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Gender  
na neoliberalní  
univerzitě  
Gender  
in/and the Neoliberal  
University

GENDER **A** VÝZKUM  
GENDER AND RESEARCH

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PhDr. Hana Maříková, Ph.D. (zástupkyně šéfredaktorky, SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Praha)  
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doc. Elaine Weiner, Ph.D. (McGill University, Montreal)

Asistentka redakce: Eva Nechvátalová

Adresa redakce:

časopis Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research  
SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Jilská 1, 110 00 Praha 1  
telefon: +420 210310351  
e-mail: [genderteam@soc.cas.cz](mailto:genderteam@soc.cas.cz)  
<http://www.gendersonline.cz>

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**Gender in/and the Neoliberal University:  
Transnational Processes and Localised Impacts****Gender na neoliberální univerzitě:  
transnacionální procesy a jejich lokální dopady**

Editorky / Guest editors: Blanka Nyklová, Birgit Riegraf, Kadri Aavik

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# The Neoliberal/ising University at the Intersection of Gender and Place

**Kadri Aavik, Birgit Riegraf, Blanka Nyklová**

In recent years, in the light of the profound changes occurring in the governance of science globally, a number of academics have turned their scholarly attention to critically examining their own immediate work environments. They have begun to study the conditions under which knowledge is produced and consider what the transformations in the governance of science mean for academic research and knowledge production as well as teaching and instruction. This scholarship, sometimes referred to as critical university studies, deals with the various manifestations and implications of what can be collectively termed ‘the neoliberal university’. Thus far, this scholarship has been produced mainly in and about contexts often described by the terms ‘Global North’ and ‘Global South’.<sup>1</sup>

The changes that have occurred in universities within the past few decades are the result of the spread of the neoliberal ideology and the principles of governance arising therefrom. Neoliberal policies have been shown to produce and exacerbate social inequalities (see, for example, Connell 2013; Piketty 2014). This also holds true for institutions – such as universities – which have increasingly started to function according to market principles and a neoliberal logic by adopting new policies and regulations on national and transnational levels of decision-making. The administratively implemented reforms have also often been accompanied by a drive to change the self-perception and behaviour of individual academics and of academic communities, i.e. to change the very embodiment and performance of academic subjects. This has involved the introduction and implementation of market principles in higher education. In particular, the pressure comes from highlighting individual achievement and valuing competition between academics

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<sup>1</sup> We are well aware of the limitations of these terms in encompassing global geopolitical complexities. Our aim here is to point out that certain power inequalities, namely in knowledge production and epistemological position, persist even as the terms as such are contested.

and between universities, while rejecting solidarity and collegiality as core values of academic work. The collective dimensions of human activity, such as research, are downplayed.

Collective efforts, however, are essential for creating new knowledge, as well as for teaching, as they concern issues of diversity and equality. It has indeed been demonstrated that various forms of intersecting inequalities persist and new ones emerge under neoliberal academic conditions (see, for example, Berg, Huijbens, Larsen 2016). Some of this work has focused particularly on the gendered effects of neoliberalisation in higher education and the implementation of the new governance of science, including the impact that such reforms have had on gender studies and research (see Riegraf et al. 2010; Nash, Owens 2015; Liinason, Grenz 2016).

It is to this latter specific line of research within critical university studies that we wish to contribute with this special issue 'Gender in/and the Neoliberal University: Transnational Processes and Localised Impacts'. Our focus is on the category of 'gender' in relation to the neoliberal university and the implementation of mechanisms of new governance in academic settings. Specifically, this special issue seeks to shed light on the following questions: How are processes of neoliberalisation in the academia gendered? How does the new governance of science and research change academic practices in gendered ways? What implications does the neoliberalisation of universities have for existing and emerging gender inequalities and hierarchies in academic settings? How does all this affect the production of 'gender knowledge' in the academia and in the field of gender studies? What does it mean for the recognition of gender studies in academia?

While gender has been in the focus of critical university studies for quite some time, what also merits attention is the fact that most research on gender, gender studies, and the neoliberal university has dealt with Anglo-Saxon contexts. This partly stems from the introduction of reforms in these settings before similar processes in many other contexts, but it is also a manifestation of profound inequalities in the global academic landscape, and speaks particularly of disparities between the Global North and the Global South. We are convinced that an expanded geopolitical perspective is necessary, as it can bring new insights into how contemporary neoliberal academic realities are gendered in the global context as well as in different local and national settings. This is also why two of the texts written by Czech sociologists appear both in English – to contribute to the international debate – and Czech – in order to enrich local debates on the issues discussed.

This special issue includes contributions from settings such as the Czech Republic, Estonia, and South Africa. Yet, we recognise that our scope is limited: while this collection of articles reveals some of the similarities but also the diversity within



Europe,<sup>2</sup> with accounts from different political, social, and historical contexts, all the texts, except one, are nevertheless dedicated to the different faces of neoliberalisation in European academia. This, and the fact that we, the guest editors of this special issue, originate from and are based in Europe, again raises questions about global geopolitics and transnational power relations in science and research as having a profound impact on local academic realities. These realities have influenced the conditions in which this special issue emerged. Here, a consideration of social and material inequalities in the global context is necessary. While processes of neoliberalisation are occurring in the higher education and research landscape in many countries, they intersect with other structural issues, specific to local and national settings, such as profound racial inequalities and violence, and other troubling legacies of colonialism, which might take precedence over injustices caused by neoliberal policies, as, for example, in the case of South Africa (see Deirdre Byrne's article in this issue).

While we critically examine some of the more recent practices and developments at (our) universities, we still take for granted the continued existence of the university and research as sites of knowledge production, both in the material and discursive sense. In some other parts of the world, however, there are also other, perhaps more pressing issues to be addressed regarding the university and the entire system of higher education and research than neoliberalising tendencies. In some ways, then, the ability to focus our attention on the ways in which neoliberal policies affect higher education and research, and our own existence in this system, without needing to ask broader questions about our epistemic and cultural hegemony, is an indication of our privileged geopolitically underpinned position.

To illustrate these issues, we would like to contextualise the birth of this special issue by sharing a personal story that speaks of our own situatedness within the 'neoliberalising academia', where our privileged as well as disadvantaged positions intersect in specific ways.

The idea of this special issue was born out of a series of very fruitful and constructive discussions and research collaborations in a transnational context fostered within the RINGS network. RINGS – the International Research Association of Advanced Gender Studies, initiated in 2015 – aims to bring together research institutions focusing on gender and feminist research from various parts of the globe. However, despite the association's consistent commitment to include institutions from countries all over the world and especially outside Northern and Western Europe, only a few such gender studies centres are among the active members of the network. Initially, this special issue was intended to have broader global coverage than what we ended up with. The final contributions reflect not only the ways in which scholars from different countries

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<sup>2</sup> Moreover, only articles from European Union member states appear in this issue, i.e. not from Europe as such.

are positioned and relate to the processes of neoliberalisation, but also the profound material inequalities and different opportunities in academic settings on a global scale. Crucially, in our case, this is manifested in the availability of institutional resources, or the lack thereof, with which to send a representative to the RINGS annual meetings, where research collaborations, such as this special issue, emerge.

In fact, our own different working conditions and contexts of knowledge production have also significantly affected the work of the editorial team in compiling this special issue. All three guest editors of this issue are feminist sociologists. We are based in and employed at institutions of higher education and research in Paderborn (Germany), Prague (Czech Republic), and Tallinn (Estonia). We occupy somewhat different positions in our institutions: Birgit Riegraf works as a professor, Blanka Nyklová as a postdoctoral researcher and lecturer, and Kadri Aavik as a part-time lecturer.

Our first editorial meeting for this issue was held in Tallinn, Estonia, in November 2016, and this was no coincidence. The process of choosing this venue is an apt illustration of the increasing hierarchies and inequalities within and between academic institutions, and among academics, and a manifestation of some of the processes of neoliberalisation in academic settings that we focus on here. The question of travel costs and time turned out to be key for the decision we made.

Kadri's 25%-workload teaching contract includes the requirement that she perform research and administrative work, but only a minimal amount of such work. In reality she performs significantly more of such work (and is tacitly expected to do so by her by senior staff). In this situation, any additional expenses, such as the costs of travelling to editorial meetings, were out of the question for her. Blanka faced a somewhat similar situation. She has never had a contract for a period of more than two years. She initially intended to cover the travel costs herself, but in the end her employer was able to find funds for travel and accommodation. The only one of us with a travel budget that she can make decisions about herself is Birgit. She has a permanent contract as a professor in sociology and is able to focus on her research interests as long as her research leads to her being able to obtain significant amounts of funding and produce high-ranking publications to preserve this 'freedom'.

Like most academics, we face significant time pressure in our everyday work. None of us could have spared weekdays to perform tasks 'outside' our 'main work', such as editing of a special issue. Consequently, the decision to hold the editorial meeting on a weekend in Tallinn arose out of our particular circumstances and situatedness within the neoliberal academia. This resulted in all of us needing to work on weekends and to see the goals of this special issue as taking precedence over our free time. Each of us feels we work substantially more than is reasonable, healthy (and truly intellectually productive), but in each case in conditions of different material security and different access to financial resources. Even though these conditions made accomplishing this



work more difficult, all of us consider the effort to have been well worth it. The reason for this is not just the texts published in the special issue. It is also that it gave us the opportunity to learn a great deal from each other and to have inspiring discussions, which helped us to better understand neoliberalism as a lived and embodied reality in our different contexts.

Like the diversity that characterises the ways that we as editors are positioned, the academic realities that the authors writing in this special issue inhabit and in which their experience is grounded also differ from each other somewhat.

The special issue contains six articles. We do not provide a comprehensive definition of neoliberalism and the neoliberal university in this introduction, but leave it to the authors of this special issue to paint a portrait of what they understand as expressions of neoliberalism in their respective academic settings. Although the authors rely on no universal understanding of the terms 'neoliberal' and 'neoliberalisation', all the contributions address the reinforced implementation of marketisation and the corollary introduction of business instruments in academic systems.

As the articles demonstrate, the introduction of market logic into academic settings has taken a somewhat different shape in the countries featured here. Nevertheless, the economisation of academia, with its far-reaching consequences for work, study, and research conditions, can be observed in one way or another in almost all the contexts represented herein.

The first article, by Jeff Hearn, has the broadest scope. In 'Neoliberal Universities, Patriarchies, Masculinities, and Myself: Transnational-Personal Reflections on and from the Global North', Jeff analyses, through an autobiographical and transnational lens, his experience working in Nordic and UK universities. He draws connections between the transnationalisation processes of the neoliberal academia, masculinities, and patriarchies. His comparative perspective provides valuable insights into how these processes are played out in different academic settings.

As a contrast to the developments in the Nordic countries and the UK, the next article focuses on the effects of neoliberal reforms on science in the Czech Republic. Marcela Linková's article, titled 'Academic Excellence and Gender Bias in the Practices and Perceptions of Scientists in Leadership and Decision-making Positions', focuses on the concept of excellence in the neoliberal academia in the Czech Republic. Under the new governance of science, the elusive idea of 'excellence' has become a key category through which the performance of scientists and scientific organisations are measured. Marcela examines how lab leaders and research managers in the natural sciences construct the notion of excellence and how this imaginary is gendered.

The third article also deals with the topic of 'excellence in science'. Birgit Riegraf and Lena Weber's article focuses on the concept of excellence from another angle. In 'Excellence and Gender Equality Policies in Neoliberal Universities', the authors take



a look at the German academic setting. Based on two case studies from Germany, the authors demonstrate the nexus between 'excellence' and 'gender' and how this is eroding in the context of the neoliberal academia.

The next article, by Deirdre Byrne, titled 'Teaching and Researching Women's and Gender Studies in Post-apartheid South Africa', deals with processes of neoliberalisation affecting gender studies in South Africa and the ways in which the neoliberalisation of universities is interwoven with colonial legacies. Deirdre argues that the post-apartheid neoliberal state and the managerialist turn in the governance of universities constrain academic freedom to teach and conduct research.

Kadri Avik presents another perspective on the often invisible and unacknowledged divisions between academic settings within Europe. In 'Doing Neoliberalism on Campus: The Vulnerability of Gender Equality Mechanisms in Estonian Academia', Kadri looks at how key stakeholders in Estonian universities construct a gendered neoliberal reality. Her findings suggest that certain key gender-equality measures are filled with meanings that exacerbate inequalities and serve the interests of the neoliberal university, instead of helping to bring about positive change in gender relations.

The final article of this special issue also focuses on the discipline of gender studies. Blanka Nyklová examines how neoliberalising of teaching contexts may be productive in terms of the practice of feminist pedagogy. Blanka's article titled 'Marketing Difference: Two Teachable Moments at the Intersection of the Neoliberal University and Geopolitics' deals with the setting of a US study-abroad programme operating in the Czech Republic and the possibilities it offers to critically investigate the geopolitics that underpins it.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the RINGS network and its members for their on-going work in fostering global collaboration in feminist and gender scholarship, and for raising the issue of the neoliberalisation of academia in this context. Our gratitude goes to people whose dedication and efforts went into compiling this special issue: the editor-in-chief, Zuzana Uhde, the Editorial Board of the journal, and the authors: they all agreed to join this project although most of them work under the very conditions that are deplored in many of the articles in this issue and in this editorial. Last but not the least, we are indebted to the reviewers of the articles, representing diverse perspectives, but all concerned with gender in the 'neoliberal university' in some way or another. The review process for this special issue was especially lengthy and difficult, due to trouble finding reviewers willing and able to dedicate their (presumably free) time and effort to the activity of peer-reviewing, as well as to time constraints faced by those fellow academics who did commit themselves to this process. This is certainly a reflection of the pressures that the neoliberal university exerts on us all, though in different ways. It also says something about the types of academic activities that are valued and that 'count': the crucial

work of peer-reviewing is certainly one of those tasks that typically remain invisible and unappreciated in the neoliberal academia. We are therefore especially grateful to the reviewers for devoting their time and intellectual energy to this special issue.

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Dear readers,

We would like to inform you that the journal will be published under a new title, Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research. Until 2016, the journal was published under the title Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum.

The thematic focus and the guidelines for publication remain the same and so does the editorial board of the journal.

Zuzana Uhde  
Editor-in-chief

# Neoliberální a neoliberalizující se univerzita na průsečíku genderu a místa

**Kadri Aavik, Birgit Riegraf, Blanka Nyklová**

Ve světle zásadních změn týkajících se řízení vědy v globálním měřítku se v posledních letech řada akademiků a akademiček začala odborně věnovat kritickému zkoumání vlastního pracovního prostředí. Začali studovat podmínky, za kterých vědění vzniká, a zkoumají, co změny v řízení vědy znamenají pro akademický výzkum, tvorbu vědění i výuku. Tomuto směru bádání se někdy říká kritická analýza univerzit. Společným jmenovatelem takových analýz je studium různých projevů a důsledků „neoliberální univerzity“, přičemž se většinou soustřeďují jak v zaměření, tak co se oblasti původů týče na „globální Sever“ a „globální Jih“.<sup>1</sup>

Změny v univerzitním prostředí, které se odehrály za posledních několik desetiletí, jsou výsledkem šíření neoliberální ideologie a principů řízení, které z ní plynou. Neoliberální politiky vytvářejí a prohlubují sociální nerovnosti (viz např. Connell 2013; Piketty 2014). To platí i pro instituce, včetně univerzit, jež stále více fungují v souladu s tržními principy a neoliberální logikou kvůli přijímání nových politik a nařízení na národní a nadnárodní úrovni rozhodování. Administrativně zaváděné reformy často doprovází snaha změnit i to, jak se jednotliví akademici a akademičky i celé akademické komunity vnímají a chovají – je patrná snaha o změnu toho, jak lze akademickou subjektivitu ztělesňovat a performovat. Tyto změny se neobešly bez zavádění tržních principů do vysokoškolského prostředí, kde spočívají ve zdůrazňování osobních úspěchů jednotlivců a jednotlivkyň a v oceňování soutěže mezi akademiky a akademičkami i mezi univerzitami. Naopak solidarita a kolegiálnost jsou odmítány coby zásadní hodnoty akademické práce, čímž se dostávají do pozadí kolektivní aspekty lidské činnosti, včetně výzkumu.

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<sup>1</sup> Jsme si dobře vědomy omezení a nedostatků těchto termínů, které se snaží postihnout složitost geopolitických vztahů ve světě. Naším cílem je upozornit na skutečnost, že některé mocenské nerovnosti, zejména co se tvorby vědění a epistemologických pozic týče, přetrvávají i přesto, že dané termíny jsou jinak sporné.

Kolektivní snaha je přitom při tvorbě nového poznání i při výuce zásadní do té míry, do jaké se poznání a výuka dotýkají otázek různorodosti a rovnosti. Neoliberalní akademické podmínky přitom nahrávají různým podobám navzájem se protínajících nerovností, a dokonce díky nim nové vznikají (viz např. Berg, Huijbens, Larsen 2016). Část výzkumu neoliberalního akademického prostředí se zaměřuje na genderové dopady neoliberalizace vysokého školství a zavádění nových politik vědy, včetně jejich dopadu na genderová studia a genderový výzkum (viz Riegraf et al. 2010; Nash, Owens 2015; Liinason, Grenz 2016).

Monotematickým číslem „Gender na neoliberalní univerzitě: transnacionální procesy a jejich lokální dopady“ chceme přispět k zahrnutí genderu do kritické analýzy univerzit. Soustředíme se na kategorii genderu ve vztahu k neoliberalní univerzitě a zavádění mechanismů nového řízení do akademického prostředí. Naším číslem se snažíme nalézt odpověď na následující otázky: Jakým způsobem jsou procesy neoliberalizace akademické půdy genderované? Jak proměňuje nové řízení vědy a výzkumu akademickou praxi a jakou roli v tom hraje gender? Jaké důsledky má neoliberalizace univerzit pro stávající a nově se objevující genderové nerovnosti a hierarchie v akademickém prostředí? Jak všechny tyto aspekty ovlivňují tvorbu „genderového poznání“ na akademické půdě a specificky v oboru genderových studií? Jak neoliberalizace ovlivňuje uznávání genderových studií na akademické půdě?

Kritická analýza univerzit se na gender zaměřuje již delší dobu, za pozornost ale stojí skutečnost, že se tak děje především v anglosaském výzkumu genderu, genderových studií a neoliberalní univerzity. Částečně to plyne z toho, že neoliberalní reformy byly v kontextu anglosaských zemí zavedeny dříve než jinde, je to ale dáno i zásadními nerovnostmi v rámci globálního akademického prostředí a obzvláště to promlouvá o některých přetrvávajících nerovnostech mezi globálním Severem a Jihem. Jsme přesvědčené, že je třeba přistupovat k současné neoliberalní akademické skutečnosti z široké geopolitické perspektivy, protože ta může přinést nové porozumění, jak je současná akademická praxe genderovaná v globálním kontextu i v různých lokálních a národních prostředích. To je také důvodem, proč oba texty českých socioložek publikujeme v české a anglické verzi – v anglické verzi mají přispět k mezinárodní diskusi o tématu, v české k té místní.

Naše monotematické číslo obsahuje příspěvky z prostředí České republiky, Estonska, ale třeba i Jihoafrické republiky. Přesto si uvědomujeme omezenost záběru předkládaného souboru článků, který jen z části plyne z omezeného rozsahu časopisu. Články v čísle poukazují na podobnosti, ale i rozdílnosti v rámci Evropy<sup>2</sup> díky textům pocházejícím z různých politických, společenských a historických kontextů. Nicméně

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<sup>2</sup> V rámci tohoto čísla se navíc objevují pouze články ze zemí Evropské unie, tedy ne z celé Evropy.

ně všechny příspěvky až na jeden se soustředí na různé podoby neoliberalizace na evropské akademické půdě. Tato skutečnost i to, že všechny hostující editorky pocházejí z Evropy a pracují v ní, nastoluje téma globální geopolitiky a transnacionálních mocenských vztahů ve vědě a výzkumu, které různým způsobem ovlivnily vznik tohoto monotematického čísla. Věříme, že společenské a materiální nerovnosti v globálním kontextu si stále zasluhují pozornost. I když se procesy spojené s neoliberalizací vysokého školství i výzkumu objevují v mnoha zemích, kříží se s dalšími strukturálními problémy, jež jsou místně specifické, jako jsou například hluboké rasové nerovnosti a násilí, ale i další znepokojující pozůstatky kolonialismu, které mohou přebít nespravedlnost pramenící z neoliberálních politik, jak ukazuje jihoafrický případ (viz článek Deirdre Byrne v tomto čísle).

Jakkoli kriticky zkoumáme některé z nedávných praktik a proměn na (našich) univerzitách, stále považujeme nepřetržitou existenci univerzitního prostředí i výzkumu jako míst tvorby vědění za samozřejmost v materiálním i diskursivním smyslu. V jiných částech světa se ale setkáváme s jinými, dost možná naléhavějšími kritikami univerzitního prostředí a celého systému vysokoškolského vzdělávání a výzkumu, než jsou kritiky neoliberalizujících tendencí. To, že se můžeme soustředit na způsoby, jimiž neoliberální politiky ovlivňují vysoké školství a výzkum i naši pozici v nich, aniž bychom se musely ptát na naši epistemickou a kulturní hegemonii, ukazuje, jak privilegovanou geopolitickou pozici máme.

Jako názornou ukázkou vlastní situovanosti uvedeme širší souvislosti vzniku tohoto monotematického čísla. Jde o výpověď o naší pozici v rámci neoliberalizující se akademické půdy, kde se naše privilegované i znevýhodněné pozice různým způsobem zkrížily.

Myšlenka tohoto monotematického čísla se zrodila z řady plodných a konstruktivních diskuzí a výzkumných spoluprací v rámci transnacionálního kontextu, který vznikl díky síti RINGS. Sdružení RINGS (The International Research Association of Institutions of Advanced Gender Studies) bylo založeno v roce 2015 s cílem propojit výzkumné instituce z celého světa, jež se zaměřují na genderový a feministický výzkum. Ačkoliv se sdružení soustavně snaží zahrnout instituce z celého světa, tedy i mimo severní a západní Evropu, mezi aktivními členskými organizacemi je jich pouze několik. Toto monotematické číslo mělo původně mít také širší zastoupení z celého světa. Příspěvky, které se nám podařilo nakonec shromáždit, odrážejí nejen rozdíly v postavení akademiků a akademiček z různých zemí a v jejich vztahu k procesům neoliberalizace, ale i hluboké materiální nerovnosti a rozdílné příležitosti poskytované v akademických prostředích ve světovém měřítku. V našem konkrétním případě se to odrazilo na nedostupnosti institucionálních prostředků na cestovné pro zástupce jednotlivých center, která je vysílají na výroční schůzi sdružení RINGS, kde vzniká výzkumná spolupráce, jako tomu bylo v případě tohoto tematického čísla.

Rozdílné pracovní podmínky a kontexty tvorby vědění členek editorského týmu také významně ovlivnily práci hostujících editorek při přípravě tohoto monotematického čísla. Všechny tři hostující editorky jsou feministické socioložky. Žijeme a pracujeme ve vysokoškolských a výzkumných institucích v Paderbornu, Praze a Tallinnu. V rámci našich institucí zastáváme různé pozice: Birgit Riegraf je profesorkou, Blanka Nyklová je postdoktorandkou a vysokoškolskou učitelkou, zatímco Kadri Aavik pracuje jako vysokoškolská učitelka na částečný úvazek.

První setkání našeho editorského týmu se uskutečnilo v Tallinnu v listopadu 2016. Nešlo o náhodu. Proces výběru místa setkání je dobrým příkladem narůstajícího významu hierarchií a nerovností v rámci akademických institucí a mezi akademiky a akademičkami. Zároveň se jedná o projev některých procesů neoliberalizace akademické půdy, na které se v čísle zaměřujeme.

Čtvrtinový úvazek, který má Kadri na výuku, zahrnuje i požadavek na provádění výzkumu a administrativní práci, ovšem pouze v minimální míře, kterou Kadri zásadním způsobem překračuje (jak je tiše očekáváno jejími nadřízenými). Za dané situace pro ni bylo vyloučené získat peníze na náklady spojené s cestovním například na editorskou schůzi. Blanka se ocitla v podobné situaci, neboť nikdy neměla smlouvu na více než dva roky. Nejprve si chtěla cestu zaplatit z vlastních zdrojů, ale její nadřízená nakonec našla peníze na cestovné a ubytování. Jediná z nás, která disponovala vlastním rozpočtem na cestovné z institucionálních zdrojů, tak byla Birgit. Jako profesorka sociologie má smlouvu na dobu neurčitou a může se výzkumně zaměřovat na témata podle vlastního výběru. Tato „svoboda“ závisí na její schopnosti získat velké finanční zdroje a publikovat na prestižních místech.

Stejně jako většina lidí v akademickém prostředí se každodenně potýkáme s nedostatkem času. Ani jedna z nás si nemohla dovolit využít pro práci spojenou s něčím „mimo hlavní pracovní náplň“ (jako je editování časopisu) pracovní dny. To, že jsme se v Tallinnu setkaly o víkendu, tak pramenilo z konkrétních okolností a naší situovanosti v neoliberálním akademickém prostředí. To vedlo k tomu, že jsme všechny potřebovaly pracovat o víkendu a vnímat cíle tohoto monotematického čísla jako důležitější než vlastní volný čas. Každá z nás cítí, že pracuje výrazně víc, než by bylo rozumné, zdravé (a skutečně intelektuálně plodné), ale s různou úrovní materiálního zabezpečení a s rozdílným přístupem k finančním zdrojům. I když nám tyto podmínky s prací nepomohly, všechny si myslíme, že se bohatě vyplatila. To se netýká jen textů, které se v tomto čísle objevují. Od sebe navzájem jsme se hodně naučily, vedly jsme podnětné diskuse, jež nám pomohly lépe porozumět neoliberalismu jako žité a vtělené realitě v našich rozdílných kontextech.

Podobně jako se lišíme v rámci editorského týmu z hlediska našich pracovních podmínek, i autorky a autor článků v tomto čísle se pohybují v různých akademických prostředích, z nichž vycházejí jejich zkušenosti.

Předkládané monotematické číslo obsahuje šest článků. Záměrně zde nenabízíme vyčerpávající vymezení neoliberalismu a neoliberální univerzity, ale necháváme na autorkách a autorovi článků, aby vykreslili obraz toho, co chápou jako výraz neoliberalismu v jejich jednotlivých akademických prostředích. I když se autorky a autor neshodují v univerzálním porozumění termínům „neoliberální“ a „neoliberalizace“, všechny příspěvky se dotýkají rozšířeného zavádění tržních principů a s tím spojeného zavádění podnikatelských nástrojů do akademických systémů.

Články ukazují, že zavádění tržní logiky do akademického prostředí v zemích, o kterých se v nich píše, nabylo různé podoby. Zaměření na ekonomizaci akademické půdy s dalekosáhlými důsledky pro pracovní, studijní a výzkumné podmínky lze nalézt v nějaké podobě téměř ve všech analyzovaných kontextech.

První článek – článek Jeffa Hearn – má nejširší záběr. V textu s názvem „Neoliberální univerzity, patriarcháty, maskulinity a já: transnacionální osobní úvahy nad globálním Severem a z globálního Severu“ Jeff z autobiografické a transnacionální perspektivy analyzuje své zkušenosti s prací na skandinávských a britských univerzitách. Vidí souvislost mezi procesy transnacionalizace neoliberální akademické půdy, maskulinitami a patriarcháty. Jeho srovnávací pohled poskytuje cenný vhled do toho, jak se tyto procesy projevují v různých akademických prostředích.

Další článek se zaměřuje na neoliberální reformy vědy v České republice a slouží i pro srovnání s vývojem ve skandinávských zemích a v Británii. Článek Marcely Linkové nese titul „Akademická excelence a genderové předsudky v praktikách a vnímání vědců ve vedení a rozhodovacích pozicích“ a zaměřuje se na koncept excelence na neoliberální akademické půdě v České republice. V rámci nového řízení vědy se těžko postižitelná myšlenka „excelence“ stala klíčovou kategorií pro hodnocení vědců, vědkyň a vědeckých organizací. Marcela zkoumá to, jak vedoucí laboratoří a vedoucí výzkumní pracovníci v přírodních vědách konstruují pojem excelence a jak jsou jejich představy genderované.

Třetí článek se rovněž zabývá „excelencí ve vědě“. Autorky Birgit Riegraf a Lena Weber se dívají na pojem excelence z jiného úhlu. Ve svém článku „Excelence a politiky genderové rovnosti na neoliberálních univerzitách“ se zabývají německým akademickým prostředím. Na základě dvou případových studií z Německa autorky ukazují na propojení „excelence“ a „genderu“ i na to, jak je toto spojení nahlodáváno v kontextu neoliberální akademické půdy.

Následuje článek Deirdre Byrne s názvem „Učení a výzkum v rámci ženských a genderových studií v postapartheidní JAR“, který se věnuje procesům neoliberalizace a jejich vlivu na genderová studia v JAR i tomu, jak se neoliberalizace univerzit proplétá s odkazem kolonialismu. Deirdre zastává názor, že postapartheidní neoliberální stát a obrát k managerialismu v řízení univerzit omezují akademickou svobodu učit a provádět výzkum.

Kadri Aavik představuje svůj pohled na často neviditelné a nepřiznané rozdíly mezi různými akademickými prostředními v rámci Evropy. Její článek nese titul „Dělání neoliberalismu na kampusu: zranitelnost mechanismů genderové rovnosti na estonské akademické půdě“. Zkoumá způsoby, jimiž vlivné osoby v rámci estonských univerzit konstruují genderovanou neoliberální skutečnost. Její zjištění naznačují, že některá klíčová opatření pro zajištění genderové rovnosti nesou významy, které prohlubují nerovnosti a slouží zájmům univerzity, spíše než by pomáhaly spustit kýženou proměnu genderových vztahů.

Poslední článek tohoto monotematického čísla se také zabývá genderovými studiemi. Blanka Nyklová v něm zkoumá to, jak může neoliberalizující se kontext výuky být přínosný pro praktikování feministické pedagogiky. Blančin článek nese titul „Obchodování s odlišností: dvě pedagogické příležitosti na křižovatce neoliberální univerzity a geopolitiky“ a zabývá se prostředím programu zahraničního studia pro studenty z USA, který funguje v České republice, a možnostmi, které nabízí pro kritické studium geopolitiky, jež stojí v jeho základu.

Závěrem bychom chtěly poděkovat síti RINGS a jejím členským organizacím za jejich dlouhodobou podporu globální spolupráci v rámci feministických a genderových studií a za tematizaci neoliberalizace akademického prostředí v tomto kontextu. Náš vděk směřuje k lidem, jejichž obětavost a úsilí přispěly ke vzniku tohoto monotematického čísla: šéfredaktorce Zuzaně Uhde, redakční radě časopisu a dále autorkám a autorovi: všichni souhlasili se zapojením do tohoto projektu, i když většina z nich pracuje právě za podmínek, jež mnoho z článků tohoto čísla i tento úvodník kritizují. V neposlední řadě jsme zavázány všem anonymním recenzentkám a recenzentům, kteří přinesli různé pohledy, ale spojuje je zájem o gender a neoliberální univerzitu. Recenzní řízení pro toto číslo bylo obzvláště dlouhé a komplikované, neboť nastaly problémy s nalezením recenzentek a recenzentů, kteří by byli ochotni a mohli věnovat svůj (pravděpodobně volný) čas a úsilí činnosti recenzování, i kvůli časovým omezením na straně těch, kdo se do tohoto procesu pustili. Jedná se zde bez pochyby o odraz toho, jaké tlaky na nás všechny neoliberální univerzity vyvíjejí, byť různými způsoby. Zároveň to vypovídá o tom, jaké akademické činnosti se „počítají“: zásadní práce recenzování je zcela jistě jedním z úkonů, které na neoliberální univerzitě často zůstávají skryté a nedocenené. Proto jsme obzvláště vděčné recenzentkám a recenzentům za jejich čas a intelektuální energii, které vložili do přípravy tohoto monotematického čísla.

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Zuzana Uhde  
šéfredaktorka

# Neoliberal Universities, Patriarchies, Masculinities, and Myself: Transnational-personal Reflections on and from the Global North<sup>1</sup>

**Jeff Hearn**

**Abstract:** This article reflects on working in eight universities in Finland, Sweden, and the UK, along with many transnational research projects. These are analysed within the framework of what might be called neoliberal universities, neoliberal trans(national)patriarchies, and neoliberal masculinities. Importantly, these are reflections from the global North, being transnationally located there, rather than glossed as ‘global’ or simply assumed as nationally contextualised. This discussion is located within the burgeoning literature on neoliberalism, and then proceeds to examine, first, experiences in the UK, before those in Finland and Sweden. The final section focuses on the transnationalisation of these neoliberal processes in academia – for example, through transnational research development, projectisation of research, and language use, performance and performativity. In such ways multiple connections are drawn between the greater organisational ‘autonomy’ of universities, contradictions of transnationalisations of academia, and the construction of ‘autonomous’ individual(ist) academics.

**Keywords:** neoliberalism, universities, transnational reflections

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In late 1990s and early 2000s I became particularly interested in charting broad structural changes in UK male-dominated university regimes, managements, patriarchies, and gender relations (Hearn 1999, 2001). This was inspired partly by my experience in the UK as a head of a multi-disciplinary department, and partly through relocating to Finland, and trying to make sense of the UK system from the outside (Hearn 2002), as well as being with my partner, a leading expert on gender and academia. I was especially interested in the implications of changing university management regimes for constructions of men and masculinities (see Collier 1998). This interest has not gone away, but rather has become intensified in two ways: by continuing to work in three countries – Finland, Sweden, and the UK – and also for a few years working part time in Norway; and by the major increase in both the intensification and the internationalisation of academia and my own involvement in many transnational researches. In the European context, internationalisation of research and teaching has notably been promoted by the European Union.

In recent years there has been a qualified return of interest in the concept of patriarchy and thus neopatriarchy, neoliberal patriarchy, and 'neoliberal neopatriarchy' (Campbell 2014) as ways of making sense of both neoliberalism and globalisation. These debates are also of relevance for academia. Neoliberal universities operating within neoliberal (transnational) patriarchies (Hearn 2015a) are sites of neoliberal masculinities. Recent neoliberal tendencies in universities in these three countries have taken both similar and different forms. I present here some personal reflections on and around what might be called in shorthand: neoliberal universities, neoliberal trans(national)patriarchies, and neoliberal masculinities. Importantly, these are reflections on and from the global North, being transnationally located there, rather than glossed as 'global' or simply assumed as nationally contextualised.

While my focus in this article on the three countries of Finland, Sweden and the UK stems in large part from my personal experience there, this assists a more general comparison both between a more established (neo)liberal system, the UK, and the Nordic loosely social democratic systems (see Esping-Andersen 1990), and also between the two Nordic systems of Finland and Sweden. For example, Sweden has followed a more explicitly social democratic and more overtly egalitarian historical trajectory, but neoliberal influences in its governance are no weaker and are perhaps even clearer than in Finland with its traditions of dual full-time earners, qualified corporatism, and coalition politics. While Sweden is more egalitarian and social democratic in rhetoric, and indeed in explicit interventions, than Finland, societal outcomes are not so very different. For example, in 2012 Finland had a declining Gini coefficient of 27.12 and Sweden a rising figure of 27.32 (the UK stands far

more unequally at 32.57).<sup>2</sup> The 2016 World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Index places Finland second at .845, Sweden fourth at .815, and the UK twentieth at .752.<sup>3</sup>

The article is in some ways a personal account of working across three countries, an approach bringing both challenges and potentialities. Though not an autoethnography, it builds on this and other reflexive approaches such as critical life history and memory work, along with documentary analysis. It derives from slow scholarship, long-term engagement with three different academic systems, and everyday ways of working across three different disciplines and different types of university. The following account, though necessarily selective, seeks to bring together observations on and experiences of concrete practices, complex organisational processes, and broader trends in academia within their (trans)societal contexts – as exerting considerable impact on contemporary academics.

The remainder of the article is structured as follows: first, I review what is meant by neoliberalism and its relevance for universities, as a background to the sections of the UK, and then the two Nordic countries. In the final section, I engage with some transnational and personal reflections that cut across the previous country-based examinations.

## **Neoliberalism and neoliberal universities**

Now there is much talk of neoliberalism, and, at the same time, the neoliberal university. Neoliberalism seems to be the motif of the age. In many ways we know more or less what is meant by the shorthand ‘neoliberalism’. But what is neoliberalism? Not surprisingly, there are multiple approaches to neoliberalism. Terry Flew (2014) has identified various different uses of neoliberalism, including notions as diverse as a description of a particular Anglo-American institutional economic framework, a form of governmentality and hegemony, and a variation on liberal political theory. Often, though far from always, neoliberalism is cited negatively as an ‘all-purpose denunciatory category’ (Flew 2014: 51; see also Boas, Gans-Morse 2009; Thorsen 2010). At the risk of simplification, different, and sometimes contradictory, understandings of neoliberalism stem, to some extent, from disciplinary differences, principally from economics, political science, sociology, and cultural studies.

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<sup>2</sup> The Gini coefficient (sometimes Gini ratio or normalised Gini index) is the most commonly used measure of national income or wealth inequality. The higher the figure the greater inequality. A Gini coefficient of 1 (or 100%) expresses maximal inequality; for example, where, amongst a large number of people, only one person has all the income, and all others have none, the Gini coefficient will be very nearly 1. See: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI>

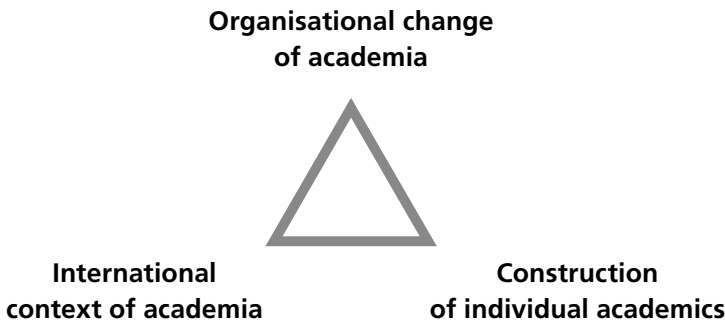
<sup>3</sup> See: <https://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/rankings/>

In economics, neoliberalism refers to contemporary forms of (global) capitalism that involve intensive profit-led economic growth, the move to financialisation, and the extension of financial markets and indeed informatised capitalism into new commodities. In some senses, this is a return to some of the ideologies of nineteenth century laissez-faire capitalism; in other ways, it is capitalist development in a new form. This version of capitalism has been promoted since the 1970s by a wide variety of actors, including the Chicago School of economics and its followers. It not only entails greater claims for the market and capitalists themselves, but has also led to the shift from Keynesianism to monetarism in public economic policy. These are clearly political processes. In political science, discussions on neoliberalism have focused more on the changing role of the state, the blurring of the economy/capitalism/private sector and politics/state/public sector, political moves against trade unionism, and the growth of new public management. In the US context, Wendy Brown has argued that 'part of what makes neoliberalism "neo" is that it depicts free markets, free trade, and entrepreneurial rationality as *achieved and normative*' (Brown 2006: 694; emphasis in the original). Colin Hay (2004), writing in the UK context, has gone further in moving the analysis from normative to normalised and to necessitarian neoliberalism. Thus, this is not only a move from the New Right, but also at times from Left and Centre (Hay 1999; Larner 2000), as politicians across mainstream party spectra work within relatively given financial parameters. The 'neo' is thus partly about ideology and in turn discourse.

