recently, the emergence of market and 'managerialism.' In the first moment – pre-democratic era – the academic profession was defined mainly by its elitist nature. Until the 1974 Portuguese democratic revolution, under the straight control of the 'political university' of the dictatorship regime (Torgal 2012), academics were a small elite mostly recruited from the dominant social classes (Carvalho 2012). Knowledge production was almost absent from universities as academics were viewed as the 'heirs' of the reminiscent symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984) of medieval scholasticism. In the second moment, following the 1974 democratic revolution, deep political and social transformations in the country brought to academia the 'Humboldtian revolution', based on the academic knowledge logic as the main organising principle for structuring higher education institutions (Santiago et al. 2014). According to Carvalho (2012) the 'humboldtian revolution' emerged as an important step in the academics' professionalism and professionalisation process. A new academic generation had large control over higher education institutions' organisation and operations with collegiality being institutionalised as a supporting mechanism of representative democracy. At the same time, intents were proffered to make the academic profession more democratic. The third moment, starting at the end of the 1990s, represents the marketisation and managerialisation of Portuguese higher education. External control over academic work and the academics' professional behaviour, values and practices increased in a considerable way. Collegial power was limited, individual contracts became an instrumental tool to manage academics and the quality assessment, quality assurance and performance evaluation systems appear as the wires of a new mesh embedded within professional practices. Professional power was transferred to this external control forming a new 'grid' of professional visibility connected to the new 'dogmas' of accountability and 'consumers' sovereignty'. In addition, part-time casual and unsecure employment has also been increasingly introduced into the higher institution landscape which was previously unknown in the Portuguese system.

The macro-level contexts described above form the main framework to understand academics' professional characteristics, cultures, identities and career trajectories in the present moment. These characteristics will be described and analysed with the support of empirical data from the Portuguese version of the international Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey. This survey was distributed to the population of all academics from public universities and polytechnics. The outline of the chapter is structured into three main sections. First, an overall synthesis of the 'state of the art' changes emerging in the Portuguese higher education system and

institutions will be addressed. This will shed light on how far the academics' professional conducts, values and practices have been touched by market and managerial changes. Second, the methodological strategies used to define the sample and to collect and analyse data will be summarised. Finally, the results of the descriptive and interpretative analysis from the survey data will be presented. The data analysis was intended to embrace some conceptual insights for further research on academics as a professional group.

## 10.2 Changes in Higher Education and the Academic Profession in Portugal

Before the 1974 Portuguese democratic revolution, some remnants of medieval scholasticism persisted in several practices within the Portuguese academy (Santiago et al. 2014). Teaching was at the core of academic activities. The focus on teaching served the purposes of both controlling the education of a small elite number of students within the dictatorship framework – students' dissidence was severely repressed – and of the knowledge production (Carvalho 2012; Torgal 2012). For this period it can be argued that academics formed an elite profession, composed of a small number of elements, having a high social prestige and being over-controlled by the dictatorship regime (Carvalho 2012). It was a 'consenting elite' (Gramsci 2000) which supported a specific normative identity connected to the cultural and ideological hegemony of the dictatorship regime ('Estado Novo') (Carvalho 2012). 'The 'non-consenting elite', by contrast, rested on a minority of academics who sought to hold out against this hegemony' (Carvalho 2012, p. 324). The pool for academic recruitment at the four public universities existing at the time (the classical universities of Coimbra, Porto, Lisbon and the Technical University of Lisbon) was confined to a small social elite, and was mostly a 'consenting' one. For the 'non-consenters', it was very difficult to pass through the networks of the ideological selection and to enter and/or to progress in the academic career rank.

After the 1974 Democratic Revolution, these networks were largely dissolved. Deep higher education systemic and institutional transformations arose with a strong impact on academics' professional characteristics and careers trajectories. The first transformations were related with the emergence of institutional diversity and diversification. This was evident already at the end of the 1970s with the creation and/or consolidation of new universities and of a binary system with the emergence of the polytechnics subsystem. But, this was also reinforced in the 1980s with an extraordinary growth in the number of private institutions in the country. Other important transformations followed this with the implementation of curricular diversity including both 'professional drift' in universities and 'academic drift' in polytechnics. Finally the massification and democratisation of first level degrees was followed by the increasing offer in post-graduation degrees. This induced an exponential increase in the supply of academic positions; and subsequently a strong social recomposition of the academic professional group. In parallel, deep changes

also occurred in the mechanisms of social and institutional production and reproduction of this group. The social basis of the academic recruitment was expanded and the profession started its own democratisation process. Nevertheless, this democratisation process was followed by an increasing segmentation and fragmentation related not only with feminisation but also with the existence of distinct careers. Important differences were evidenced not only between public and private careers (which are not still legally regulated) but also within the public sector between universities and polytechnics (Carvalho 2012).

Along with these transformations, the Humboldtian logic started to embed higher education institutions policies and organisations and, at the same time, emerged as the frame under which academic work started to be developed. This new institutional context was consolidated with the publication of the national legal statute for academic careers (Decree-Law 448/79). With it, substantial changes were introduced in the career structure with the responsibility to meet the three traditional missions of university: teaching, research and service to society being assigned to academics (Carvalho 2012). Subsequently, particular emphasis was given to the articulation between teaching and research (Santiago et al. 2014), at least concerning its recurrent reiteration in the universities and polytechnics missions statements (Santiago et al. 2008). This represented a major step towards the promotion of political, social and institutional conditions allowing academics to develop new strategies of professionalisation and the (re)construction of the academic professionalism ideology (Carvalho 2012). Academics' professional values were apparently free from the stigma of the 'political university' of the totalitarian dictatorship (Torgal 2012) and started to be more aligned with more democratic ones. With the democratic regime ruling higher education, the previous 'non-consenting elite', acting as a counter hegemonic group, was deeply involved in the (re)construction of a new professional normative identity (Carvalho 2012). The institutionalisation of collegiality at all levels of the university and polytechnic's organisational set, allowed the (re)construction of the academics' cultural symbols, beliefs and values (Carvalho 2012) embedded in a mixture of Humboldtian and welfare principles: democracy, equality, autonomy and merit. But if collegiality granted a high degree of autonomy to professionals, this was not complete since the decision-making remained under the control, at least informally, of the senior academics sustaining the prevailing chair-holder system.

It is important also to notice that since 1974 until the beginning of the 1990s, a S&T system started to emerge. Although its initial 'small size and loose articulation' (Heitor and Horta 2012, p. 180), inherited from the previous dictatorial regime, the Portuguese S&T system increased dramatically after being consolidated during the mid-1990s with the creation of a large number of research units and independent institutes, as well as and with their evaluation by international teams. Although these new research structures have been important to the 'modernisation' of the higher education system and to the improvement of the academics scientific 'productivity', they have also contributed to the fragmentation of the 'old' Humboldtian institutional order. The 'research university' notion overlapped the 'teaching-research university' ones, at least in a symbolic way.

The end of the 1990s also brought deep changes in the institutional conditions surrounding the academics' working conditions, employment and recruitment. It was the time when neo-liberalism and New Public Management (NPM) started to permeate higher education policies and institutional structures and processes even if mostly at a rhetorical level. The injection of neo-liberal and NPM guidelines at the system and institutional levels were inspired in the same global assumptions and practices tested elsewhere (Deem et al. 2007): limiting the scope of the bureau/collegial-professional regime; decentralising (self-governance and 'management devolution'); empowering students and enterprises as higher education 'services consumers' ('consumers sovereignty'); injecting marketing coordination mechanisms (competition between public institutions, selected and individual incentives); introducing evaluation, quality assessment, accountability and audit systems (according to political, institutional and managerial objectives) and developing new ways to regulate and control professionals' work.

This global framework strongly inspired the Portuguese higher education legal framework approved in 2007 (Law 62/2007). This new law imposed a distinctive logic in higher education institutions' models of governance and even in its culture aligned with a corporate and entrepreneurial 'philosophy'. The new legal framework allowed higher education institutions to opt for a public institute or a public foundation regime (only 3 institutions among 15 opted for it). This foundation regime means that higher education institutions remained public but are governed by the private law rules. Both in public institutes and public foundation regimes, a General Council replaced the previous collegial bodies, namely the university Senate (the university governance body) and General Assembly (who elected the rector), as well the Polytechnics General Assembly (who elected the Polytechnic President). External co-opted members (individuals of merit representing external social, cultural, entrepreneurial or professional interests) have to comprise 30 % of this Council. It is mandatory to elect the council chairman among the ranks of these co-opted members. However, it is important to notice that elected academics are still the majority (55 %), and students (15 %) comprising the majority of the other elected members. Strategic power was concentrated in this new Council. Although emerging as a typical trace from the evaluative state (Neave 2012), which supposes decentralisation, the deployment of this governance and management model seems to be more focused in operational conducts than in the strategic and political 'power devolution' (Teichler 2003). It also represents a shift on the modern university paradigm towards an entrepreneurial (Clark 1998) and 'corporatised' university (Currie et al. 2003), which downgrades collegiality by power concentration at the top and line management, and restrains academic freedom, autonomy and self-regulation (Askling 2001; Fulton 2003).

In this context, academics have been increasingly perceived as 'intellectual workers', forced to be more accountable to their institutions (Harley et al. 2003; Meek 2003; Musselin 2013), rather than autonomous professionals. This re-specification of the academic profession brought about important changes to the academic working terms and conditions. New regimes of appointment, as the individual contracting, and of recruitment procedures (increasing invited lectures and

part-time employees) arose. Moreover, the assignment of full-time positions without a permanent employment perspective also became a current practice. Tenure is no more the norm and the academic workforce is increasingly becoming casual, part-time and flexible. Accordingly, Portuguese academics seem to be losing collective and individual power over the social division and conditions of academic work (Carvalho and Santiago 2010a, b; Santiago and Carvalho 2008, 2012; Soares 2001; Taylor et al. 2007). Using Freidson's (2001) terms, this can potentially translate into a weakening of professionalism's appeal in Portuguese academia.

### 10.3 Empirical Research Strategies

The administration of the CAP survey, from which data were extracted, took place in October to November of 2008. All academics (from assistants to full professors) from public higher education institutions were approached through an electronic on-line platform to complete the questionnaire. Academics, at the time of the survey, were 14,164 employed by universities and 10,116 by polytechnics. The responses rate to the on-line survey was 5.4 %. The reasons for this low number may be related to the on-line distribution of the questionnaire and with the circumstance of academics being approached to fill out different questionnaires with the increasing research interest in this professional group and changes in academia. Academic staff from private higher education institutions (both universities and polytechnics) and from public military and police higher education institutions was not included in the study.<sup>1</sup> The main reason for not including these academics has to do with the fact that most of them integrate the staff of more than one public institution. For the purposes of the Portuguese CAP survey (and also in this chapter), academic is the term used to classify the professors and researchers employed by public universities and polytechnics in Portugal (Santiago et al. 2014). From the 1320 academics who answered the questionnaire, 857 were from universities and 319 from polytechnics (144 missing values in this item).