In many sociological, and some cultural, studies, capitalism, or these neoliberal forms, inhabit the person, identity, and the self, often seen as set within the knowledge society. This is, depending on one's cultural references, an internalisation, a subjectivation, and perhaps most importantly an (illusory) sense of calculative, entrepreneurial choice and economic individualism. As Zygmunt Bauman argued some years ago, the contemporary societal situation means that 'the successor of the modern state places its bet on the expedient of privatizing and diffusing dissent, rather than collectivizing it and prompting it to accumulate' (Bauman 1991: 279). Linking to neoliberal subjectivity, Lisa Duggan has observed that neoliberalism involves 'the transforming of global cultures into "market cultures"' (Duggan 2004: 12). Such perspectives have been further developed through other conceptualisations – for example, cognitive capitalism (Boateng 2011) and surveillance capitalism (Zuboff 2015). Sociological approaches often speak to the possible, potential, or actual merging of economy, politics, and culture. This is a heady mix: an inescapable and illusive framing that brings together structurally determining sovereign power and the poststructuralist incorporation of society *within* the person, discourse, language, and culture, rather than simply being their context. The (Foucauldian) mode of information (Poster 1990) has arrived.

All of these themes and interpretations assist an understanding of the workings of the universities and are to be found in universities, in the so-called neoliberal universities. So what are the implications of all this? There is now a considerable literature on these trends in education and higher education (e.g. Davies, Bansel 2007; Berg, Barry, Chandler 2008; Brinn Hyatt, Shear, Wright 2015). Since the early 1980s there have been, to different degrees and in different national contexts, a wide range of organisational reforms in universities, along with the greater internationalisation or transnationalisations, of academia, which together have in turn had profound effects on the construction of individual academics. Thus, changing gendered, intersectional *relations* occur between the organizational forms of academia, the international context of academia, and the constructions of individual academics. Together, these make historically different, distinct, and changing academic relations. These interlinked, sometimes *simultaneous*, relations can be represented as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Relations between the international context of academia, organisational change, and the construction of academics



The broad socio-political trends that have been and are still taking place, both within and beyond academia, include, as noted in different degrees in different countries, extensions of global neoliberal capitalism into the worlds of academia and higher education, with various forms of direct and indirect privatisations and often austerities. These moves are summed up in the term the 'corporate university' (Beynon 2016). The corporate university of the global North is increasingly becoming the transnational corporate university, through both greater transnational interconnections and collaborations and the spatial extensions of the power of many global North universities, especially those of the Anglophone North, by their vigorous entry into educational markets elsewhere. Numerous UK and other

'Western' universities have now established campuses in the Gulf region, East Asia, and elsewhere. Likewise, there are major expansions of universities, many privately owned and run, in those regions. At the same time there are major forms of educational movement and student and researcher migration (see Forstorp and Mellström 2013).

Meanwhile in these moves, the national educational 'welfare' state shifts to the regulatory, controlling state, through New Public Management, and the blurring of national public state and private capitalist sectors. The organisational and managerial mechanisms for these developments involve the deep embedding of greater accountability through financialised, monitoring, and reporting ICT systems, as well as more specific forms of audit culture, in which academics are increasingly involved in being assessed and doing assessment (Strathern 2003; also see Beer 2016). At the level of the research team, projectisations and short-term contractualism dominate in many fields. At the individual level, individual performance and performance measurement are the norm, with each person an entrepreneurial, assessable production-unit. These trends interconnect.

Academia is thus going through a historical phase of intensified managerialism, and is more transnational, more financialised, more ICT-driven, and more individualised than earlier moves to technocratic management in the 1980s and 1990s. Broad transnational contexts and organisational changes coalesce with individual levels of practice and supposedly 'individual, gender-neutral, academic choice'. Capitalist(ic), neo-patriarchal short-term performance measurement is the current mode, combining transnational non-local performance and individual performance-based performativity with a heavy toll on academics' lives (Kinman, Wray 2013; *THE* 2016).

### **Local cases: universities and academia within national and transnational settings**

So that is some of the background; for the remainder of this paper, I reflect on these issues and gendered changes through my own research, policy, and working experience across universities and academia in different national locations and embedded within wider transnational settings. While neoliberal forces and trends can be understood transnationally, exerting powerful pressures across national boundaries, the specific form they take in local cases depends on a mix of more immediate historical, societal, and institutional conditions and political processes. The discussion that follows is informed by my working experience within several different disciplinary positions and institutional contexts – sociology, gender studies, work research, and management and organisation studies – and different managerial contexts in the UK, Finland, and Sweden (Table 1).

Table 1: Summary of main university affiliations

COUNTRY	MAIN DISCIPLINARY BASES	TYPE OF UNIVERSITY
<b>Finland</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. sociology</li> <li>ii. work research</li> <li>iii. management and organisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. old general university</li> <li>ii. newer general university</li> <li>iii. business school</li> </ul>
<b>Sweden</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. gender studies</li> <li>ii. gender studies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. and ii. both newer general universities</li> </ul>
<b>UK</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. social policy and women's studies</li> <li>ii. social policy</li> <li>iii. sociology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. newer general university</li> <li>ii. old general university</li> <li>iii. newer general university</li> </ul>

There are several ways of framing and categorising my own relation to these changes in academia. First, there was an apparently stable, more continuous, and predictable period of 21 years 1974–1995 at the University of Bradford, though this obscures the fact that being in the same Department of Social Policy, Social Work, and Women's Studies still meant major disciplinary, organisational and political changes, and some rapid shifts in both routine and academic politics. Next, there was a more transitional phase, from 1995 to 2003, spent mainly at Manchester University, along with temporary part-time periods at four Finnish universities. Then, the third period can be taken as from 2003, when I left Manchester and secured a full-time post in Finland, followed by part-time posts in Sweden. Over the last twenty years I have worked, at professorial level, in *various combinations* of work, first in the UK and Finland, and then in the UK, Finland, and Sweden. Indeed, for almost every other year of the last 20 years there has been a different detailed combination of employments. And now I am at the beginning of a new phase, as officially retired, by age, but in fact working more or less full time through a number of part-time posts and projects, and without some of the previous responsibilities. My engagement with these changing national academic contexts is not discrete, but in personal, sometimes institutional, and often transnational, terms overlapping and sedimented (Clegg, Dunkerley 1980; Smith 1990).

### **The UK: new forms of leading in neoliberalism**

So, first, let me turn to the UK. My initial studies there stretched across four universities – Oxford, Oxford Brookes, Leeds, and Bradford – while my university employment base shifted from Bradford to Manchester and then to Huddersfield. These universities all



have very different histories, profiles, ways of organising, managerial regimes, and, to an extent, gender regimes.

From the 1960s and 1970s the (male) 'collegial fraternity' and patriarchal university management underwent significant change towards technocratic university patriarchies in the 1980s (de Groot 1995; Davies, Holloway 1995; Hearn 1999, 2001). The form of the 'gentlemen's clubs' was rather different in 1960s Oxbridge, with its single-sex colleges still in the late 1960s, compared to the staff room of Bradford University, with its strong technological flavour, domination of engineers, and northern English gritty masculinity. In particular, from the early 1980s there was a shift from the near male monopoly of these various university gentlemen's clubs of the 1960s, 1970s, and even 1980s, to more technocratic managerialist masculinities in UK academia. The early 1980s were something of a turning point in university evolution, with the abandonment of level funding in December 1980 and government cutbacks in March 1981 of 13.5%. This led to very variable cutbacks for different universities and coded 'advice' from the central university machinery, the University Grants Commission, on what academic subjects should be expanded, reduced, or abolished in specific universities. By 1983 *The Attack on Higher Education* (Kogan, Kogan 1983) was published, a book that summarises these changes in the UK.

With the first round of the UK national research assessment, introduced 30 years ago in 1986 by the Thatcher government, albeit in very different forms to now, new financial and planning systems were introduced at both governmental and individual university levels. The centralised assessment of 'cost centres' in universities entailed more centralised controls, greater monitoring and surveillance, more standardised instruments of measurement across disciplines, and prioritising publications and 'quality', even with less resources per unit, however that is assessed. Arguably, it also established greater transparency in funding allocations at a time of declining budgets. Since then, national research assessment has taken various forms, increasingly focusing on a limited number of publications per researcher entered, devoting more attention to the research environment, and, perhaps above all, showing more concern with 'research impact' in the sense of impact on life beyond the university in technological innovation, business applications, policy, decision-making, social change, and so on. The situation has recently been summarised as follows:

The Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) is a peer review exercise, undertaken on behalf of the four British higher education funding councils, the intention of which is to evaluate the quality of research in UK higher education institutions. It began in 1986, and has been conducted at roughly five-year intervals since. Some historians have argued this has gravely distorted the research process, vastly increasing the pressure, especially on young academics, to publish quickly rather than allow their ideas to mature. Others argue that they would have produced the number of publications



required for RAE submission without external promoting, and that thus in this regard it has had little effect. All agree that the level of bureaucracy involved in the process has become increasingly onerous. The successor to the RAE, the Research Excellence Framework, is currently being developed amid lively debate concerning the use of metrics to evaluate performance. ('Making history ...' n.d.)

To implement all this at the local level, 'top management teams' and 'strategic review bodies' and the like were created and strengthened. These different organisational regimes represented different gendered managements, different gender dynamics, and different academic and academic-managerial men and masculinities. Interestingly, the shift to the latter, more managerialist gender regimes was, to some extent, intertwined with the challenges of feminisms and other movements within the academy. While radicalism, (pro)feminism, and managerialism might seem odd bedfellows, they were and still are concerned with making the academic managerial systems more transparent, more accountable, less overtly discriminatory, more 'collective' (see Hearn 2014). While collegial fraternity amongst lower- and middle-status male faculty was on something of a decline, or at least open to challenge from several quarters, university managerial cultures shifted from the very hierarchical, almost feudal, patriarchal forms – in the sense of the legitimacy of and trust in the elite university patriarchs, the 'great and the good' – to, somewhat paradoxically, more fraternal management.

These latter 'brotherhoods' emerged in the form of new technocratic strategic bodies, committees, and top management teams, usually overwhelmingly made up of male managers. They have operated, and, with some qualifications, still operate, with a strange contradictory mix of informatised transparency and outright secrecy, such that it was difficult to locate specific individual responsibility. There were several further contradictions and complexities of this technocratic system: the intertwining of academic and managerial hierarchies; the growing technologisation and informatisation of academic output (if it isn't re-recorded, it doesn't exist!); the contradictory ideological climate around gender and gender equality; the changing gender and generational composition of management (Hearn 2001). Together, these have made for a continuing impact of greater managerialism and intensification on everyday academic working.

Since the late 1990s these processes have been accompanied by the more fully fledged marketisation and transactional selling of knowledge, not least through bond sales on the money markets, high fee levels, and the exploitation of the marketising of degrees, especially at postgraduate levels, on the 'international' market. In the UK, fees were introduced (except in Scotland) by the 'New Labour' government in 1998 at £3,000 per year, and have since then been raised to £9,000. This clear market push has been directed by further centralisations, with vice-chancellors and pro-

vice-chancellors taking more resources and control power for themselves, in some contrast to what seemed to be the initially more collective management noted above. It has also been accompanied by greater decision-making power moving to administrators, human resource departments, external relations, and 'enterprise' units, each with their own goals, which are rarely primarily academic.

These organisational changes are paralleled at the more individual and group level. The use of research assessment, initially at a collective level, is now atomised to the level of the individual academic too. This way of 'doing research', or more accurately 'doing publication' and 'doing impact', makes for many opportunities and possibilities for playing the system or 'gamesmanship' in publishing (Macdonald, Kam 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010), especially in management studies. For example, colleagues who are publishing less or not at all may be co-opted to the publishing plans or 'outputs' of heavier, more active publishers. In some universities this gaming of the rules of assessment is an *explicit* formal institutional strategy, as the research assessment has both shorter- and longer-term implications for research income from the national centre.

These various change processes have proved very stressful for many UK academics. Nearly three-quarters of academics surveyed in the 2016 *THE [Times Higher Education] University Workplace Survey* reported being deeply disillusioned with their university's future plans and senior leadership (Beynon 2016). The *THE* report also points to a major structural division within universities, with massive differences between academics and university administrative, professional, and support staff in their felt experiences at work:

When asked if their university leadership is performing well, only 28 per cent [of academics] agree, compared with 61 per cent of administrators. Academics are also markedly less likely to be excited about their university's plans (27 per cent felt this way, compared with 63 per cent of professional and support staff). ... only 38 per cent of academics would recommend working at their university, compared with 77 per cent of professional and support staff.<sup>4</sup>

The combination of the atomisation of academics and the marketisation of students and academia more generally that has gathered pace over the last 20 years is mutually reinforcing. In discussing these kinds of movement, Ann Phoenix (2004: 227) cites Valerie Walkerdine and colleagues in suggesting that neoliberalism has positioned people as responsible for their own 'self-invention and transformation' to be 'capable of surviving within the new social, economic and political system' (Walkerdine et al. 2001: 3). This 'self-invention' applies for academic managers, academics, students,

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/university-workplace-survey-2016-results-and-analysis>.

and the general population, including those facing growing disadvantage. Alison Phipps and Isabel Young (2015: 314) have recently expressed a similar cultural shift in UK universities as follows:

... marketised universities exist within (and perpetuate) a culture based in 'having' or 'getting' (grades and/or jobs), which develops a sense of entitlement and in which education becomes a transactional exchange. ... Such market-based views of personhood threaten the existence of community ...

Surviving as an individual, a micro-economic unit, an academic or a student seems to be what is at stake in this personalised capitalist world context.

These moves also have a profound impact on research, including the gendering of research. In terms of specific implications for research content, I met these various ideological neoliberal forms of life very directly in 1990 when taking part in the UK's Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) small research programme called, somewhat ambiguously, 'The Management of Personal Welfare', which ran until 1995. What was interesting about this research programme funding was that it was based, initially at least in its framing, on the stress-coping-social support (SCSS) model of how people cope materially and socio-psychologically with problems and challenges; the assumptions behind the model are individual and group-based, not structural. Through this diversifying approach, ambiguities were possible between: on one hand, the critique of monolithic models of welfare and the critiques on difference, multiplicity, multiple oppressions, intersectionality, and 'diversity', *including* anti-racist, feminist, and leftist critiques; and on the other, increasing pressures to accede to the demands of neoliberalism, for example, in focusing on the individual and the local 'resilience' and self-reliance of welfare clients, customers, and users, assumed to be able to cope differentially with social problems (Williams, Hearn, Edwards 1999; Popay, Popay, Oakley 1998; for a more contemporary analysis, see Chandler, Reid 2016). While the SCSS model was ostensibly gender-neutral, in practice it did not deal well with gender power relations. In 'testing' it, Jalna Hanmer and I collaborated to see whether and how the model worked in relation to: (i) women who had experienced or were experiencing violence from known men, usually partners or ex-partners; and (ii) men who had been or were violent to known women, usually partners or ex-partners. Needless to say, the SCSS model did not fare well, when those who might be one's main source of 'support' were the very people being violent or being violated. This was the last major research project I was involved with in the UK, before I moved to Finland.

Universities in the UK seem to have gone a long way down the neoliberal road. And they may still have further to go. This is in part attributable to the establishment of a complex system of centralised national control, monitoring, and auditing combined

with devolving ‘autonomy’ to universities – meaning in effect more centralised control *within* each university – and using the language of autonomy to further marketisation. The language in use operates within strongly marketised neo-liberal transnational contexts, offering marketised education and degree qualifications, often operationalised by and constitutive of neoliberal masculinities.

## Nordic followers of neoliberalism

Many of the features described in relation to the UK can also be observed in the Nordic region, albeit in a less pronounced form and with an apparent time-lag, perhaps 15 years ‘behind’ (or perhaps “ahead”) the UK, and with different national systems for universities and funding. The recent European Universities Association (EUA) report *University Autonomy in Europe*<sup>5</sup> is a very useful summary of developments. In the report on the extent of university autonomy across EU countries, using four main criteria, the UK came out first in organisational autonomy, second in staff autonomy, and third in both financial and academic autonomy. In comparison, the Finnish university system was some way behind, and Sweden was significantly less autonomous (see Table 2).

Table 2: Ranking of the extent of autonomy in selected countries

	ORGANISATIONAL	FINANCIAL	STAFF	ACADEMIC
<b>Finland</b>	3rd	16th	6th	5th
<b>Sweden</b>	20th	16th	3rd	14th
<b>UK</b>	1st	3rd	2nd	3rd

(Out of 29 European countries)

My own main academic base in Finland has been in a business school, the Hanken School of Economics, formerly the Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration, historically established for the Swedish-speaking Finns, now reduced to a 5% minority with full language rights. I have also spent shorter periods in departments of sociology, gender studies, and work research in three other, more general universities: Helsinki, Tampere, and Åbo Academy. My working experience in Sweden is less extensive time-wise, but still spans over ten years at Linköping and Örebro Universities, as well as visiting professorships at Gothenburg, Linnæus

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.university-autonomy.eu/>.

(Växjö), and Uppsala, with additional extensive links with Karlstad, Lund, and Umeå. The disciplinary connections crossed gender studies, social sciences, sociology, and interdisciplinary research. My Norwegian experience is much more limited as a three-year part-time attachment in sociology at Oslo University.

There are both similarities and differences between these three Nordic countries. For a start, they are much more equal societies than the UK in both class and gender terms, and gender equality is recognised as respectable in all Nordic countries. Ideologically, Sweden is probably the most upfront in terms of gender equality, with almost all political parties supporting feminism, and with an explicitly feminist (Social Democratic) government. However, when it comes to universities and higher education, the broad gender structures, vertically and horizontally, are less different between the Nordic countries and the UK.

Having said that, there are some notable differences. For example, Finland has long had a higher proportion of women amongst the professoriate or at Grade A academic staff, at about one quarter (Husu 2001), than other Nordic countries (something some Swedes can find hard to believe), while Sweden has had, until recently, significantly fewer women professors, close to the 2012 EU average of 20% (She Figures 2013, Table 3.1). These figures have now risen to about 29% for Finland and 25% for Sweden, according to respective national official statistics.<sup>6</sup> Part of the increases in the proportion of women in the professoriate in Sweden is due to the recently established system of internally promoted (*befordran*) professors who have the professorial title, but do not compete with external competition and retain the same duties and pay. At the same time, Sweden has had more women university rectors (vice-chancellors), and they now fill about half of such positions. Norway and Sweden have in recent years been more active than Finland in the promotion of gender equality in universities and institutions of higher education.

Yet the situation is still more complex. For example, Sweden may appear the most active in developing and supporting gender studies as a university discipline, but the discipline and gender studies scholars are also fairly regularly subject to significant political attack from both within and beyond academia. Moreover, while in Sweden consensus, moderation, and politeness are often culturally valued, this is only one level of interaction; behind the scenes, and sometimes not far behind, there is another layer of patriarchal, not so moderate, and not so polite interaction, power, and process. The cultural valuation of consensus and moderation in Sweden can

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<sup>6</sup> The 2015 figure of 25% for Sweden is taken from governmental figures: [http://www.scb.se/sv\\_/Hitta-statistik/Temaomraden/Jamstalldhet/Indikatorer/Jamn-fordelning-av-makt-och-inflytande/Ovrig-representation/Professorer-vid-universitet-och-hogskolor-2015/](http://www.scb.se/sv_/Hitta-statistik/Temaomraden/Jamstalldhet/Indikatorer/Jamn-fordelning-av-makt-och-inflytande/Ovrig-representation/Professorer-vid-universitet-och-hogskolor-2015/).

The figure of 29% is from the Ministry of Education and Culture Vipunen database. For more information on Finland, see: <http://stm.fi/julkaisu?pubid=URN:ISBN:978-952-00-3861-8>.

strangely legitimate various forms of non-communication and non-responsiveness that can border on more passive bullying and abusive management, contrasting with more direct management styles in Finland. Moreover, in the current semi-autonomous Swedish academic system it is possible for a university rector to prescribe university policy unilaterally, for example, specifying research priorities for (usually) his university, without consultation with the professoriate, research leaders, and experts in the organisation – something quite unimaginable in some other times and places.

More generally, Finland is a country with a very high level of education and higher education, an established historical respect for schooling, teachers, and generally university expertise, and tuition-free university education, at least for nationals and EU citizens (with fees for outside EU and ETA citizens starting August 2017). Into this system university 'autonomy' reforms were introduced in Finland in 2009/2010. The university [autonomy] Reform Law of 2009/2010 had the major effect of reducing the coupling of university budgets and the state budget, thus extending university autonomy to specialise and cease being 'universal', and even if that autonomy was itself more centralised within individual institutions. Earmarked strategic budget items were made available as strategic lump sums.

The national university governance structure was also changed, with new legal status as foundations or public corporations; staff was no longer state civil servants as earlier, but employed by the universities themselves. Alongside this, major incentive-driven university mergers were implemented, at times against rather strong opposition. As noted, decision-making power and decisions became more centralised within each university, with a reduction of the power of faculties and with greater impacts from central administration, HR departments, and central research offices. Somewhat similarly to Finland, 'university autonomy' arrived in Sweden with the internal organisation of universities deregulated in January 2011. Again, this has meant more centralised decision-making in individual universities, even with some greater flexibility from national governmental control. University teachers still have the status of civil servants.

Most recently, in Finland the new 2015 Centre-Right<sup>7</sup> coalition government introduced new austerity and swingeing cuts to university funding, with a result that many universities undertook personnel cuts, with most dramatically the University of Helsinki deciding to sack over a thousand academic and administrative jobs, despite resistance. Meanwhile, the decision of the previous coalition government to introduce

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<sup>7</sup> This contrasts with my own experience of non-international and anti-internationalisation in Finnish sociology in the later 1990s and early 2000s, and so represents a significant both disciplinary and temporal change from late 1990s resistance (Hearn 2004a, 2004b).

Strategic Research funding was implemented, alongside the research council funding of basic research. This new Strategic Research funding prioritised applied research that addressed stated national priorities, such as equality, sustainability, and technological innovation, and favoured large, multi-university, and longer-term projects, with clear applied dimensions, focus on societal impact, and extensive engagement with multiple stakeholders.

Within these complex systems, many academic men and masculinities, though dominant, appear now somewhat more constrained than previously, set more within a web of interacting powers and forces, even if the very top managers of universities appear to have more power to wield internally within universities. Of course, at the same time university managers themselves might well consider their relative autonomy is itself at the behest of national state government directives, even with more 'autonomy'.

After a period at the general university, Åbo Academy University, I ended up in the business school, Hanken, because they took me in, initially on short-term research money from their linked private foundation, then on national research council funding, and eventually as part of the permanent faculty. The culture, and the gender culture, there is especially interesting. In some ways it is a conventional business school with strong support from Swedish (language) Finnish capital. It is also very alert to new trends, to innovation, and seeks to be at the 'cutting edge', especially in research. Interestingly, although there is a strong base in mainstream work, there is also room for rather a lot of critical work that would be marginalised in many business schools.

The academic world in Finland that I have encountered and participated in at the business school has involved a high, even a very high, level of internationalisation.<sup>8</sup> The business school world is now strongly directed towards, even desperate for, foreign faculty, in part as a means for international accreditation, that is, accreditation by corporate or not-for-profit educational bodies, such as EQUIS, EFMD, AACSB, and AMBA. Direct payments from the linked private foundation are made, as personal income, to faculty staff and researchers, including doctoral students, for journal articles with an impact factor over 1.0; along with this there are distinct pressures to do article or essay-based doctorates. Alongside the system of rewarding publication in higher-impact journals, a system of personal rewarding of research funding was introduced in Hanken in 2016, to the tune of 1000 to 5000 euros, depending on the amount funded, for those who gain external funding to the EU (including ERC, Horizon 2020), the Academy of Finland, and TEKES, the national innovation agency,

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<sup>8</sup> Such labels are risky in comparative work, as meanings of Centre and Right differ markedly across countries. For example, Finland and Sweden maintain a tripartite system of labour relations between employers, government, and trade unions, very much unlike the UK.



or up to 1000 euros for those who gain high evaluations in research applications to those bodies. Interestingly, the distribution allocating this money to research project members has to be decided at the application stage of the project. The internal rules read:

Research groups who wish to be rewarded for external funding of research are to follow the guidelines below. In order to facilitate follow-up, and make the process more transparent, the research group shall fill in a form before the application for funding is submitted. Through the form, the research group can indicate how a possible reward is distributed among the researchers in the group, should the project be eligible for a reward.

This has the effect of assuming that research projects are implemented as planned in research applications; this may not be so. Also, it solidifies the decision-making on relative work amongst team members, which may have other unintended consequences. The university, its faculty, and even its doctoral students are thus incentivised, in keeping with neoliberal practice.

What strikes me here is that Hanken, a small unit, about the size of a faculty in a larger university, with not many more than 30 full professors in total, appears much more agile and flexible than some larger universities, and much more willing to spot new opportunities as they arise. An active Gender Research Group was established in 2000, producing about 12 PhDs, and bringing in a very large amount of research funding. There is also critical extensive work on, for example, diversity and intersectionality, humanitarian logistics, sustainability, and corporate social responsibility. It has had three women rectors (vice-chancellors) in a row, which is in itself very unusual in any university, let alone and perhaps unique in a business school, and contrasts with most Finnish universities. These are some reasons why I ended up there.

The overall outcome for the university has, in this case, been extraordinarily successful by the measures of the age. In 2016 in the global multirankings, Hanken was placed fifth (sic.) behind Rockefeller University, MIT, Harvard, and Stanford, and ahead of a multitude of world leading universities.<sup>9</sup> Hanken is a fascinating case study of changing gender relations in a small university within neoliberal times.

## **Transnational-personal reflections**

There are many reflections that can be made on these changes in or towards neoliberal universities, neoliberal (trans)patriarchies, and neoliberal masculinities. In recent decades there have been pronounced moves from explicitly patriarchal management

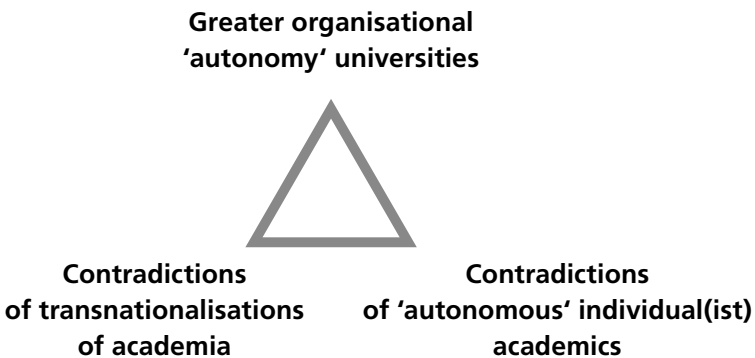
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<sup>9</sup> [www.umultirank.org](http://www.umultirank.org).

to technocratic patriarchal management and then to marketised, informatised patriarchal management, with accompanying effects for managers, academics, and students. These shifts take place at different speeds in different national contexts and traditions, and with different institutional forms; meanwhile male dominance persists across national boundaries, beyond immediate local sovereign controls.

Thus far, I have focused mainly on the organisational aspects of change, with some passing remarks on gendered aspects of transnationalisations and the transnational construction of academics. The moves to more managerialist systems and the technocratic, marketised, and centralised organisational forms of control introduced over the last 30 years or more are, however, just one part of the wider story of gendered university change. In this last section I focus on two major loci of change: first, the pressures on constructions of academics, and, second, the greater internationalisation of academia in new transnational patriarchies that stretch across national boundaries. The uneven trends outlined increasingly operate transnationally, as well as within local and national contexts, thus leading to some new configurations between individual academics, academic organisations, and wider transnational change (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Relations of transnationalisations of academia, organisational autonomy, and the construction of academics



On the first count, the individual academic is pressured, probably increasingly, to become self-driven, self-monitoring, and self-surveilling – and is in that sense supposedly ‘autonomous’, perhaps both highly agentic and docile. These changes bear on self and selves, including my selves, in pressures towards individualism, evaluation, and so on. To be direct, these organisational, transnational, and more immediate changes, and their simultaneity certainly also construct me and my academic/

non-academic practice; I am thereby implicated. Thus, even though I am by now a privileged, 'successful', white professor, based in the global North, past retirement age, my life and working life has become much more discontinuous and unpredictable than was the case during the first 20 years of my academic employment. I have done what I can in raising research funding, in the constraints of time and resources, and have felt the competitive excitement when successful.

Academics are set within less obviously, less explicitly patriarchal, ostensibly gender-neutral intensifications, at the lower academic levels, a kind of gender-neutral democratic misery for all, but still within highly aged, gendered organisational forms and patriarchal managerial structures. Men still overwhelmingly dominate many disciplines, academic hierarchies, and managements. This becomes even more obvious when working transnationally, as it becomes evident that the same gender patterns are repeated across and between countries. This is so even though more women are present and implicated in middle management; gender 'democracy' and democratised identities co-exist with greater structural (gendered) inequality. Indeed, the greater presence of women and feminists/feminism in the academy coincided rather closely with the initial moves to more technocratic forms of academic organisation and management. It is now much more possible for women academics to disagree strongly with each other in public and in university politics than was the case 30 years ago.

New forms of entrepreneurial academic masculinities are promoted at all academic levels, but this also indirectly can mean greater separation of university managers and HR officials, and academics and researchers. At the same time, the growth of long hours culture has been accompanied by a shift to internationally mobile, competitive, article-orientated, English-language, non-local publishing, and from carefree to careless masculinities (Hanlon 2012), with less concern for teaching and administration. Many younger academics pursue precarious, geographically mobile careers as 'reserve armies' of doctoral and postdoctoral academic labour for teaching, research, and knowledge production, often across dispersed transnational networks. This raises many problems, especially so for some younger women academics.

Evaluation, evaluation, evaluation – has become normal, offering flattery and collusion for some, and sometimes, perhaps increasingly, operating transnationally. The quality and gendering of evaluations is very important, if often forgotten. Gender awareness is very variable, and sometimes totally absent, in evaluations. In the quest for speed or political fixing I have seen chaotic, totally unscientific evaluations. Gatekeepers are assuming greater powers in journals, funding bodies, and so on, even if it is often not the most qualified who take the role of evaluators.

A key aspect of this move to evaluation is the changing uses and meanings of publication. Within the university world, the location of publishing, especially

in international ‘high-impact’ journals, now often seems to be more important than the content (see Mountz et al. 2015). This can lead at times to strategic (maybe international) co-authorship rather than authorship strictly by contribution or expertise, as well as careful attention to the construction of CVs, especially but not only in the early career stage. Thus, the function of publication seems to have changed in many contexts. Without romanticising past relations to the word and the text, in my academic world at least it was the content of publications that was of most interest in the earlier, ‘pre-technocratic’ academic patriarchies, though it should be stressed that these involved first and foremost men writing for men. Now, the main functions of publications seem to have become for institutions, whether it be research groups, departments, faculties, or whole universities, in order to gather funding or at least to avoid further cutbacks, and for persons, to enhance the CV in a very competitive and intensified academic market, in order to obtain jobs and funding.<sup>10</sup>

All these processes in the UK, the Nordic region, and elsewhere are taking place transnationally and increasingly so – with greater bilateral and multilateral links between universities; greater impact of transnational academic organisations and organising; and more transnationalising configurations of academic practice. Transnational processes and transnationalisations of academia open up space for greater gender and other contradictions, for and between more domination and more collaborative transformations, at all levels, individual, organisational and transnational. What is interesting from my personal experience is the various combinations of changes that, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes unevenly, operate across disciplines, universities, and countries. For me personally, events, projects, or systems – the projectisation of research – in one country may merge with those in another or with events across countries. This is clearest when considering the operation and impact of transnational research projects extending the span of specific universities and research organisations. Such projects are in effect more or less collaborative, temporary organisations (Lundin 1995; Lundin, Steinhórsson 2003). They can be rigid (post-)bureaucratic extensions of parent organisations’ power and control, sometimes into new fields, even if retaining such knowledge is difficult (Bakker et al. 2011). In other cases, projects can be ‘relatively free’ zones where ‘business as usual’ is suspended or played down in setting up project teams and getting projects done – even at odds with the dominant practices in a parent organisation (Hearn 2015b).

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<sup>10</sup> The CV can be seen as an autobiographical practice (Miller and Morgan 1993), it is now perhaps better seen as a gendered strategic career practice, and sometimes fiction (see Tarrach 2011, for an alternative).

Transnational processes are clear in EU and Nordic research collaborations and in working with colleagues in South Africa and elsewhere. Transnational projects have their own gender structures, processes, power relations, interactions, and experiences, across languages, nationalities, and also changing university and research systems subject to uneven neoliberalism, technocratisation, and marketisation. Transnational projects, including those that are feminist(ic) and gender-related, can bring out the best and the worst in feminist(ic) and gender researchers, sometimes in surprising ways. I have experienced fantastic, supportive, creative feminist transnational collaboration (see Hearn 2015b); I have also witnessed some appalling behaviour from those whom I previously respected and thought could be trusted, as institutions scrabble for scarce funding. It is hard sometimes not to be disillusioned when those you collaborate with in networks behave thus. It seems as if the transnational accentuates gender power processes, with the meeting of different gender structures, cultures, and practices, and with additional ('corporate') pressures on individuals and research groups to negotiate, compromise, control, and be subordinated to others, even with their stated 'progressive' politics and preferences. The lack of regular face-to-face contact may open the space for practices that would not be contemplated with immediate organisational colleagues; there may be parallels here with non-contact online abusive behaviour (Lapidot-Lefler, Barak 2012). For some, non-solidarity wins.

The maintenance of non-feminist, and perhaps neo-patriarchal, relations is especially virulent in highly competitive arenas, such as competitions for so-called centres of excellence (see *Gender and Excellence* 2004). For example, I was recently part of an unsuccessful application for a Nordic 'centre of excellence' competition on gender equality in academia and research. In the event, one of the successful bids was coordinated by a third-sector institute (ISF, Oslo) and led by a senior gender researcher (Mari Teigen), who had previously informed that her institution, though not specifically expert in the area, was going to apply, and who was actually also a key member of our own bid – but who failed to inform our team she would actually be leading a competing bid. Moreover, this last piece of information was only gleaned upon the public announcement of their success six months later ... corporate-think seems to override many other considerations; that is the short story. Meanwhile, the Nordic funding body concerned (NordForsk, the Oslo-based collaborative body of the Nordic national research councils) has been unable to supply proper scientific evaluations of the bids, successful or unsuccessful. The only feedback received has been minimalistic, with no assessment against the supposed scientific criteria, and written in what appears an *ex post facto* manner. The 'centre of (research) excellence' model seems in this instance to have moved closer to a 'centre of consulting' model.



The contemporary scene thus conjoins neoliberal, supposedly 'autonomous' universities, neoliberal transnational patriarchies, and neoliberal, individual(istic) academic masculinities. Part of the problem, for individual academics, academic institutions, and transnational academic processes is that the language of autonomy, of freedom, has been co-opted within neoliberalism (Boas, Gans-Morse 2009). Universities are 'free' to do business without being 'morally and intellectually independent of all political authority and economic power' (*Magna Charta Universitatum* 1988/2016, cited in Beynon 2016). Likewise, individual academics are 'free' to be autonomous entrepreneurs without critical academic autonomy.

The role of language and visualisations in neoliberal academic processes is indeed of special interest (Holborow 2013, 2015; Ledin, Machin 2016) (so now, if it isn't on the website, it doesn't exist!). This is partly because in academic work itself, language, typically English, is one of the main media of work, especially so in the humanities and social sciences. There appears to be increasing overlap between performance in doing academic research, assessment of academic performance, and performativity, whereby doing and quantifying performance is the work performed. Style, presentation, and apparent coherence in research, research proposals, and research applications may supersede knowledge content, uncertainty, negative, null or inconclusive results, and building research on previous research results and even academic achievement. Transnational 'cooperation' and decision-making makes for new possibilities for transnational homosocial bonding and neo-patriarchal practices in the allocation of funds. This can easily depoliticise research and promote research that is not threatening to various status quos. Equally, the transnational neoliberal language of autonomy and performance permeates academic management, as 'Neoliberal discourse functions as intertheme, or a macro-theme, ... interdiscursively, that is, from one discourse (economics/finance) to another (education)' (Ramírez, Hyslop-Margison 2015).

Across all of these organisational and more individual contradictions, the transnational dimension offers opportunities for both extensions and intensifications of patriarchal relations, and also subversions through transnational feminist and related practices. Transnational academic organisations and patriarchies are engaged by transnational feminism and transnational academic feminisms. This engagement is part of what RINGS, the International Association of Institutions of Advanced Gender Studies, is itself about, located and operating in the conjunctions of diverse neoliberal academies and transnational feminist political practice. Global Southern- and Northern-based research and researchers need to find better, less colonialist, imperialist, or patriarchal ways of working together or separately, or of working, with 'mutual learning across boundaries' (see Hountondji 1997; Connell 2014; Hearn

2015b).<sup>11</sup> Through the contradictions of transnational patriarchal neoliberalism and the relations of individual, organisational, and transnational academic worlds beyond the local, academic hegemony of the global North and West may be both and contradictorily affirmed and subverted.

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<sup>11</sup> Connell (2014: 218) summarises the global situation as follows: 'In this larger [academic] economy, as the Beninese philosopher Paulin Hountondji (1997) has shown, there is a broad division of labour on a world scale. The global metropole is where most journals are located, most theory and methodology are produced, and data are aggregated in libraries, museums, data banks and research centres. Most of the material resources for scholarship, such as well-funded universities, doctoral programmes, research funds, journals and conferences, are located here. The role of the global periphery is by contrast to supply data, and later to apply science in practical ways.' However, Hountondji makes a larger point than simply the South serving the North, namely the case for less 'extraversion' towards the global North on the part of global Southern researchers.

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Jeff Hearn is Senior Professor, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, based in Gender Studies, Örebro University, Sweden; Professor of Sociology, University of Huddersfield, UK; Professor Emeritus, Hanken School of Economics, Finland. Recent books include *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times* (Sage 2015) and the collective work *Men's Stories for a Change: Ageing Men Remember* (Common Ground 2016). Forthcoming books include *Revenge Pornography*, with Matthew Hall, and *Engaging Youth in Activist Research and Pedagogical Praxis: Transnational Perspectives on Gender, Sex, and Race*, edited with Tamara Shefer, Kopano Ratele, Floretta Boonzaier (both Routledge 2017). Contact e-mail: [jeff.hearn@hanken.fi](mailto:jeff.hearn@hanken.fi).