It was expected that this strategy allowed for selecting a certain number of diversified statistical cases and, thus, making possible some generalisations at the national level. Despite the sampling limitations, the diversity obtained in respondents, associated with the possibility of establishing comparisons with some conclusions of previous studies in the field, seems to support solid results and some generalisation of interpretations.

It is also important to notice, in order to contextualise data analysis, that academic careers in public higher education have remained unchanged from the end of the 1970s to 2009. During this period, two careers pathways were maintained, according to the existence of a binary system – universities and polytechnics.

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<sup>1</sup>Public higher education has 15 universities, 15 polytechnic institutes, 19 higher schools and five institutions of police and military education. Private and cooperative higher education system comprises eight universities and 59 other establishments (academies, institutes and higher schools).

The different national missions defined for each sub-system – more vocational-driven for the polytechnics; and more research and academic knowledge-driven for universities – demanded two distinct perspectives on the academic career with universities being more research focused while in polytechnics more teaching focused.

At the time of the survey, the first appointment in both careers was supported in the same academic degree (bachelor). The minimum degree required to enter tenure track was the only difference detectable in the two subsystems – the PhD to the auxiliary professor position in university and the masters to the adjunct professor in polytechnic. University and polytechnic careers are very segmented and pyramidal in the sense that in the top of the academic rank (full professor and associated professor or coordinator professor) vacant positions are very scarce. Finally, according to Carvalho (2012), gender issues have also been important traces marking the Portuguese academic career structure from the 1980s onwards. These two variables were included in the analysis. However they will be only mobilised when statistical differences are significant (Mann-Whitney and One Way Anova tests).

## 10.4 Professional and Personal Characteristics of Academics

### 10.4.1 *Some Aspects of the Academics' Social and Educational Background*

In describing the main personal characteristics of academics in the CAP survey is relevant to highlight that the majority of respondents were men (55 %). It seems that the gender distribution of the sample reflects the profile of academic staff in Portugal. In 2005, 43 % (10,217) of the academics working in Portuguese public universities and polytechnics were women and in 2013 this percentage slightly decreased with women being 42.5 % of academic staff in public institutions (10,453). Even if women's participation in an academic career in Portugal is higher than in the majority of European countries (EC 2012) this does not represent a 'gender revolution' questioning men's overrepresentation and dominance in academics' professional group. However, it is important to notice that before the democratic revolution, women were practically invisible in academic careers (Carvalho 2012) notwithstanding the fact that they were the majority of teachers at all other educational levels (Carvalho and Santiago 2008). The 1974 democratic revolution opened the road to the elimination of legal and formal barriers of women having access to an academic career. At the same time, the emergence of new universities and polytechnics allowed for the opening of new vacancies and enlarging the opportunities for women to enter into this career (Carvalho 2012). But, a leaking pipeline and a 'gendered invisible hand' remained imposing a persistent vertical and horizontal segregation (Carvalho and Santiago 2008).

Analysing the age distribution of the academics surveyed, one can find that younger academics are a minority (from 25 to 34 = 8.4 %) with almost the majority being between 35 and 49 (58.5 %) and a considerable percentage being more than

50 years old (33.1 %). One can make the hypothesis that this is a generation ‘trapped’ by the higher education NPM inspired policies meaning budget restrictions and the increase use of ‘parallel/informal’ recruitment mechanisms, outside the formal career track (Santiago and Carvalho 2008). After the accomplishment of their PhDs, numerous younger candidates wait for an opportunity to enter an academic career. The use of this ‘reserved army’ of available academic ‘workforce’, as part-time or casual ‘service providers’, is cheaper than the creation of new permanent positions. The introduction of numeric flexibility, translated in fixed-term, part-time or full-time individual contracts may translate into a negative impact on the academic demographic pyramid.

Almost all academics in public higher education institutions (92.5 %) are of Portuguese nationality. The majority of the academics surveyed (97.4 %) use Portuguese as the first language/mother tongue in teaching activities. Concerning research activities, Portuguese is also used by academics in research (41.8 %), but English (58.2 %) is the most common. These results suggest that internationalisation, especially at the teaching level, is not a specific trace of Portuguese academics’ professional group. Portugal did not start yet to ‘import’ its academic workforce from abroad. Although globalisation and the institutional narratives on the need to hire the best skilled worldwide academics to teaching and/or research positions were acknowledged, this ‘importation’ is still weak. On the contrary, as other semi-peripheral or peripheral countries have been experiencing (Altbach 2004), a relevant number of (young) Portuguese academics flow to the countries of the centre, thus increasing the country brain drain.

Moreover, data analysis reveals the existence of a relative inter-generational vertical mobility in these academics. Vertical mobility describes the recruitment to higher education career of academics whose parents had no higher education degree.

This is an important element to improve the understanding of the influence of the social class or stratification (Baudelot and Establet 1972; Bourdieu and Passeron 1964, 1970) in the academic recruitment using a sociological approach (Santiago et al. 2012). Apparently, both slight social ascension movement and the consolidation of the cultural and scientific capital among the academics surveyed can be observed (Dias et al. 2013). Actually, the majority of the academics seem to have attained higher degrees of scholarly qualifications when compared with their parents (Table 10.1). Some of them were the first generation in their social group to attain higher education and complete a higher academic degree. This may be interpreted as a result of higher education massification. The number of students increased from 40,000 students in 1974 to 400,000 at the time of the survey. The democratisation of the system drew in more and different types of students, namely students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, older students and those entering higher education not directly from secondary education (Fonseca 2012).

This set of results is not surprising, since the mechanisms of production and reproduction (Bourdieu 1984) of the academic professional group changed dramatically after the democratic revolution. The higher education system expanded and access turned more democratic (not only in higher education, but also in secondary school). Due to the increasing supply of academic positions both in universities

**Table 10.1** Educational background of Portuguese academic respondents: father, mother and partner

Educational background	Father		Mother		Partner	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Entered and/or completed tertiary education	293	34	235	27.3	624	92.3
Entered and/or completed secondary education	265	30.7	238	27.6	45	6.7
Entered and/or completed primary education	289	33.5	360	41.8	1	0.1
No formal education	11	1.3	26	3.0	2	0.3
Not applicable	4	0.5	3	0.3	4	0.6
Total	862	100	862	100	676	100

Source: CAP Survey 2007/2008

(especially the new ones), and polytechnics, the social basis of recruitment was enlarged. The academic profession democratised itself and a new academic generation emerged: more socially heterogeneous and much less anchored in the country's social elites or dominant classes (Carvalho 2012).

However significant differences ( $\text{sig}=0.009$ ) arose in the family educational background when academics from universities and polytechnics were compared (Dias et al. 2013). The family background of the former is based on a higher educational capital than the latter. Actually, in those who have a higher education level, the educational capital of the parents (fathers) (34.6 %) of university academics is slight higher than that of the parents (fathers) of academics from polytechnics (32.9 %). In this way, it is not a surprise that more academics from polytechnics (37 %) have their origins in families which have accumulated less cultural capital (36.2 % only entered and/or completed primary school) when compared with their colleagues from universities (29 % of their parents only entered and/or completed primary school). These differences can eventually be explained by the polytechnic subsystem's later institutionalisation and probably with less prevalence of inbreeding in these institutions. The polytechnic academic 'market' might be less exposed to a 'closure strategy' (Weber 1995) in the control over the access to the profession. Being more recent, the mechanisms of reproduction of a pre-existent academic order did not fully apply to polytechnics as much as to universities. This probably means that, in the former, the recruitment for the academic profession was (and may still be) more open to candidates from lower social classes and with less accumulated cultural capital if compared with the latter. In sum, the recruitment control and regulation, based on loyalty to internal groups and personal allegiance to traditional or charismatic leaders (Bourdieu 1984) seem to be less evident in the polytechnic subsystem.

Moving now to the academics partners' situation, what seem to be more relevant is the fact that a huge majority of the academics surveyed (92.3 %) reported that their partner had a higher education degree (Table 10.1). A significant proportion of these partners are also academics (31.5 %). This encompasses, in general terms, the existence of a strong intra-generational mechanism of social reproduction, based on the leveraging of the social, cultural and educational capital (Bourdieu 1984).

The highest proportion (65 %) of those surveyed have responsibilities for children (1=24 %; 2=32.1 %; 3=11 %), but the great majority declare not to have interrupted (84.5 %) their work in the institution to assure child care at home (Dias et al. 2013). However, women seem to be more likely to have interrupted their academic activities to assure their children's care work ( $W=27.7$  %;  $M=5.4$  %;  $\text{sig}=0.000$ ). The analysis concerning the nuclear family did not bring any surprise, demonstrating the expected gender imbalances in care for the young. This reflects the traditional division of work in care duties (Santiago et al. 2012) or as Bourdieu (1990) suggested a phenomenon of reproduction of the traditional family social roles intersecting professional roles. Some studies developed around this research topic have been demonstrating that the gender imbalance in care for young children can help to explain the lower participation of women in science (Corley and Gaughan 2005; Kyvik and Teigen 1996), also being an additional barrier that women have to overcome in access to higher levels of academic rank career (Carvalho and Santiago 2008).

### ***10.4.2 Career Trajectory***

From the 1979 Decree-Law (448/79) defining the academic career legal framework to the 2009 new Decree-Law (205/2009) (following the approval of the Higher Education legal framework 6/2/2007) the academic career enjoyed 20 years of stability. The more recent legal framework (Decree-Law 205/2009) did not substantially change the hierarchical and pyramidal characteristics of the academic ranks. The same phenomenon occurred in the polytechnic career counterpart from the 1981 Decree-Law (185/81) to the new one (207/2009). For both career pathways (interchange between the two is not allowed), the only relevant difference refers to the minimum requirement to enter in the first pre-permanent academic rank – the PhD to auxiliary professor (university) and to adjunct professor (polytechnic). At the time of the survey, the majority of the academics surveyed (65.8 %) in public universities had a PhD and 73.9 % had obtained it from a Portuguese university (Dias et al. 2013). Advanced post-doctoral training, however, is more internationally-oriented in its character with 46.3 % of the surveyed declaring that they held it in foreign universities.