# Academic Excellence and Gender Bias in the Practices and Perceptions of Scientists in Leadership and Decision-making Positions<sup>1</sup>

**Marcela Linková**

**Abstract:** How to assess quality has become one of the central concerns for contemporary research, not least because of the proliferation of research assessment systems around the globe. Concomitant with this has been the growing attention to factors that compromise the credibility of assessment, especially gender, ethnic, racial and geopolitical bias. In this paper I analyse how lab leaders and research managers in the natural sciences specifically construct excellence and relatedly the demands of the research profession, and how gender bias plays out in these imaginaries. The material for the study comes primarily from two highly successful public research institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences and specifically from individual and group interviews with lab leaders and research managers on topics of research governance, assessment, and quality. The focus is on the natural sciences because the discipline has driven the introduction of research assessment in the country as well as research and innovation reforms more broadly since the new millennium. Building on the distinction between the logic of choice and the logic of care developed by Annemarie Mol (2008), I explore the limits of individual choice for conceiving excellence and the gendered outcomes it produces.

**Keywords:** gender bias, excellence, care ceiling, glass ceiling, research profession

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## **Introduction: quality assessment, gender bias, and the rise of new research governance**

Assessing quality has long been a central concern in research and has gained in importance with the recent proliferation of research assessment systems. The standard notion has it that what matters in research is quality and that its assessment is value-free, impartial, and untainted by other factors and considerations. This meritocratic ideal continues to be a universal value (Deem 2007: 616), and the opinion often prevails that excellence is self-evident and experts in their field recognise it when they see it (Lamont 2009). Originally referring to exceptionally high quality and excelling over others, excellence has recently come to be associated with the rise of new research governance revolving around competition, managerial practices, and efficient use of public funding (Deem 2008). Increasingly, researchers are assessed based on their productivity and, specifically, on their impact factor publications, citation index, and ability to bring in competitive funding (Linkova 2014; Morley 2016). If meritocracy is concerned with defining boundaries around what constitutes merit, excellence is about the process of defining merit in very particular terms (Felt, Stöckelová 2009).

From the early sociology of science, scholars have examined factors that compromise the ideal of meritocracy. With the Matthew Effect of cumulative advantage in research, Merton explored some of the facets of unequal distribution of worth in research (Merton 1968). Referring to this early work Rossiter (1993) looked specifically into the inherent under-recognition of women researchers and coined the term the 'Matilda Effect'. Since then research has unequivocally shown that the work of men is consistently judged as superior, by both men and women, even when the only thing that differs is the name (Reuben, Sapienza, Zingales 2014; Steinpreis, Anders, Ritzke 1999). With their pivotal study of postdoctoral grants from the Swedish Medical Research Council, Wenneras and Wold (1997) demonstrated that women needed to publish significantly more than men in the most prestigious journals in order to be evaluated equally (for similar results in the Dutch system, see Benschop, Brouns 2003). Studies carried out in the United States suggest that both men and women view women applicants, with identical qualifications as men applicants, as being less capable and as deserving a lower salary (Moss-Racusin et al. 2012).

The existence of potential gender bias in research assessment has gained in prominence with the rise of what has been variously termed the audit culture (Power 2003; Strathern 2000), new managerialism (Deem, Brehony 2005), or neoliberal university (Shore 2010). This shift entails heightened competition revolving around the growing importance of research assessment and competitive funding as alleged safeguards against the inefficiency of public research and higher education (Shore 2010; Shore,

Wright 2015; Wright, Ørberg 2008). These changes in the governance of research have had a profound effect on how excellence is defined. The contemporary notion of excellence revolves around autonomy, individual performance, efficiency, competition, competitiveness, speed, and primacy (Matonoha 2009), and it thus entrenches the historical masculinity of the culture of science. Van den Brink and Benschop argue that excellence is ‘an evasive social construct that is inherently gendered’ and that substantial inequalities are embedded in its construction (2011: 1).

In this paper, I examine the gendered constructions of an excellent researcher against the backdrop of the recent changes in research governance. Specifically, I analyse how lab leaders and research managers envision the research profession and its demands and their implicit and explicit notions of an excellent researcher. I discuss these notions against recent organisational shifts, primarily embodied by the fragmentation of the research career and the expansion of competitive funding, and examine whether their constructions of an excellent researcher carry gender bias. In conclusion I consider the effects of the ethos of the research profession combined with the new governance system and consider whether opportunities exist for reducing gender bias (Morley 2003). Essentially, I seek an answer to what is excellence, what the boundaries around excellence are predicated on and how to think excellence in more inclusive ways.

The results presented in this study are based on my long-term interest in the organisation of research, research assessment, and gender. I focus specifically on the natural sciences because they have been at the forefront of the changes outlined above, forming the heartlands of research assessment (Garforth, Stockelova 2012). The data come primarily from research studies performed at two natural science institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences, the major public research organisation in the country, and additional interviews with research managers and policy makers, several of them originally also from the natural sciences. Arguably, the situation in the Czech Academy of Sciences is different from universities, which perform the dual role of teaching and research. Research assessment systems have taken a stronger root in the institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences (and not only in the natural sciences), whereas the situation at universities is more varied, even from faculty to faculty. Because the institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences can be more easily interpolated by the logic of competition than universities with their dual mission of teaching and research, they offer a particularly suited ground for examining potential gender bias in research assessment.

In this context it is worth noting that men academics, particularly in STEM fields, have been found to evaluate the results of research studies unveiling gender bias as less meritorious than women (Handley et al. 2015). Thus, contrary to the common belief that academics and research managers will be persuaded to take action to

correct gender bias if presented with scientific evidence, this study shows that scientific evidence may be disregarded by people in positions in which they can effect change.<sup>2</sup> For this reason, I focus on senior academics in leadership and decision-making positions who act as gate-keepers (Aiston, Jung 2015; Husu 2004). Given the predominance of men in these positions in the Czech Republic, my research sample consists almost exclusively of men. This focus is all the more pertinent because one of the research institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences where I did interviews is currently implementing a gender equality action plan within the framework of a European structural change project, and thus some of the men I interviewed are currently directly responsible for addressing the issues I discuss in this paper.

### **Gender culture of organisations**

Gender is embedded in organisational culture (Acker 1990, 2012) and permeates practices and values in organisations. In contrast to the explicit culture of science which alleges impartiality and value neutrality, the theory of gendered organisation underscores the implicit and unarticulated values, expectations, and practices that are usually rendered invisible, part of how things are done at organisations. The gender culture in research takes many forms: from the idealised image of an absolutely dedicated researcher with no concerns outside science, the related culture of long hours, the prevalence of gender stereotypes and double standards to a possible hostile, competitive, and dog-eat-dog environment, to name a few (Itzin 1995). These values and practices impose 'a set of masculinized expectations' and embody a masculine standard against which women are measured and found wanting (Bevan, Learmonth 2012; Wajcman 2000). In other words, the attributes stereotypically labelled as 'masculine...are valued more highly and taken to be the natural norm' (van den Brink, Benschop 2012: 10).

Research demonstrates that gender differences in attribution of merit and competence stem from persistent stereotypes that portray women as less competent and emphasise their warmth and likeability compared with men (Krefting 2003; Moss-Racusin et al. 2012; van den Brink, Benschop 2011). For example, expressions used to evaluate women and men researchers differ in tenure awards, with men described as analytical, competitive, independent, and individualistic, and as leaders and risk takers, and women as understanding, sensitive, and submissive (Marchant, Bhattacharya, Carnes 2007). Similarly, letters of recommendation for women tend to be shorter,

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<sup>2</sup> This can pose a threat to structural change initiatives such as the NSF ADVANCE programme or the European Commission's structural change projects because top management and research leaders are seen as crucial to the success of such initiatives (European Commission 2012).

contain more doubts, and more frequently refer to the women's personal situations, whereas letters for men more frequently emphasise their research and publications (Trix, Psenka 2003).

Women's professional advancement is further affected by the perceived role incongruity between femininity and positions of authority and leadership (Eagly, Karau 2002; Heilman, Eagly 2008; Heilman et al. 2004; Morley 2013). When women do adopt behaviours typically associated with men and seen as crucial for success, they are penalised:<sup>3</sup> they are perceived as bossy, too assertive, competitive, and aggressive, in short, not likeable (Valian 1999; Williams 2005). Gender-stereotypical perceptions of women's and men's capacities and roles then undermine a fair assessment of women researchers and relatedly their ability to progress to positions of authority in the research hierarchy.

This is compounded by an additional gender bias related to mothers – the 'maternal wall' – where researchers who are mothers are regarded as less competent and dedicated and where motherhood and research excellence are regarded as mutually exclusive (Smithson, Stokoe 2005; Williams, Dempsey 2014). Women researchers thus often hide their family commitments in an attempt to avoid bias (Bardoel et al. 2009). This is linked to the traditional notion of the research profession as a care-free zone (Lynch 2010) where women in particular hit *the care ceiling*, which this author argues has been exacerbated by the new managerialism. The intensification of the demands placed on researchers and growing competition in the research system are said to breed egocentrism and a declining sense of responsibility and to accord a moral status to carelessness.

Carelessness has not appeared in research with the recent changes in its governance but is deeply embedded in the culture of scholarly work and science that builds on the separation of emotion and feeling on the one hand and rational thought (Anderson 2015; Lynch 2010). The current organisation of research has reshaped this traditional scientific culture and the stress on the rational autonomous subject. This individual, unencumbered by caring responsibilities, fully mobile, available 24/7, and concentrated only on performance has become the implicit actor of science policies in the EU as in the Czech Republic (Linková 2014, chapter 5). Such an individual fits neatly within the logic of choice that organises the imaginaries of the Western public space (Mol 2008). Seeking an answer to the question of what constitutes good healthcare, Mol contrasts two logics, the logic of choice and the logic of care. In the former people dispassionately weigh options and make rational decisions. Their

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<sup>3</sup> These findings underscore the limits of approaches such as those promoted by Sheryl Sanberg's *Lean In* (Sandberg 2013) and other 'fix the women' approaches. Clearly, a simple fix of women won't do the job.



choices are individual, cut from the larger social milieu. The boundaries between the private and public are firmly drawn. The latter is messier, the boundaries cannot be firmly drawn, and making a choice is not a meaningful option. The two logics co-exist, each more pertinent in different contexts. What I want to explore here is the extent to which the logic of choice organises the current notions of the excellent researcher and what its limits are, and whether and how we can think of excellence in the logic of care. After all, the big issue is good research.

### **The research context: an organisational change in the natural sciences and growing precarity**

The Czech research system is no stranger to the developments outlined above. Research assessment at the national level was introduced in the Czech Republic in 2004 and natural scientists at the Czech Academy of Sciences played a pivotal role in this process (Linkova, Stockelova 2012). Its introduction held the promise of breaking nepotistic ties because it was based on a seemingly objective points-based system (for details, see Linkova, Stockelova 2012). The natural sciences have also set the tone for larger cultural and organisational changes in Czech academia aimed to increase competitiveness and economic returns on investments in research (Linková 2014; Linková, Červinková 2013). One of the instruments for achieving this has been an increase in competitive funding, to the detriment of the previously dominant institutional funding. The Czech Republic experienced a rapid change in the ratio between the two in the last 15 years. In 2008 when the Czech Government adopted its research and development reform, the plan was to achieve a 50:50 ratio (Vláda České republiky 2008). This goal has been exceeded by a wide margin. At some higher education institutions the institutional funding came to account for only 20% of total financial resources (Dvořáčková et al. 2014: 139). In the Czech Academy of Sciences, which is my focus here, the percentage of institutional funding in total expenditures fell from 63% in 2007 to 34% in 2016 (Akademie věd České republiky 2017).

Gradually, assessment systems were implemented at the institutional level, and in some cases steer the allocation of institutional funding and other resources. The research career is now organised linearly from PhD to postdoc to junior and senior leadership, with some institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences in the natural sciences having introduced exit rules after the completion of a doctorate to prevent institutional inbreeding.

It is, however, necessary to consider the attendant effects: Performance-based funding fragments the individual career into stages, each with its own competitive sources of funding, again distributed through a system of assessment. The changes in the Czech research system have created precarity, particularly in the early stages

of a career, as well as strong feelings of disconnection and frustration among early-career researchers specifically (Cidlinská, Vohlídalová 2015; cf. Shore, Wright 2015). Today, there is a growing recognition of the detrimental effects of the current state of affairs overall, and the updated National R&D&I Policy 2016–2020 claims that institutional funding should form a dominant part of public research and higher education budgets (Úřad vlády České republiky 2015: 126). This has yet to translate into the actual research and development budget.

Relatedly, competitive funding underlies the repetitive conclusion of work contracts for academics in the face of uncertain funding, with universities and research institutions claiming an exception from the Labour Code. Academics are thus at a greater risk in motherhood and parenthood compared to some other groups of employees.<sup>4</sup> On an institutional level, the short-termism combined with competitiveness creates avenues to terminate work contracts, and the statistics on the attrition from academic careers in natural sciences suggest that women are at a much greater risk than men. In 2015 women accounted for only 25.8% of a population of 16,376 natural scientists, but the proportion of women among master's students in 2015 was 41.7% and among doctoral students it was 45.7%. The gap closed the most among PhD graduates, where women accounted for 42.2% in 2015, up from 37.1% in 2005. The biggest drop in the proportion of women making the transition into an academic career from a postdoctoral position is in the natural sciences of all the disciplines: in 2015 it was 15.4 percentage points, up from 11.3 percentage points in 2005 (Národní kontaktní centrum – gender a věda 2017). Clearly, women are being trained in the field, but this is not reflected in the profession, and the situation is deteriorating.

One of the attendant factors may be the Czech family policy and the ideology of motherhood extant in the country. Currently, in addition to a 28-week maternity leave reserved for mothers prior to and after childbirth, there is a three-speed system of parental leave with two-, three-, and four-year leave alternatives. Although the parental leave is available to both fathers and mothers, the frequent and expected practice is that women will spend three years on parental leave.<sup>5</sup> This is often involuntary due to the scarcity and unaffordability of day-care facilities, especially

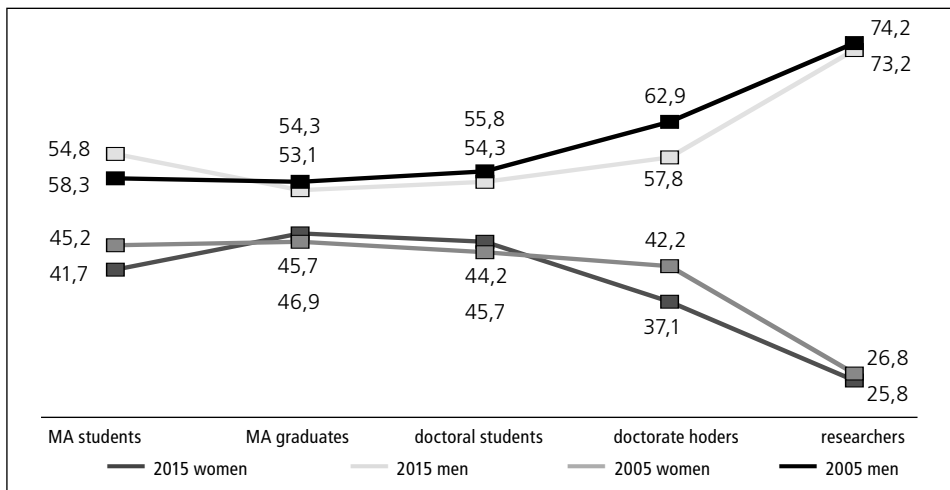
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<sup>4</sup> The Labour Code stipulates that temporary contracts can be consecutively concluded only three times, with each contract for a maximum length of three years. It presupposes that if the employer wishes to keep the employee, they will employ him or her on an unlimited contract. Studies in the country show that this is particularly problematic for women planning or having a family because if their contract expires during the maternity or parental leave they are not entitled to the job protection enjoyed by women working on an unlimited contract, which continues to be a dominant form of employment in the Czech Republic, especially among people with higher qualifications but not in the academic sector.

<sup>5</sup> In 2016 men accounted for 1.86 recipients of the parental allowance (Czech Statistics Office 2016: 180, Table 5-7).

for children under two (Vohlídalová 2013, 2014). Thus professional advancement of women researchers is thus jeopardised by expectations and norms of parenting because women often hit, quite literally, the maternal wall represented by the lack of childcare, terminated work contracts, and unequal distribution of domestic work, which is further reinforced by the long parental leave which is further aggravated by the long parental leave (Vohlídalová, 2017, 2013). Examining the value judgements of people in positions of authority and power may thus shed light on some of the reasons why women are not thriving in the field.

Figure 1: The ideal-typical path in 2015 and 2005 in the natural sciences (%)



Source: Národní kontaktní centrum – gender a věda (National Contract Centre for Gender & Science) 2017: 23.

### Research data and methodological concerns

The projects from which the data informing my analysis were collected all focused in some measure on gender in research and advancing gender equality in research.<sup>6</sup> The fact that these projects span a decade make them an ideal source for examining the changeability/durability of constructions of an excellent researcher and what it

<sup>6</sup> Owing to anonymisation issues and a confidentiality agreement with one of the institutions, I do not provide a detailed specification of the projects as it would identify the institutions. Two of the projects were conducted under the EU's 6th Framework Programme, one under the 7th Framework Programme, and one with the support of the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

takes to succeed in research. The first project started in 2004 when a research assessment system was first introduced in the country and the most recent one is finishing at a time when the research community and policy makers are debating the unanticipated negative consequences of the changes outlined in the section above.<sup>7</sup>

The two institutes where I carried out a longer-term study are seen as excellent and have a strong international standing. They are also highly successful in generating external funding either from the private sector or competitively. While they have a strong interdisciplinary component, they have been historically located in chemistry and environmental change.

<b>Project</b>	<b>Individual interviews (M/F)</b>	<b>Group interviews (M/F)</b>
EU FP 6 – 1: data collection 2006-2007	7/1 lab leaders	1/2 lab leaders
EU FP 7: data collection 2015-2016	4/0 research managers 2/0 lab leaders	
EU FP 6 – 2: data collection 2006	5/0 policy makers and politicians	
Grant agency of the Czech Academy of Sciences: data collection 2008-2009	9/0 high-ranking researchers involved in Czech science policy-making through membership in the Research, Development and Innovation Council and ministerial expert bodies	

My analysis here builds primarily on individual and group interviews with natural science lab leaders, research managers (directors, executive directors, scientific secretaries), and policy makers. Given the predominance of men in leadership, managerial, and decision-making positions in the country and specifically at the institutes studied, a large majority of the research participants were men. In the two projects where women held lab leadership positions, they were interviewed. No woman held a managerial or high-ranking policy position at the given time.

My sampling for this study was purposeful; the lab leaders, research managers, and policy makers are figures in positions and power, with a wide and strong reach

<sup>7</sup> One of these projects entailed an ethnographic study, which allowed me to study in detail the changes in the organisation of research in the Czech Academy of Sciences and particularly in the natural sciences (Linkova 2014; Linková 2014).

to shape the practices and values of the profession. As van den Brink and Benschop (2011: 12) argue: 'Standards of merit are constructed by powerful academics who stand to benefit from a construction that is presented as a precise, objective, and univocal measure of excellence.'

Given the difficulty of the topic of gender equality, I opened the interviews with more neutral topics, ones that I knew would have traction among my research partners. In the earlier projects the opening question asked about major changes in research pre- and post-1989, the year of the political change in the country, which marked a major turning point in the organisation of research. In the more recent projects, the interviews opened with questions about what constitutes research quality, how my interview partners recognise it, and how it relates to excellence. Through gradual reflection on research assessment and the assessment system instituted in the country and how it relates to excellence, I steered the interviews to questions about women's under-representation in research, whether there are any barriers to women's professional advancement in research, the neutrality of the research assessment system, and who is responsible for the improvement of women's career opportunities, including women's representation in decision-making positions.

In numerous instances the age difference between my interview partners and myself proved extremely useful in that I was treated as a younger colleague who needed to be explained how things *really* work. This made my interview partners very explicit about the values they profess in how they manage their teams and institutions and what they consider necessary for research success. My junior position also allowed me to ask supplementary questions which in other settings might be seen as uninformed.

I used Atlas.ti to code and organise the data through a multi-stage inductive approach. Starting with open coding for 'success', 'successful researcher', 'research assessment', and 'research career', in the second step I refined the codes into categories that related to various aspects of success and barriers to success, such as time demands, cognitive demands, and performance demands, and employed critical discourse analysis to identify gendered notions embedded in the participants' statements.<sup>8</sup> The analysis in this paper builds on my previous work where I examined the notions of success among women and men natural scientists and how they are gendered and affected by position in the institutional hierarchy and career stage (Linková 2009). Focusing here only on people in positions of power allows me to address how particular (in this case gendered) notions can be institutionally maintained and reproduced.

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<sup>8</sup> This type of coding is facilitated by the Czech language and its use of the generic masculine.

## Masculine gendering of the research profession

I now turn to the presentation of my findings, and focus on analysing the categories generated through the coding process. First I look into how the research participants enact the culture of research and with what gendered assumptions, and second I examine the particular assumptions about researchers-mothers and women's and men's alleged skills in relation to research excellence. Interestingly, these statements reflect the growing managerialism and importance of research assessment only in relation to the growing importance of impact factor publications and other indexes but not, for example, in relation to the complexity of leadership skills identified by van den Brink and Benschop (2012).

My research participants discuss the demands of the research profession primarily in terms of dedication and the demands of the research profession that underscore the persistence of the idealised notion of science as a mission. The binaries that arise from their statements – embodied/disembodied, complementary, and hierarchically ordered women's and men's skills – were the only ones discussed by the research participants. This is significant because they locate unequal position and access to power and leadership in women, their bodies, and related responsibilities as primary carers and mothers.

To illustrate the conflicting ideologies of the fully dedicated researcher and the ideology of motherhood applied to women researchers, I will discuss at greater length an excerpt from an interview with a prominent lab leader, as it captures in a comprehensive manner the opinions and values other research participants discussed in less intertwined manner. This is how he described the demands of the postdoctoral stage:

*A postdoc cares about one thing only. He wants to launch his career and he needs – in that year or two he will be here – as many publications as possible. A postdoc will give his soul. A postdoc will give his soul to science.*

This absolute dedication, surrendering oneself to the demands of the profession, is in practical terms linked to the culture of long hours, to being constantly available.

Saturdays, Sundays, there is always work. Some call this workaholism but there is no other way. Either it gives you joy, and if it doesn't, you have to abandon it...I expect this sort of effort, whoever doesn't want that shouldn't be here.

In this account, science subsumes all parts of an individual's life. This sort of work ethic must be enjoyed; anything less is a compromise. It introduces a moral against which individuals are judged. In other accounts, too, lab leaders and research managers espouse the notion of a researcher as a disembodied worker (Acker 1990)

revolving around total concentration on work, repeatedly described as 'being ablaze' and 'having the flame'. In their responses, motherhood and professional breaks are a postscript, an addendum that does not figure in their description of the fully dedicated researcher. When I inquired in the research interview quoted above whether the same rules and demands on work ethic apply to people who have children, the same group leader immediately replaced the ideology of the disembodied worker with an equally exclusionary, though differently so, ideology of motherhood when he continued:

*Nothing can be done. Now we're dealing with this, a great female PhD student, she is happily married. There is nothing, no higher priority, you can't forget about family just for a scientific career, family must come first, support from the family is necessary; my children can't imagine that I would do anything else than work...*  
(all three quotes from a lab leader, male)

This excerpt is interesting for several reasons. The first part of the quote before my insertion about family presumes that a great deal of exertion is required to develop a scientific career that will lead to an independent position, which is regarded as the ultimate goal of a research career in the natural sciences. The individual researcher stands here alone, cut off from the social, family, or geographical milieu, and always available. Although I did not use an explicit reference to motherhood or women scientists when I formulated the follow-up question about children and family, the lab leader's answer did. It excludes men from the possibility of being the ones entangled in relationships of caring, and it is explicitly formulated from the perspective of women (e.g. a 'great female PhD student'). Smithson and Stokoe (2005: 156) use the term 'generic female parent' or 'generic she' to describe how discussions of parenthood presume that only women and not men are concerned. Noteworthy about the quote is also the importance attributed to women's parenthood (e.g. 'no higher priority', 'family must come first'), which was shared by other men in the sample. In the case of women researchers there is, thus, not only the presumption that they will want to dedicate themselves to the family, but there is also a value judgement that assigns the most value to women's motherhood. The morality against which a postdoc is judged is incompatible with the morality against which women fulfilling their womanhood through motherhood are judged.

In view of the fact that this quote was framed by a question regarding when and how many hours the group leader worked, it is telling how he returns to his *own* family in the close of his answer: 'My children can't imagine I would do anything else than work.' He evokes here the original notion of the highly consuming work deployment which he demands from members of his group and himself. The insert that came

in response to my question thus underlies the Otherness of active/caring parenthood in the lab. His notion of paternal parenting is *a priori* that of a distant father, a father who is absent from the private sphere, focused solely on his achievement in the sphere of paid work.

In the new competitive organisation of research, research performance takes on the particular form of building a publication track record and a competitive CV with fellowships abroad. This is, in fact, what the postdocs will give their soul for. To return to the quote, in the forefront we see a father who is absent from his family and fully devoted to his work and who claims that his family could not even imagine it otherwise. Active/caring parenthood and concerns of care are invisible, displaced from the lab, thereby making it possible to insist on the extreme individualised work exertion that is expected particularly in the early stages of the research career. These value judgements are then used to judge the work dedication and career prospects of women and men researchers. As Williams and Segal (2003) Williams & Segal (2003: 80) argue, it is this notion of 'an ideal worker who has a man's body and men's traditional immunity from family caregiving [that] discriminates against women'. Because of the supreme value attributed to women's motherhood in Czech society, professed repeatedly by the interviewed lab leaders and managers, and because of the strongly embedded notion of research as a mission and sacrifice, it remains particularly difficult to carve out a space where the issue of work-life balance can be addressed as an institutional issue. From their perspective, there is nothing they can do and *de facto* they do not see much meaning in the projects focused on advancing gender equality in research or on understanding gender inequity because the innate and naturally given facts of women's and men's life cannot be changed.

### **The care ceiling: motherhood as the natural handicap**

I will now turn to how lab leaders and research managers regard motherhood and the ability of researchers-mothers to perform the scientific ethos discussed above. Explicitly, researchers-mothers were discussed as unavoidably unable to commit fully to science because they must dedicate themselves to children. In the interviews, practically all lab leaders and managers framed scientific excellence as mutually exclusive with motherhood. Being a good mother requires a whole person and her mind, just like being an excellent researcher does. No such demands were placed on fathers and it was even reflected that fathers have an easier way out, while they also lose out in terms of time spent at home with their children. Women scientists were thus implicitly excluded from imaginaries of an excellent researcher.



*It is true that, really, a woman cannot think 100% about science, especially if she has a family, and, simply, I know this isn't right but that's the way it is. (Top management, male)*

*It is difficult because scientific work is something else, it can't be postponed. And equally, mothering care can't be postponed either ... Here I see the biggest problem, because I was really able to totally ignore childcare because I knew that I could rely on my wife ... and I see the biggest problem in the switching – that childcare needs to be thought about constantly and scientific work does, too. (Top management, male)*

In their responses, motherhood is mentioned as the single most important barrier to women's professional advancement in science. Motherhood is a 'natural handicap' that cannot be overcome; it is innate and takes women's energy and ambition away from research. Furthermore, women can never make up for the time 'lost' caring for children, and continue to be handicapped for the rest of their professional life. Some lab leaders and top managers thus propose alternative career paths for women, though when judged against the scientific ethos discussed above such a strategy would clearly trap women at the lower rungs of the professional ladder in auxiliary positions. Such a proposal also begs the question whether the alternative path is at all viable in the competitive research landscape predicated on a succession of short-term contracts, as discussed above.

All the interviewees variously discussed the impact of motherhood on women's research advancement and recognised the consequences of the gendered distribution of roles and responsibilities between mothers and fathers. Despite this recognition, many of the lab leaders and research managers I interviewed continued to envision the advancement of a research career as an individual choice a woman either makes or not, irrespective of the symbolic, structural, interpersonal, and individual conditions facing women and men in their careers. In line with the logic of choice (Mol 2008), they pit the public and the private against each other and at the centre of their argument is individual choice.

On the one hand, these men then assign a high value to motherhood and consider it proper for women to sacrifice career advancement for childcare; on the other hand, they place the responsibility for the failure to fulfil the demands of a research career on the woman. In their accounts, though, science is enacted as immune to these 'external' concerns, which they locate in social policy, in the family, and in accessible childcare facilities. These areas are regarded as of no concern to these top managers and lab leaders, who refuse the notion that the research institution or they in their capacity have any responsibility for creating non-discriminatory working conditions. It is remarkable that these interviewees should place so much stress on the women's

individual agency and responsibility, yet completely reject their own responsibility as leaders and managers.

This displacement is possible through the separation of the domain of science with its demands from the demands of other social institutions and their collectives (for example, the family). Researchers and research managers manage to maintain the separation between science and work-life balance issues by mobilising a particular notion of science, ‘an incredibly specific activity’ that demands ‘huge personal sacrifices’.<sup>9</sup> Operating according to the logic of choice allows them to create space to shift the blame for the low numbers of women in science to women researchers themselves. It allows them to argue that women opt out by having different life priorities and that they should not be forced to give up their ‘womanhood’. Thus, they can maintain that the organisation of research is neutral and its practices not gendered. Conditions in the scientific labour market are regarded as uniform and as placing equal demands on women and men; it is up to women whether they can take advantage of these equal conditions and whether they can make the right choices.<sup>10</sup> When they do, there is nothing to stand in the way of their success in research. This hyper-visibility of work-life balance contributes to reinforcing gender stereotypes. It effectively stops any further discussion about gender inequalities in the organisation of research. With the concept of the policy of inactivity (Tenglerová 2014) examines discursive practices mobilised by policy makers as a strategy that allows them to not take any action to combat gender inequality in research and research institutions. The lab leaders and research managers I interviewed adopt such a policy of inactivity,

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<sup>9</sup> At the same time, research is often discussed in the Czech Republic as a profession that is suitable for women thanks to its large degree of flexibility in terms of being able to choose work hours. While this may be true in general, my research suggests that when flexibility is discussed specifically in relation to combining work and personal life, issues of mistrust and control of work performance come to the fore. Clearly, the advantage of flexibility is regarded differently in relation to different situations and needs. Moreover, the alleged suitability of the flexible academic work must be understood in the context of their other statements about full dedication and concentration. This looseness to the way flexibility is applied to academic work and women and men academics reinforces the perception that one is responsible for one’s own performance and failure.

<sup>10</sup> In a recent discussion of a newly proposed mobility scheme in the Czech Republic, I highlighted the fact that a six-month postdoctoral fellowship will pose barriers to women’s uptake, as research has already shown, and that there should be an opportunity to the scheme into two parts (the way the Czech Science Foundation does with Junior grants). The response was that the aim was to support excellence exemplified through the duration of the fellowship, and that the scheme will offer funding for family relocation. When I then asked how many men the auditorium knew who would be willing to relocate with their partner-researcher to take care of children so that the woman could devote herself to the long hours expected from postdoctoral fellows, there was silence. Clearly, the implicit masculine model has a firm hold on the imaginary of the mobile researcher and continues to orient research policy.

too, as a strategy to deny the relevance of gender differentials in science, with the consequence that the high attrition rate of women from science especially in the postdoctoral stage remains on the margins, if not outright outside their concerns as research managers and lab leaders.

### **The glass ceiling: gendered notions of leadership skills**

The motherhood-related barriers to women's career progress are compounded by the persistence of gender stereotypes related to qualities a person allegedly needs for leadership positions and the perception of different skills and abilities that women and men researchers supposedly bring to research. These are related to being able to show masculine traits – being assertive, having sharp elbows, showing some aggressiveness, or being able to argue and communicate in male-only groups and enjoy risk-taking.

*...Unfortunately, in leadership positions, not only here but generally, men predominate. She has to be a bit of a predator so as not to get lost because some of the guys are bulldozers. (Lab leader, male)*

*I can't and would never say that these qualities could not be found in a woman, but the atavism of aggression – a woman won't achieve this, I hope [laughter], sometimes the position of team leader is secured through some aggression, and I think that, taken generally, that's the way men have gotten there. (Top management, male)*

*The way I see it is that guys simply like risks so they submit grants, they have the time to devote to it at the weekends, and generally it is perceived that women don't devote so much to it... (Top administration, male)*

In these accounts we can see additional gendered notions that bar women from professional advancement. Firstly, leadership is predicated on being aggressive and ambitious, being a 'bulldozer' that can withstand the culture of male-only groups. For some of them, however, women like that would be violating the code of likeability, and they express the hope that their women colleagues will not show signs of aggressiveness.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, leadership positions also presuppose energy and time, and women allegedly lack both. What is problematised here is not the masculine notion of leadership, but the perceived lack of it in women. The interviewed lab leaders and managers may have mentioned women's interpersonal skills, empathy,

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<sup>11</sup> Two research participants made explicitly negative remarks about women colleagues who did not conform to traditional femininity, refused help, acted assertively, and insisted on recognition of their contributions to papers. This breach resulted in the women being penalized as unlikeable, which in one instance translated into unwillingness to cooperate with the woman.

and ability to negotiate. However, these positive aspects of a different leadership style are in the end undercut by the overriding need for toughness (cf. van den Brink, Benschop 2011).

Related to this are perceptions of the different cognitive styles of women and men researchers, which can be summarised as men having a synthetic approach to issues, having a 'bird's-eye view', and looking at problems globally. Women, in contrast, are allegedly analytical and fastidious, with attention to detail, suited for routine work. These qualities are regarded as complementary; one lab leader actually strives to have 'a gender balance in their teams', he claims, to make the most of this allegedly innate, sex-based difference between the scientific abilities of women and men.

*I think we managed to change a team that was purely masculine into a team where it is half and half, the way I imagined it to be 10 years ago, because it has huge advantages. Even in our team I can see that female colleagues do not have the thrust and the initiative to go after a project or take up a new challenge. They're, let's say, analysts and people who do great experimental work, meticulous work, but they lack a bird's-eye view, which is something that male colleagues have. ... On the other hand, male colleagues have a tendency to see the whole, but that's why they do not see the details and often make mistakes, so it's ideal if these two approaches combine. But the synthesis approach, that's the one that creates grants, it's the one that puts teams together, so I think that it's partially given by, I don't know if it's a coincidence in our team, but really it functions in this way that women colleagues are analysts and male colleagues are the ones doing synthesis. (Team leader, male)*

*Generally it seems to me that women are sort of more meticulous, the guy has a bird's-eye view, but if he has to do more routine work for a longer period of time, it goes to pot... (Team leader, male)*

These quotes illustrate the strongly embedded unconscious gendered presumptions about how women and men researchers work. This notion of complementarity of cognitive styles (analytical/synthetic) makes it possible to stress 'gender balance' within the team, but by distributing cognitive styles between men and women and associating one with leadership and vision and the other with meticulousness and routine, the unequal gender binary is reinforced while it is cloaked in the progressive language of diversity and gender balance. These attitudes create an obstacle located in women's cognitive styles against women's progress to positions of responsibility.

Here, again, we can see the problem being located in women. In this particular display of benevolent sexism, women do not even need fixing because the allegedly innate cognitive difference is useful for work distribution in the team. Completely absent from these statements is the recognition that if these lab leaders and

managers explicitly profess this division of roles in their teams and institutions, they may be, in fact, creating barriers for women, and especially early-career doctoral and postdoctoral fellows, to overcome the 'useless modesty' some of these men complained about. In the next section, I discuss the limits of individual choice, and what it obstructs from view when we think of excellence.

## Research excellence and the limits of individual choice

The logic of care, Mol argues (2008: 89), is first and foremost practical. It is about improving – in this case improving science. Until recently, science did not have to defend itself; its benefits were seemingly self-evident. Since the 1970s, however, and especially in the last two decades we have seen the rise of new governance, which questions this self-evident good and has instituted controls to guard a particular version of the good that science produces – performance indexes, assessment systems, and competition as an organising principle. This change in governance is primarily located in the logic of choice and the performing individual, as if the efficiency of knowledge-making processes could be planned and controlled. This is the research culture we see in the narratives of lab leaders and managers, where people are regarded as making free autonomous choices for which they are individually responsible. In this way, the complexity of being in research is placed on the shoulders of the individual, and it is their fault if they crumble under the weight.

The autonomous choice serves to obfuscate other realities and values that permeate the research profession and our lives more broadly – collegiality, mutual respect, responsibility and recognition, fairness and justice, and sometimes even solidarity. It renders invisible the circumstances in which people organise their professional and private subjectivities. In this discussion section, I want to consider the vantage point of the logic of care. The use of the word *care* should not evoke some simple and gendered association of childcare and women. Rather, as Mol says, we always belong to collectives, and not just one but many, and we are responsible for our participation in these various collectives. Firstly, I will address what the logic of care brings into focus in terms of research performance, secondly in terms of research careers, and thirdly in terms of research management.

The new research governance has created a highly competitive culture of publish or perish, which propels the research culture towards heightened egotism with strong affective claims on individuals (Morley, Crossouard 2016). In the process, the Czech assessment system, and it is not alone, leaves out many activities: work for the academic community (such as organising seminars and conferences, supporting early-career researchers, critically reading colleagues' papers) or public engagement (through outreach, mentoring, contributing to public debates on major societal issues).

The research profession cannot do without these sorts of labour, as they either ensure its functioning or serve to build accountability towards society. The logic of care thus underscores the oft-repeated need to rethink the system of assessment, to be more cognisant of the varieties of work that go on in the research profession, what Longino (2008) calls 'care for excellence'. This would also valorise the type of activities and skills that women today tend to perform more than men researchers (Gibney 2017).

Secondly, the logic of care puts a spotlight on mutually constitutive, binary gendered relations, and makes visible a curious blind spot when considering research careers, one that is facilitated by gendered doublethink. On the one hand, we have seen that the research participants recognise their own career progress as allowed by their ability to exempt themselves from care and house work and its performance by their spouses. On the other hand, they frame women's career progress as a woman's choice to have or not have children and to make the proper arrangements at home. The individualised framing thus allows the research participants to disregard the contingency of men's professional advancement upon their partners' circumscribed aspirations and women's limited opportunities for advancement given the difficulty of negotiations of domestic work and childcare at home (on the notion of linked lives in relation to academics' mobility, cf. Vohlídalová 2014). It also allows them to disregard potential demand for alternative arrangements of men's careers to include caring commitments.