Data analysis also reveals that there was a substantial increase in the attainment of the PhD degree in the two decades between 1991–2000 and 2001–2008 (Table 10.2). These data seem to demonstrate that the elitist character of the small academic professional group in the pre-democratic era was eroded by the substantial enlargement of the pool of academic recruitment following the 1974 democratic revolution. The increase of academics holding a PhD between 1999 and 2008 reflects the later impact of the acceleration of the institutional programmatic diversification (creation of new units and the offer of master programs and doctoral training), of systemic and institutional diversity (institutional consolidation of the new universities and polytechnics all over the country), as well as of the massification and democratisation of the access (Carvalho 2012). As seen before, this growth

**Table 10.2** Period of Portuguese academics' PhD attainment according to gender and type of institution

Years	% (n=852)	Gender (n=566)		Type institution (n=525)	
		Male	Female	Univ	Polyt.
1961–1990	14.2	78.7	21.3	95.5	4.5
1991–2000	36	57.9	42.1	88.8	11.2
2001–2008	49.8	57.7	46.3	80.8	19.2

Source: CAP Survey 2007/2008

and densification of the Portuguese higher education network raised an exponential increase in the number of PhD students at the national (the great majority) and international levels. It can be argued that PhD degrees become more 'democratised' since the beginning of the 1990s. However, as seen before, the academic profession segmentation and fragmentation become more visible. In spite of the increase of women's participation in the academic career, as CAP data also shows (from 21.3 % in 1961–1990 to 46.3 in 2001–2008) the gender gap is still on the ground. Studies on the field developed from 2008 to 2012 (Carvalho 2012; Carvalho and Santiago 2008, 2010a, b; Santiago et al. 2012) clearly show that the permanence of vertical and horizontal segregation was not challenged. In Portugal, as in other countries (Bagilhole 2007; Kloot 2004; Saunderson 2002), the global persistence of the imbalanced gender distribution by academic rank and 'tribes and territories' (Becher and Trowler 2001), is still a troubling phenomenon that needs further enlightenment.

Apparently, the appearance of NPM in the system and institutions, as a leading framework informing higher education policies and institutional reconfiguration did not stop the tendency for the democratisation of the academic career. However, since the beginning of the 2008 financial and economic crisis in the country, the opening of new academic pre-permanent and permanent positions have diminished dramatically, and a great number was suppressed, namely those linked to fixed-term part-time and non-tenured track full-time appointments.

## 10.5 Academics, Academic Work and Commitment/Affiliation

### 10.5.1 *The Use of Academic Time*

One of the most pertinent characteristics of academics as a professional group is the different way their time is allocated to different academic duties – research, teaching, administration/management and service. Data reveals that there were significant differences in the perceptions on time allocated to these activities during class period (Table 10.3). Academics surveyed indicated that they devoted more time per week to teaching (in average 20.32 h) than to research (in average 13.36 h).

**Table 10.3** Portuguese academics perceptions on time distribution by activities

	Class period (hours per week)		Outside class period (hours per week)	
	Mean	St. dev.	Mean	St. dev.
Academic activities				
Teaching	20.32	9.773	9.20	7.566
Research	13.36	9.857	23.17	12.684
Services	2.76	4.805	3.45	6.260
Administration	5.82	5.883	6.33	6.893
Other academic activities	3.76	4.971	4.74	7.463

Source: CAP Survey 2007/2008

However, high values in standard deviation (9.773 for teaching; 9.857 for research) show that, probably, there was a significant diversity in the patterns of academics' perceptions on their engagement in these activities. The relatively low rates of time assigned to service (unpaid consulting, public or voluntary services, 'clients' and like) (on average 2.76 h) and administration (committees, meetings, units management and like) (on average 5.82 h) can be explained by the fact that only less than 50 % of academics declared that they were engaged in these activities. Not surprisingly, outside the class calendar, perceptions of time distribution change radically. More time is perceived as being dedicated per week to research (on average 23.17 h) and much less to teaching (on average 9.20 h).

A very slight difference ( $F=2.054$ ;  $Sig=0.8$ ) was found on this topic according to the perceptions over time allocated to teaching by women (21 h) and men (18.7 h). Furthermore, related to the sub-system, academics from polytechnics allocated less time to research than their colleagues from universities ( $F=5.810$ ;  $Sig=0.000$ ). These results are expected since universities and polytechnics, as seen before, are committed to different institutional missions – more research-oriented in the former and more vocationally-driven in the latter. In fact, research in polytechnics is essentially circumscribed to applied research and 'experimental development' almost linked to the entrepreneurial, agricultural and educational sets (Santiago and Carvalho 2008).

Considering all the academics surveyed, differences between teaching and research are hard to explain due to the diversity of contextual factors which may influence the relationship between them. In fact, until the 1974 democratic revolution, teaching formed the core of university activities. Only with the 1979 Decree-Law, research started to be increasingly promoted on academic career being transformed in the structural basis of the national scientific and technological system (Heitor and Horta 2012). Maybe due to the fact that research comes later into the university, teaching prevails as an essential component, at least in symbolic terms, of the academic professionalism (Carvalho 2012). With managerialism and NPM, teaching seems to still be a relevant task in the 'academic heartland' (Clark 1998), but contextual factors, as the over-fixation on organisational rationality around teaching quality assessment, as well as the new requirements for closer monitoring and tutoring students (Santiago et al. 2012), can influence the way

**Table 10.4** Portuguese academics' engagement in teaching and research

Academic preferences and interests	N	%
Primarily in teaching	60	5.7
In both, but leaning towards teaching	301	28.8
In both, but leaning towards research	341	32.6
Primarily in research	70	6.7
In both, without emphasising teaching or research	274	26.2
Total	1046	100

Source: CAP Survey 2007/2008

academics allocate their time according to the new academic roles assigned to them. It is well known that in the face of knowledge society/economy and entrepreneurial external pressures, even in more market-oriented fields, finding time to do research, or even to articulate research and teaching, becomes increasingly difficult (Santiago et al. 2012).

In sum, data on the time allocated by academics to their professional roles confirm the recent international conclusions on the field (Locke et al. 2011; RIHE International Seminar Reports 2008), since academics seem to have the feeling that teaching still occupies a core place in the academic workload. This can conflict with the productivism principle, namely in research, which is now dominant in the state and institutional policies both in research and teaching (Carvalho and Santiago 2008, 2010a). Beyond the attempts to reconfigure the traditional social division of academic work by the introduction of horizontal segmentation lays the belief that quality and productivity in teaching and research can improve by means of their specialisation. The increasing dissemination of political and institutional narratives on the unavoidable need for higher education institutions to be more sensitive and intensify their linkages with their 'stakeholders' frame the dominant notions of quality and productivity. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and Slaughter and Rhoads (2004) termed this phenomenon as the rising of academic and knowledge capitalism, meaning the hegemony of knowledge (economy) utilitarian philosophy over research and teaching/learning 'why', 'what' and 'how'.

### ***10.5.2 Academics' Engagement in the Relationship Between Teaching and Research***

In a certain sense, the above views on time allocated to academic activities are closer to their views on their own relation with teaching and research. In general terms, these views seem to be balanced (Table 10.4). However, among the great majority (87.6 %) that claims preferring to be engaged simultaneously with research and teaching, a slight tendency to emphasise more research (36.6 %) than teaching (28.8 %) can be observed. Besides, a relevant group (26.2 %) reported also that they have the same interest for both teaching and research. Only a minority stressed

exclusively teaching (5.7 %) or research (6.7 %) as being exclusively their option. Once more, differences can be found comparing academics from universities and polytechnics (Sig=0.001). Within the relationship between research and teaching, academics from universities emphasised more leaning towards research than academics from polytechnics (universities: 35.6 %, and polytechnics: 27.3 %); and tendencies reversed with the latter stressing leaning more towards teaching than the former (polytechnics: 36.9 %, and universities: 25.3 %). It is important to notice that strong pressures have emerged over academics from polytechnics to be engaged in applied and commercial research and to publish, which is an incentive for 'academic drift', parallel to the increase of 'professional drift' in universities.

These academics' views on the relationship between teaching and research are a pertinent empirical sign that, eventually, different agendas can be found in institutions policies and strategies and in academics professional behaviours. The third period, the end of the 1990s, identified by Carvalho (2012) as the period of increasing marketisation and managerialisation of the Portuguese higher education, forms the ground where agendas seem potentially antagonistic in a more visible way. It has been the period where the external control over the social division of academic work has increased substantially, together with attempts to establish new professional specifications of academic work and of academics as professionals. This encompasses what Musselin (2013) calls the 'management of academic work' resulting from the political and managerial empowerment of universities. Under different forms, according to each country, and even each institution, new modes of social division of the academic work aroused focus on specifically labelled research and teaching positions (Musselin 2013). This is not a phenomenon anchored in individual decisions, according to which academics adapt their professional behaviours and practices (Musselin 2013) to the internal dynamics of institutions or units. Instead, it streams from a new institutional (re)conceptualisation on academic work, enabled by changes on policies at the national level. How far this (re)conceptualisation relies on disagreement between the institutions and the academics' professional agendas is an open issue that needs further research. For the moment, based on Musselin (2013) arguments, the standpoint is that this new academic work (re)conceptualisation seems to be stabilised in the institutional landscape (Santiago and Carvalho 2012) and does not represent individual adjustments. On the contrary, it is controlled and formalised at the top organisational level and, in some cases, at the intermediate level (Musselin 2013; Santiago and Carvalho 2012). Analysing our survey data, the academics' responses reveal that this was not yet strongly impacted on their agendas and on the relationship between research and teaching.

### ***10.5.3 Inbreeding, Localism and Endogamy***

Usually, in almost all European higher education systems an important proportion of the academic staff has been recruited from former students who got their PhD from the same institution (Musselin 2013). Often these students were also former

**Table 10.5** Portuguese academics' work experience in the academic profession

	1		2		3		4		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Since first degree	668	50.6	220	16.7	76	5.8	163	26.9	1127	100
Since highest degree	591	70	87	10.4	52	6.2	110	13	840	100

Source: CAP Survey 2007/2008

bachelors or masters students in the same institutions. This phenomenon has been interpreted, in a negative sense, with the notions of 'localism', 'endogamy' or 'inbreeding' (Cruz-Castro and Sanz-Menéndez 2010; Horta et al. 2010; Musselin 2013; Padilla 2007). It is linked, eventually, to tacit norms and organisational arrangements, embedded in local institutional interactions and cultures; and can be also understood both as an expression of the bureaucratic tendency for social closure (Weber 1995) and self-reproduction (Bourdieu 1984). In this sense it emerges as an academic mechanism of institutional control connected to a given political and social order (Bourdieu 1984).