Thirdly and relatedly, the logic of care pushes to the forefront aspects of the managerial culture that are, in fact, positive: the responsibility of managers and lab leaders to lead well, to take care of their institutions and researchers, and for the induction of early-career researchers, and for creating equitable and non-exploitative work conditions. This would make them open to interpolation for their managerial skills by their subordinates, and in fact would make institutional leadership open to assessment not just in terms of publication performance but also in terms of the conditions they create for professional growth and development. Research policy and institutions and their representatives in the Czech Republic largely ignore this aspect of institutional development. We have seen that the research participants in my studies insist that they do not have any responsibility for creating fair and equitable conditions for professional advancement and women's representation in leadership positions. A move toward excellence conceptualised in the logic of care would thus require that we recognise that research and society are not separate, that researchers are part of multiple collectives in and out of science, and that this multiplicity of belonging makes an individual choice an ill-suited vehicle for drawing meaningful and equitable boundaries around excellence.

## Conclusion: displacement of responsibility and care for excellence

In this paper I examined how excellence is defined by lab leaders and research managers in the natural sciences. Firstly, I attended to the masculine orientation of the research ethos, which builds on the notion of science as a mission performed by a devoted researcher with no commitments outside science. Given the rise of the competitive research assessment in the country, this masculine culture of research is reinforced by the stress on risk-taking, toughness and competitiveness. Secondly, I discussed how their notions of proper motherhood and the role of motherhood in women's lives amplify the perceived obstacles to women's excellence in research, making it *de facto* untenable. Thirdly, I discussed the perceived barriers to women's leadership skills embedded in their perceived softness and, importantly, in their allegedly innate cognitive properties.

Clearly, masculine culture and practices are not an all-encompassing explanation for the under-representation of women in these disciplines and their gendering; it is co-constituted at the intersections of public policy, the organisation of research, the organisation of domestic life, and individual subjectivities (Barad 2003; Morley 2016). Nevertheless, it is important to specifically analyse these presumptions because they create symbolic barriers for women to carve out spaces of excellence as these are, actively even if invisibly, circumscribed by the values and practices of these lab leaders and research managers.

My findings suggest that lab leaders and research managers define equality as equality in difference, where men and women are regarded as different by nature. Several interviewees stated that the differences between men and women are desirable and should not be abolished even as they admitted that they limited women's possibilities to advance professionally. This was also evident in their propensity to frame the complementarity of women and men in relation to different skills and capabilities, and their prioritisation of the alleged synthetic capabilities over the analytical ones. Thus, by framing equality as equality in difference and men and women as being complementary, many of the interviewees were able to confine the issue of gender equality to motherhood and to side-line issues of power and the inequitable distribution of recognition.

At the same time, these lab leaders and research managers continue to insist on framing researchers and their excellence in the logic of choice, as autonomous individuals that make independent decisions for which they are fully responsible. They are able to maintain the doublethink about the innate difference and sameness of women and men, which provides them with a powerful avenue through which to exempt themselves from their responsibility as research managers, leaders, and colleagues. In contrast, looking at excellence and research performance through

the prism of the logic of care allows us to see that this approach is inequitable and that it veils differential access to excellence for women and men researchers. It also allows us to insist on the leaders' agency and responsibility towards the research community they lead.

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Marcela Linková, PhD, is the head of the Centre for Gender and Science at the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Her research focuses on the sociology of gendered organisations, research careers, governance of research, and research assessment from a gender perspective and on the implementation of gender equality policy and actions in research. She is the co-chair of the European Commission's Helsinki Group on Gender in Research and Innovation and has served on a number of expert and advisory bodies for the European Commission and Czech state administration. Contact e-mail: [marcela.linkova@soc.cas.cz](mailto:marcela.linkova@soc.cas.cz).

# Excelence a genderové předsudky v praktikách a vnímání přírodních vědců ve vedoucích a rozhodovacích pozicích<sup>1</sup>

**Marcela Linková**

## **Academic Excellence and Gender Bias in the Practices and Perceptions of Scientists in Leadership and Decision-making Positions**

**Abstract:** How to assess quality has become one of the central concerns for contemporary research, not least because of the proliferation of research assessment systems around the globe. Concomitant with this has been the growing attention to factors that compromise the credibility of assessment, especially gender, ethnic, racial and geopolitical bias. In this paper I analyse how lab leaders and research managers in the natural sciences specifically construct excellence and relatedly the demands of the research profession, and how gender bias plays out in these imaginaries. The material for the study comes primarily from two highly successful public research institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences and specifically from individual and group interviews with lab leaders and research managers on topics of research governance, assessment, and quality. The focus is on the natural sciences because the discipline has driven the introduction of research assessment in the country as well as research and innovation reforms more broadly since the new millennium. Building on the distinction between the logic of choice and the logic of care developed by Annemarie Mol (2008), I explore the limits of individual choice for conceiving excellence and the gendered outcomes it produces.

**Keywords:** gender bias, excellence, care ceiling, glass ceiling, research profession

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## Úvod: hodnocení kvality, genderové předsudky a příchod nového řízení výzkumu

Hodnocení kvality je ústředním tématem ve výzkumu již dlouho a s rozšířením systémů hodnocení výzkumu v nedávné době ještě nabylo na důležitosti. Obecně se má za to, že tím, na čem ve výzkumu záleží, je kvalita a že její hodnocení je hodnotově neutrální, nestranné a neovlivněné jinými faktory a úvahami. Tento meritokratický ideál je dosud platnou univerzální hodnotou (Deem 2007: 616) a mnohdy převládá názor, že excelence je zjevná a odborníci ve svém oboru ji na první pohled umějí rozpoznat (Lamont 2009). Třebaže excelence původně označovala výjimečně vysokou kvalitu a vynikání nad ostatními, v posledních letech začíná být spojována s nástupem nového řízení výzkumu, kde je všechno založeno na soutěživosti, manažerských postupech a efektivním využívání veřejných financí (Deem 2008). Čím dál častěji jsou výzkumníci hodnoceni na základě své produktivity, tzn. počtu článků s impakt faktorem, citačního indexu a schopnosti vysoutěžit další zdroje účelového financování (Linková 2014; Morley 2016). Jestliže v meritokracii jde o vymezení hranic toho, co jsou zásluhy, excelence je pak procesem definování zásluhovosti v již velmi konkrétních pojmech (Felt, Stöckelová 2009).

Už od raných počátků sociologie vědy zkoumají badatelé faktory stavící ideál meritokracie do poněkud jiného světla. S pomocí kumulativního zvýhodnění, tzv. Matoušova efektu, v oblasti vědy ozřejmil například Robert K. Merton některé aspekty nerovnoměrné distribuce hodnoty ve vědě (Merton 1968). S odkazem na tuto ranou práci se Margaret W. Rossiter (1993) zvláště zaměřila na inherentně nedostatečné uznání badatelek a vymyslela pro tento jev termín Matildin efekt. Od té doby i další výzkumy jednoznačně prokázaly, že bádání mužů je konzistentně posuzováno jako kvalitnější, a to ze strany mužů i žen, ačkoli to jediné, čím se liší, je jméno výzkumníka a výzkumnice (Reuben, Sapienza, Zingales 2014; Steinpreis, Anders, Ritzke 1999). Ve své stěžejní studii o postdoktorských grantech u Švédské výzkumné rady pro lékařské vědy doložily Christine Wenneras a Agnes Wold (1997), že ženy musejí výrazně častěji než muži publikovat v nejprestižnějších časopisech, aby byly hodnoceny stejně dobře jako oni (k podobným výsledkům v nizozemském systému došly Yvonne Benschop a Margo Brouns [2003]). Výzkumy prováděné v USA naznačují, že muži i ženy nahlízejí na uchazečky s kvalifikací zcela srovnatelnou s mužskými uchazeči jako na méně schopné, a tedy zasluhující nižší plat (Moss-Racusin et al. 2012).

Existence potenciálních genderových předsudků v hodnocení výzkumu nabývá na důležitosti s příchodem toho, co bývá nazýváno kulturou auditu (Power 2003; Strathern 2000), novým manažerialismem (Deem, Brehony 2005) či neoliberalní univerzitou (Shore 2010). Tato změna s sebou přináší zvýšenou soutěživost, vše se čím

dál více týká jen hodnocení vědy a soutěžení o další zdroje účelového financování coby údajných pojištěk proti neefektivnosti veřejného výzkumu a terciárního školství (Shore 2010; Shore, Wright 2015; Wright, Ørberg 2008). Tyto změny v řízení výzkumu mají obrovský vliv na to, jak se definuje excelence. Současný pojem excelence se pojí s nezávislostí, individuálním výkonem, efektivitou, soutěžením, konkurenceschopností, rychlostí a prvenstvím (Matonoha 2009). Tím se upevňuje historická maskulinita vědní kultury. Van den Brink a Benschop argumentují, že excelence je „neurčitý společenský konstrukt, který je ze své podstaty genderově podmíněný“ a že již v samotné jeho konstrukci jsou obsaženy podstatné nerovnosti (van den Brink, Benschop 2013: 1).

V této stati zkoumám genderové konstrukce excelentního výzkumníka na pozadí nedávných změn v řízení výzkumu. Konkrétně analyzuji, jak si vedoucí laboratorních pracovišť a vedoucí pracovníci v přírodovědeckém výzkumu představují vědeckou profesi a její nároky, a rozebírám také jejich implicitní a explicitní představy o excelentním výzkumníkovi či výzkumnici. Diskutuji o těchto pojetích v kontextu nedávných organizačních změn, které ztělesňuje především fragmentování vědecké kariéry a rozšiřování účelového financování, a zkoumám, zda jejich konstrukce excelentního výzkumního pracovníka nevykazují genderové předsudky. V závěru zvažuji dopady étosu výzkumné profese v kombinaci s novým systémem řízení a uvažuji, zda se nabízejí nové příležitosti k zeslabení genderových předsudků (Morley 2003: ix). V podstatě tedy hledám odpověď na to, co je excelence, čím jsou vymezeny hranice excelence a jak přemýšlet o excelenci inkluzivněji.

Zjištění uvedená v této studii jsou podložena mým dlouholetým zájmem o organizaci vědy, hodnocení výzkumu a gender. Zaměřuji se zejména na přírodní vědy, protože ony stály v čele výše nastíněných změn, jež tvoří jádro hodnocení výzkumu (Garforth, Stöckelová 2012). Data pocházejí především z výzkumných studií provedených ve dvou přírodovědných ústavech Akademie věd České republiky a z dalších rozhovorů s vedoucími pracovníky výzkumu a s tvůrci politik, z nichž někteří původně přišli také z přírodovědných disciplín. Situace v Akademii věd ČR se pravděpodobně liší od situace na univerzitách, které plní dvojí úlohu – výuky a výzkumu. Systémy hodnocení výzkumu se pevněji uchytily v ústavech Akademie věd ČR (nejen v přírodních vědách), zatímco situace na univerzitách je pestřejší, a to i fakulta od fakulty. Vzhledem k tomu, že ústavy Akademie věd ČR mohou být logikou soutěže interpolovány snáze než univerzity s posláním výuky a výzkumu, nabízejí obzvláště příhodnou půdu ke zkoumání možných genderových předsudků při hodnocení výzkumu.

V této souvislosti je nutno poznamenat, že u mužů akademiků, zejména v přírodních a technických vědách, bylo zjištěno, že vnímají a posuzují poznatky výzkumných studií, které odkrývají genderové předsudky, jako méně nosné, než je tomu u žen (Handley, Brown, Moss-Racusin, Smith 2015). V protikladu k časté domněnce, že

je možné akademiky a vedoucí pracovníky ve výzkumu přesvědčit o nutnosti přijmout opatření k nápravě genderových předsudků, pokud jim budou předloženy vědecké důkazy, tato studie ukazuje, že i lidé v pozicích, na nichž by mohli takové změny prosadit, mohou vědecké důkazy ignorovat.<sup>2</sup> Z tohoto důvodu se soustředím na seniorní akademické pracovníky ve vedoucích a rozhodovacích pozicích, kteří působí jako tzv. strážci brány (Aiston, Jung 2015; Husu 2004). Vzhledem k převládajícímu zastoupení mužů v těchto pozicích v České republice se můj výzkumný vzorek skládá téměř výhradně z mužů. Dané zaměření je o to relevantnější, že jeden z výzkumných ústavů Akademie věd ČR, kde jsem rozhovory vedla, aktuálně realizuje akční plán na podporu rovného postavení žen a mužů v rámci evropského projektu strukturálních změn, a tudíž někteří z oslovených mužů, s nimiž jsem dělala rozhovor, jsou v současnosti přímo odpovědní za řešení otázek, o nichž ve svém článku pojednávám.

## Genderová kultura organizací

Gender je ukotven v organizační kultuře (Acker 1990, 2012) a prostupuje veškerými praktikami a hodnotami organizací. Na rozdíl od explicitní kultury vědy, která staví na nestrannosti a hodnotové neutralitě, teorie genderované organizace vynáší na světlo implicitní a nevyřčené hodnoty, očekávání a praktiky, jež se zpravidla staly neviditelnými, staly se součástí toho, jak věci v organizaci zkrátka jsou. Genderová kultura ve výzkumu má mnoho podob: od idealizovaného obrazu absolutně oddaného výzkumného pracovníka bez jiných závazků, které by vybočovaly z pole vědy, přes související kulturu dlouhých přesčasů, přetrvávání genderových stereotypů a dvojích standardů až k možnému nepřátelskému, vysoce konkurenčnímu prostředí, kde je vědec vědci vlkem, máme-li jmenovat alespoň některé z nich (Itzin 1995). Tyto hodnoty a praktiky vnucují jedincům „soubor maskulinizovaných očekávání“ a zhmotňují maskulinní normu, vůči níž jsou ženy poměřovány a shledávány nedostatečnými (Bevan, Learmonth 2012; Wajcman 2000). Jinými slovy, atributy stereotypně označované jako „mužské ... bývají více ceněny a jsou považovány za přirozený standard“ (van den Brink, Benschop 2012: 80).

Výzkum ukazuje, že rozdíly mezi pohlavími vyjevující se při určování zásluh a přisouvání kompetencí pramení z přetrvávajících stereotypů, které zobrazují ženy jako méně kompetentní a ve srovnání s muži vyzdvihují jejich vřelost a sympatičnost (Krefting 2003; Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, Handelsman 2012;

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<sup>2</sup> To může představovat hrozbu pro iniciativy prosazující strukturální změny, jako je program NSF ADVANCE nebo projekty strukturální změny financované Evropskou komisí, protože pro úspěch těchto iniciativ je rozhodující vrcholné vedení a vedoucí vědeckí pracovníci (European Commission 2012).



van den Brink, Benschop 2013). Liší se například slovní popis, jímž se hodnotí vědkyně a vědci při rozhodování o udělení výzkumného postu; muži jsou popisováni jako analytičtí, soutěživí, nezávislí a samostatní, jako vůdčí osobnosti, které na sebe umějí brát riziko, a ženy jako chápavé, citlivé a submisivní (Marchant, Bhattacharya, Carnes 2007). Podobně platí, že doporučující reference pro ženy bývají zpravidla kratší, obsahují více zpochybňujících výrazů a častěji se zmiňují o osobním životě žen, zatímco reference pro muže obvykle zdůrazňují jejich výzkum a publikace (Trix, Psenka 2003).

Na profesní postup žen má dále vliv vnímaná neslučitelnost feminity a pozic autority či vedení lidí (Eagly, Karau 2002; Heilman, Eagly 2008; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, Tamkins 2004; Morley 2013). Jestliže ženy přejímají chování typicky spojené s muži a považované za rozhodující pro úspěch, přichází trest:<sup>3</sup> jsou vnímány jako panovačné, příliš asertivní, soutěživé a agresivní, stručně řečeno nesympatické (Valian 1999; Williams 2005). Genderově stereotypní vnímání způsobilosti žen a mužů a jejich rolí podryvá možnost spravedlivého hodnocení badatelek a v souvislosti s tím i jejich příležitosti kariérně postoupit ve výzkumné hierarchii až na pozici autority.

To je umocněno dalším genderovým předsudkem, jenž se vztahuje k ženám matkám – takzvanou „zdí mateřství“ –, kdy jsou badatelky, které jsou zároveň matkami, považovány za méně kompetentní a ne tolik oddané vědě, přičemž mateřství a excelence výzkumu jsou považovány za vzájemně se vylučující okolnosti (Smithson, Stokoe 2005; Williams, Dempsey 2014). Vědkyně proto často ve snaze vyhnout se těmto předsudkům své rodinné závazky zatajují (Bardoel, Drago, Cooper, Colbeck 2009). Má to spojitost s tradičním pojetím vědecké profese coby oblasti bez-péče (*careless zone*)<sup>4</sup> (Lynch 2010), kde ženy obzvláště narážejí na *strop pečovatelsví*, který, jak autorka argumentuje, je ještě umocněn novým manažerialismem. Uvádí se, že stupňování požadavků kladených na badatele a badatelky a rostoucí soutěživost v systému vědy plodí egocentrismus, upadá smysl pro odpovědnost a morální status je přiznáván stavu bez-péče (*carelessness*).

Hodnota bez-péče se ovšem neobjevila v oblasti vědy až s nedávnými změnami v jejím řízení, je hluboce zakotvena již v samotné kultuře badatelské práce a vědy, která je postavena na striktním oddělení emocí a citů na jedné straně od racionálního myšlení na straně druhé (Anderson 2015; Lynch 2010). Tuto tradiční vědní kul-

<sup>3</sup> Tyto poznatky poukazují na limity přístupů, jaké prosazuje například Sheryl Sanberg (2013) ve své knize *Lean In*, nebo i dalších přístupů typu „spravte ženy“. Je zřejmé, že jednoduchá oprava chování žen si s tím neporadí.

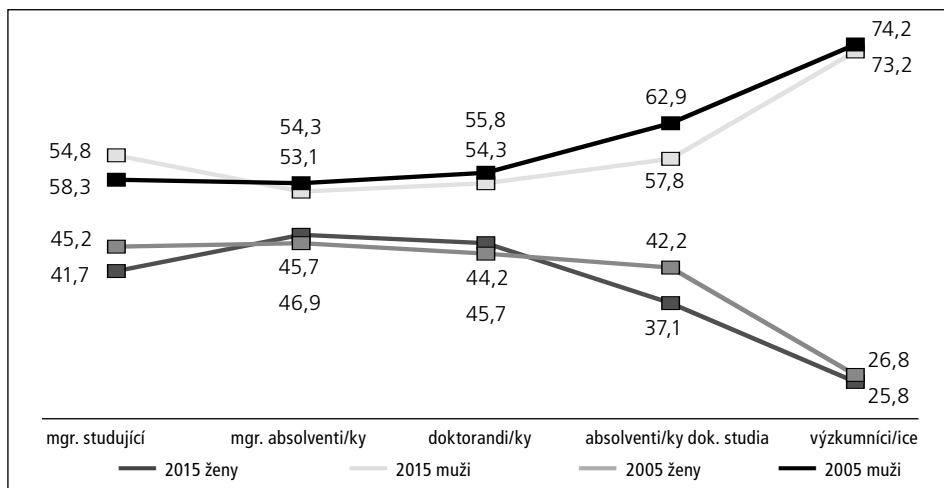
<sup>4</sup> Anglické slovo *careless* je mnohoznačné a odkazuje jak k neexistenci péče, tak k lhostejnosti vůči ostatním. Lynch ve svém textu pracuje právě s touto provázanou mnohoznačností. V textu budu používat pro *careless zone* výraz oblast bez-péče (pozn. autorky).

turu i důraz na racionální autonomní subjekt současná organizace výzkumu přeu-  
 spořádala ještě více v témže duchu. Jedinec, neomezovaný žádnými pečovatelskými  
 závazky a odpovědností, plně mobilní, nepřetržitě dostupný a soustředěný pouze  
 na výkon, se stal implicitním aktérem vědních politik v EU i v České republice (Lin-  
 ková 2014, kapitola 5). Takový jedinec přesně zapadá do logiky volby, která uspo-  
 řádává představy západního veřejného prostoru (Mol 2008). Při hledání odpovědi  
 na otázku, co se míní dobrou zdravotní péčí, staví Annemarie Mol do kontrastu  
 dvě logiky – logiku volby a logiku péče. V prvním případě lidé neemotivně zvažují  
 možnosti a činí racionální rozhodnutí. Jejich volby jsou individuální, odštěpené od  
 širšího společenského prostředí. Hranice mezi soukromým a veřejným jsou pevně  
 vytyčeny. Druhý případ je zapeklitější, hranice nelze stanovit napevno a volba mezi  
 dostupnými alternativami neskýtá tak docela smysluplné rozuzlení. Obě logiky exist-  
 ují vedle sebe, každá má větší relevanci v jiném kontextu. To, co zde chci zkou-  
 mat, je otázka, do jaké míry logika volby organizuje současná pojetí excelentního  
 výzkumníka či výzkumnice, jaká jsou její omezení a zda a jak dokážeme uvažovat  
 o excelenci v rámci logiky péče. Koneckonců, tím hlavním tématem není nic men-  
 šího než kvalita vědy.

### **Výzkumný kontext: organizační změna v přírodních vědách a narůstající pracovní nejistota**

Ani systému české vědy není výše uvedený vývoj neznámý. Hodnocení výzkumu na  
 národní úrovni bylo v České republice zavedeno v roce 2004 a přírodovědci z Akademie  
 věd České republiky sehráli v tomto procesu klíčovou roli (Linková, Stöckelová 2012).  
 Jeho zavedení s sebou neslo příslib přerušení nepotistických vazeb, protože se opíralo  
 o zdánlivě objektivní bodovací systém (podrobnosti viz Linková, Stöckelová 2012). Byly  
 to také přírodní vědy, které udávaly tón výraznějším kulturním a organizačním změnám  
 v českém akademickém prostředí, jejichž cílem bylo zvýšit konkurenceschopnost a eko-  
 nomickou návratnost investic do výzkumu (Linková 2014; Linková, Červinková 2013).  
 Jedním z nástrojů k dosažení vytyčeného cíle bylo navýšení účelového financování na  
 úkor dříve dominantního institucionálního financování. Za uplynulých 15 let zažila Česká  
 republika rychlý zvrat poměru mezi oběma zdroji financování. V roce 2008, kdy česká  
 vláda zahájila reformu výzkumu a vývoje, bylo plánováno dosáhnout poměru 50:50  
 (Vláda České republiky 2008). Cíl byl dalece překonán. Na některých vysokých školách  
 tvoří institucionální financování už jen 20 % z celkových finančních zdrojů (Dvořáčková  
 et al. 2014: 139). U Akademie věd České republiky, na niž se zde zaměřuji, se procento  
 institucionální podpory snížilo z 63 % z celkových výdajů v roce 2007 na 34 % v roce  
 2016 (Akademie věd České republiky 2017: 20).

Graf 1: Ideálnětypická kariéerní dráha v letech 2015 a 2005 v přírodních vědách (%)



Zdroj: Národní kontaktní centrum – gender a věda (2017: 23).

Systémy hodnocení byly postupně zavedeny na institucionální úrovni a v některých případech se podle nich řídí i přerozdělování institucionálních prostředků a dalších zdrojů. Výzkumná kariéra se nyní organizuje lineárně od získání doktorského titulu přes postdoktorskou fázi až po juniorské a seniorské vedoucí pozice, přičemž některé ústavy Akademie věd ČR v oblasti biověd zavedly pravidla pro ukončení spolupráce se stážisty ihned po završení doktorského studia, aby se zabránilo akademickému příbuzenství (*inbreeding*).

Je ovšem třeba zvážit nechtěné vedlejší účinky: financování založené na výkonnosti fragmentarizuje individuální kariéru do etap, z nichž každá má své vlastní účelové financování, čili opět rozdělované na základě systému hodnocení. Změny v systému české vědy vytvořily pracovní nejistotu, a to zejména v raných stadiích kariéry, stejně jako intenzivní pocity nepřináležitosti a frustrace zvláště mezi badateli v raném stadiu vědecké dráhy (Cidliňská, Vohlídalová 2015; srov. Shore, Wright 2015). V současnosti roste povědomí o negativních dopadech současného stavu a v aktuální Národní politice V & V & I 2016–2020 se uvádí, že dominantní část rozpočtů veřejného výzkumu a vysokých škol by mělo tvořit institucionální financování (Úřad vlády České republiky 2015: 126). Ještě zbývá, aby se to skutečně projevilo v aktuálním rozpočtu na výzkum a vývoj.

S tím se pojí i to, že vzhledem k nejistotě finančních prostředků se účelové financování stává důvodem opakovaného uzavírání krátkodobých pracovních smluv s akademickými pracovníky, přičemž univerzity a výzkumné ústavy uplatňují výjimku ze

zákoníku práce. Akademické pracovnice proto v době mateřství a rodičovství nesou ve srovnání s jinými skupinami zaměstnankyň větší rizika.<sup>5</sup> Na institucionální úrovni tedy krátkodobé plánování, v kombinaci s tvrdou soutěží, vytváří cestičky k vypovězení pracovních smluv a statistické údaje o úbytku pracovních sil opouštějících akademickou dráhu v oblasti přírodních věd dokládají, že ženy jsou tím postihovány mnohem více než muži. V roce 2015 představovaly ženy pouze 25,8 % z celkové populace 16 376 přírodovědců, třebaže podíl žen mezi studujícími magisterského studia v témže roce činil 41,7 % a doktorandek bylo dokonce 45,7 %. Nejvíce se rozdíl v zastoupení žen a mužů mezi doktorskými absolventy snížil v roce 2015, kdy ženy tvořily 42,2 %, což znamenalo nárůst z původních 37,1 % v roce 2005. Číselný propad s přechodem na badatelskou kariéru je ze všech disciplín největší právě v přírodních vědách: v roce 2015 to bylo 15,4 procentních bodů, což je nárůst oproti 11,3 procentních bodů v roce 2005 (Národní kontaktní centrum – gender a věda, 2017). Je zřejmé, že ženy mají v dané oblasti patřičné vzdělání, ale v profesi se to nijak neodráží a situace se zhoršuje.

Jedním z vedlejších faktorů může být aktuální rodinná politika a ideologie mateřství, která v České republice dosud přetrvává. V současnosti existuje kromě 28týdenní mateřské dovolené pro matky před porodem a po něm třírychlostní rodičovská dovolená s dvouletou, tříletou nebo čtyřletou alternativou. Přestože je rodičovská dovolená dostupná jak otcům, tak matkám, běžnou a očekávanou praxí je, že to bude žena, kdo na rodičovské dovolené stráví tři roky.<sup>6</sup> A je to často nedobrovolná volba z důvodu nedostatku nebo finanční nedostupnosti zařízení denní péče o děti, zvláště pro děti do dvou let (Vohlídalová 2017, 2014, 2013). Kariéerní postup žen ve vědě je tak vinou očekávání a norem rodičovství ohrožen, neboť ženy často doslova narážejí na zeď mateřství, čímž se míní nedostatečný počet zařízení pro péči o děti, ukončování pracovních smluv a nerovnoměrná dělba práce v domácnosti, což je dále umocňováno dlouhou rodičovskou dovolenou (Vohlídalová 2013, 2017). Zkoumání hodnotových soudů osob v postavení autority a moci proto může osvětlit některé z důvodů, proč se ženám nedaří v této oblasti uplatnit.

<sup>5</sup> Zákoník práce stanoví, že dočasné smlouvy mohou být následně uzavírány pouze třikrát, přičemž každá smlouva může trvat nejvýše tři roky. Předpokládá se, že pokud si zaměstnavatel přeje zaměstnance udržet, zaměstnává jej na základě smlouvy na dobu neurčitou. Studie u nás ukazují, že tato praxe je zvláště problematická v případě žen, které plánují rodinu nebo ji mají, protože pokud jim smlouva vyprší během mateřské nebo rodičovské dovolené, nemají právo na zachování svého pracovního místa podobně jako ženy pracující na smlouvu na dobu neurčitou, která je stále ještě nejrozšířenější formou zaměstnaneckého poměru v České republice, zejména mezi lidmi s vyšší kvalifikací, nikoliv však v akademickém sektoru.

<sup>6</sup> V roce 2016 bylo mezi muži 1,86 (v tisících) příjemců rodičovského příspěvku (Český statistický úřad 2016: 180, tabulky 5–7).

## Výzkumná data a poznámky k metodologii

Projekty, v jejichž rámci byla shromážděna data pro mou analýzu, se všechny do jisté míry zaměřovaly na gender ve vědě a na prosazování rovnosti žen a mužů ve vědě.<sup>7</sup> Skutečnost, že tyto projekty probíhaly v celém posledním desetiletí, nabízí vhodnou příležitost – a v pravý čas – ke zkoumání proměnlivosti/trvanlivosti konstruktů excelentního vědce a toho, co vlastně obnáší úspěch ve vědě. První projekt byl spuštěn v roce 2004, kdy byl u nás zaveden systém hodnocení výzkumu, a nejnovější končí právě v době, kdy vědecká obec a tvůrci politik diskutují o neočekávaných negativních důsledcích výše popisovaných změn.<sup>8</sup>

Ony dva ústavy, v nichž jsem prováděla svůj dlouhodobější výzkum, se řadí mezi excelentní a mají silné postavení i v mezinárodním měřítku. Jsou rovněž velmi úspěšné při získávání externího financování od soukromého sektoru i v soutěži o účelové prostředky. I když mají výraznou interdisciplinární složku, historicky mají těžiště v chemii a studiu změn životního prostředí.

Projekt	Individuální rozhovory (M/Ž)	Skupinové rozhovory (M/Ž)
EU FP 6 – 1: sběr dat 2006–2007	7/1 vedoucí laboratoří	1/2 vedoucí laboratoří
EU FP 7: sběr dat 2015–2016	4/0 manažerů ve výzkumu 2/0 vedoucí laboratoří	
EU FP 6 – 2: sběr dat 2006	5/0 tvůrci politik a politikové	
Grantová agentura Akademie věd ČR: sběr dat 2008–2009	9/0 vysoce postavení výzkumníci angažovaní v tvorbě české vědní politiky prostřednictvím členství v Radě pro výzkum, vývoj a inovace a v ministerských expertních orgánech	

<sup>7</sup> Vzhledem k povinnosti anonymizace a vzhledem k dohodě o zachování důvěrnosti informací s jednou ze spolupracujících institucí neposkytují podrobnější specifikaci projektů, protože by tím byl ústav identifikován. Dva projekty byly součástí 6. rámcového programu, jeden 7. rámcového programu a jeden od Grantové agentury Akademie věd České republiky.

<sup>8</sup> Jeden z projektů zahrnoval i etnografickou studii, jež mi umožnila podrobně studovat změny v organizaci výzkumu v Akademii věd ČR a zejména v přírodních vědách (Linková 2014).

Moje analýza se opírá především o individuální a skupinové rozhovory s vedoucími pracovníky přírodovědných laboratoří, výzkumnými manažery (řediteli, výkonnými řediteli, tajemníky) a tvůrci politik. Vzhledem k převaze mužů ve vedoucích, řídicích a rozhodovacích pozicích v ČR, a zvláště v těchto dvou sledovaných ústavech, byli respondenty tohoto výzkumu z velké většiny muži. U dvou projektů, kde vedoucí pozici v laboratořích zastávaly ženy, byly rozhovory vedeny i s nimi. Žádná žena v daném časovém úseku nezastávala manažerskou pozici ani nebyla na vyšší pozici v oblasti tvorby vědní politiky.

Vzorek pro mou výzkumnou práci byl zvolen záměrně; vedoucí laboratorních pracovišť, manažeři výzkumu a tvůrci politik jsou osobami v důležitých mocenských pozicích, s rozsáhlou pravomocí spoluutvářet praktiky a hodnoty své profese. Jak argumentují van den Brink a Benschop (2013: 10): „Normy zásluh jsou konstruovány mocnými akademiky, kteří těží z konstrukce, jež je prezentována jako přesné, objektivní a jednoznačné měřítko excellence“.

Vzhledem k obtížnosti tématu rovnosti žen a mužů jsem zahajovala rozhovory neutrálnějšími tématy, o kterých jsem věděla, že mezi mými výzkumnými partnery najdou odezvu. V ranějších projektech se úvodní otázka týkala významných změn ve výzkumu před rokem 1989 a po něm, tedy před rokem politických změn u nás, která rovněž předznamenala významný zlom v organizaci výzkumu. V novějších projektech rozhovory začínaly otázkami ohledně toho, co se míní kvalitou výzkumu, jak ji moji respondenti poznají a jak souvisí s excelencí. Postupným zamýšlením se nad hodnocením výzkumu a systémem hodnocení zavedeného u nás a nad tím, jakou má souvislost s excelencí, jsem rozhovory směřovala k otázkám o nedostatečném zastoupení žen ve výzkumu, zda ve výzkumu existují nějaké překážky profesnímu postupu žen, o neutralitě systému hodnocení výzkumu i o tom, kdo je zodpovědný za zlepšení profesních příležitostí žen, včetně zastoupení žen v rozhodovacích pozicích.

V četných případech se ukázal jako velmi užitečný věkový rozdíl mezi mnou a mými respondenty, jelikož ke mně přistupovali jako k mladší kolegyni, které bylo třeba vysvětlit, jak věci *skutečně* fungují. Díky tomu se moji respondenti o hodnotách, jež vyznávají při řízení svých týmů a ústavu, a o tom, co považují za nezbytné pro úspěch v oblasti výzkumu, vyjadřovali zcela explicitně. Mé juniorské postavení mi také umožnilo klást doplňující otázky, které by mohly být za jiných okolností považovány za neinformované.

Ke kódování a třídění dat metodou vícestupňového induktivního přístupu jsem používala Atlas.ti. Začala jsem otevřeným kódováním skupiny pojmů „úspěch“, „úspěšný výzkumník“, „hodnocení výzkumu“ a „výzkumná dráha“, ve druhém kroku jsem zpřesnila kódy do detailnějších kategorií, jež souvisejí s různými aspekty úspěchu a překážkami úspěchu, jako jsou časová náročnost, kognitivní nároky, výkonnostní požadavky, a využila jsem kritickou diskursivní analýzu k identifikaci genderově pod-

míněných představ ve vyjádřeních respondentů. Analýza v této stati navazuje na mé předchozí práce, v nichž jsem se zabývala představami o úspěchu u přírodovědkyň a přírodovědců a tím, jak jsou tyto představy genderově podmíněné a ovlivněné postavením jedince v institucionální hierarchii a kariéřním stupněm (Linková 2009). Tím, že jsem se soustředila pouze na osoby v pozicích moci, se mohu lépe zhostit odpovědi na otázku, jak mohou být zvláštní (v tomto případě genderově podmíněné) představy udržovány a reprodukovány institucionálně.

## Maskulinní genderování výzkumné profese

Nyní se obrátím k prezentaci svých zjištění a soustředím se na analýzu kategorií vytvořených v procesu kódování. Nejprve se podívám na to, jakou představu vědy účastníci mého výzkumu zhmotňují a s jakými genderově podmíněnými předpoklady, a za druhé prozkoumám konkrétní předpoklady týkající se vědkyň matek a údajných kompetencí žen a mužů v souvislosti s vědeckou excelencí. Zajímavé je, že jejich výpovědi reflektují bytnější manažerialismus a význam hodnocení výzkumu pouze ve vztahu k rostoucí důležitosti článků s impakt faktorem a dalších indexů, ale nikoliv ve vztahu ke komplexnosti kompetencí pro vedoucí pozice, které identifikovaly van den Brink a Benschop (2012).

Účastníci mého výzkumu hovoří o nárocích profese výzkumného pracovníka především z hlediska osobního nasazení anebo o nárocích výzkumné profese, které podtrhují přetrvávající idealizované pojetí vědy jakožto poslání. Binární póly, které vyplývají z jejich vyjádření – vtělené/odtělesněné, komplementární a hierarchicky pořádané kompetence žen a mužů –, byly jediné, o nichž účastníci výzkumu hovořili. To je podstatné, protože vtělují nerovné postavení a přístup k moci a zastoupení ve vedoucích pozicích do samotných žen, jejich těl a povinností primárních pečovatelek a matek.

Pro ilustraci vzájemně si odporujících ideologií – ideologie absolutně oddaného výzkumného pracovníka a ideologie mateřství vztahované na vědkyně – se nyní budu podrobněji zabývat výňatkem z rozhovoru s jedním prominentním vedoucím vědeckým pracovníkem, poněvadž komplexně zachycuje názory a hodnoty, o nichž hovořili i ostatní účastníci výzkumu, byť méně provázaným způsobem. Takto popsal požadavky v postdoktorské fázi:

*Postdok se stará o jediné. On chce startovat kariéru a on potřebuje za ten rok nebo dva, co bude tady, co nejvíce publikací, co nejvíc, postdok nechá duši... Postdok nechá duši ve vědě.*

Tato absolutní oddanost a podrobení se nárokům povolání jsou v praktickém smyslu úzce spojeny s kulturou přesčasů, kdy musí být vědec neustále k dispozici.

*Soboty, neděle, pořád je práce. Někdoto mu říká workoholismus, ale jinak tone jde. Bud' vás to teší, a když ne, musíte od toho jít... Očekávám to tonasazení, kdonechce, tak tunemábýt.*

V uvedené osobní výpovědi do sebe věda pohlcuje všechny aspekty života jednotlivce. Taková pracovní etika musí člověka bavit; cokoli méně je kompromis. Zavádí morálku, podle níž jsou pak jednotlivci posuzováni. Také v jiných výpovědích vedoucí laboratorních pracovišť a vedoucí pracovníci ve výzkumu zastávají pojetí výzkumného pracovníka jako odtělesněného pracovníka (Acker 1990), vše je podřízeno jen naprostému soustředění na práci, které je opakovaně popisované slovy „hořet pro věc“ anebo „mít v sobě zápal“. V jejich odpovědích jsou mateřství a kariérní přestávky jakýmsi postskriptem, dodatkem, který nijak nefiguruje v jejich popisu absolutně oddaného badatele. Když jsem se během výzkumného rozhovoru citovaného výše později otázala, zda stejná pravidla a požadavky na pracovní etiku platí i pro rodiče s dětmi, tentýž vedoucí týmu okamžitě nahradil ideologii odtělesněného pracovníka neméně vylučující (byť jiným způsobem) ideologií mateřství, protože pokračoval takto:

*S tím se nedá nic dělat, teď to řešíme, skvělá studentka Ph.D., šťastně vdaná. Není nic, není vyšší priorita, jen kvůli vědecké kariéře zapomenout na rodinu nejde, rodina musí být na prvním místě, podpora ze strany rodiny je nutná; moje děti si nedovedou představit, že bych dělal něco jiného, než pracoval... (všechny tři citáty: vedoucí laboratoře)*

Tento citát je zajímavý z několika hledisek. První část citátu před mou vsuvkou o rodině předpokládá, že rozvoj vědecké dráhy závisí na vyvinutí velkého úsilí, které vyústí v samostatnou pozici, považovanou v přírodních vědách za vrchol vědecké kariéry. Individuální vědec tu stojí sám, odstřižený od společenského života, od rodiny či místopisného prostředí, je vždy k dispozici. Ačkoliv jsem při formulaci své doplňující otázky o dětech a rodině vůbec nepoužila explicitní odkaz na mateřství nebo ženy vědkyně, odpověď vedoucího laboratoře se tímto směrem stočila. Tím jsou ovšem vyloučeni muži z řad těch, kdo by mohli být zapojeni do pečovatelských vztahů, a odpověď je výslovně formulována z hlediska žen (např. „skvělá doktorandka“). Janet Smithson a Elizabeth Stokoe (2005: 156) používají termín *generická rodička žena* (*generic female parent*) nebo *generická ona* (*generic she*) k popisu toho, jak se v mluvě o rodičovství automaticky předpokládá, že je záležitostí pouze žen, a nikoli mužů. Co se týče výše uvedeného citátu, za zmínku stojí rovněž význam připisovaný rodičovství žen (např. „žádná vyšší priorita“, „rodina musí být na prvním místě“), což měli společně i další muži v osloveném vzorku. V případě vědkyň tedy nejenže existuje předpoklad, že se budou chtít věnovat rodině, ale je v něm obsažen také hodnotový soud, který přisuzuje mateřství žen tu nejvyšší hodnotu. Morálka, jejímž prizmatem je posuzován postdoktorský stážista, je protichůdná k morálce, podle níž jsou posuzovány ženy, které naplňují své ženství mateřstvím.