With inbreeding, there is also a tendency for academics' low mobility. Academics responses (Table 10.5) allow for some analysis concerning the presence of this phenomenon in Portuguese institutions. In fact, since their first degree, the majority of the surveyed (50.6 %) declared that they have worked in only one higher education institution, while taking the highest degree attained, this percentage increases to 70 %. These findings show similar trends noticed in other studies specifically developed on this topic whether involving different institutions and disciplinary areas or a single institution and only one disciplinary area (Horta et al. 2010).

However, recent tendencies in academic recruitment can change this phenomenon. Hiring outside the institutional circle, and even outside the national circle, has been fuelled by the belief that performance and quality, namely at the research level, should be substantially increased by this strategic change on human resources management. In Portugal, since the 2009 approval of the new academic career statute, announcements to an opening of a permanent position leading to tenure track was extended to the international academic labour market.

#### 10.5.4 *Employment Standing*

At the time of the CAP survey, the great majority of the academics surveyed (94 %) were in a full-time position. However, in terms of the time of the contract, although the majority of the academics were tenured or had a tenure track fixed-term contract (68.8 %), a relevant percentage did not enjoy this employment status, being fixed-term enrolled but with no continuous permanent employment prospects (23.8 %) (Table 10.6).

Few academics were also continuously employed (2.9 %) but with no guarantee of permanence. Before the rise of market and managerialism in the Portuguese

**Table 10.6** Portuguese academics' institutional position related to employment contracts

Employment contracts	N	%
Tenure	545	47.2
Fixed-term/tenure track	249	21.6
Continuously employed (no guarantee of permanence)	34	2.9
Fixed-term employment (no continuous employment prospects)	275	23.8
Other	52	4.5
Total	1155	100

Source: CAP Survey 2007/2008

higher education landscape this was uncommon in Portuguese institutions (Santiago and Carvalho 2008). Market and managerialism has given rise to more formalised and, apparently, transparent recruitment procedures, in the name of merit criteria, but simultaneously informal and local arrangements increased. This situation are often translated in fixed-term individual contracts, which corresponds to casual, part-time and even full-time teaching and research activities. Polytechnic was the subsystem where these practices were more in use.

Tenure and tenured track were the more common institutional positions in academics surveyed from universities (52.7 and 26.6 %) while this was quite an exception in academics from polytechnics (33.9 % and 8.4 %). In addition the fixed-term employment without permanent/continuous employment prospects has been the pattern of employment in polytechnics (polytechnics: 48.7 %; and universities: 14.7 %).

At the time of the survey, data can be explained by the scarcity of tenured track positions available in the middle and top polytechnic academic rank. Academics stabilised on the bottom of the pyramid, although their qualifications meet the specified requirements to progress from a pre-permanent position to a permanent one (tenure). However there were no vacant positions available (allowed at the national level for each institution). As so, in waiting for the opening of a permanent position, academics from polytechnics were moved to a casual position or a fixed-term employment with no continuous employment prospects. In this sense, one can argue that managing academics in polytechnics by numeric flexibility was not a specific local policy but instead a national policy which was extended to universities with the new 2009 career statute mentioned before (Decree-Law 205/2009 for universities; and Decree-Law 207/2009 for polytechnics).

### ***10.5.5 Sense of Identity, Commitment and Affiliation***

The academics surveyed were also asked for their views on some statements linked to the conception of academic work, namely about the place that research and knowledge occupies in scholarship (Table 10.7). Knowledge application (application in real-life) was identified as the main component supporting scholarship settings stressed by academics (agree 42.6 % or strongly agree 34 %), also research

**Table 10.7** Defining scholarship according to Portuguese academics

Scholarship as:	St. dis. 1	2	3	4	Set. dlis 2	Total
Research (preparation of findings on original knowledge)	3.4	4.8	17.7	34.0	40.1	100 (n=644)
Knowledge application (application of academic knowledge in real-life settings)	2.5	7.0	14.4	43.4	32.8	100 (n=647)
Synthesis of findings (preparation of reports that synthesising the major trends in my field)	2.7	12.1	29.1	38.3	17.8	100 (n=639)

Source: CAP Survey 2007/2008

(preparation of findings on original knowledge) being strongly emphasised (agree 35.5 % or strongly agree 37.5 %). The identification of scholarship with the preparation or synthesis of findings (preparation of reports synthesising the major trends on findings) in a given field was much less consensual. For the academics in our sample, one can say that the knowledge logic, as a mediator in the relationship between academics and students, which is typical from the humboldtian 'style', still has a core place in Portuguese scholarship.

Moving now to the commitment issues included in the survey, the majority of academics declared that, in general, they do not have the intention to move to another job (58.8 %); and specifically they have the will to maintain their links to their current institution. Furthermore, the majority of the surveyed declared also that they have no intention: to get a management position (92.3 %) in the higher education institution where they are working; to get an academic position in another higher education institution or research institute (79 %); to have an academic position in another country (81.2 %); or to get another job outside the academy (80.3 %). Following the same logic, when, academics were asked on the actions they have undertaken to change their job, the huge majority (from 95 to 98 %) responds they did not make any such effort.