Vzhledem k tomu, že citovaný výrok byl rámován otázkou, kdy a kolik hodin vedoucí týmu pracuje, je výmluvné, jak se v závěru své odpovědi vrací k *vlastní* rodině: „Moje děti si nedovedou představit, že bych dělal něco jiného, než pracoval.“ Vrací se tu k původní představě vysokého a časově náročného pracovního nasazení, jež požaduje od členů svého týmu i od sebe. Vsuvka, která následovala v reakci na mou otázku, tudíž tvoří podloží Jinakosti aktivního/pečujícího rodičovství v laboratoři. Jeho pojetí otcovství je *a priori* takové, že vzdálený otec, otec, jenž je v soukromé sféře nepřítomen, se zaměřuje výhradně na svůj úspěch v oblasti placené práce.

V nové, na soutěž orientované organizaci výzkumu na sebe vědní výkon bere specificky podobu vytváření publikační stopy a budování ambiciózního životopisu se stážemi v zahraničí. To jsou věci, pro něž postdoktorandi dávají svou duši. Vrátil-li se k citované pasáži, v popředí vidíme v rodině nepřítomného otce plně oddaného své práci, jenž tvrdí, že jeho rodina ani nepředpokládá, že by to mohlo být jinak. Aktivní/pečující rodičovství a starosti kolem péče jsou zneviditelněné, daleko mimo stěny laboratoře, čímž je umožněno, že dotyčný může trvat na krajně individualizovaném pracovním vypětí, které se očekává zejména v raných fázích vědecké kariéry. Tyto hodnotové soudy pak nacházejí uplatnění při hodnocení pracovního nasazení a kariérního postupu vědců a vědkyň. Jak tvrdí Joan C. Williams a Nancy Segal (2003: 80), je to právě tato představa „ideálního pracovníka, jenž má mužské tělo a tradiční mužskou imunitu vůči péči o rodinu, [co] diskriminuje ženy“. Vzhledem k nejvyšší hodnotě připisované mateřství žen v české společnosti, o níž se opakovaně zmiňují dotazovaní vedoucí laboratoří i řídicí pracovníci, a vzhledem k silně utkvělé představě výzkumu coby poslání, jemuž se jedinec má plně oddat, je stále velmi obtížné vyčlenit a vydobýt nějaký prostor, kde lze otázku rovnováhy mezi pracovním a soukromým životem řešit jako institucionální téma. Z pohledu respondentů není nic, co by s tím mohli dělat, de facto nevidí velký smysl v projektech zaměřených na prosazování rovnosti žen a mužů v oblasti výzkumu nebo na porozumění genderovým nerovnostem, poněvadž vrozené a přirozeně dané skutečnosti ženských a mužských životů nelze změnit.

### **Strop pečovatelsví: mateřství jako přirozené znevýhodnění**

Nyní se dostávám k tomu, jak vedoucí laboratoří a manažeři ve výzkumu vnímají mateřství a způsobilost vědkyň matek dostát výše uvedenému vědeckému étosu. Explicitně se hovořilo o vědkyních-matkách jako o někom, kdo se zákonitě nebude moci naplno oddat vědě, protože se bude muset věnovat dětem. V rozhovorech téměř všichni vedoucí laboratoří a manažeři ve výzkumu rámovali vědeckou excelenci tak, že se vzájemně vylučuje s mateřstvím. Být dobrou matkou vyžaduje celou bytost a mateřství zaměstnává mysl ženy naplno, stejně tak jako být vynikajícím vědcem

vyžaduje celého člověka a jeho mysl. Na otce žádné takové nároky kladeny nejsou a respondenti si dokonce uvědomovali, že otcové mají snazší podmínky, třebaže zároveň přicházejí o čas trávený doma s dětmi. Vědkyně jsou tedy implicitně vyloučeny z představy excelentního výzkumného pracovníka.

*Pravda je, že skutečně ta žena nemůže stoprocentně myslet jen na tu vědu, zvlášť když má rodinu, sice vím, že to není správné, ale je to tak. (vrcholový management, muž)*

*Je to náročné, protože vědecká práce je něco jiného, prostě ta se nedá odložit. Stejně tak se nedá odložit mateřská péče... V tom vidím ten největší problém, protože já jsem opravdu péči o své děti mohl hodit úplně za hlavu, protože jsem věděl, že se na manželku můžu spolehnout... největší problém vidím v tom přepnutí, že péče vyžaduje na dítě pořád myslet a vědecká práce se bohužel taky nedá odložit. (vrcholový management, muž)*

V jejich odpovědích figuruje mateřství jako jedna z nejvýznamnějších překážek kariérnímu postupu žen ve vědě. Mateřství je „přirozené znevýhodnění“, jež nelze odstranit; je vrozené a bere ženám energii i ctižádost věnovat se výzkumu. Navíc ženy nikdy nebudou moci dohnat čas jednou „ztracený“ péčí o děti a i později jsou po zbytek svého profesního života dále znevýhodňovány. Někteří vedoucí laboratoře a top manažeři tedy navrhnou alternativní kariérní dráhy pro ženy, i když v momentě, kdy by měly být ženy posuzovány prizmatem onoho vědeckého étosu, by taková strategie zjevně uvěznila ženy v pasti na nižších příčkách profesního žebříčku – na asistentských pozicích. Tento návrh rovněž vyvolává otázku, zda je ve vysoce konkurenčním výzkumném prostředí, postaveném na řetězení krátkodobých pracovních smluv na dobu určitou, jak je uvedeno výše, taková alternativní cesta vůbec životaschopným konceptem.

Všichni respondenti hovořili tak či onak o vlivu mateřství na kariérní postup žen ve vědě a uvědomovali si důsledky genderového rozdělení rolí a povinností mezi matkou a otcem. I přes toto své uvědomění ale nadále mnozí vedoucí laboratořích a manažeři ve výzkumu, s nimiž jsem vedla rozhovor, pojímali postup ve výzkumné kariéře jako věc individuální volby, již žena buď udělá, nebo ne, bez ohledu na symbolické, strukturální, mezilidské a individuální okolnosti, kterým ženy a muži ve své profesní dráze čelí. Plně v souladu s logikou volby (Mol 2008) jasně vymezují veřejné od soukromého a v samém jádru jejich argumentace stojí individuální volba.

Na jedné straně tito muži sice připisují mateřství vysokou hodnotu a považují za vhodné, aby se ženy kvůli péči o děti vzdávaly kariérního postupu; na druhou stranu ale kladou odpovědnost za nesplnění požadavků vědecké kariéry na bedra ženy. V jejich výpovědích je věda skutečňována jako imunní vůči těmto „vnějším“ okolnostem, jež spatřují v oblasti sociální politiky, rodiny a dostupnosti zařízení péče o děti.

Tyto oblasti jsou pokládány za sféry, jež se těchto vrcholných manažerů a vedoucích laboratoří netýkají, oni přímo odmítají představu, že výzkumný ústav nebo snad oni sami nesou ve své pozici jakoukoli odpovědnost za vytváření nediskriminačních pracovních podmínek. Je pozoruhodné, že respondenti kladou takový důraz na individualistickou subjektivitu a odpovědnost žen, a přitom zcela odmítají svou vlastní odpovědnost jakožto vedoucí a řídicí pracovníci.

Toto vytěsnění vlastní odpovědnosti je možné v důsledku separace vědy s jejími nároky od nároků jiných společenských institucí a s nimi spojených kolektiv (například rodiny). Výzkumným pracovníkům a manažerům se daří zachovávat separaci mezi záležitostmi vědy a rovnáhou pracovního a osobního života tím, že povolávají na pomoc specifickou představu o vědě, oné „neuvěřitelně specifické činnosti“, jež vyžaduje „obrovskou osobní obět“.<sup>9</sup> Fungování v rámci logiky volby jim umožňuje vytvářet si prostor pro přesunutí viny za nízký počet žen ve vědě na vědkyně samotné. Umožňuje jim to tvrdit, že ženy si samy volí cestu mimo oblast vědy, jelikož mají jiné životní priority, a že by neměly být nuceny vzdávat se svého „ženství“. Mohou tedy tvrdit, že organizace výzkumu je neutrální a jeho praktiky nejsou genderově podmíněné. Podmínky na trhu vědecké práce jsou považovány za jednotné pro všechny, údajně kladou tytéž nároky na ženy i muže; záleží jen na ženách, zda dokážou těchto rovných podmínek využít a zda učiní ta správná rozhodnutí.<sup>10</sup> Pokud ano, nic jejich úspěchu ve výzkumu nestojí v cestě. Tato hyperviditelnost otázek kombinace práce a rodiny přispívá k posilování genderových stereotypů. Účinně blokuje jakoukoliv další diskusi o genderových nerovnostech v organizaci výzkumu. Za pomoci konceptu politiky nečinnosti zkoumá Hana Tenglerová (2014) diskursivní praktiky, které mobilizují tvůrci politik jako strategii umož-

<sup>9</sup> Zároveň se v České republice často diskutuje o vědě jako povolání, které je pro ženy vhodné právě díky velkému stupni flexibility, pokud jde o volbu pracovní doby. Třebaže to může být v obecné rovině pravda, můj výzkum naznačuje, že jakmile se diskutuje o flexibilitě zcela konkrétně ve spojení s pracovním a osobním životem, do popředí se dostávají nedůvěra a potřeba kontroly pracovní výkonnosti. Je zřejmé, že výhoda flexibility se liší ve vztahu k různým situacím a potřebám. Údajná vhodnost flexibilní akademické práce musí být navíc chápána v kontextu ostatních výroků o absolutní oddanosti a koncentraci. Ona volnost, s níž se flexibilita aplikuje v akademické práci a na akademičky a akademiky, o to víc posiluje vnímání odpovědnosti jedince za výkon a neúspěch.

<sup>10</sup> V nedávné diskusi o nově navrhovaném schématu mobility v České republice jsem zdůraznila skutečnost, že šestiměsíční postdoktorandské stipendium bude představovat překážku pro uchazečky, jak ostatně již ukázal výzkum, a že by měla existovat možnost rozdělit jej na dvě části (tak jako to dělá Grantová agentura České republiky s juniorskými granty). Odpovědí bylo, že cílem je podpořit excelenci, která je doložena délkou trvání stipendia, a že tento program nabídne finanční prostředky na přemístění rodiny. Když jsem se tedy vzápětí zeptala, kolik asi bude mužů ochotných přestěhovat se se svou partnerkou vědkyní, aby se mohli starat o děti, zatímco žena bude trávit mimo rodinu ty dlouhé hodiny, co se od postdoků očekávají, rozhodlo se ticho. Je zřejmé, že implicitní mužský model má pevně v područí představu mobilního vědce a dodnes je pro výzkumnou politiku směrodatný.

ňující jim neprovádět žádná opatření k odstranění nerovností mezi ženami a muži v oblasti výzkumu a ve výzkumných ústavech. Vedoucí laboratoří a manažeři výzkumu, s nimiž jsem vedla rozhovory já, se uchylují právě k takové politice nečinnosti, čili ke strategii popírání významu genderových rozdílů v oblasti vědy, s tím následkem, že vysoká míra odchodů žen z vědy, zejména v postdoktorské fázi, zůstává okrajovým problémem, ne-li úplně mimo jejich pole zájmu coby manažerů výzkumu a vedoucích laboratoří.

### **Skleněný strop: genderově podmíněné představy o kompetencích vedoucích pracovníků**

K překážkám souvisejícím s mateřstvím, které brání kariéernímu postupu žen, se kromě toho přidružují přetrvávající genderové stereotypy, pokud jde o vlastnosti, jež jedinec podle nich potřebuje k výkonu vedoucí pozice, a vnímání odlišných dovedností a kompetencí, jež vědkyně a vědci údajně vnášejí do výzkumu. Při výkonu vedoucí pozice je třeba projevat maskulinní rysy – být asertivní, „mít lokty“, být trochu agresivní nebo mít schopnost argumentovat a komunikovat ve výhradně mužských skupinách a nebát se riskovat.

*...bohužel v těch vedoucích pozicích, nejenom na u nás, ale i obecně, spíš převažují chlapi. Žena musí být trochu dravec, aby se neztratila, aby nebyla ušplápnutá, protože někteří chlapi jsou buldozeři. (vedoucí laboratoře, muž)*

*Nemůžu říct a neřekl bych nikdy, že by se ty vlastnosti u ženy nenašly, ale v každém případě např. ty atavismy v agresivitě, toho ženy nedosáhnou, aspoň tedy doufám [úsměv], někdy ta pozice vedoucího vyplynula z nějaké té agresivity, když to vezmu obecně. (vrcholový management, muž)*

*Vnímám to tak, že chlapi mají rádi riziko, takže jdou podávat projekty, mají na to čas a dají tomu i vikendy a obecně se říká, že ženský tomu tolik nedají... (výše postavený administrativní pracovník)*

V těchto výpovědích vidíme další genderově podmíněné představy, které brání ženám v kariéerním postupu. Za prvé, podmínkou vůdčích předpokladů je určitá agresivita a ambicióznost, „být jako buldozer“, které umožňují úspěšně se vyrovnat s kulturou výhradně mužských kolektivů. Podle některých dotazovaných by tím však ženy prolomily kód sympatičnosti a současně tito muži vyjadřují naději, že jejich kolegyně se nebudou uchylovat k projevům agresivity.<sup>11</sup> Za druhé, vedoucí pozice také zabírá

<sup>11</sup> Dva účastníci výzkumu se explicitně vyjádřili negativně o kolegyních, které se podle nich odchylojí od tradiční ženskosti, odmítají pomoc, jednájí asertivně a trvají na uznání svých příspěvků do vědeckých článků. Překročení normativních očekávání mělo pro dané ženy za následek propad v jejich vnímané sympatičnosti, což se v jednom případě projevilo i v neochotě spolupracovat s dotyčnou ženou.

spoustu energie a času – a ženy údajně postrádají obojí. To, co problematizují, není maskulinní pojetí vůdčích schopností, ale vnímání jejich nedostatku u žen. Dotazovaní vedoucí laboratoří a řídicí pracovníci se v některých případech zmínili o interpersonálních dovednostech žen, jejich empatii a schopnosti vyjednávat. Jenže tyto pozitivní aspekty zcela odlišného stylu vedení lidí přicházejí zkrátka kvůli kategorické potřebě tvrdosti (viz van den Brink, Benschop 2013).

S tím také souvisí vnímání odlišných kognitivních stylů vědkyň a vědců, které lze shrnout tak, že muži mají k problémům syntetický přístup, dívají se z „ptačí perspektivy“ a nahlížejí na problémy v globálním kontextu. Ženy jsou oproti tomu údajně analytické a pečlivé, věnují pozornost detailům, hodí se k rutinní práci. Uvedené vlastnosti jsou považovány za komplementární; jeden vedoucí laboratoře vlastně usiluje o to, aby měl „genderovou rovnováhu v týmech“, tvrdí, že je to z toho důvodu, aby tak co nejvíc využil oné údajně vrozené rozdílnosti obou pohlaví ve vědeckých kompetencích žen a mužů.

*Myslím, že se nám docela povedlo z týmu, který byl čistě mužský, udělat tým, kde to je půl na půl, tak jak jsem si to kdysi před deseti roky představoval, protože to má své obrovské výhody. I v tom našem týmu prostě vidím to, že kolegyně nemají tu průraznost a iniciativu chopit se projektu nebo vzít novou výzvu. Jsou to spíš řekněme ty analytičky, dělají skvělou experimentální práci, pečlivou, ale chybí jim ten nadhled, který zase spíš mívají kolegové... Kolegyně udělají vynikající analýzu, špičkový statistický rozbor situace, ale chybí jim ten nadhled, ta interpretace toho výsledku. Naopak kolegové mají tendenci vidět ten celek, ale proto nevidí detaily a často chybují, takže ideální je, když se tyhle dva přístupy spojí. Ale ten syntetický přístup, to je ten, který vytváří granty, to je ten, který skládá ty týmy, takže myslím, že to je zčásti daný i tím, nevím, jestli je to u nás v týmu náhoda, ale skutečně to spíš funguje tak, že kolegyně jsou spíše analytičky a kolegové spíše ti, kteří dělají tu syntézu. (vedoucí týmu, muž)*

*Obecně mi přijde, že ty ženy jsou pečlivější, chlap má nadhled, ale jak má dělat delší dobu rutinnější práci, jde to do kytek... (vedoucí týmu, muž)*

Tyto citáty ilustrují hluboce zažitá a nevědomé genderové předpoklady o tom, jak vědci a vědkyně pracují. Představa komplementarity kognitivních stylů (analytický/syntetický) umožňuje podtrhnout „genderovou rovnováhu“ v rámci týmu, avšak rozdělení kognitivních stylů mezi muže a ženy a spojení jednoho z nich se schopností vést lidi a s vizionářstvím a druhého stylu s pečlivostí a rutinou naopak posiluje nerovnou, genderově podmíněnou binaritu, přičemž je ale zahalena do progresivního jazyka rozmanitosti a rovného zastoupení pohlaví. Takové postoje pomáhají vytvářet překážky v podobě údajného kognitivního stylu žen – a ty pak brání ženám v profesním postupu do pozic s odpovědností.

I tady vidíme, že problém je spatřován v samotných ženách. V tomto konkrétním projevu benevolentního sexismu ženy ani není nutno napravovat, neboť onen údajně vrozený kognitivní rozdíl je prospěšný při rozdělování činností v rámci týmu. Těmto výrookům zcela chybí uvědomění, že pokud dotyční vedoucí laboratoří a řídicí pracovníci explicitně vyznávají podobné rozdělení rolí ve svých týmech a v ústavech, mohou tím sami ve skutečnosti vytvářet pro ženy překážky, a to zejména pro doktorandky a postgraduální stážistky v rané fázi kariéry – jak mají potom překonat onu „zbytečnou skromnost“, na niž si někteří z dotyčných mužů stěžovali. V další části se budu zabývat limity individuální volby a tím, co nám zůstává skryto mimo naše zorné pole, když přemýšlíme o excelenci.

### **Excellence ve výzkumu a limity individuální volby**

Logika péče, jak argumentuje Annemarie Mol (2008: 89), je především a v první řadě praktická. Jde jí o zlepšování – v tomto případě o zlepšování vědy. Až do nedávna se věda nemusela hájit; její přínosy byly zdánlivě samozřejmé. Nicméně od 70. let minulého století, a zejména v posledních dvou desetiletích, jsme svědky vzestupu nového řízení, jež toto samozřejmé veřejné dobro zpochybňuje. Zavádějí se kontroly s cílem dozorovat konkrétní verzi dobra, jež věda produkuje: výkonnostní indexy, systémy hodnocení a soutěž jako organizační princip. Tato změna v řízení spočívá především v logice volby a výkonného jedince, jako by bylo možno plánovat a kontrolovat efektivitu procesů tvorby poznatků. Jedná se o kulturu výzkumu, již vnímáme i ve výpovědích našich respondentů-vedoucích laboratoří a řídicích pracovníků. Lidé jsou považováni za jedince činící svobodné autonomní volby, za něž nesou individuální odpovědnost. Tímto způsobem se složitost působení ve vědě přenáší na bedra jednotlivce, a je jeho chyba, když pod touto tíhou selže.

Autonomní volba zastírá i další skutečnosti a hodnoty, jež prostupují výzkumným povoláním a našimi životy obecně – kolegiálníta, vzájemný respekt, odpovědnost a uznání, férovost a spravedlnost, někdy dokonce i solidarita. Zneviditelňuje okolnosti, za nichž lidé organizují své profesní a soukromé subjektivity. V této diskusní části chci vzít v úvahu hledisko logiky péče. Použití termínu *péče* by nemělo evokovat nějaké jednoduché a genderově podmíněné spojení péče o děti s ženami. Spíše platí, jak uvádí Mol, že vždy již patříme kolektivitám, a ne jedné, ale mnoha, a neseme za naši účast v těchto různých kolektivitách odpovědnost. Za prvé se budu zabývat tím, co logika péče vnáší do centra pozornosti z hlediska vědeckého výkonu, a za druhé, co vnáší z hlediska vědecké kariéry, a za třetí v rámci řízení výzkumu.

Nový systém řízení výzkumu vytvořil vysoce soutěživou kulturu trefně označovanou anglickým souslovím „publish or perish“ (ve volném překladu publikuj, nebo se pakuj), který vybičovává výzkumnou kulturu k zbytnělému egoismu, který na výzkum-

né pracovníky a pracovnice klade obrovské emocionální nároky (Morley, Crossouard 2016). V daném procesu opomíjí český systém hodnocení, a není sám, celou řadu činností: práci pro akademickou obec (např. pořádání seminářů a konferencí, podporu výzkumným pracovníkům v rané fázi kariéry, kritické čtení prací kolegů) nebo zapojování veřejnosti (v podobě osvětové práce a cílené komunikace s veřejností, mentoringu, přispívání do veřejných diskusí o zásadních společenských tématech). Vědecká profese se bez těchto aktivit neobejde, protože ony zajišťují její fungování, případně je součástí skládání účtů společnosti. Logika péče tedy vynáší na světlo mnohokrát opakovanou potřebu přehodnotit systém hodnocení, aby bral v potaz další činnosti, které se v badatelské profesi vykonávají, což Helen M. Longino (2008) nazývá „péčí o excelenci“. Tím by došly ocenění i takové druhy činností a dovedností, jež dnes zpravidla zastávají ženy častěji než mužští badatelé (Gibney 2017).

Za druhé, logika péče obrací pozornost ke vzájemně konstitutivním, binárním genderově podmíněným vztahům a zviditelňuje zvláštní slepou skvrnu, s níž se setkáváme, kdykoli je řeč o vědecké kariéře, totiž slepou skvrnu, kterou umožňuje genderově dvojí myšlení (*doublethink*). Na jedné straně jsme viděli, že účastníci výzkumu se hrdě hlásí k vlastnímu kariérnímu postupu, který jim usnadnila jejich možnost osvobodit se od povinnosti péče o děti a domácích prací, o něž se stará jejich partnerka. Na druhé straně rámuje kariérní postup u žen jako volbu mít, nebo nemít děti a mít to správné rodinné zázemí. Individualizované rámování tak dovoluje respondentům výzkumu opominout závislost kariérního postupu u mužů na menších aspiracích jejich partnerek a v případě žen okleštěné příležitosti ke kariérnímu postupu vzhledem k obtížnosti vyjednávání o domácích pracích a péči o děti doma (blíže k představě spojených životů ve vztahu k mobilitě akademických pracovníků viz Vohlídalová [2014]). Umožňuje jim také přehlížet případnou poptávku po alternativním uspořádání kariéry ze strany mužů s pečovatelskými závazky.

Za třetí, v souvislosti s výše uvedeným, logika péče vynáší do popředí aspekty manažerské kultury, které jsou ve skutečnosti pozitivní: odpovědnost manažerů a vedoucích laboratoří dobře vést kolektiv, postarat se o svůj ústav, výzkumné pracovníky nebo o zaučení badatelů v raném stadiu kariéry a vytváření spravedlivých a nekořistnických pracovních podmínek. Tím by se ovšem otevřela možnost interpolace ohledně jejich manažerských dovedností ze strany podřízených a institucionální vedení by bylo možné hodnotit nejen z hlediska publikační výkonnosti, ale také z hlediska podmínek vytvářených pro profesní růst a rozvoj. Vědní politika, výzkumné ústavy a jejich zástupci v České republice tento aspekt institucionálního rozvoje do značné míry ignorují. Viděli jsme, že účastníci výzkumu v mých studiích prohlašují, že nemají žádnou odpovědnost za vytváření férových a rovných podmínek pro kariérní postup a zastoupení žen ve vedoucích pozicích. Posun směrem k excelenci pojmávané v logice péče by vyžadoval, abychom si uvědomili, že věda a společnost nejsou od

sebe odtržené, že vědci a vědkyně jsou součástí mnohých kolektivit jednak v rámci vědeckého prostředí a jednak i mimo vědu, a že tato mnohost přináležení činí z individuální volby nevhodný prostředek k vymezování smysluplných a nestranných hranic kolem excelence.

## **Závěr: Vytěsnění odpovědnosti a péče o excelenci**

Ve své stati jsem zkoumala, jak excelenci definují vedoucí laboratoří a manažeři výzkumu v biovědách. Nejprve jsem se zabývala maskulinní orientací výzkumného étosu, jenž vychází z pojetí vědy jakožto poslání, jemuž se vědec – bez jakýchkoli dalších závazků mimo vědu – absolutně oddává. Vzhledem k nástupu soutěživého hodnocení výzkumu u nás je tato maskulinní kultura výzkumu ještě umocněna důrazem na vůli riskovat, na tvrdost a konkurenceschopnost. Za druhé jsem pojednala o tom, jak jejich představy o správném mateřství a úloze mateřství v životě žen dále zvětšují jimi vnímané překážky k dosažení excelence vědkyněmi, čímž se pro vědkyně excelence stává *de facto* nedosažitelnou. Za třetí, pojednala jsem o vnímaných překážkách, jež brání přiznat vůdčí schopnosti i ženám, spočívající v jejich údajné poddajnosti, a co je ještě podstatnější, v jejich údajně vrozených kognitivních schopnostech.

Je zřejmé, že maskulinní kultura a praktiky nejsou všezahrnujícím vysvětlením nedostatečného zastoupení žen v uvedených oborech a nevysvětlují jejich genderování; jsou spoluutvářeny průsečíkem vlivů veřejné politiky, organizace výzkumu, uspořádání rodinného života, jakož i jednotlivých subjektivit (Barad 2003; Morley 2016). Nicméně je důležité jmenovitě tyto předpoklady analyzovat, protože staví symbolické překážky tomu, aby si ženy mohly vydobýt vlastní prostory excelence, jelikož takové prostory jsou aktivně, třebaže skrytě, vymezovány pomocí hodnot a praktik, k nimž se hlásí například tito vedoucí laboratoří a manažeři vědy.

Moje zjištění naznačují, že vedoucí vědeckí pracovníci a manažeři vědy definují rovnost jako rovnost v různosti, kdy muži a ženy jsou považováni za rozdílné od přírody. Několik dotazovaných uvedlo, že rozdíly mezi muži a ženami jsou žádoucí a neměly by být odstraňovány, třebaže připustili, že omezují možnosti žen profesně růst. Projevilo se to i v jejich sklonu rámovat komplementaritu žen a mužů ve vztahu k odlišným dovednostem a schopnostem a upřednostňovat údajné syntetické schopnosti před analytickými. Čili rámováním rovnosti jakožto rovnosti v různosti a mužů a žen coby komplementárních pohlaví pak mnozí z dotazovaných mohli zúžit problematiku rovnosti žen a mužů na mateřství a odsunout na vedlejší kolej otázky moci a nespravedlivého rozdělování uznání.

Zároveň dotazovaní vedoucí laboratoří a manažeři výzkumu i nadále rámuje výzkumné pracovníky a jejich excelenci v logice volby; podle nich jsou to autonomní jedinci, kteří samostatně dělají rozhodnutí, za něž jsou plně zodpovědní. Dokážou si zachovat



dvojí myšlení o vrozené rozdílnosti a současně stejnosti žen a mužů, která jim skýtá mocnou metodu, jak se i ve své pozici manažerů ve vědě, vedoucích pracovníků či kolegů zbavit odpovědnosti. Naproti tomu pohled na excelenci a výkonnost výzkumu prizmatem logiky péče nám umožňuje vidět, jak je tento přístup nespravedlivý a že zastírá rozdílný přístup k excelenci pro vědce a vědkyně. Rovněž nám to umožňuje trvat na subjektivitě a odpovědnosti vedoucích pracovníků vůči vědecké obci, již řídí.

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Marcela Linková, Ph.D., vede Národní kontaktní centrum – gender a věda v Sociologickém ústavu Akademie věd ČR. Výzkumně se zaměřuje na genderovou sociologii institucí, kariérní dráhy výzkumníků a výzkumnic, řízení výzkumu a hodnocení výzkumu z hlediska genderu a dále na zavádění politik a opatření na podporu genderové rovnosti ve vědě. Je předsedkyní Stále pracovní skupiny výboru ERAC pro genderovou rovnost ve výzkumu a inovacích a působila v řadě expertních a poradních orgánů Evropské komise i české státní správy. Korespondenci zasílejte na adresu: [marcela.linkova@soc.cas.cz](mailto:marcela.linkova@soc.cas.cz).

# Excellence and Gender Equality Policies in Neoliberal Universities

**Birgit Riegraf and Lena Weber**

**Abstract:** The historical nexus of academia and gender has been characterised by exclusivity. The classical idea of innovative science was shaped by male scientists and reflected their ways of living and was mainly reproduced via gatekeeping and homosocial co-optation processes. Recently, academia has begun a transition towards a new model of academic organisation and governance represented by the vision of the ‘neoliberal university’. In this transition the historical nexus between academic ‘excellence’ and masculine culture is being called into question by new economic mechanisms and instruments of academic governance that are declared to be ‘gender neutral’ and ‘transparent’. In fact, some studies show that management by performance disadvantages female academics by favouring male patronage, but with the instruments of the new governance gender equality can also be introduced as a core principle of excellence criteria, as happened in the case of the German excellence initiative. On the basis of two case studies of German universities, our contribution shows how the nexus between ‘excellence’ competition and masculine culture is eroding, partly due to new ‘quasi’-market mechanisms being combined with gender equality policies. Our findings shed light on new gendered work patterns and inequalities of contemporary academia. Academia is opening up to ‘excellent’ high-performance women, while other women are still disadvantaged.

**Keywords:** gender policies, excellence, academia, new public management, neoliberal university

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In recent decades a common feature of higher education policy in European countries is the almost universal aim of creating stronger incentives for 'excellent'<sup>1</sup> academic performance in particular academic centres (Boer et al. 2008). Such 'excellence' is to be attained by either strengthening, or – depending on the country-specific context – introducing, market and competition-based mechanisms of organisation and governance (Slaughter, Leslie 1997; Slaughter, Rhoades 2009). This approach is designed to establish or boost competition between academic institutions and between academics for third-party funding, both in the national and international arena (Riegraf, Weber 2013). It was only with the introduction of neoliberal competition mechanisms that the vaguely defined term 'excellence' rose to prominence in the academic sector (Bröckling 2009). Academic staff and universities, research fields and paths of knowledge are being documented, measured, differentiated, and hierarchised in line with sometimes clearer, sometimes more fluid 'excellence criteria'. Research evaluations become the basis for allocating research funding, reputation, and recognition with the purpose of singling out an academic elite from the mass university education business. Excellence awards are associated with high reputation and recognition, which in turn substantially ease access to powerful positions in national and international academia, as well as to research funding. Once academics and universities have successfully competed against their rivals for an excellence award, they receive better and faster access to additional research funding and institutional support. Robert K. Merton (1973) described this process as the 'Matthew effect' for academia. The fact that distorted perceptions of performance inform this process of differentiation and hierarchisation into 'mediocre' and 'excellent' academics and research institutions was pointed out by the science historian Margaret W. Rossiter (1993), who, drawing on Merton's analysis (1973), referred to it as the 'Matilda effect'.<sup>2</sup> She thus focused on the systematic devaluation and denial of the contribution made to research by female academics, which happens solely on the basis of their gender (Rossiter 1993; also Husu 2004; Strid, Husu 2013; Brink, Benschop 2012, 2014).

The process whereby the performance of female academics is devalued as described by Rossiter is, however, no longer so unequivocally observable. While the academic system largely excluded women during the centuries of its development (Riegraf et al. 2010; Noble 1992), it is noticeably opening up to them at about the same time as competitive procedures and the focus on 'excellence' are being introduced. In certain

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<sup>1</sup> When we talk about 'excellence' as a social construction then we put the term into question marks; when we talk about concrete instruments or criteria that indicate excellence, then they are not put into question marks.

<sup>2</sup> In an irony of fate, Merton's Matthew effect was first recognised by his wife Harriet Zuckerman in her PhD thesis, but he published it under his name and became famous for it (Merton 1988:607).

transnational European programmes and certain countries, institutional gender equality measures and instruments are now becoming an evaluation criterion for third-party funding applications, and hence a criterion for excellence awards. Similarly, diversity and gender mainstreaming policies are gaining ever increasing recognition in academic organisations, in order to counteract discrimination against female academics and the devaluation of their performance (Aulenbacher et al. 2012, 2015).

Our article traces these developments with regard to Germany and considers them in context. The analysis of how 'excellence' is introduced and defined in the academic system is linked to the question of whether and under what conditions 'excellence' is becoming a new exclusion criterion for female academics. Or is it the other way round? Does the restructuring of the academic system combined with gender equality efforts lead to erosion in the briefly outlined historical nexus between 'excellence' and 'masculinity'? We begin our discussion by examining the concept of excellence more closely and, at the same time, considering whether and how 'excellence' and the criteria formulated within it are connected to gender (Section 2). Second, we analyse the nature of the linkage between academic 'excellence' and gender equality instruments and policies. This is outlined empirically with reference to two case studies based on literature review and qualitative expert interviews with university management and gender equality officers (Section 3). Finally, we provide an assessment of these processes (Section 4).

## **Excellence, the neoliberal university and gender**

### **Gender and excellence**

In recent years the proportion of female academics in the European higher education area has been growing, albeit at a slow rate and unevenly across countries, hierarchical levels, disciplines, and research fields (for an overview, see European Commission 2016; for Germany, GWK 2016). This is occurring at a time when the overall academic landscape is in upheaval as a result of consolidation of the European higher education area and the more zealous introduction of the competitive mechanisms of new public management instruments. 'Excellence' has become the key catchword in this process of change, which initially prompts fears from a gender perspective, because evidence from social constructivist studies shows that a relationship between academic 'excellence' and 'femininity' is not consistently established (Wetterer 2002). In historical perspective these studies show that there is a connection between the social recognition of a field of work and its gendering: occupations, activities, and positions carried out predominantly by women are located at the lower end of society's scale of values. Accordingly, devaluation of an occupational field or a position – or in academia, of a discipline or field of research – is not uncommonly associated with



feminisation processes. Conversely, masculinisation processes are frequently associated with the social upgrading of an occupation, activity, or position, or, in the academic sector, of a discipline or branch of research. From this perspective the contingent opening of the academic system to female academics is a sign of differentiation and hierarchisation of an academic system organised by research fields and disciplines. Thus, disciplines, research fields and positions to which female academics gain entry become unattractive for their male colleagues, and as increasing numbers of female academics gain access to these areas, they experience devaluation and diminishing social recognition (Aulenbacher, Riegraf 2010, 2012; Weber, Binner, Kubicek 2012; Binner, Kubicek, Weber 2010).

The often stated argument about the homology between the partial opening up and the concurrent devaluation, internal differentiation, and hierarchisation of academic fields (so-called 'feminisation') had some plausibility in the past, but cannot be observed unreservedly nowadays. Increasing numbers of women are higher qualified and receive to some extent higher education levels than men. High-qualified women obtain higher positions in the labour market and in society. Attention to gender equality has increased dramatically in the last decade in European society (Berkovitch, Bradley 1999). Politicians and employers are under pressure to explain persisting gender inequalities, because they becoming less acceptable in society. Thus, gender equality policies and instruments, which can be understood as an expression of a process of societal transformation, are feeding into these processes also in academia (Weber 2017). Further, the number of female scholars and professors is on average still not large, but it has been rising steadily over the last twenty years (European Commission 2016). If gender equality becomes a core principle of the evaluation criteria for determining excellence, then it can be assumed that the status of the interlinkage of 'femininity' and 'excellence', at least in some instances, is rising in society.

### **Excellence awards in the neoliberal university**

What counts as excellent or not excellent in terms of content is normally determined in academia by means of a review procedure that is carried out by academics who are highly regarded, nationally and internationally, by the academic community itself. In this procedure, the results are subjected to an ideal-type, science-immanent assessment to establish whether they can be considered 'innovative' and contribute to advancing knowledge and are thus 'excellent' or of outstanding quality. This understanding of academic practice is based on a meritocratic measurement of performance in which all academics are theoretically treated as equal. However, there are several levels in the review procedure where the evaluation of an academic's performance can become distorted. Distortions in the evaluation process can result on the one hand

from social factors such as self-interest, rivalries, or a sheer lack of understanding, and on the other hand from underlying indicators (such as publication and patent rates) that are supposed to reflect 'excellent' performance but can favour or disadvantage certain subject areas.

A study by Karin Zimmermann (2000) looks at the example of the appointment procedures applied during the reform of East German universities. Zimmermann investigated how these appointment panels negotiated the supposedly objective quality and selection criteria and she showed that the criteria were modified and repeatedly recoded during the negotiation sessions. Zimmermann shows how academic 'excellence' was recognised and acknowledged in a procedure that was riddled with power processes, and she reveals the social practices at play in these procedures as homosocial in structure, with scope for complex enactments of collegiality. Against this backdrop, academic 'excellence' no longer appears as an abstract indicator but something concrete, a socially constructed 'fitting in' that is ascertained argumentatively for the given candidates during the appointment process. The 'fitting in' thus constructed is the foil for the persistence of homosocial-masculine recruitment patterns that are extremely stable, particularly for prestigious academic positions.

In a similar study, Mareike van den Brink and Yvonne Benschop (2012) describe the construction of 'excellence' in appointment procedures in the Netherlands. In interviews with people involved in the appointment procedure, this 'excellence' is described as a 'sheep with five legs'. With this turn of phrase, the respondents are trying to explain that candidates for a professorship must deliver top-notch performance in all formal areas and must also fulfil informal criteria. The number of publications a candidate has is regarded as a formal criterion, with other criteria like teaching given less weight accordingly. In addition, the individual qualifications of both male and female candidates were emphasised. Brink and Benschop come to the following conclusion: 'In this context, gender practices involve the tendency of committee members to attribute likability to men, which grant them excellence points.' (ibid.: 13) Margo Brouns (2000, 2007) also shows in her analyses that gender bias in the review procedure can vary considerably between disciplines, which she attributes to idiosyncratic evaluation standards in each discipline. Other studies suggest that the differences between disciplines arise from the fact that measuring 'excellence' with quantitative indicators is more suited to the natural sciences and engineering disciplines, in which women are underrepresented (Schiebinger 2000; for an overview see Samjeske 2012; Rees 2011).

Thus, neoliberal reform in academia has led to the increasing transformation of the academic community's informal excellence criteria into quantitatively measurable performance criteria for determining excellence. By neoliberal reform we mean

a shift in state practice from more bureaucratic governance towards more business-administrative measures and instruments and more emphasis on markets and competition as a socially accepted distribution process of valuable goods in academia and society. This results in altered societal relations between civil society, the state, academic institutions (universities) and the market, as well as in a new model of academic organisation that is referred to as the 'neoliberal university' (Clark 1998; Binner et al. 2013), and that is displacing the previously dominant model known as the 'Humboldt model'.<sup>3</sup> The 'Humboldt model' was characterised by a strong state bureaucratic control and academic self-governance; competition between and within universities was moderated, while external stakeholders (industry, culture, the media, etc.) and managerial governance by heads of faculties and departments and rectors' offices exerted a relatively limited amount of influence (Boer, Enders, Schimank 2008). In the wake of the new model of the neoliberal university, this relationship is being reversed; market principles, managerial governance, and the organisational hierarchy are taking over the decisive role in decision-making processes. Universities embedded in a quasi-market<sup>4</sup> are required to give themselves a distinctive profile that allows them to compete for financial and staff resources and behave like 'autonomous service companies' (Riegraf et al. 2010; Binner et al. 2013). We argue that in the shift from the Humboldt model to the neoliberal model of science governance, the understanding of 'excellence' is also renegotiated and transformed. It is questionable whether, in the neoliberal model, as excellence criteria become more quantitatively measurable they also become more 'gender-neutral', 'objective' and 'transparent'. This could be a change that puts gender equality, as a quantitatively measurable duty and democratic claim, on the excellence criteria agenda. Or are the gender-differentiated and gender-unequal assessment practices of excellence masked, once again, by the apparently formalised and meritocratic process of measuring excellence?

To pursue these questions and to investigate the new understanding of 'excellence', we will examine the state-organised quasi-competition for excellence, called the Excellence Initiative in Germany, because it is a key instrument in the neoliberal governance of science. While in England this has now become the tried and tested method for the state distribution of financial resources (the Research Assessment

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<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm von Humboldt was a 19th-century German education reformer with a humanistic agenda. Within the German academic system, the 'Humboldtian ideal' denotes an ideally complementary combination of research and teaching, and allowing researchers to choose what they study independently of state or economic interests.

<sup>4</sup> With the term 'quasi-market' we seek to differentiate between 'real' economic markets and the politically introduced and supported as well as more 'artificial' markets. They are 'artificial' because economic interests and commercial purposes are politically constructed.

Exercise, conducted since the 1980s, has been known since 2014 as the Research Excellence Framework), the German Excellence Initiative for the allocation of additional financial resources in research represents an innovative governance instrument of science and research policy. The excellence competition in Germany (Münch 2009), like the English one, is rightly criticised for the inequalities between disciplines and the protection of elites in its evaluation practices (Ferlie, Andresani 2009: 189-191; Leathwood 2012). The chances of winning competitive procedures and successfully attracting third-party funding, which count as the key indicators of academic ‘excellence’ in the evaluations, are not equal among all academic subjects. Applied engineering subjects and those natural sciences that are considered especially innovative, such as bio- and nanotechnology, have considerably more access to third-party funding (Schubert 2009) than, for example, literary or medieval studies. This is not solely due to the subjects’ different needs for (financial) resources for research, but also to the value ascribed to them by society. If the amount of third-party funding attracted is used as a scale for academic productivity, social sciences and humanities disciplines have more difficulty meeting the expected standards. Likewise, when disciplines are compared, success in the excellence competition seems to come less easily to humanities and social sciences disciplines. Female academics are predominantly employed in the humanities and social sciences (GWK 2016; European Commission 2016), which tend to be disadvantaged by excellence criteria and which have attracted fewer resources. This could well have the effect of impeding the majority of female academics from building an academically ‘excellent’ career, whilst the small share of them who work in the natural sciences, engineering, and technology receive especially excellent support.

In the German Excellence Initiative (first cycle 2006/2007; second cycle 2012), jointly carried out by the central government (*Bund*) and regional governments (*Länder*), universities can apply by submitting draft proposals for three programme points, namely Graduate Schools, Clusters of Excellence and Institutional Strategies. Applications have to be accompanied by gender equality strategies, in which the universities describe which strategies and measures they are developing in order to ensure or promote gender equality in their Clusters of Excellence, Graduate Schools, or in the university’s development (Institutional Strategy). The inclusion of gender equality policy objectives in the assessment of academic excellence can be attributed to the decades-long struggles of gender equality officers<sup>5</sup> at universities and to critical

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<sup>5</sup> Since the late 1990s, gender equality officers at universities have been enshrined in the higher education legislation of the German federal states. A gender equality officer is an independent position and serves as the political representative for gender equality issues at a university. Gender equality officers are allocated a budget, which varies from one university to the next, with which they can implement gender equality measures and instruments.

reflection by gender researchers on the 'neoliberal reform' of the academic landscape, as well as to lobbying from both groups in higher education and research policy (Weber 2017).

The purpose of the highly coveted – because it is highly lucrative – Institutional Strategies is to enhance the structural innovation of universities. In this way, the Excellence Initiative allows a kind of differentiation that is innovative for the German academic system in distinguishing between performance designated as 'excellent' and as 'not excellent' in science and research. Also, for the first time, an explicit link has been made between 'excellence' and gender equality (Zippel, Ferree, Zimmermann 2016), the effect of which is to break up the nexus between excellence and masculinity. More specifically, gender equality strategies are supposed to be taken into account in the selection of excellent performance. The Excellence Agreement between central and regional governments stipulates the 'Appropriateness of the measure to foster the equality of men and women in science' (ExV, §3, para.1) – alongside excellence in research and the promotion of early-career academics, strategies for interdisciplinary networking, internationalisation, and cooperation between universities and non-university research institutions.

Around roughly the same time the Excellence Initiative was introduced, gender equality strategies were also required when bidding for additional female professorship posts (the Professorinnenprogramm – Programme for Women Professors 2006) and the research-oriented gender equality standards of the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft – German Research Foundation). Universities were called upon by the DFG to describe their gender equality strategies and were then evaluated accordingly with reference to predetermined criteria. The DFG made it known that the evaluation of the gender equality strategy would have an influence on the success of applications for third-party funding. The DFG's criteria play a substantial role in the competition between HE institutions for material and symbolic resources because of the high financial and material incentives involved and because of the DFG's reputation in the academic community. The engagement of the DFG boosted the gender equality mainstreaming process during the first cycle of the excellence initiative.

### **Empirical results: excellence and gender equality policies at a neoliberal university in Germany**

We now examine more closely how 'excellence' and 'gender' interconnect and how gender equality policy is negotiated under conditions of competition with reference to two contrasting case studies from our own empirical study. The data were collected in the course of the project: 'Geschlecht und Exzellenz: Eine qualitative Untersuchung universitärer Leitbilder an ausgewählten Universitäten in Nordrhein-

Westfalen' (Gender and excellence: A qualitative study of university models at selected universities in North Rhine Westphalia) in November and December 2011. The project was financed by the Ministry of Innovation, Science and Research of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. Four universities were selected for in-depth research, according to the criterion of a 'traditional' versus a 'new' university (founded before 1900 and after 1970). The four case study universities reflect different stages in the development of equal opportunities initiatives, gender profiles, histories and priorities given to research, teaching, and commercial activities. The inclusion of new universities reflects the different history of establishment under the agenda of educational expansion and broader access, but also that they have less power and status in higher education. The data consist of document analyses (Wolff 2009) of freely available university documents (university development plans, equality plans, equality strategies, vision statements, etc.) and nine qualitative expert interviews (Meuser, Nagel 2009) with individuals from university management and with gender equality officers. While interviewees from management level of a university (rectors, chancellors, member of executive boards) more or less represented the official 'talk' about the university, and they are the creators and representatives of 'institutional talk' (which does not always means they act that way), the gender equality officers are more independent and thus able to voice alternative opinions and critiques. The aim of the study was not to find out what the representative or 'true' opinion of the university is, but rather to identify how university members share common perceptions of gender equality politics and university governance and how they present their university to the public. What do they emphasise? How do they legitimise aims, measures and governance instruments? The qualitative interviews focus on the development of the vision statement process, the institutional strategies and profile, and positions on academic excellence and gender equality policy. They were conducted against the backdrop of final decisions in the previous application phase of the Excellence Initiative (2012). Data evaluation was carried out using structuring qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2010). Qualitative content analysis involves the methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following rules of content analysis and step by step models, without rash quantification. This method makes it possible to structure the expressions of the interviewees according to predetermined concepts. The analysis included the following dimensions: the understanding of academic excellence, gender equality policies, and opinions about the recent restructuring of university governance. From among the universities studied, we identified two contrasting cases with respect to how they link 'excellence' to gender equality issues and adapt to recent reforms in higher education. Below we present the two case studies, identified as 'Historia' and 'Keramika' (both are 'traditional' universities). The first case study

(Historia) concerns a university that has taken a stance ranging from scepticism to opposition towards the current higher education policy changes, and rejects them in the name of 'excellence' in research and teaching. In the second case study (Keramika), the new market and competition-based organisational and governance models have been introduced proactively, likewise in the name of 'excellence' (Weber 2017). Both universities were successful in the first cycle of the German Excellence Initiative and attracted Clusters of Excellence and Graduate Schools funding. Keramika had additional success with its Institutional Strategy including its gender equality strategy. While Historia was consigned to the lower rankings in the research-oriented quality standards of the DFG, Keramika received the best rating in the first evaluation cycle.

The proportion of women in both universities declines progressively up the rungs of the career ladder, which makes them no different from other universities in Germany (GWK 2016). At Historia female students outnumber males, which explains why the 'dropout rate' (Metz-Göckel, Selent, Schürmann 2010) in comparison to the share of female doctoral candidates (40%) is especially high. Barely one-third of postdoctoral candidates are female, and the share of female professors, at eleven per cent, bears no relation to the total number of early-career academics trained. At the engineering and natural sciences-oriented Keramika the share of female students, at approximately one-third, is low compared to the regional and national average. Keramika does, however, manage to carry forward its low proportion of women at student level onto the next rung of the career ladder: the share of female doctoral candidates stands at 30 per cent, which indicates that a sizeable proportion of female students are achieving doctorates; nevertheless, only 20 per cent of successful postdoctoral candidates are women. A further major drop is seen at the professorship level; in 2010 the proportion of female professors stood at only 7 per cent.

### **Historia case study: 'We don't think Humboldt is dead yet'**

The development in the case of Historia, which offers many minor humanities subjects, is characterised by its sceptical to oppositional stance towards the recent organisational and governance instruments and against the implementation of managerial systems because this means a break with the tradition of excellence of this university:

*Completely objectionable, this economic view and attempts at governance in universities. (University Chancellor)*

The university adheres inwardly and outwardly to academic traditions, which include the detailed regulation of heraldry and seals in university documents and the ritual of ringing in the academic year in formal gowns. In its self-presentation – in brochures, for example – it holds up its 'excellent' tradition and famous, entirely male award-

winners from the university's past as the guarantors of university 'excellence'. Female academics do not feature in this definition of 'excellence' and gender equality measures are seen as conflicting with the university's tradition and its academic meritocracy, which, within the university, is tightly intertwined with masculinity:

*Gender equality is an important objective but has nothing to do with performance. Therefore, it has no place in incentive structures. Gender equality can be discussed as a theme, and efforts made to enable or foster it without forcing it into incentive structures. Being a man is not about performance, being a woman is not about performance, and treating both equally is a socio-political, constitutional imperative or desideratum; that's why this shouldn't be anchored in the performance-based award of funding. (University Chancellor)*

In the university's self-conception, its professors' power of definition and the adherence to informal appointment rules were the guarantee of excellence in the past and still override all organisational development processes. By guaranteeing its professors considerable autonomy, the university management is convinced that it has attracted and retained 'excellent' scholars for centuries. No doubt is cast on these time-honoured principles and selection mechanisms; in the University Chancellor's words: 'We don't think Humboldt is dead yet.' The position of individual professorships ranked as excellent, in comparison to the less central and less excellently rated professorships, is reflected *inter alia* in their substantially higher material resourcing, reflecting confidence in the university's selection process and, for that reason, in the professor's productivity.

It is feared that political interventions like quota systems or financial incentive structures to achieve gender equality on individual hierarchical levels will interfere with the recruiting system that led to academic excellence in the past. The fear concerns the possible loss of 'excellent' personalities and disruption of informal appointment rules by equality programmes, both of which might threaten excellence:

*Top-down doesn't work. Then the really outstanding minds that we have, that's when they walk out. At least, that's our fear. (University Chancellor)*

Recruitment practice reflects the adherence to traditional university structures: the practice of informal appointment rules in 'excellent' subjects, maintaining network structures of individual subjects, forming schools under individual professorships, and associated staff recruitment is claimed to guarantee the training of 'excellent' early-career academics and selection of the best. In subjects designated as excellent, the 'appointment ideal ... is that they try to appoint people who are even better than themselves' (University Chancellor), bringing more and more outstanding award-winners to the university. It is asserted as the reason for the scarcity of female professors



that they specialise in subjects perceived as marginal and hence less prestigious, such as gender research. As a consequence, the decrease of female academics after the PhD-level is perceived as due to self-selection.

*The university is associated with certain worldviews, certain denominations, which were ever thus, and that is very difficult to change.* (Gender Equality Officer)

At this university, adherence to tradition is a means of defence against the changes in academia and against equality measures, at least from those seeking to change internal university structures. Nevertheless, even this university is not untouched by societal processes of change. Unsuccessful appointments, where candidates withdrew because of better offers from other universities, led to the establishment of the university's own Dual Career Service.

*We got the message that a Dual Career office is a competitive factor in contending with rivals.* (University Chancellor)

The aim of this measure is not to increase the share of female professors but to compete successfully for (male) 'excellent' personalities, who now increasingly have working partners. Taken together with the outlined recruitment practices in subject areas, the exclusion of female academics is being cemented rather than turned around. Orientation to professorial autonomy remains the foremost priority, which certainly may instigate structural changes, but these do not alter classic recruitment practices and internal organisational structures:

*Building our own kindergartens was an idea we resisted! We said, that's the state's responsibility, why ever should we feel obliged to take it on, and build and run them ourselves with the little money that we have? But we realised that's no use when the state is cutting back and the profs say to us "if you don't provide that for us then we won't come, we'll go elsewhere".* (University Chancellor)

This university excels at attracting third-party funding and is home to a comparatively high proportion of applicants to the DFG, Germany's largest and best-known funder. Criticism for failing to implement the DFG standards is building up pressure for change, but without any notable consequence in relation to equality measures or penetration of the university's *gendered substructure* (Acker 1990:147; 1992, 2012):

*Once again we came off relatively badly with our strategy, so that people said we must develop something. The DFG wants to see women included in the groups where possible. We must at least show willingness [...]. All faculties are trying to get female academics, not because they are necessarily convinced that a gender-diverse team or gender-mixed team adds something, but because they know the*



*DFG wants it; so there are already positive effects in a roundabout way.* (Gender Equality Officer)

Meanwhile the university has set up some stand-alone gender equality initiatives, such as earmarked funds for female postdoctoral candidates or an equality controlling system for appointment procedures, but all other levels remain 'uncontrolled' and disconnected from other aspects of university development. For instance, a project is planned to present famous 'excellent' female academic alumni of the university on its website, but it is run independently of the university's official online presence and barely touches on its masculine-influenced conception of excellence. The idea of diversity management was welcomed in principle, but again, it is overshadowed by the fear that any further opening might reduce the university's quality and hence its aspirations to 'excellence':

*I find diversity a wonderful story, but in a different sense: that more can come out of diversity – whether men, women, old, young, foreigners, nationals – than out of particular cloistered or otherwise ghettoised cliques. Just men, when they get together, are boring, just women, perhaps the same, and then suddenly this other story comes in. That we should now also consider "lower aptitudes", to put it bluntly [...] and consider them by means of diversity and dropping standards and so on.* (Chancellor)

Although the rejection of the neoliberal system and its measures and instruments may, in part, stem from justified criticism of its lack of concern for academic freedom and independence, Historia also appears to use this argument to preserve stability and not have to change. Ultimately, Historia has to recognise that it cannot refuse all innovation and a shift in its idea of excellence, especially the need to introduce some gender equality measures, if it wishes to remain attractive to 'excellent' researchers in the international competition process.

### **Keramika case study: 'From the "excellence shock" to "gender and diversity"'**

If Historia stands for the development of a university that adopts a sceptical or opposing stance towards recent organisational and governance models and this position is connected to scepticism about gender equality and diversity measures, the changes in our second case study are wholeheartedly in line with the economisation of universities. Keramika received the coveted title of university of excellence only on its second attempt to apply for the 'Excellence Initiative', after having also made improvements in the criterion of gender equality policy. A university with traditionally strong 'third-party funding' it initially entered the competition for the title of excellence

full of confidence. In the first cycle of applications for the Excellence Initiative, Keramika was unable to provide evidence of any coherent gender equality concept. The rejection of its Institutional Strategy had a 'shock' impact on the university's management.

*Among other comments, we were advised by the Wissenschaftsrat [German Scientific Council] and the DFG that in the area of gender equality we had a great deal to do.* (Head of Gender Equality Unit)

To continue that development, the Rector took a decisive and, in the words of Burton Clark (1998), 'entrepreneurial' step: he called upon internal expertise from a female academic competent in gender research. From this consultation came a comprehensive organisational and staffing development strategy, with the core idea of creating a staff unit tasked with the coordination, strategic development, and evaluation of equality measures. The previous gender equality officer was not to be replaced but the idea was to enhance her work with strategic tasks and evaluation:

*The Excellence Initiative gave the gender equality area a further push. This university is very strong on third-party funding, i.e. for many researchers at the university it's a really important aspect to be outstandingly well-placed to attract third-party funding. There was simply an opportunity to attract further funding via the Excellence Initiative, and it was conditional upon better or more effective implementation of equality efforts.* (Gender Equality Officer)

The initiatives introduced with the third-party funding acquired in the second cycle of the Excellence Initiative included monitoring gender equality, a Family and Dual Career Service, and additional childcare. The rapid turnaround of a once rather 'gender blind' university management is explained by the university's 'pragmatic' approach:

*The rapid successes as a university were achieved through the very pragmatism of the natural sciences and engineering, which say, "OK, where's the problem? Do a strengths-weaknesses-opportunities-threats analysis!" We develop measures; we say, here's the problem, there are the causes, here's a way to address them, and someone says quite pragmatically, "OK then, go ahead". That's an experience I've come to appreciate in the last four years.* (Head of Gender Equality Unit)

In its brochure, the university links 'excellence' with a diversity- and gender-oriented staffing policy, which is aimed at increasing the proportion of female professors. The first cracks are appearing in a masculine-connoted understanding of excellence, and are coming to light in the rivalry for 'excellent' female academics in the natural and engineering sciences:



*When women are offered appointments elsewhere and we absolutely want to keep them, our Chancellor is working towards being able to make them very, very good offers too. It is just very expensive. He often says that retaining women is sometimes more expensive than retaining a man, and has already cost him a lot of money.* (University Executive Team member)

The rapid establishment of the staff unit enabled the flexible allocation of finance within the university. Nevertheless, the actors concerned stated in the interviews that it would take more structural changes to bring about a lasting reconfiguration of the university's gender arrangements. The measures so far have concentrated mainly on supporting (female) early-career academics with continuing education and advanced training, whereas most of the equality measures with structural impacts (incentive programmes, performance agreements, family services, dual career services) mainly target the professorial level, with the objective of recruiting and retaining established female professors for the university. In preparation for the next 'Excellence cycles', special efforts have already been made to recruit established female professors, particularly in engineering and natural sciences. Every university is trying to increase its share of women at the professorial level, and the universities with strong third-party funding records are in a particularly good negotiating position. The 'market value' of female professors in research fields, which traditionally have low numbers of women, is suddenly rising tremendously.

For a wide-ranging transformation process to occur in gender arrangements in the university landscape, the priority must really be to persuade female doctoral and postdoctoral candidates to continue to pursue their academic careers. The individual projects for gender equality in the Clusters of Excellence, Graduate Schools, and special research areas of the Keramika university can only provide *ad hoc* impulses. With a view to opening up the university at all levels in the long term and beyond the Excellence Initiative funding period, efforts are now focused on pooling a major part of the funding already allocated to small projects so as to finance one bigger project on a university-wide level.

In contrast to the comparatively fast development of new organisational structures and the enthusiasm for third-party financed equality projects funded with Excellence Initiative resources, a portion of which must be spent on equality, the expansion of other gender equality measures has been rather slow. For example, the university has extensive experience in monitoring but has not so far adopted any gender equality indicators. At this point, gender equality efforts are obviously running up against their limits.

## Outlook: 'excellence' and gender in contemporary academia

The definition of academic 'excellence', which in the wake of the restructuring processes is predominantly associated with high third-party funding ratios, extensive publication outputs in highly ranked journals, seamless career trajectories, or great willingness to relocate, points to a fundamentally different idea than in the past about what distinguishes an 'excellent' academic. Nowadays not only academics but also academic organisations and research fields can obtain the title 'excellent', if they are at the top of the rankings that the university is measured with. They are perceived as innovative and it is anticipated that they will make further important and outstanding contributions to science. In former days the understanding of 'excellence' was tightly connected to a certain ideal of scientists (dedicated only to science without any duties outside academia, like care responsibilities), which strongly reflected the life arrangements of men and the ideal of masculinity.

Through the neoliberal change the masculine culture in academia is being questioned and some of deeply embedded dimensions of academic culture are breaking up. But the direction in which it is moving is not yet clear: On the one hand, attributes typically associated with masculinity, like competition, are being strengthened, but on the other hand new democratic values of transparency and equality are becoming part of the criteria of excellence. That new values and themes enter academia does not automatically go hand in hand with more gender equality and by no means more equity for all female and male scientists. How the relationship between gender and 'excellence' is perceived and renegotiated in this process, and what impact this has for gender equality, depends on how tightly reputable excellence programmes are politically interwoven with gender equality instruments and it depends also and increasingly on the given organisational level and on the concrete power constellations '*in situ*', as our empirical findings demonstrate. What is key is how strong the political requirements for equality in the excellence programmes are and which equality measures are developed. And also on how, by whom, and to what ends the political requirements are perceived, interpreted, and implemented in higher education organisations and which elements within the organisational structure and culture prove to be receptive.

To answer our research question as to whether and under what conditions 'excellence' is becoming a new exclusion criterion for female academics, in our sample we found two totally distinct ways in which universities adapt to the restructuring of academic governance and stronger support for gender equality with different outcomes. In the case of Historia, 'excellence' is primarily understood as fostering and promoting individuals as 'excellent' figures in line with traditional recruitment practices, along with consortia or research groups awarded 'excellence' titles. Consequently, the androcentric practices of the selection process tend to remain in effect. The gender

equality measures introduced are still more or less aligned with this understanding of excellence and do not become more progressive unless and until they receive signals from (male excellent) scientists and funding bodies that they must either change or risk falling behind in the competition.

In contrast, the case of Keramika demonstrates that if gender equality requirements are associated with excellence efforts within the organisation, career opportunities for female academics can substantially improve in a competitive environment, and gender equality measures and instruments become important factors of university development. In that case, the result is not a global improvement in equality in academia, but localised, exclusive improvement on one side of the equation in tandem with persistent tendencies towards inequality on the other (such as precarious career trajectories, for example). It depends then how well these universities do in acquiring excellent third-party funding and how offensively they link this success with gender equality policies.

It is also clear, however, that the comprehensive gendering of the academic system on various levels most certainly cannot be undone solely via programmes and measures that only benefit individual, highly reputed female academics within the system, while gendered substructures remain unaffected (Acker 1990; 1992). If the core or the gender substructure is not affected, then only those female academics whose performance is compatible with the required excellence criteria gain more opportunities to university careers. The opportunities for the substantially larger proportion of junior female academics to entry prestigious positions are worsening. So far the question remains unanswered as to whether these incentives will lead in the long run to more open structures and an improvement in the situation of female early-career academics below the professorial level, since advancing the careers of more female academics is an important premise for the long-term transformation of the gendered organisation of the university towards greater gender justice. As is well known, it is precisely the phase between a doctorate and a professorship in which most female academics leave the academic system.

This scepticism is applicable both to the scale of the measures and their durability, for it remains to be seen whether equality will be retained as a competitive factor in the rivalry for excellence awards, in the forthcoming fourth cycle for example, where it then features as a routinely embedded excellence strategy. In the event that financial incentives and political signals in the direction of greater gender equality are dropped while competition increases, it is reasonable to doubt whether lasting reinterpretations and orientations will be established. Whilst the excellence competitions retain the link with gender equality objectives, having a certain proportion of female professors is crystallising as a generally binding parameter. This certainly provides incentives to compete for the (as yet) few established female academics who have experienced

lengthy socialisation in the scientific community, particularly in the fields in which female academics have hitherto been underrepresented.

Recognition and reputation criteria have hitherto been considered central factors in the failure of female academics and gender equality efforts within the academic system. Accordingly, female academics are perceived as a reputational risk for academic institutions (on this, cf. Aulenbacher, Riegraf 2010). These constellations seem to be shifting in a few areas. Gender equality issues are certainly being integrated at influential points in the current process: in the awarding of third-party funding, in the evaluation of research, in the promotion of early-career academics, in teaching and continuing education, and in standards for administration and for knowledge transfer. Consequently, gender equality deficits may attain the status of a shortcoming to be addressed in academic institutions (cf. on this Riegraf 2017; Riegraf, Weber 2013; Weber 2017).

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Prof. Birgit Riegraf is Vice-President of the University of Paderborn (Germany) and Professor of Sociology in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the university. Her fields of research focus on feminist theories, methodology, and methods of gender studies, theories of social justice and social inequalities, work and organisational sociology, and the theory of sciences and higher education. Contact e-mail: [briegraf@mail.uni-paderborn.de](mailto:briegraf@mail.uni-paderborn.de).

Dr. Lena Weber is a postdoctoral researcher in sociology in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Paderborn (Germany). Her latest research focuses on the theory of sciences and higher education, the transformation of modern societies, and gender and migration studies. Contact e-mail: [leweber@mail.uni-paderborn.de](mailto:leweber@mail.uni-paderborn.de).

# Teaching and Researching Women's and Gender Studies in Post-apartheid South Africa

**Deirdre Byrne**

**Abstract:** This article argues that South African universities experience a variety of constraints upon their freedom to teach and conduct research. These restrictions affect all academic disciplines, including women's and gender studies. The hegemony of neoliberalism affects the formation of collective and individual subjectivities. Its cultural operations possess the power to privilege and promote concepts that serve its monetary goals, while suppressing those that do not. Unfortunately, the managerialist turn in universities has meant that courses and units that are perceived as profitable receive funding, while those that are perceived as unprofitable do not. Women's and gender studies tends to be a casualty of the neoliberal approach to higher education, with university managements allocating some funding to its operations, but frequently not enough to allow these units to flourish. This often becomes a self-reinforcing situation, where the university management claims that the unit in question is not successful, and then cuts funding, which further curtails operations. Consequently, women's and gender studies units in South African universities remain marginalised, despite their potential to destabilise heteropatriarchal hegemonies.

**Keywords:** women's and gender studies; neoliberalism; postcolonial university

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## Introduction: positioning the research

In the spirit of positionality,<sup>1</sup> I need to declare at the outset that I am a white, female, feminist professor of South African nationality. I work in my university's gender studies unit, which is located within the College of Human Sciences. I occupy a particular position in post-transitional South African society as a member of a formerly privileged and oppressive racial group. My critical approach to my context, my job and myself dictates that I constantly problematise and interrogate myself as a white professor. In this regard, I agree with Shireen Hassim and Cherryl Walker when they stated after a watershed conference in South Africa in 1990 on Women's Studies that: 'White feminists need to confront the insidiousness of racism in all areas of society, including the universities, and reflect on their own practice' (1993: 527). Part of reflecting on my own practice involves understanding the ways in which my experiences of privilege have shaped my actions as a teacher and researcher of women's and gender studies. Women's and gender studies has a long history of engaged scholarship. This has included championing the rights, narratives, and history of marginalised groups within society and this conceptual lineage is still relevant. My work involves several theoretical commitments: to decoloniality, intersectionality, and feminism. As a decolonial feminist, I need to reaffirm my ideological and pedagogical commitment to subverting systems of oppressive power and giving voice to those who have been marginalised. As a gender studies teacher and researcher, I also need to work from an intersectional viewpoint (Crenshaw 1993). This theory points to the necessity to take into account the multidimensionality of oppression at work for the researchers, teachers and students of women's and gender studies, who often experience different kinds of oppression in their own contexts.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cheryl Hendricks and Desiree Lewis argue that, unless white women researchers in the field of women's and gender studies in South Africa declare and interrogate their own position in relation to their data, 'There will continue to be a struggle over the right to interpret experience, instead of a mapping out of different experiences and of how we are to relate our understanding of our own experience to our theorization of others' (1994: 73).

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this article I make reference to 'women's and gender studies'. This is not to deny the conflict that has surrounded the choice of names for such units, which has frequently been highly contested (see Richardson and Robinson 1994: 12). Sometimes these units are called 'centres', 'institutes', or 'departments' and sometimes their names incorporate concepts that are related to gender, such as 'sexuality' or even 'HIV/AIDS'. They deal with the general academic area of women's and gender studies, although their emphases may differ. For this reason I include all such units within the purview of this article.

## Theoretical foundations

Besides decolonial and intersectional feminism, my argument is grounded in critical responses to the academy within the context of the neoliberal state, as articulated by Penny Jane Burke, Raewyn Connell, Bill Readings, David Harvey and others. Higher education in South Africa, as in many other countries, has historically been created and taught primarily by white men and in accordance with agendas that they have determined. Peggy Douglas makes a similar point in 'Radical Learning: A New Perspective on Feminist Pedagogy'. She recounts her experience of watching a committee of professors arguing that the women's studies programme should be discontinued in the face of budget cuts: 'I wanted to shout that didn't these tenured dinosaurs realize that every other program in the college is, in essence, a men's studies program' (2002: 82). Douglas's experience is echoed in South Africa, where, in the #FeesMustFall protests of 2015 and 2016,<sup>3</sup> student protests successfully halted fee increases for a year and continue to demand free education for all academically competent learners. In the wake of the protests, most universities are implementing budget cuts. Courses of study that are not seen as profitable or mainstream are likely to be 'rationalised' – in other words, discontinued. Although this is done in the name of 'austerity', in reality it serves an ideological agenda. It tends to be done in tandem with neoliberal management, which, as David Harvey points out, has dominated the South African economy in the post-apartheid era (2006: 23). Under a neoliberal government, intellectual and cultural products become commodities. University degrees, especially in the sciences, are packaged as marketable products in the service of capitalism. Universities in the neoliberal state become servants of the market: they are centres of production for knowledge that can be sold, as a degree that will ensure the graduate a job. Courses of study are funded according to the value they are perceived to have for the market. Courses of research and study that are seen as unprofitable, especially when they involve critical thinking such as is nurtured in women's and gender studies, receive less funding from managerialist university executive committees than those that are seen as profitable. In this article, I will unpack how neoliberal and managerialist trends in university administration have impacted negatively on women's and gender studies in South African universities.

In approaching this research, I have drawn on Vivien Burr's understanding that "*Knowledge and social action go together*" (2015: 5), which emphasizes the

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<sup>3</sup> #FeesMustFall is the name given to the student protests across South Africa in 2015 and 2016. Originally catalysed by outrage at universities' proposed increase in student fees, they quickly grew to encompass a general call to decolonise university curricula and pedagogies, and to insource campus services such as security, catering, and cleaning.

necessity for engaged scholarship and exhorts us to remember that these findings are, themselves, historically and socially produced. This call is particularly relevant to the intersection of activism and academia in relation to feminist and gender studies scholarship: Amanda Gouws (2010) and others have highlighted the need for women's and gender studies scholars to practice activism in order to bring about gender justice.

In South Africa's postcolonial society, feminist and gender studies take place within a context where race is one system of oppression alongside gender and class. Accordingly, this article employs an intersectional approach to the metatextual study of gender studies. I understand intersectionality as an exploration of the ways in which different systems of domination and discrimination overlap in the experiences of individuals. Kimberlé Crenshaw neatly identifies the need to understand how systems of racial and gender oppression intersect when she writes: 'Feminist efforts to politicize women and antiracist efforts to politicize experiences of people of color have frequently proceeded as though the issues and experiences they each detail occur on mutually exclusive terrains' (1991: 1242). Many of the lecturers and students of the courses on women's and gender studies which I discuss here are women. Likewise, many are black, so it is important to consider the ways in which different axes of oppression and identity (race, class, and gender) impact upon the formation and location of units of women's and gender studies in South Africa. Otherwise there is a risk of failing in the analysis both of race and gender, as Crenshaw notes in her analysis of legal and social interventions for battered US women of colour: 'The failure of feminism to interrogate race means that the resistance strategies of feminism will often replicate and reinforce the subordination of people of color, and the failure of antiracism to interrogate patriarchy means that antiracism will frequently reinforce the subordination of women' (1993: 1241). In a similar vein, Gouws' article on 'South African Feminism Today: Have We Lost the Praxis?' acknowledges that 'feminist scholarship/theory has become far more sophisticated in an attempt to incorporate the intersectionalities of women's identities of race, class, gender, disability and others' (2010: 13). At the same time, Gouws notes the progressive weakening of feminist activism within the South African political arena. Shan Simmonds also notes the importance of intersectionality for effective feminist curriculum design in South Africa in his article 'Curriculum-making in South Africa: Promoting Gender Equality and Empowering Women (?)' (2014: 641).

Finally, this article is aligned with the trend of metadiscursive scholarly reflection on university structures and management within the global neoliberal regime and, in particular, with an understanding of South African universities as they are positioned in a postcolonial neoliberal state. Neoliberalism has impacted upon all features of social and economic functioning, as Raewyn Connell notes: 'Neoliberalism broadly means

the agenda of economic and social transformation under the sign of the free market. It also means the institutional arrangements to implement this project that have been installed, step by step, in every society under neoliberal control' (2013: 100). Connell's analysis of the effects of neoliberalism on Australian education, which is described as an attempt by state and economic forces to widen markets wherever possible, including via the technicisation of knowledge, is relevant to other contexts as well. As Penny Jane Burke argues in her article, 'The Right to Higher Education: Neoliberalism, Gender and Professional Mis/recognitions' (2013: 109), 'Higher educational spaces are always sites of struggle in which shifting, complex, and discursively produced power relations are at play in the formation of gendered subjectivities and in the privileging of particular epistemological and ontological perspectives and frameworks'. Burke's article goes on to explore the working of power and privilege in universities in the United Kingdom, arguing that programmes designed for 'widening participation', although initially conceived within the framework of social justice, are used for meritocratic and neoliberal ends. Burke's analysis of the position in Britain applies equally well to South Africa: 'A lack of attention to the ways some groups have unfair access to the material and cultural resources needed to get ahead tends to individualise "failure", explaining it in deficit terms as lacking ability, determination or aspiration' (2013: 111).

The critique of the university as an institution of neoliberalism may be seen to have begun with Bill Readings' now-classic *The University in Ruins* (1996), which explores the role of universities in the neoliberal era, aptly critiquing the role of corporatisation and managerialism within universities along with pressures for such institutions to rationalise their course offerings and remain cost-effective. His argument is that the historical role of universities as authoritative repositories of knowledge is no longer sustainable in a context where the social and political role of scholarly knowledge is moot. Ulrike Kistner's article, 'Under New Management: The Ambiguities of "Transformation" in Higher Education' decries the 'relatively ephemeral effect of "external" directives, policy directives, and managerialism' (2011: 146), while her polemical article, 'Unchaining the Human of the Humanities', explores the way the demands of a 'developmentalist state' (2012: 16) covertly direct the agenda of human sciences in ways that constrain thinking, rather than liberating it. Readings' astute critique resonates with Bonnie Morris's insights in her chapter, 'The Backlash against Women's Studies' (2002). Morris notes: 'not surprisingly, women's studies as a separate field has never enjoyed an easy relationship with those Ivory Tower institutions that accredit women's studies' (2002: 161). While critiques of the position of higher education in the postcolonial neoliberal state frame discourse around the problems relating to the fate and fortunes of gender studies in the South African academy, Morris's chapter provides an important analysis of some of the key problems that have beset women's and gender studies units

and programmes world-wide. Morris records that '[t]he exacerbated backlash against women's studies in the 1990s [in the USA] was two-fold: institutional cutbacks on the one hand and a very well-funded conservative opposition to women's studies on the other' (2002: 162). In my discussion, I argue that the discipline of women's and gender studies in South Africa has been negatively affected by a neoliberal understanding of the university, as well as by patriarchal ideology. Cuts in university budgets joining forces with a conservative management approach to women's and gender studies means that, while executive decision-makers continue to speak about the strategic importance of such units, there is little real commitment to the agenda of gender transformation, either of research or pedagogy in South African higher education. In addition, in the wake of the #FeesMustFall movement of 2015 and 2016, as Ruchi Chaturvedi has argued, the politics within universities has shifted away from binary logics (such as Europe/Africa; civilisation/primitivism; reason/passion) and towards the crafting of a postcolonial counterpublic that 'literally speaks in many languages ... is impolite, conflictual, conscious of its minor and marginal location, and sets itself up against the dominant public genres and forces' (2015). In the wake of the #FeesMustFall movement, a new dynamic has entered the politics of university management: an urgent call to decolonise higher education. A major part of this project is the 'delinking' of key concepts 'from the Totality of Western epistemology' (Mignolo 2007: 493), which has for centuries dictated to colonised peoples in Africa how to think and behave. The call for decolonised curricula and pedagogies sees higher education as a tool for social and retributive justice, restoring resources (including epistemological resources) to the colonised, who were dispossessed by colonialism. Women's and gender studies units in South Africa align themselves with this call and embrace a decolonial agenda, which sees colonialism as a patriarchal project and one that aims to keep previously colonised people subjugated. Yet, as I shall show, their ability to subvert dominant epistemologies is constrained by managerial decisions shaped by neoliberalism.