In a certain sense, some ambiguities appear in the surveyed statements when previous responses are confronted with their feelings of affiliation. Academics felt a stronger affiliation to their discipline than to their department or institution. In fact, 79.3 % of the surveyed claim that their affiliation to their own discipline is important or very important, while the affiliation *vis-à-vis* the department (59 %) and institution (66.4 %) is more nuanced (Table 10.8). However, taking the results on these last two topics, one can detect that a sizeable proportion of those surveyed show a 'neutral' position concerning the affiliation feelings to their institution (Table 10.8). These results seem to indicate that there was not a strong individual variation in the responses of academics. Firstly, they feel committed to their discipline, and only after to their institution and department.

The recent managerial empowerment of higher education institutions, towards their vertical integration, did not match academics' feelings; although the increase in the development of organisational processes towards tight control over academics

**Table 10.8** Portuguese academics' affiliation to academic discipline, department and institution

Affiliation to:	Not at all imp. 1	2	3	4	Very imp. 5	Totals
My academic discipline/field	5.7	5.2	9.7	26.4	53.0	100 (n=651)
My department at this institution	4.9	10.8	26.8	31.4	26.0	100 (n=649)
My institution	3.8	6.9	23.1	33.5	32.7	100 (n=654)

Source: CAP Survey 2007/2008

activities and careers was in tension with these feelings. The academics' autonomy and their occupational control over the division of labour and the allocation of tasks (Freidson 2001; Musselin 2013; Santiago and Carvalho 2012) was also reduced in the Portuguese institutions. But, apparently, this did not weaken the feeling of disciplinary ties and the replacement of this feeling by a closer identification with institutions and units.

To sum up, these sets of results seem to indicate that the political attempts to induce changes on academics' loyalties from discipline to institution, arising in the framework of an on-going managerial and corporate process to unify structures, processes and values in institutions (Carvalho and Santiago 2008, 2010b; Santiago and Carvalho 2012) did not entirely succeed. The academics' affiliation to their discipline is still stronger than to their institution (and also to their department) which confirms, at least partially, the main conclusions of some international studies on the field developing since the beginning of the twenty-first century (Dearlove 2002; Locke et al. 2011).

## 10.6 Not to Conclude...

This chapter tried to examine the main traces of the professional characteristics and career trajectories of Portuguese academics. It was possible to demonstrate that the Portuguese academic career does not have a unified structural composition but is fragmented, segmented and pyramidal according to the existence of a binary system (university and polytechnic), gender inequalities (vertical and horizontal segregation) and a bureaucratic-driven 'philosophy'. Increased stratification, leaking pipeline and 'gendered invisible hand' still persists in the managerial environment surrounding the academic profession in Portugal.

In general, the Portuguese academics are more educated than their parents, what configures a (slight) movement of social and inter-generational ascension confirmed by the presence of mechanisms of social reproduction 'at work' in the choice of their partner. The academics' partner's educational level is commonly in higher education. Besides, the great majority of the Portuguese academics have one or two children and women academics are those who are more likely to interrupt their work

to provide care to a child (or elder) at home. Gender imbalances in care for children suggest that the traditional family social roles intersect the professional roles.

The majority of the Portuguese academics were between 35 and 49 years, meaning that at this age they are at the middle of their career in terms of their professional trajectory life span. Most of them earned a PhD between 1991 and 2008, with 2001–2008 being the period where the attainment of this academic degree has increased more. Since this highest degree, academics have not experienced diversity in terms of inter-institutional mobility, reflecting the presence in institutions of what some called as 'inbreeding' or 'localism' in the recruitment process. Almost all the surveyed academics are full-time, although this employment situation does not mean that they have a tenure or a permanent position or even that they are in a tenure track route. In fact, there are a relevant number of academics that are continuously employed, but with no guarantee of permanence, or have a fixed-term contract without continuous employment prospects. This employment situation is particularly visible in the polytechnic sub-system.

Academics also perceived that they are spending more hours per week in teaching than in research. However, those from universities devoted more hours to research than those from polytechnics. Women academics also devote more time per week to teaching than men. Moreover, there is a large consensus among academics about the idea that knowledge application and research are the activities that can best characterise scholarship. Finally, almost the totality of those surveyed perceived the interconnection of research and teaching as the leading framework of the academic profession, but among academics from universities, a slight tendency to assume research as the most important component of these two activities emerged, while academics from polytechnics stressed more teaching.

As can be seen by data analysis, some of the important traces of professional characteristics and trajectories of Portuguese academics are shared with their counterparts from other countries (Locke et al. 2011; RIHE International Seminar Reports 2008). However, we need to go further in future analysis on those topics by examining more in depth the impact of neo-liberalism and managerialism/NPM over the academic profession and professionalism. In this sense, it will be pertinent to intersect quantitative and qualitative research analysis. The overall view allowed by quantitative approaches does not allow, by itself, clarifying the complex character and dynamics of the current political, organisational, managerial and personal challenges that academics are facing as a professional group. Intersecting quantitative and qualitative approaches also supposes looking closer at other variables – type and age of institutions, disciplinary, sub-disciplinary, interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary fields, higher education' regional/national landscape and governance and management 'styles' – in order to extend our understanding over the changing 'profile' of the academics working in Portuguese higher education institutions.

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## **Legislation**

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