## Women's and Gender Studies in South Africa

Following the global trend, many of South Africa's 17 public and comprehensive universities have units, departments, centres or institutes<sup>4</sup> that deal with women's studies and/or gender studies, as in the University of the Western Cape's Department of Women's and Gender Studies, or sexuality studies, as in the University of

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<sup>4</sup> In South African universities, departments conduct teaching courses and programmes, while centres and institutes frequently refer to non-teaching units that focus either on research or on non-formal teaching offerings.



Pretoria's Centre for Sexualities, AIDS and Gender. The position of each of these units is summarised in a table below. In many countries in the global North, the situation regarding women's and gender studies is as uncertain as it is in South Africa, with some authors blaming neoliberalism for a new conservatism in gender and sexuality studies (such as Woltersdorff 2011). In the context of the United Kingdom, Jen Marchbank laments "'Ding, Dong, the Witch Is Dead, the Wicked Witch Is Dead": The Reported Demise of Women's Studies in the United Kingdom' (2009) in narrating the irony of the closure of undergraduate courses in women's studies, while simultaneously affirming the ongoing vigour of feminist scholarship in that country. Exploring the causes for the termination of women's studies at undergraduate level, she notes that 'the position of women's studies is often one of fragility and marginalization; programs are underfunded; administrators and other faculty are frequently unsympathetic; women's studies lacks power in the academy; and in times of cutbacks, women's studies is dispensable' (2009: 197). The three areas that Marchbank identifies as contributing to the instability of women's and gender studies courses and units – the lack of sympathy from university management, the corresponding lack of power of these units, and their vulnerability to funding cuts – have much to do with neoliberalism's grip on higher education and the need to subordinate it to market forces, which also apply to South Africa. Certain groups of disciplines receive more funding than others, as the following table demonstrates.

Table 1: Funding groups for 2012/13: based on 2008 CESM<sup>5</sup> categories

Funding group	CESM categories included in funding group
1	07 education, 12 law, 18 psychology, 19 public administration and services
2	04 business, economics & management studies, 05 communication & journalism, 06 computer & information sciences, 11 languages, linguistics & literature, 17 philosophy, religion and theology, 20 social sciences
3	02 architecture & the built environment, 08 engineering, 10 family ecology & consumer sciences, 15 mathematics & statistics
4	01 agriculture & agricultural operations, 03 visual & performing arts, 09 health professions & related clinical sciences, 13 life sciences, 14 physical sciences

(Styger 2014: 14)

<sup>5</sup> CESM refers to the Classification of Educational and Study Material.



Funding group 1 receives the lowest amount of state funds while funding group 4 is the most generously resourced. Women's and gender studies are classified as part of social sciences in funding group 2.

As is well known, racial oppression has shaped South African history more than other forms of oppression, such as gender and class (even though these forms of oppression work intersectionally). Under apartheid, race was brought to the fore in ways that centralised it as the main axis of identity politics and political endeavour. So, while the struggle against apartheid was fought on the battlefield of race, it was assumed, even by feminists within the anti-apartheid struggle, that it was more important than the struggle for gender equality. This did not mean that the battle for gender equality was shelved: rather, it was seen as a cause that could be taken up once the battle for a democratic society had been won. It was assumed that racial liberation would come first and would be followed by gender liberation. This is borne out by Melissa Steyn, who states that 'South African activist women [immediately post-apartheid] were determined that the women's movement in South Africa should not meet the fate of so many other women's movements in nationalist struggles, namely, that once liberation had been won, women's issues would once again be relegated to a subordinate role' (1998: 42). Many activist women, from all sectors of the South African population, were committed to bringing about racial equality before fighting for gender equality. Substantive democracy in South Africa was achieved in 1994, as is well known, though many have questioned whether it has brought about racial equality in terms of access to resources. Theoretically, though, having achieved a racially free society, South Africa is free to pursue the ideal of gender equality. It seems logical, therefore, that women's and gender studies units would flourish as centres of research and teaching at higher education institutions in South Africa. However, this has not proved to be the case.

In 2007 Jane Bennett and Vasu Reddy, under the auspices of the African Gender Studies Institute at the University of Cape Town, conducted an introductory audit of teaching modules across South Africa that were dedicated to women's and gender studies. They explored modules that had women's and gender studies as their explicit focus as well as those where either gender, women's studies, or the body formed part of the curriculum. Their findings are sobering as they conclude that 'the national context creates powerful dilemmas for both faculty and students' (2007: 59). They go on to provide an insightful analysis of the problem:

[W]hile such teaching [of women's gender and sexuality studies] does indeed offer a route into potentially transformative learning for students, this route is compromised by the general academic environment, but more seriously, by the intransigence of the idea that 'academic theory/writing' is fundamentally separable

from ‘ways of living your life’. Even in disciplines committed to the presence of ‘the body’ (through diverse, even contradictory, routes), the role of the university as a route into ‘professionalisation’ trumps – or challenges – efforts to radicalise consciousness at every level. (2007: 59)

Bennett and Reddy point to some of the most problematic challenges surrounding the teaching of women’s and gender studies in South/ern Africa: the division (whether real or perceived) between academic study and professional training; and the impact of the neoliberalisation of universities, where courses of study that do not lead directly and clearly to employment opportunities are deprioritised by both staff and students. As Desiree Lewis notes in her essay on the #FeesMustFall movement (2015: n.p.): ‘Universities ... have increasingly become sites for supporting the status quo, both in their teaching methods, the managerialist bureaucracies they set in place to monitor academics, and the methods of teaching they encourage. Rather than being spaces for promoting imaginative and animated scholarship focusing on the humanities, the modern university, which privileges the hard sciences and downplays the humanities, is an efficient site for the neoliberal commoditizing of knowledge.’

The table below summarises the findings of my research into women’s and gender-studies in South African universities.

Table 2: Summary of South African Women’s and Gender Studies Units

<b>University</b>	<b>Name of women’s and gender studies unit</b>	<b>Staff with doctorates and NRF ratings</b>	<b>Courses/programmes taught</b>
University of the Western Cape	Department of Women’s and Gender Studies	4 staff, 3 with doctorates and two with NRF ratings	Courses are taught from second year to doctoral study
University of Cape Town	African Gender Institute	3 staff, two with doctorates	Courses are taught from second year to doctoral study
University of the Free State	Interdisciplinary programme in Gender Studies, housed in the Centre for Africa Studies	1 staff member with a doctorate	A taught master’s degree

Rhodes University	Critical Studies in Sexuality and Reproductive Health	1 staff member with a doctorate and NRF rating	No courses taught
University of KwaZulu-Natal	Department of Gender Studies	2 staff members, both with doctorates	Courses are taught from second year to doctoral study
University of Pretoria	Centre for Sexualities, AIDS and Gender	3 staff members, 2 with doctorates	No courses taught
University of South Africa	Institute for Gender Studies	1 staff member with a doctorate and NRF rating	Interdisciplinary Honours in Gender Studies

In the following section, I discuss how women's and gender studies (and related fields of study, such as HIV/AIDS and sexuality) fares in South African universities. In order to gather the data presented here, I conducted semi-structured interviews between March 2015 and October 2016 with seven colleagues at different South African universities who work in women's and gender studies units. These units represent the total offerings in the field of women's and gender studies in South African higher education. The research subjects were chosen because they had experience of working in women's and gender studies units, either as directors or as senior staff. Ethical clearance was obtained for the research from the Ethics Review Committee of the Institute for Gender Studies at Unisa and the interviewees were given an opportunity to check my account of the data before publication. E-mail was used to ask follow-up questions when necessary.

The findings show a definite trend relating to neoliberal control and funding. South African universities are funded by the state according to two main outputs: graduating students and published research. State funding is allocated by university management to the units where it is generated. There is, therefore, pressure and competition to produce successful students and research outputs in the form of articles, books, and conference proceedings. Those units that produce more outputs receive more funding, and the converse is also true.

### **Western Cape universities**

There are three universities in the Western Cape which teach women's and gender studies; the University of the Western Cape, the University of Cape Town

and Stellenbosch University. One of the most successful women's and gender studies units in South Africa is the Department of Women's and Gender Studies (WGS) at the University of the Western Cape. Tamara Shefer (a senior professor in the department) and Judy Aulette (2005: 105) reflect that it grew out of an interdisciplinary programme that was initially hosted by the Arts Faculty and became a fully-fledged teaching department within the university structures in 2010. Shefer and Aulette go on to explain the variety of activities that typically characterise women's and gender studies programmes and units: '[the women's and gender studies programme is] active in a wide range of research activities and international and local collaborative endeavours ... [and] works hard to maintain a strong local and community orientation' (2005: 105). Desiree Lewis, another senior professor in the department, recounts that an external reviewer for the university advised the staff that formalising the unit into a teaching department with the same status as all the other teaching departments would offer institutional stability to the unit, and this advice was followed. The department consists of four members of staff, who teach courses in gender studies from undergraduate to doctoral level. All four of the staff members, as well as the doctoral students, are highly productive and ten doctorates have been conferred since 2005. Shefer remarks that all the faculty are productive researchers with excellent records of achieving rating by the National Research Foundation and attracting funding. Despite the department's successes, Lewis explains that other teaching departments at the university feel that they do not need to address gender in their research or teaching because it is being taken care of by the WGS. This is an unforeseen and unfortunate consequence of establishing a separate department of women's and gender studies and may lead to the university's teaching offerings in other disciplines not containing as much content about gender as would be required from a full gender mainstreaming exercise in the area of curriculum development.

By contrast, at the University of Cape Town, the African Gender Institute (AGI) is located within the School of African and Gender Studies, Anthropology and Linguistics (School of African & Gender Studies, Anthropology & Linguistics 2016). According to Helen Scanlon, who teaches the gender studies curriculum, this federal 'school' is known as AXL and was created out of four previously separate academic units by the process of rationalisation, used by university managements to merge departments and units within faculties or colleges into more cost-effective but still heterogeneous bodies. The motive for such mergers is generally financial, as such a combined unit may only require one head and fewer administrative staff than four separate ones, and, in my view, is clearly a response to neoliberal imperatives to turn universities into cost-effective and market-related structures. The AGI separates teaching from research and the teaching of Gender Studies courses at undergraduate

and postgraduate levels is run by a different staff complement from those who pursue teaching and edit the journal that is housed at the institute. The separation of teaching and research in the area means that student success attracts separate funding from research outputs and thus splits the income that flows into the AGI into two streams, unlike most academic departments.

Also in the Western Cape, the University of Stellenbosch offered a postgraduate MPhil degree in Gender Studies between 2000 and 2007.<sup>6</sup> In South Africa, the MPhil degree is designed for students from diverse academic backgrounds, who might not meet the requirements to qualify on the basis of their academic qualifications. It was a taught master's degree, where students had to sit for examinations as well as submit a short dissertation. It differs from a research master's degree in that the latter requires only a dissertation to be submitted and passed. Gouws (a senior professor who taught the course) explained that students who registered for the course were enthusiastic about gender studies, but tended to be under-prepared because of the lack of feeder courses dedicated to gender studies. The national Department of Education, within the neoliberal South African state, does not fund taught master's degrees at the same level as research master's degrees. When this change took place in national Higher Education funding, Gouws narrates that the degree was no longer viable and was discontinued after the retirement of one of the professors in charge. The students were thus denied an opportunity to be exposed to critical and engaged scholarship in the field of gender studies at a high level. Individual faculty (some of whom were involved in teaching the taught MPhil) still offer modules on gender studies in their own departments, but the university does not have a dedicated women's or gender studies unit.

## **University of the Free State**

Nadine Lake, who manages the University of the Free State's interdisciplinary programme in Gender Studies, explains that this programme came into being out of concern among faculty in 2000 about the institutional culture, which included significant gender inequalities. The programme has a limited market and only offers a taught Master of Arts degree and a postgraduate diploma. It had 23 registered students in 2015. Since 2000 the programme has changed disciplinary homes three times, and since 2010 it has been hosted by the Centre for Africa Studies. It is run by a single dedicated academic (Lake), although lecturers in other departments also assist on a voluntary basis with teaching and research. The lecturers in the UFS programme in gender studies come from various disciplines, such as English, psychology, and the

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<sup>6</sup> Gouws, Amanda (2015); personal communication, 6 February.

Centre for Africa Studies and Communication Studies. This creates an unfortunate situation where individual faculty are torn between their departmental duties and their loyalty to the gender studies programme. While the diversity of disciplines represented in gender studies at the UFS is good for its interdisciplinary standing, the paucity of funding means that these faculty have to split their time between their substantive disciplines and their teaching in gender studies. This problem is also seen at women's and gender studies units in the global North. Deborah A. Burghardt and Carol L. Colbeck, writing within the context of the USA, observe: 'Many WS [Women's Studies] faculty hold appointments in disciplinary departmental homes where colleagues agree to loan them to teach WS courses. WS faculty have two homes, but they may perceive their disciplinary departments as having more organizational power than their WS programs' (2005: 306). Lake concludes that the gender studies programme attracts a small but significant cohort of postgraduate students each year and conducts gender-related seminars and events.<sup>7</sup>

### **The University of KwaZulu-Natal**

The University of KwaZulu-Natal has two campuses and runs a gender studies programme, which is staffed by two full-time members of staff. Janet Muthoni Muthuki, one of these two lecturers, explains that gender studies forms part of a cluster of disciplines in the university and does not have autonomous standing. Nevertheless, women's and gender studies has been mainstreamed across several disciplines in this cluster. The fact that the programme is split between two campuses of the university, with only one academic in each campus and nearly 90 kilometres separating them, means that the funding that accrues to a single programme has to be split between two centres. This, in my view, is an unambiguous indication of the way the neoliberal regime in the country values gender studies in the province. If women's and gender studies were seen as more valuable, resources might be allocated to allow more faculty to work in this programme. This is highly regrettable given that KwaZulu-Natal is also home to harmful practices such as the Reed Dance, where virgins dance before the Zulu King and compete for his attention, and the 'virginity bursaries' which subsidised young women to attend university as long as they remained virgins, as proved by an annual virginity test.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Lake, N. (2016). Personal communication, 28 October.

<sup>8</sup> See Khoza (2016) and Gqirana (2016).

## Universities in Gauteng

Gauteng is the economic heart of the country and contains five universities. Of these, only two have dedicated units for women's and gender studies. The University of Pretoria (UP) housed an active research Institute for Women's and Gender Studies until 2012. This Institute was housed in the Department of Sociology as a small sub-unit and was involved in organising a national sociology conference in 2011 on the theme *Gender in Question*, but since Elaine Salo, the professor in charge, left the university, the institute has been closed. An informal Gender Research Group (known as GR@UP) was run by two postdoctoral fellows in 2014 and 2015 and arranged various gender-related events, but when the two postdoctoral fellows left the university, GR@UP also ceased operations. The university's gender efforts are presently coordinated by the Centre for Sexualities, AIDS and Gender, which, according to one of the Directors, Mary Crewe, functions as an extra-curricular unit. It does not teach formal programmes or courses. Rather, it conducts research, educates the university community about HIV and AIDS, and organises campaigns to raise awareness of sexual diversity.<sup>9</sup>

The situation is somewhat different at the University of South Africa (Unisa), where I am situated. Unisa is the largest Open and Distance Education provider in Africa. It hosts a small Institute for Gender Studies, staffed entirely by faculty on contract until such time as it has managed to cover permanent staff salaries through research output subsidy. In this funding model, it is possible to discern the workings of a neoliberal approach to university management, where teaching and research units are expected either to source or to fund their own operations. In this way, South African university management conforms to Brenda R. Weber's assertion that 'the neoliberal university is an institution that routinely places financial robustness over educational or pedagogical quality' (2010: 128). The institute coordinates an interdisciplinary Honours degree in Gender Studies, which is taught by interested faculty in different disciplinary departments on a volunteer basis and without any reward for this teaching. It also arranges research seminars and conferences; coordinates the South African Association for Gender Studies; and hosts an academic journal called *Gender Questions*. Despite these diverse activities, without secure funding for permanent academic posts in the institute, faculty tend to seek disciplinary homes that can offer more financial and professional security and a more definite career path.

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<sup>9</sup> Crewe, M. (2016). Personal communication, 21 October.



## Conclusion

My research has found that women's and gender studies does not fare very well in postcolonial South African universities. My findings chime with Burghardt and Colbeck's finding that '[d]espite 30 years in the academy [in the USA], most WS and other interdisciplinary studies units ... that cross disciplinary boundaries to foster integrative thinking remain in marginalized positions as programs rather than departments' (2005: 301). There are several possible reasons for this. One is that, although women's and gender studies is an important component of many teaching programmes, it is not yet fully mainstreamed in university offerings. Another is that only two South African universities (the Universities of the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal) offer undergraduate courses in gender studies. Finally, a perception exists that 'there are no jobs for gender studies graduates' besides NGO work, and in a climate of intensifying professionalisation of university degrees, a programme that does not lead to vocational opportunity is perceived as not being very valuable. As a result, these units tend to be marginalised by university managements. This is, however, the result of a neoliberal approach to tertiary education, which commodifies knowledge offerings in terms of their market value. It does not respond to the need for gender transformation in post-apartheid South Africa, where patriarchy is still dominant. This is regrettable, since these units have the potential to destabilise western epistemologies, including received hierarchies of knowledge and power. In this regard, I agree with Weber's comments on feminist pedagogy as a potential force for changing entrenched power relations when she remarks that 'active feminist pedagogy strategies ... are specifically designed to break down traditionalist models of teaching that rely on authoritative professors and compliant students, and in so doing, they work to redefine notions of value, identity, credibility, and merit' (2010: 129). Women's and gender studies units can foster critical engagement with existing regimes of heteropatriarchy and their relation to racial supremacy. It is unfortunate, therefore, that they are perceived within the neoliberal paradigm as not possessing market value that would allow them to be funded accordingly.

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Deirdre Byrne is a full professor of English Studies and the Head of the Institute for Gender Studies at Unisa. She is the editor-in-chief of the academic journal, *scrutiny2: issues in English studies in Southern Africa* and one of the co-editors of *Gender Questions*. She holds a C2 rating from the National Research Foundation of South Africa as an established researcher. She has published several academic articles on the writing of Ursula K. le Guin and on the representation of gender in speculative fiction. She belongs to the steering groups of an international research project on Gender and Love and ZAPP, the South African poetry project. Contact e-mail: [byrnedc@unisa.ac.za](mailto:byrnedc@unisa.ac.za).

# Doing Neoliberalism on Campus: The Vulnerability of Gender Equality Mechanisms in Estonian Academia<sup>1</sup>

**Kadri Aavik**

**Abstract:** This paper explores the construction of a gendered neoliberal rationality in post-socialist academic settings. Drawing on interviews conducted with key stakeholders in four major Estonian universities, I trace how three key gender equality policy measures are conceptualised – quotas, workplace flexibility, and the involvement of men in efforts towards gender equality. The findings suggest that Estonian academic stakeholders fill these key gender equality policy ideas with meanings that distort the original purpose of these solutions, and thereby render these policy ideas counter-productive as mechanisms designed to bring about change in gender relations. Instead, these conceptualisations serve the interests of the neoliberal university, enabling and reinforcing the atomisation and exploitation of academic labourers, particularly women. Collectively, these articulations constitute, along with other practices, the ‘doing of neoliberalism’ in post-socialist university settings. Academic stakeholders do not (just) reflect an already established totalising neoliberal framework, but in fact discursively (and materially) create and reproduce what we have come to understand and refer to as ‘neoliberalism’ in academia. This has implications for devising and implementing gender equality policies in higher education in the post-socialist region, as the solutions applied elsewhere in Europe may not work in the same way in Central-Eastern Europe.

**Keywords:** gender, Estonia, academics, neoliberalism, gender equality policy, post-socialism

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In this article, I explore, in the example of Estonia, how academic stakeholders discursively produce what we could term neoliberal rationality. More specifically, I do this by examining the ways in which some key gender equality (GE) policy measures are conceptualised at Estonian universities.

In recent burgeoning literature on the neoliberalisation of higher education, processes termed 'neoliberal' in academic settings are often seen as a set of negative events, occurring irrespectively of the will and control of academics and usually externally imposed on universities or on individual academics. Contemporary academic organisations and people inhabiting these are treated as victims of these occurrences or passive carriers of the neoliberal ideology, seen as largely unable to exercise their agency in influencing these developments (Whelan 2015: 142). Specific ways in which what is understood as neoliberal ideology or neoliberal processes are transmitted in particular settings, such as the university, are mostly left unstudied (Whelan 2015: 137).

By far most of the existing scholarship on the neoliberalisation of higher education has emerged in and about Western contexts, with a largely Anglo-American empirical and theoretical focus. These processes have remained largely unexamined in many other settings, such as in post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), where market-centred thinking and governance seem to be equated with common sense, not only in the public discourse, but largely also in academia. Thus, critical perspectives on universities typically remain outside the scope of scholarly enquiry.

A pronounced difference between many Western and Nordic countries on the one hand and post-socialist Europe on the other relevant to my argument here is that policy-making in the latter region has had a much shorter history of considering gender. Indeed, in post-socialist EU countries, gender equality was typically only introduced into the national legal and policy frameworks when they entered the EU (Estonia joined in 2004). Pajumets (2012) argues, based on the Estonian context, that these institutional transformations have not translated into more egalitarian gender norms in individual practices. This has implications for devising and implementing GE policies in academic settings in the post-socialist region, as the solutions applied elsewhere in Europe might not work in the same way in CEE, due to different local conceptualisations of gender that could partly be associated with the legacy of the socialist regimes.

In contrast to research that sees people as simply reflecting or reacting to a neoliberal reality that is already presupposed, I trace some particular ways in which key stakeholders, in talking about gender in academic settings, actually *actively produce* what we understand as the neoliberal context and gendered subjects in this setting. Personal and institutional narratives therefore do not only index the neoliberal reality, but they constitute the very fabric of it (Aavik 2015: 73). The expression

'doing neoliberalism' (Luxton 2010: 179) consequently seems apt, referring to people 'enacting the practices advocated by neoliberalism and normalizing them, confirming neoliberalism's hegemony'.

In this paper, I focus on the question of how key academic stakeholders in Estonia produce a gendered neoliberal social reality in university settings by talking about gender and gender equality in the context of academic careers. I address this question by exploring a more specific one: how do these stakeholders relate to some key GE policy ideas in the context of Estonian universities – quotas, workplace flexibility, and the involvement of men in GE efforts?

## **Neoliberalism, higher education and gender**

The concept of neoliberalism is primarily used to refer to an ideology and a policy model, which builds on the liberal political ideology. Central to neoliberalism is the promotion of *laissez-faire* economic policies, operating in the context of global capitalism (for a critical account of the rise of the global capitalist system, see, for example, Robinson 2014) and the gradual weakening or erosion of the welfare state.

Crucial to my engagement with the concept of neoliberalism in this paper are its wider implications reaching beyond the sphere of economic relations. In various critical scholarly accounts, processes labelled as 'neoliberal' are seen as reaching far beyond the market and profoundly reshaping the fabric of society with ultimately destructive consequences, such as the exacerbation of social inequalities. For example, neoliberalism has been conceptualised as 'an agenda of social restructuring', where inequalities do not occur as side effects, but constitute the very central elements of it (Connell 2013: 297). According to Brown (2015), neoliberalism is a 'governing rationality' that renders people as market actors. As such, she sees the neoliberal ideology as posing a risk to the functioning of democracy (*ibid*).

As in the liberal ideology, implicit in neoliberalism is a particular conceptualisation of human beings as individual actors making free choices (Rustin 2016:153). This particular feature of neoliberalism is crucial to my argument in this paper.

The emergence and functioning of this rationality, and the bureaucratisation it produces, has been discussed in the context of the public sector (see, for example, Graeber 2015). However, processes of neoliberalisation have probably been most extensively documented in scholarly accounts describing academic settings, in what has become a distinct field of scholarship, sometimes known as critical university studies. This work has thoroughly and critically documented (mostly in and about Western contexts) the ways in which the restructuring of higher education according to market logic negatively impacts the functioning of universities, the

lives of students and academics, and epistemological practices in academia more broadly. The birth of the 'corporate university' has been discussed in reference to the ever more prevalent tendency for higher education institutions to be managed according to market principles and sometimes reorganised as corporate entities. This orientation has profound consequences for the system of tertiary education and its participants (see, for example, Clark 1998; Slaughter, Leslie 1997; Marginson 2013; Rustin 2016).

While this literature has been deeply valuable in pointing out a wide range of problems in contemporary academic institutions and simultaneously functions as a kind of 'solidarising' action (Whelan 2015) between academics sharing these concerns, it is characteristic of these accounts that the specific mechanisms of the transmission of 'the neoliberal ideology' are left unexamined (*ibid.*). Neoliberalism is discussed on different levels of social reality, often as a 'totalising and monolithic system' (*ibid.*: 37).

My aim in this article is to explain and unpack some ways in which 'the neoliberal ideology' gets produced by concrete actors (Estonian academics and university managers) in a specific setting (Estonian universities). In this, I am inspired by micro-sociological perspectives, which examine the construction of meaning, including power relations (Dennis, Martin 2005) in micro-settings. Symbolic interactionist approaches place emphasis on human agency, conceptualising people as actively engaged in creating and recreating their identities (Pini 2005: 202). Just as gender can be understood as a situational accomplishment, according to the well-known social constructionist 'doing gender' approach (West, Zimmerman 1987), conveying the impression that it is a static and stable entity (Butler 1990), a similar logic could be adopted to understand what we label as 'neoliberal' and how it gets constructed in university settings. Focusing on the micro-level helps to deconstruct neoliberalism as a seemingly unitary and totalising system (Whelan 2015: 37) and prevent the reifying of this concept.

Existing critical work on subjectivities in the context of neoliberalisation has argued that neoliberalism produces significant changes in subjects. They are said to become self-interested and oriented towards 'entrepreneurial values, and consumerism' (Barnett 2009: 270). Literature focusing more particularly on higher education has highlighted the emergence of the regimes of performance under neoliberal conditions. This results in academics engaging in practices of the normalised self (Morrissey 2015: 614), including self-monitoring and accepting new forms of auditing (Gill 2010). According to Ball (2000: 16), we 'enact our academic selves in terms of productivities and tables of performance'.

An increasing body of work pays attention to the gender dimension in the context of the transforming universities and in the production of neoliberal academic

subjects. It has been pointed out that the seemingly gender-neutral requirements for academic workers are implicitly gendered. For example, the ‘ideal academic’ is conceptualised as a competitive individual free from caring obligations outside the university (Lynch 2010). The increasing precarisation of academic work has been found to be gendered, with disproportionately more women working in precarious positions (Garforth, Cervinkova 2009: 182). Gender segregation and gender stereotypes hinder particularly the careers of women (Lõhkivi 2015). Meyers (2013) sees parallels between neoliberal rationality and post-feminist ideas, with both valorising individualism while downplaying structural obstacles. Marling (2015: 43) understands the neoliberal feminist subject as someone prioritising and awarding her own initiative in success, while downplaying and undervaluing collective practices of support and solidarity.

Some work on inequalities and hierarchies in contemporary academia has considered other categories of differentiation alongside gender, noting that the ‘elite positions in the university are disproportionately reserved for white, heterosexual, middle-class, (en)abled masculine subjects’ (Berg et al. 2014: 66), while ‘feminine and racialised subjects’ are largely responsible for the reproduction of the university (ibid: 64).

To challenge these biases and forms of inequality in workplaces, including in universities, policy measures have been devised at the national as well as the supranational level.

### **Key gender equality mechanisms: quotas, workplace flexibility, and the involvement of men in gender equality efforts**

At least for a decade, policy approaches to gender equality in the EU have increasingly moved from ‘fixing the women’ towards ‘fixing institutions’ (Lipinsky 2014: 12). Within the latter approach, gender quotas, as temporary measures to increase the proportion of women in decision-making positions, have become an increasingly used policy measure in the EU, with at least 18 countries implementing them in some form or another (Lipinsky 2014: 12). In higher education, quotas have been implemented, for example, in Norway and Sweden.

Other key measures to tackle gender inequality in research and science include paying attention to work-life balance and flexibility (see, for example, Ruest-Archanbault 2008). The concept of flexibility often figures in literature on how to better organise workplaces. By flexibility, I refer to employers’ consent and/or encouragement for workers to ‘adjust working life and working hours to their own preferences and to other activities’ (Jepsen, Klammer 2004: 157). Flexible work practices, as part of the broader theme of ‘work-life balance’, are often recommended and implemented as institutional measures to



enhance gender equality and equal opportunities in work organisations and more broadly on the labour market. Increasingly, however, even GE literature is employing the language of 'profit', arguing that work-related flexibility gives employees more motivation and a sense of independence, resulting in more 'productivity'.

Within gender studies, the relational nature of gender has long been recognised. In recent years, more practically oriented academic work has started to emphasise the importance of men in gender equality initiatives (see, for example, Flood, Howson 2015). Particularly in the past decade, men and masculinities have begun to receive increasing attention in EU gender policies (see Scambor et al. 2013: 1; The European Institute for Gender Equality 2012) and in national policies of some member states (European Commission 2014). Behind calls for the involvement of men in GE policy are insights from critical studies of men and masculinities, such as changing masculinities (for example, the emergence and valorisation of 'caring masculinities'), recognising diversity within the group 'men' and unmasking male privilege (Scambor et al. 2013: 2–3). Compared to quotas and workplace flexibility measures as rather concrete mechanisms for advancing gender equality in organisations and decision-making, the inclusion of men in GE initiatives is a new and developing policy area, and has thus far remained significantly broader and more vague, with specific policy solutions largely yet to be proposed.

In the area of gender, EU policies, including the three measures I outlined above, do not however always translate into similar GE policies in all the member states.

## **The restructuring of Estonian universities**

Mirroring similar processes in many Western universities, structural reforms, primarily aimed at cutting costs and transforming higher education to better correspond to the needs of the labour market, have also been implemented or are under way at major Estonian universities. This has involved the introduction of practices of new public management in universities, the rise of audit culture, increasing bureaucratisation, the merging of units and curricula, the precarisation of academic work, and the dependence on external funding.

However, the Estonian higher education system features certain specificities, some of which are characteristic of academic settings in post-socialist CEE more broadly. Compared to Western and Nordic countries, academic wages, particularly for early career academics, remain low.<sup>2</sup> This, sometimes in combination with part-time work

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<sup>2</sup> As of the end of 2015, the average monthly salary of academic workers in Estonia was 1551 euros (Raudvere 2016: 3). The average monthly salary in Estonia in the last quarter of 2015 was 1105 euros (Statistics Estonia 2017).

contracts, often pushes them to find extra work, typically outside the academia, to make ends meet. This means that many, particularly those employed primarily in teaching positions, are not able to fully commit to research. The almost complete lack of unionisation of academic workers, as a legacy of the Soviet period,<sup>3</sup> makes it difficult to combat the increasing precarisation of academic labour. Consequently, increasingly atomised academics are entering into individual negotiations with university administrators for better working conditions. These recent developments have received surprisingly little critical engagement and resistance by academics in Estonia.

Despite a legal obligation to prevent unequal treatment and to enhance equal treatment and GE in their organisations, these aims have thus far not been prioritised by Estonian universities. There are no units or administrative positions dealing with these questions. Only one university – University of Tartu – has recently issued basic guidelines for equal treatment in the university, propelled by an institutionally mishandled case of sexual harassment. Other universities have no such strategic documents or equality plans.

The current labour force in tertiary education consists of roughly equal numbers of women and men, with 47.2% of all academic positions in major Estonian universities filled with women (Raudvere 2016: 2). However, there is considerable vertical and horizontal segregation of the academic labour force and other inequalities. Women hold only 26% of professorships (*ibid.*). A considerable gender pay gap exists between academic salaries, with men earning on average 20% more in major Estonian universities (Raudvere 2016: 3).<sup>4</sup>

The current structural reforms and inequalities in Estonian higher education should be understood in the context of post-socialism, shaped by a complex interplay of cultural disruptions and continuities. While on a structural level all ties to the country's Soviet past have been cut, certain continuities are present on the level of subjectivities (see, for example, Pajumets 2012).

The socialist system created ambivalent structural conditions and subjectivities regarding gender in academic settings. Within the broader Soviet public discourse on egalitarianism, official policies on gender equality emphasised women and men's equal right to and obligation to perform full-time employment and their right to

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<sup>3</sup> In post-socialist Eastern and Central Europe, trade unions are facing a crisis of legitimacy. They are largely seen as a relic of the socialist past, where they did not represent workers' interests but instead functioned as 'the means of integrating workers into the state socialist system' (Clarke 2005: 3). In post-socialist neoliberal capitalist democracies, popular sentiment values minimally regulated markets and labour relations. In this context, trade unions might even be seen as hindrances to the development of entrepreneurial culture and the accumulation of profit.

<sup>4</sup> The overall gender pay gap in Estonia is 26.9% (Eurostat 2015), the largest in the EU.

obtain education (Blagojević 2003). State support included the wide availability of childcare for working mothers. Yet at the same time the Soviet regime enforced horizontal and vertical segregation in all areas of employment, including in education and science (ibid.).

Neoliberal policies and the rhetoric implemented by the state today co-exist with memories of a former system, in which various political and social aspects offered an alternative to the current state of affairs. Yet, the use of any discourse that involves collective pursuits towards egalitarianism is often regarded as resembling the collectivist rhetoric of the Soviet state and on this basis can be easily dismissed as illegitimate.

Instead, in contemporary Estonia, neoliberalism tends to look like a 'normal' ideology, taken for granted, with no alternatives assumed (Luxton 2010: 171). In CEE, the lack of a collective imagination for alternatives is evidenced, for example, by only marginal anti-capitalist social movements. Here, 'radical Left organizations ... are unable to get any resonance for their anti-capitalist demands discredited by the former Communist regimes' (Čisař 2013: 997). At the same time, there is widespread support and encouragement for enterprise culture. This makes identifying and resisting the processes of corporatisation in various spheres of social life, including in higher education, a challenging endeavour.

## Research materials and method

The empirical material used in this paper was collected in 2015 in the framework of an initiative (known by the acronym ENEKE<sup>5</sup>) led by a group of sociologists (including the author) at Tallinn University, in partnership with colleagues from three other Estonian universities. ENEKE was the first major attempt by Estonian research institutions to do 'equality work' (Adsit et al. 2015: 25). The project mapped and evaluated from a gender perspective existing institutional practices, policies, and documents focusing on GE and equal treatment in Estonian universities; examined institutional discourses on gender and gender equality in the context of academic research and universities as work organisations; studied the experiences of early career researchers; and sought to devise practical measures for advancing women's research careers.

In the framework of ENEKE, 13 individual interviews were conducted with key stakeholders at four major Estonian universities (including one private university): heads of academic and administrative units, professors in the field of social sciences, and academic trade union leaders. The second set of data consists of 9 focus group

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<sup>5</sup> The acronym is formed out of the formulation of the aim of the initiative in the Estonian language and stands for 'the enhancement of successful career paths for Estonian women scientists'.

interviews with early career researchers in the social sciences (in total, 24 women and 10 men participated). From both groups, we inquired about their views on gender in the context of academic careers, focusing particularly on women's careers. While we had pre-determined topics to be covered, the interview design was relatively open, which enabled research participants to introduce related topics that they deemed important.

The collected interview material was analysed using a qualitative thematic approach (Braun, Clarke 2006), aiming to identify common themes and patterns around the issues that I explore in this article.

Drawing on micro-sociological perspectives, the analysis also took into account interactional aspects occurring in interview situations between the academics, including the interviewers, taking part in the interviews. While micro-sociological methodologies, including symbolic interactionism, prioritise the study of naturally occurring data, interviews can also generate illuminating insights to understand the dynamics of the production of the 'neoliberal rationality' in everyday settings. The interview situation in which the data for this analysis was produced, constitutes a setting in which 'doing neoliberalism' can be studied, as the interviews involved interaction between differently positioned academics (interviewer and interviewees) on matters related to the organisation of academic life. In these situations, we can trace the discursive production of academic subjectivities. According to micro-sociological perspectives, agency should not be identified with the individual, but it 'arises in [local] interactions' and face-to-face encounters (Collins 2004: 6).

## **'Doing neoliberalism' in the Estonian academia – findings**

### **Resistance to quotas**

The question of quotas provides a good example of how institutional attempts to deal with gender bias and women's disadvantaged position in academic settings are generally perceived. While resistance to quotas is a phenomenon observed elsewhere as well, it is worth exploring its particular manifestations in Estonia, in the context of the Soviet legacy as well as in the framework of more general reluctance, particularly by privileged groups, to see various forms of inequality as problematic (Aavik 2015).

Research participants displayed caution towards the implementation of any institutional measures to enhance gender equality and particularly to advance women's careers. While explicit resistance to quotas was expressed, examples given in interviews indicated that the purpose and functioning of quotas was typically misunderstood:

*Peeter, M (professor, management):<sup>6</sup> I would say that you have to take into account the person's qualification, skills, knowledge, teaching skills, and career motivations, all of those things, not that we just appoint someone to take the chair because she is a woman. In my view, this is the most erroneous decision ever, to make someone do something because she is a woman, if she does not want to lead and does not have skills. This is a very wrong approach. Today, we are in a situation where you can only choose the best ones, because otherwise you won't survive in this competition and internationalisation and all this. Gender does not matter at all here. Sometimes the person must be available for work for 24 hours a day. If a woman is ready for this, let her do it, nobody is stopping her.*

Here, an implicitly masculine academic subject or ideal worker (Acker 1990) is constructed, one who is constantly available for the employer if need be. This subject is constructed in extremely individualist terms – his/her career is only dependent on his/her autonomous choices. This academic subject is not bound by external constraints. This conceptualisation of people is incompatible with the key assumptions behind gender quotas – that structural obstacles prevent particularly women from performing equally with men.

The quota system was seen as alien to the Estonian society and the university was considered an inappropriate place to implement quotas. Estonia was deemed as 'not ready' for quotas:

*Katrin, W (early career researcher): Well, you see, the idea of quotas still causes mental shock in our society. In Sweden, this is a long tradition already, right? It's not alien there. For me, this idea is alien. I would prefer for people to get positions through successful entrance exams where they demonstrate that they are interested in the job, that they want this. It is an absurd situation where someone goes to study how to build bridges not because she's interested in it, but because a quota enabled her to do it.*

Here, an implicit reference is made to the Soviet era, where people were often appointed to jobs and a general ethos of egalitarianism was promoted.

Quotas were also seen as an 'unnatural' intervention:

*Mari, W (early career researcher): I think this is partly a natural process. You cannot ... well, if women themselves do not go into [the hard sciences] and do not see*

<sup>6</sup> Pseudonyms are used to refer to the interviewees. Interviews were conducted in the Estonian language, translations into English are provided by the author. I use the abbreviations M (man) and W (woman) to refer to the gender that the interviewees identified with.

*any potential to go into [them], then to go out on the street to find a woman [to do so] is very strange.*

The evoking of the word 'natural' in this context is telling. As an interesting contrast, while the recent structural reforms that most Estonian universities have recently undergone were generally not challenged or seen as externally imposed, possible measures to promote gender equality and equal treatment at the university were considered externally enforced, unnatural, and unnecessarily interventions, which endanger the autonomy of the organisation.

The unpopular perception and misunderstanding of quotas is also demonstrated in the next excerpt where the interviewee questions the identity of a 'quota woman':

*Ingrid, W (early career researcher): My personal opinion is that I do not want special treatment at work because I am a woman or because I am capable of having children. I would feel like a disabled person who requires differential treatment by the employer. A decent employer, like the university or some enterprise, will always make exceptions if you need to fetch your children from day-care. You can organise your work rather freely at the university. I don't want anyone to advance me. I mean, I find it insulting that I need some kind of an external formal system to boost me, while men are capable of advancing on their own.*

A minority of research participants were more receptive to the quota system, but only if well designed and not only implemented in one particular university but throughout the entire higher education system. This reflects a fear of losing one's competitive edge – in case quotas detract (male) talent – in a system where competition is seen to be happening and is valorised between genderless individuals.

Resistance to quotas could also be partly explained by the relatively equal numbers of men and women in the Estonian academic workforce. This might lead academic stakeholders to think that due to the more or less equal visible presence of men and women in universities, gender equality might not be an issue here. More invisible indicators of gender inequality, such as the pay gap or the distribution of administrative tasks, remain hidden and can therefore be easily left unconsidered.

Instead of quotas more unofficial or indirect measures were preferred, such as offering personal solutions according to the needs of specific employees in particular situations. This was seen as a less aggressive mechanism of intervention. As such, 'soft measures' were favoured: offering flexibility to employees in reconciling work and family life and promoting female role models in the top hierarchies of science. I discuss the conceptualisation of flexibility in the next section.

### **Flexibility as an individual-level solution**

Research participants brought up the issue of workplace flexibility as an appropriate way of enhance gender equality by 'informal means' in Estonian universities. The enabling of flexibility – more precisely, allowing employees some liberty to decide on when and where they work – was viewed as a significant and sufficient measure for enhancing gender equality in Estonian universities, where institutional gender equality mechanisms are lacking:

*Meelis, M (professor/management): The university, and particularly our institute, is a very good place for planning a family. If you work in the public sector and go back to work while caring for your child, you work from nine to five; you don't have a choice. In the cases of several people we have used this [flexibility] as a tactic. We said to them, we offer you much more flexibility. And if that is important to you, then we are very accommodating. I know that this is very important for some people. The academy may not be able to compete [with other workplaces] in many respects, but we can with flexibility.*

Typically, gender-neutral language was used in discussing the alleged benefits of flexibility, however the discourse is implicitly gendered, as it is primarily women who are expected to be interested in and to benefit from flexible workplace practices.

All stakeholders, including and especially early-career women researchers, viewed academic institutions more generally and their own universities in particular as flexible workplaces compared to other organisations, and thereby as more egalitarian:

*Marko, M (early career researcher): I think that the university is one of the few places where there is perhaps less gender inequality than in the country on average. It is a relatively secure and less ambitious career environment. ... The whole system is extremely flexible. It does not matter whether a man takes a free semester or a woman spends half a year longer at home with the child.*

Claims of gender equality were attributed by respondents to academia generally and to their own universities in particular, but without any empirical evidence to support this.

Flexibility was interpreted as family-friendliness, which, in turn, was equated with women-friendliness. The said flexibility was seen to benefit women in particular:

*Katri, W (early career researcher): I am no different. Among the reasons why I chose a part-time academic career was the opportunity to reconcile work and family life.*

The emphasis on individual choice figured throughout the interviews. The opportunity to work from home was seen as an attractive personal choice for women:

*Marko (early career researcher): I would say that perhaps in the social sciences women have an advantage when they can work from home. The child is already in childcare, but if for some reason women prefer to continue to stay at home, they can do their research in peace.*

In this excerpt, the respondent puts forward a masculine understanding of science as an individual endeavour, not as a collective accomplishment in which the central elements are networking and cooperation. This comment is a good example of how neoliberal academic subjectivities are produced through discourse.

As part of the general scepticism towards 'official' or institutional gender equality measures, the respondents favoured and expected individual approaches of an 'unofficial nature' over the implementation of flexible work practices, tailored to the needs of particular cases. The feasibility and appropriateness of an individual approach was rationalised on the basis of the small size of Estonia:

*Marika, W (early career researcher): What you can do is be flexible. In Estonia there are so few researchers that you can implement this on a personal level.*

The perceived flexibility and implied family-friendliness were seen as making up for the relatively low salaries that some segments of the academic workforce earn at Estonian universities, as illustrated in the following excerpt from a focus group interview with early career women researchers:

*Liina, W: I generally think that the university, like many other organisations, is feminised. The level of salaries means that mainly women come and remain here. This is because the salary is low...*

*Mari: But it is enough.*

*Liina: It is enough, and you have relative time flexibility.*

This is also known – or at least assumed – by university managers:

*Imbi, W (professor/management): I can share another reason why women might agree to be here. I mean, I have just talked to some of them. I don't know if this affects everyone, but they are willing to work for slightly lower wages compared to other places, but here you are relatively free to organise your time. Well, you just do your hours, and whether you do your research, whatever time suits you, is your own free choice. Or if you need a free day, you can arrange it yourself.*

*Interviewer: So you mean flexibility?*

*Imbi: Flexibility, and, let's be honest, a long vacation.*



In response to the perceived flexibility of the university, interviewees attempted to present themselves as employees loyal to their employer – for example, by accepting additional assignments and not placing too many demands on the employer:

*Selma, W (early career researcher): On the contrary, I am quite satisfied with the university in this respect. I took parental leave for both of my children. We [myself and my employer] have both made compromises: I have helped my department when they needed it and they have made some compromises regarding payments to me ... It was okay with them when I reduced my workload. They didn't stop this. And after the birth of my first child, they didn't say to me, 'you will likely have another child so you cannot come back' or something. I'm satisfied. Actually, the job of a researcher means that sometimes I can take care of my children at home during the week and write papers on weekends. The flexible schedule encourages this. In return, I guarantee that at this and that hour I am certainly available for teaching or at least I'll let them know if I am not and make up for it. I am not critical of the university in this regard.*

What was presented and valorised as flexible working hours and the opportunity to work part time is increasingly not a choice at Estonian universities for many academics, especially early career researchers, as many are not given full-time contracts. This is becoming increasingly uncommon today, as Estonian universities are forced to comply with regulations limiting successive fixed-term contracts resulting in permanent contracts being signed, but with only a select few academics<sup>7</sup>. This considerable limitation remained unacknowledged by the interviewees.

Flexibility was constructed as a significant gender equality measure that the university is already implementing, regardless of the fact that it is not an institutionalised measure nor is it collectively carried out. Its benefits were emphasised, without considering its possible downsides.

Notably, men were largely absent from this discussion around flexibility at the university. As Plantenga and Remery (2010: 79) note, 'as long as flexibility is still considered a "female" way of organising working time, flexible working time schedules are more likely to confirm gender differences than to change them'.

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<sup>7</sup> In fact, what had for years been presented to academic employees as a 'flexible' employment relationship by university managers was declared unlawful by the European Commission in 2012. In 2012, the EC gave Estonia two months to comply with EU regulations on the protection of workers in the academic sector. As of 2017, the process of implementing permanent work contracts is still on-going.

### **'Vulnerable' academic men**

Some scholarly attention has been paid to academic masculinities (see Armato 2013), including in the context of the neoliberalisation of universities (see Berg et al. 2014), and has drawn attention to men's 'unearned privilege' (Berg et al. 2014: 68) and 'enlightened sexism' (Armato 2013: 578) in academic settings. The findings that I present below contribute to the discussion of how male privilege and forms of (implicit) sexism are manifested at universities.

The interviewees were of the view that if attention should be paid to gender in academic contexts at all, then equal consideration should be given to the problems and specifics of men and their careers in academia, which were seen as at least as serious as women's. A good example of this construction of men in academia is provided by the following exchange:

*Interviewer: So, the second-last question. What could your university do to ensure gender equality and to enhance women's careers?*

*Liis, W (human resources manager): And to also advance male researchers' careers, to add to your question. In other words, what could be done?*

While the interview questions were centred on issues relating to the careers of women researchers and possible solutions, some interviewees attempted to reframe the topic, highlighting that men's well-being in academia is at least as important or offering examples of what they saw as the discrimination of men at universities. This discourse also signifies that the stakeholders – both women and men – did not see women in academia as at a particular disadvantage.

Gender stereotypes applied to men, such as pressure to work and earn an income, were seen as contributing to men's vulnerability in higher education. While the question of low academic wages was raised in relation to women and work flexibility, it emerged again in discussing academic masculinities. In this context, the low wages were seen as preventing men from assuming the breadwinner role expected of them. The situation was seen as discriminatory and unfair towards men:

*Liis: If we compare universities to other organisations, whether in the business or public sector, but particularly the former, then I think that universities do not discriminate against women. Rather, as universities are definitely not places where you go to earn a high salary, I would say that perhaps, if we talk about financing, the question is about discriminating men. In other words, if the expectation is that men have to support all those families that they will start during their lives, then ... it might well be that they will not choose a university career because the pay is*

*low ... So, if we talk about external funding from a gender perspective, I believe it can be discriminatory towards men.*

Another interviewee, aiming to make a similar point, presented a hypothetical situation where an early career male researcher becomes a father and is suddenly faced with the duty to financially support his family, likely resulting in him leaving academia completely.

Low salaries were highlighted as an obstacle for men's research and teaching careers:

*Imbi (professor/management): I know a lot of very qualified men who don't come to work with us because the salary is ... For example, I know several men working at the Bank of Estonia who would join us if the salaries were different.*

Imbi expresses regret that these talented men do not seriously contemplate a career in academia. Curiously, the same scenario for women never came up.

While the discourse of men's vulnerability in academia drew overwhelmingly on opinions and secondary anecdotal evidence, there was an instance where it was also argued on the basis of personal experiences:

*Marko (early career researcher): Well, I sometimes feel sad, as I am effectively this homespun lecturer. I am fulfilling some kind of in-between role at the university. At some point, a PhD graduate will come from some university abroad and start working here. But in the meantime, you have to keep this university going. Effectively, you don't have any bigger challenge. Those talents will come one day and take your job. And you have to accept it with a smile.*

In this narrative, Marko expresses his sense of inferiority and the perception that his job, career, and status at his university are at risk. He does not associate his vulnerable masculine academic self with the 'dominance of women' and 'women's preferential treatment' in academia, as expressed in several other accounts, but links his insecurity to the increasing globalisation and internationalisation of universities, and the implications of these processes. He feels disposable, awaiting to be replaced on any day by another academic with better qualifications.

The 'women-centredness' of Estonian universities as work organisations was emphasised, and implicitly seen as a disadvantage to male academics. This opinion was based on the gender ratio of academic workers. This observation was used to construct an argument according to which larger or equal numbers of women compared to men in academia means that gender inequalities do not exist or that women are enjoying some advantages over men in this setting. The organisational culture, particularly in the humanities and social sciences was thought to favour the recruitment of women:

*Lembit, M (management): It seems to me that attitudes have somewhat favoured women in recruitment practices at our university. I cannot claim whether this has been a conscious policy or that is just happened ... I mean, just visually, when I think about it, well above half of our employees, including faculty, are women. In the case of faculty, the principle of recruitment has been academic competence, and as we are dealing with the social sciences and humanities here, then, it has happened that in more than half of the cases these competent people have been women. So, we have not needed any targeted policy, but our organisational culture, in my view, does not exclude, but rather favours women.*

The discourse of vulnerable male researchers was occasionally extended beyond academia, seeing men as disadvantaged in the context of balancing work and family life, and women as in an advantageous position in various work contexts. For example, it was suggested that employers in Estonia increasingly prefer women employees over men, as the former are seen as more loyal and motivated.

There were calls for preferential treatment of men in certain respects:

*Luule, W (early career researcher): In many workplaces, women are in power, not in a bad sense, but perhaps in academia, we should apply affirmative action to men, to increase their numbers here. In my field, however, people do not enter academia because the working conditions and opportunities are significantly better elsewhere. Those who join the university are those seeking an alternative expression of the self or who have some kind of ambition to fulfil here. You won't go looking for your main job here. And this seems to be the reason why men, who compared to women have more material ambitions, do not come here. Or if they do, then [it's] those who want to become distinguished leaders in their field, and the university is a good tool for helping you reach the top and be seen as a leader. This is what usually attracts men to the university.*

As evidenced by the excerpts presented in this section, a particular construction of the masculine academic subject emerges from the interviews. Academic men are portrayed as vulnerable and fragile. This should be understood within the broader discourse in Estonian society constructing men and boys as victims of the education system. The popular discourse about 'failing boys' and 'fragile men' in the Estonian education system and about girls as the 'winners' in this context (Kuurme 2010: 263) was strongly (re)produced here.

The principle of paying equal attention to the concerns of women and men, advocated by the interviewees, resonates with the more recent directions of GE policy in the EU and also of the Estonian state to pay more attention to men in efforts to achieve gender equality. While this approach in principle does help

to highlight the relational nature of the categories of woman and man, the way it was presented by these academic stakeholders risks diverting attention from the specific problems that women are facing at universities. Furthermore, such conceptualisations serve to obscure the fact that in most spheres of public life, including in academia, women as a group are still more disadvantaged than men. The more or less equal ratio of men and women in higher education, used by some respondents to argue that Estonian universities are gender equal, however, de-emphasises other, more telling indicators, such as the gender wage gap, vertical and horizontal gender segregation, and various more or less subtle disparities of a qualitative nature.

## Conclusion

I started this paper by introducing and questioning some prevalent tendencies and assumptions in the literature on the neoliberalisation of the academia. Namely, I pointed out how neoliberalism is often treated as a totalising entity imposed from the outside on academics, who are seen as passive recipients and victims of the agenda of neoliberalisation. As my second starting point, I suggested that some key gender equality measures devised and implemented in EU gender policy and in several Western and Nordic countries might not function in post-socialist Europe, at least not in the same way, owing to local understandings of gender.

My aim in this paper was to bring these two points together by examining how key stakeholders at four major Estonian universities relate to three prominent conceptual focus areas and tools of GE policy: quotas, workplace flexibility (as part of work-life balance), and the role of men. I argue that the particular framings put forward by Estonian academics on gender and gender equality measures constitute instances of doing neoliberalism in university settings.

The findings suggested that possible measures to promote gender equality and equal treatment at universities, particularly quotas, were typically not supported. Resistance to quotas was based on arguments about individual freedom and autonomy. Quotas were constructed not only as unnecessary, but also as something more sinister: as externally enforced interventions that threaten the sacred autonomy of the individual and the organisation, construed as sovereign.

An implicitly masculine academic subjectivity was constructed in the discussion of quotas. In this, all academic achievement was individualised, while structural inequalities and gendered obstacles to academic careers were dismissed. While academic subjects or ideal workers in universities were implicitly masculine even before the transformation of universities, the restructured university with its corporate management practices certainly enforces this ideal.

Here, the relationship between the conceptualisations of and resistance to quotas put forward by the academic stakeholders and neoliberalism should be clarified. Central to neoliberal ideology, as to liberal ideology, is an emphasis on individual achievement and responsibility, while structural obstacles faced by ‘individuals’ are dismissed and collective efforts in human endeavours are downplayed. However, gender equality efforts stem from the understanding that some individuals experience disadvantages due to their structural positioning in terms of the category of gender (and other categories, if we take an intersectional perspective). Therefore, I understand the resistance to quotas by these academic stakeholders to be an instance of doing neoliberalism. In fact, thought of in this way, the neoliberal agenda seems to be fundamentally incompatible with feminist efforts to build gender equality.

Instead of quotas, less ‘aggressive’, softer measures were advocated. Flexibility was valued as a key characteristic of the university as an employer. This helps to create the illusion – particularly for early career women researchers – that they are autonomous academic subjects. The perception that the university offers considerable independence through flexibility discourages the expression of criticism of several negative attributes of neoliberal academia, such as increasing workloads, low wages, and the increasing burden of administrative tasks, which disproportionately affect women academics. These activities prevent them from contributing equally to research, compared to male colleagues. It is the latter activity, however, that is valued and measured in neoliberal academia, and that a successful academic career largely depends on. Furthermore, this conceptualisation of flexibility, favouring individual-level solutions and negotiations, without any collective policies, makes workers in academia vulnerable. It leaves academic workers, particularly women, at the whim of increasingly powerful university managers and creates room for exploitation, particularly in a context where trade unions cannot be counted on.

Certainly, compared to quotas, flexibility is a less politically charged measure for advancing GE. Flexibility as a tool for promoting GE is a more ambiguous mechanism than quotas and can lend itself to various interpretations and implementations, including those that serve corporate aims, as demonstrated here. Thus, offering flexibility is much more palatable to university managers than implementing quotas. It is an acceptable measure because it can be offered individually, in particular cases, conveniently avoiding collective measures and institutional intervention. The preference for individual agreements in specific situations leaves academics to face their employer as individuals and thereby renders them vulnerable. Encouraging individual negotiations (over salaries and working conditions), whose outcome depends on various factors, including how academics are positioned in terms of gender and other categories, does not help to decrease hierarchies and may instead exacerbate them. Despite being

implemented on an individual level and on a case-by-case basis, offering flexibility can be presented by university managements as significant 'equality work' (Adsit et al. 2015: 25) that the university is engaging in, without it in fact implementing any institutional change regarding GE in the university setting.

There was also an emphasis on the need to pay equal attention to the concerns of male academics, who were constructed as vulnerable, which is consistent with the broader discourse that portrays 'boys and men as victims' of the education system in Estonia. This conceptualisation of academic masculinities has important implications for efforts to build gender equality in the neoliberal university. What this effectively means is that men cannot be counted on as equal stakeholders or serious partners in gender equality commitments and in efforts to advance women's careers at Estonian universities. Indeed, as the findings imply, men, as vulnerable themselves, can hardly be expected to have a moral obligation to be involved in these initiatives. Therefore, according to this discourse, any preferential treatment schemes should include men as well. This effectively gives gender quotas a whole new meaning in the Estonian context, one that defeats their original purpose as a policy measure to mitigate structural disadvantages faced by women. In constructing academic men as vulnerable, the phenomenon of male privilege, and particularly, intersectional privilege (Aavik 2015) – as a structural feature – remains unaccounted for.

I argue that, collectively, these articulations constitute instances of 'doing neoliberalism' (Luxton 2010) in post-socialist university settings. In other words, academic stakeholders do not (just) reflect an already established totalising neoliberal framework, but in fact, discursively create and reproduce what we have come to understand and refer to as 'neoliberalism' in academia. This approach recognises their agency in creating neoliberal rationality. In talking about gender and GE measures in university settings, a neoliberal context was discursively produced largely through the reiteration of the notion of the individual who is free to choose – in this case, an academic entrepreneur – and the promotion of the ideal of the autonomous organisation. As such, any consideration of structural elements, such as gender, and the possible implementation of GE measures are seen as obstacles that get in the way of implementing 'real' research work.

Throughout this paper, I have collectively referred to the interviewees as 'academic stakeholders'. Yet, I draw here on empirical material collected from groups who might be expected to have at least somewhat divergent interests and discursive positions. As a surprising and significant finding, however, these groups – academics in different stages of their careers, managers, and administrative employees – in conceptualising gender and gender equality appeared to be doing collective discursive work to co-construct a neoliberal rationality in the university setting. Another crucial finding was that no significant gender differences could be discerned in these discursive

efforts. Further research should be conducted, for example, on the role of women in constructing and upholding the idea of ‘vulnerable academic men’.

It is important to note that the views put forward by the academic stakeholders on these three themes were not evidence-based. Yet, this does not mean that these constructions can be easily dismissed or that they do not have significant material implications. Discursive constructions, irrespective of their basis in ‘reality’, have material effects. By producing these meanings on gender and gender equality, some forms of action are legitimised and pursued, while others are ruled out and become unthinkable (Jørgenson, Phillips 2002: 5). In this case, these particular conceptualisations of gender and gender equality give rise to neoliberal subjectivities left vulnerable to exploitation. Indeed, with the university imagined as a collective of equally positioned, autonomous individuals, gender is dismissed as a relevant category in shaping academic careers. As a result, collective solidarity and action to resist the neoliberalisation of universities, where gender and other inequalities are increasingly rife, becomes a meaningless action.

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Dr. Kadri Aavik is a lecturer in sociology at Tallinn University. She has studied intersectional privilege and disadvantage, mainly in the context of the labour market. She uses and advances intersectional and narrative methodologies. Her latest research focuses on men and masculinities, gender and the neoliberalisation of universities, and critical animal studies. Contact email: [kadria@tlu.ee](mailto:kadria@tlu.ee).

# Marketing Difference: Two Teachable Moments at the Intersection of the Neoliberal University and Geopolitics

**Blanka Nyklová**

**Abstract:** This article looks at the effects the neoliberal university has on feminist pedagogy when it is practised in a programme that stresses geopolitical differences. The material for the study comes from my experience as a teacher of a gender studies class for a US study abroad programme based in Prague, Czech Republic. The richly researched paradoxes of doing feminist pedagogy in the neoliberal university assume firm contours when the geopolitical location of both those ‘teaching’ and those ‘taught’ becomes the focus and indeed the ‘commodity’ to be sold. In my article, I focus on my situation as a teacher in an increasingly precarious educational environment in the Czech Republic, exacerbated by the specific framing of the US-based programme and its economic-moral rationality. I reflect on the ethical discontents inadvertently produced by the teaching experience and related commodification of ‘difference’. I argue that the geopolitical context of that commodification is crucial for understanding the local forms and impact of the neoliberal university. The contested standing of gender studies in the Czech Republic, which has been shown to stem in part from the post-1989 developments, intersects with the reform of the Czech science system. By exploring how this setting affects the micro-level of class dynamics and lesson content I show that there is a need to study the repercussions of the neoliberal university as geopolitically located.

**Keywords:** transnational feminist teaching, commodification of education, feminist pedagogy, neoliberal university.

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Doing feminist pedagogy has been lately conceptualised as at odds with the changes introducing a market logic and highly individualistic corporate culture into the functioning of universities and research institutions (Alvanoudi 2009; David 2016; Gill, Donaghue 2016; Giroux 2002; Nash 2013; Pereira 2016; Sifaki 2016; Weber 2010). These authors use different concepts, such as university without walls, corporate culture, academic capitalism, and new managerialism to describe and analyse the defining aspects of the 'neoliberal university'. In relation to feminist pedagogy, which I will discuss here, a highly relevant aspect is the bodily and emotional harm inflicted on both teachers and students (Berg, Huijbens, Larsen 2016; Gill 2010), with most of the focus on rising anxiety levels. I understand feminist pedagogy as a form of political activity that foregrounds and fosters relations within and beyond the classroom while challenging the social status quo with a particular emphasis on gendered workings of power. Thus, physical and psychological harm perceived as stemming from the very setting where education is to be achieved logically leads to critiques of that setting and the search for possible ways in which to undo this harmful situation. This article is a contribution to these critical debates. I reflect on what feminist pedagogy and the relations it hopes to foster can gain from a focus on geopolitics as an integral part of the neoliberal university. I try to show this using the example of a US study abroad programme based in Prague, in the Czech Republic, as it makes the geopolitical embeddedness of the neoliberal university easily observable.

The study is based on an autoethnographic analysis of the sixteen semesters I have so far spent teaching a gender studies (GS) class to mostly US undergraduate students as part of a study abroad programme. The article is organised as follows: I first focus on the interconnections between feminist pedagogy, neoliberalism, and geopolitics. I then briefly summarise the local neoliberalising trends in higher education (HE) and the establishment of gender studies in the Czech academic environment and the geopolitical contingencies of this. I then proceed to focus on the methods and material used and the concept of a teachable moment within feminist pedagogy. After introducing two such teachable moments, I analyse what role the neoliberal university explicitly informed by geopolitics plays in them. I conclude by highlighting that a focus on the intersection of geopolitics and the neoliberal university through concrete, embodied examples makes it possible to find novel ways of practising feminist pedagogy.

### **Feminist pedagogy intersects with the neoliberal university and geopolitics**

I understand the neoliberal university less as a neatly defined term and more as an umbrella term denoting the effects of introducing market principles and their corollary types of relations into academia across the globe from centres in Anglophone coun-

tries. One of the most salient issues the term covers from the perspective of feminist pedagogy is the uneasy combination of neoliberalism with academic relationality and values. As Jeremy Gilbert (2008) noted, the relations to be found in an educational setting (teacher/student; peer/peer) are not easily reducible to the consumer/provider relation that he believes is the dominant type of relationality in a neoliberal consumer society that is striving to become a hegemonic one. For anyone invested in critical pedagogy and its feminist form, it is this new consumerist relationality that represents one of the key barriers to the perceived desirable outcome, i.e. the development of critical thinking in students coupled with social consciousness and sensitisation to the need for political action (Amsler, Canaan 2008). At the same time, however, as Amsler and Cannan (*ibid.*) but also Weber (2010) point out, it is an opportunity to think of new ways of teaching.

By feminist pedagogy I understand a teaching methodology that is based on consciously and reflexively building a relationship with and among the students, with an emphasis put on highlighting the workings of power in the given field of study and in the classroom in order to trigger political consciousness and possibly even action. Feminist teachers consequently tend to see their role and work as political (David 2016; Dever 1999; Felman 2001; Pétursdóttir 2015) and aimed at challenging the social status quo both within and beyond the classroom. This may entail challenging the dominance and knowledge claims of the academic environment, as it is not just the given disciplinary content that is questioned, but also the forms of instruction and their relationships of authority and domination, and the effort is to transform them (hooks 1994). Tension and the relevance of the material to the students' personal lives are seen as key for learning (Mei-Hui 2014).

Multiple authors have pointed out the discrepancy between the neoliberal university, which characteristically frames students as customers and teachers as highly dedicated (precarious) service/product suppliers, and the key characteristics of feminist pedagogy. The issues that tend to stand out are the market logic that deems demand to be the ultimate measure of the quality and worth of what is on offer. It taints the learning context and replaces education's significance as a precondition for truly full and conscious citizenship with self-enhancement that can be directly translated into an advantage on the labour market (Brown 2015; Giroux 2002; Weber 2010). Another issue identified as contradicting efforts at feminist pedagogy is when we find postfeminist attitudes running the show even in settings that previously seemed immune to them, such as classes in sociology (Nash 2013). Given the focus of feminist pedagogy on fostering actual relations among the students and the teacher, growing numbers of students also do not fit well with the small-group discussions that are at least partly modelled on US-based feminist consciousness-raising groups (Newbery 2009). In sum, the position of students in a neoliberal university setting is

characterised by '[c]ompetition, self-sufficiency and strident individualism – which are both the symptoms and disease of neoliberalism – [which] appear entirely at odds with the overthrow of power relations' (Feigenbaum 2007: 337). On the side of teachers, one's worth in academia is controlled by the constant auditing of one's output, in the form, for instance, of articles published in high impact journals. Both the position of teachers and students is thus framed by common principles understood as specific to neoliberalism. In order to understand them better it is necessary to point out the difference from classical liberalism.

Olssen and Peters (2005) note that the focus on competition, belief in the self-governing superior capacity of the market, and so forth, are not novel and can be found in classical liberalism (Olssen, Peters 2005: 314–315). The novelty comes from the new perspective on the state: once viewed in an utterly negative light for standing in the way of free trade and laissez-faire principles, it is now seen as the actor that is meant to create 'the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation' (Olssen, Peters 2005: 315). Thus, the state is reframed as the guarantor and maintenance provider of the conditions for a thriving free market. Since knowledge society is defined as important for the free market and production, it is up to the state also to oversee and guarantee that academia does its share in the process, that is educates malleable individualised forms of human capital (Berg, Huijbens, Larsen 2016).

What, then, does geopolitics have to do with this? Firstly, neoliberalism with its primary focus on economic profit-making uses inequalities that define the transnational economy. This is most clearly visible in the case of transnational corporations and their bargaining power, which is boosted by supranational political entities such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These entities use nation-states to implement policies that support their operation and neoliberalism as an ideology.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, inequalities do not stop at the economy. Rather, they influence and are influenced by the symbolic values assigned to specific geographic locations, which had the effect of dividing the world into hierarchical units, such as East/West, First/Third World, Global North/South, centre/semi-periphery/periphery etc. These values then directly and indirectly affect academia – for instance, in terms of which countries are seen as the 'centres' of knowledge production (Felt 2009; Stöckelová 2012). Actual analysis is prevented because the answer is purportedly ready beforehand ('because of the geopolitical location') and this gives rise to the danger of perceived difference becoming solidified in the form of entities that are then believed to have insurmountable ontological differences (Ang 2003; Cerwonka 2008b; Mohanty 1988). Moreover, such a reading of transnational relations obscures the actual

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Zuzana Uhde for pointing this out to me.

interconnectedness. However, that is not to say that the aforementioned divisions do not hold symbolical value and do not have actual effects that are observable and well documented in global academia.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, the preoccupation with the impact of neoliberal reforms on academic cultures often seems to rely on its manifestations in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia (Brown 2015; Weber 2010), which are seen as negative role models of sorts. Local developments are criticised as the most extreme examples of neoliberalism and it is assumed that they have a universal value, so that when neoliberal reforms are introduced elsewhere, outside their place of origin, they are expected to produce the same outcome.<sup>3</sup> Importantly, they are also believed to produce similar results, such as atomising and breaking up collectives, which prevents any possible (identity and common interests-based) opposition (Bourdieu 1998). In many respects, this is the case as policy-makers certainly look for inspiration abroad, yet the actual effects need to be understood as affected by local settings, including academic policies, but also the geopolitical location of any given case. Such studies can help us understand what future shape the changes may take. Analysing what happens when neoliberal reforms are implemented in places where gender equality is not necessarily a universally shared value can help us understand what may be coming to the places, from which the reforms spread in the first place. This may be especially so when gender equality faces erosion under political developments in the countries that initiated the reforms that make them 'negative role models'. This article seeks to show both the impact of geopolitically grounded neoliberal reforms on feminist pedagogy and the possible ways of coping with them.

The general setting of the material explored here is the internationalisation of higher education (HE), which is at present compatible with the concept of marketing HE as a path to self-improvement and increasing one's market value. While ideally an increase in the internationalisation of HE might be seen as contributing to the launch of a truly transversal dialogue in GS (Yuval-Davis 1994), the effects of internationalisation may be the opposite of what is expected. The stakes in internationalising HE are high, with ambitions to create a global university (Halangescu 2015) and guarantee the development of global citizenry (Gacel-Ávila 2005). At the same time, however, most authors note the instrumentalisation of education that affects how internationalisation is approached by national governments, which is directly affected by the neoliberalising

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<sup>2</sup> The effects of these divisions are, for example, the prevalence of English as the hegemonic language of academic production (Bennett 2007, 2009) or limited canons used in teaching gender studies (Hemmings 2005).

<sup>3</sup> In 2015, Gabriele Griffin gave a speech at the first RINGS conference held in Prague where she used the metaphor of a 'postcard from the future' to describe the upcoming developments in British academic assessment policies as what is coming globally.



tendencies. They stress the advantage of study abroad stays<sup>4</sup> in terms of increasing a student's marketability in a knowledge society (Teichler 2004). The context of internationalisation is of key importance here as the study abroad programme claims allegiance with both the promises – the market value – and the idea of the actual exchange of values that is more compatible with the idea of a feminist pedagogy.

### **The establishment of gender studies as an unintended consequence of the neoliberalisation of HE**

While public HE in the Czech Republic remains free of charge<sup>5</sup> it has undergone some of the changes associated with neoliberalisation, such as massification<sup>6</sup> (Šima, Pabian 2013, 2016) and precarious working conditions until teaching faculty reach the senior positions of reader/associate and full professor, which tend to come with a permanent contract. The local academic setting is characterised by mechanistic output-oriented research evaluation policies and a steep decrease in available institutional funding, which is largely replaced by competitive one (Linková, Stöckelová 2012; Linková 2016). The driving factor in the policies is that the quantity of output translates into state budget funding, i.e. the more an institution produces, the more money it obtains. This further contributes to neglecting HE pedagogy, as the policies do not stress HE pedagogy quality, and quality teaching takes up time that could be spent producing impact factor articles, patents, etc. (Dvořáčková et al. 2014). This directly contradicts the transformative, experiential learning-based aspirations of feminist pedagogy that gained new space with the full institutionalisation of gender studies (GS) in 2004/2005, when a BA programme opened at Masaryk University in Brno and an MA programme at Charles University in Prague.

The timing of the institutionalisation of GS is no coincidence: the faculties launched the programmes at a time when HE was undergoing massification, albeit after substantial pressure from feminist researchers and lecturers (Havelková 2009; Linková 2006; Pavlík, 2004; Václavíková-Helšusová 2006). The establishment of the programmes is not to be mistaken for an automatic recognition of the salience and

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<sup>4</sup> There are of course also other forms of internationalisation of HE, such as studying whole degree programmes in a foreign country or attending a branch campus of one's own university based in a different country as a way of extending the university's international presence (University of Oxford International Strategy Office 2015). Nevertheless, since the data for the article come from a study abroad programme, this prevalent type of international education determines the focus of the paper.

<sup>5</sup> Although some fees are in place for when the regular study period is exceeded and HE contributes to reproducing inequality even in the stage of the massification and universalising of HE.

<sup>6</sup> Given the political developments, reform started in the 1990s. The massification and universalising stage of the process of opening up the HE system to large populations of students reached its peak in the 2000s (Prudký, Pabian, Šima 2010; Šima 2013).

academic worth of the discipline on the part of the academic community. Moreover, institutionalisation itself is not to be taken for granted, as was shown by the fate of an earlier attempt to establish a GS programme at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University (Lorenz-Meyer 2004; Pavlík 2004). The precarity faced by GS teachers is thus manifold: it concerns the relatively low wages,<sup>7</sup> blurry assessment of their pedagogical input, and the uncertain status of their programmes. The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that gender equality and its benefits for society are still far from established within the public discourse, as research into social movements has shown (Císař, Vráblíková 2010; Císař 2008). This reluctance to acknowledge the merits of GS on almost all levels of society has been associated with geopolitically perceived historical developments and their interpretation, which frames emancipation as a matter of the past and feminism as an alien import (Hašková, Uhde 2009; Havelková, Oates-Indruchová 2014). The setting for feminist pedagogy in the Czech Republic is therefore characterised by fragile institutionalisation and the discipline's contradictory status both in academia and in society (Sokolová 2004; Václavíková-Heľšusová 2006). It is a result of a selective adoption of neoliberal university models together with a highly selective interpretation of local history informed by geopolitics.<sup>8</sup>

### **Autoethnography, feminist pedagogy, and the teachable moment**

The material that I analyse to explore the possibilities for feminist pedagogy that stem from the above-described setting comes from my eight years of experience teaching a general undergraduate class on gender in the Czech Republic (CR) and Europe at a US study abroad programme centre based in Prague. The programme is called the Council on International Educational Exchange and it has been operating in the international educational market with study abroad programmes since the late

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<sup>7</sup> Women academics comprise the majority of staff in GS programmes. Women academics' median monthly salary in the Czech Republic is EUR 1194 before tax. However, it is unusual, especially for junior faculty, to have a full-time job at a university so their actual salary is often lower. The data come from the Czech Statistical Office and are for 2015; <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/32846295/11002616A22.pdf/91cbc71e-5e1b-4281-b267-1f3c295d7f7be?version=1.0>, accessed: September 10, 2016. The average exchange rate for 2015 is taken from the Czech National Bank: [https://www.cnb.cz/cs/financni\\_trhy/devizovy\\_trh/kurzy\\_devizoveho\\_trhu/prumerne\\_mena.jsp?mena=EUR](https://www.cnb.cz/cs/financni_trhy/devizovy_trh/kurzy_devizoveho_trhu/prumerne_mena.jsp?mena=EUR), accessed: September 10, 2016.

<sup>8</sup> As Maria do Mar Pereira (2014) has shown, this situation is not exceptional and does not wholly determine the standing of the discipline of GS. Her study shows that the divisions that exist within the EU and posit Portugal as 'lacking' and needing to 'catch up' with the 'West' have resulted in the adoption of citation-based research metrics in science policy. This policy has somewhat paradoxically helped entrench gender studies as a discipline in Portuguese academia due to its solid English-language academic output (although without corresponding local academic recognition of the discipline).

1940s. After 1989, the programme established its centre in Prague and its website invites students to come to Prague to 'discover a society that is steadily developing while recently transitioning from a communist past'.<sup>9</sup>

Although it is officially affiliated with Charles University, a public university, since the students come from the United States they cover the costs of their stay with their own money unless they manage to receive one of the rare scholarships. In many cases the fees they pay for one local semester are higher than the fees they pay at their home university. The class usually has between nine and fourteen students who are in their early 20s, most of them white, cisgender women, frequently of Jewish heritage. Economically speaking, the vast majority of students come from the middle class, with a few from low-income families who mostly come on a scholarship. Given the relatively small class size guaranteed by the programme, I run the class as a seminar.

The material I use for the autoethnography varies. In 2011, I began keeping a file of the questionnaires that the students fill out at the beginning of every semester.<sup>10</sup> I also keep a file of my own observations and exchanges with colleagues about the programme, how it functions, and changes to it. I often make these notes at the mandatory faculty and academic meetings that take place before every semester. Another source is the changes I have made to the syllabus as a result of specific situations that occur in class: in most cases, these lead to the removal of texts deemed too difficult for the students to understand. Furthermore, I also use email communication with students, which is an integral part of the class, as well as numerous informal one-on-one and whole-class discussions, especially on the topic of geopolitical location.

I approach the material from an autoethnographic perspective (Ellis, Adams, Bochner 2010). An autoethnography combines the description of an insightful moment with an analytical approach enabled by the author's research training. Analysis and namely the capacity to link the epiphany to a general cultural phenomenon or show it as such distinguishes an autoethnography from an autobiography. While some claim the style of an autoethnography 'should be aesthetic and evocative, engage readers' (Ellis, Adams, Bochner 2010: 4), I am afraid this is beyond my capacities in a foreign

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.ciee.org/study-abroad/czech-republic/prague/>, accessed: September 10, 2016.

<sup>10</sup> At present, the questionnaire includes the following questions: What is your name and what do you want to be called in the classroom? Please provide your email address; University/major/s/minor/s?; Why have you decided to come to the CR/take this class?; How would you define gender?; What do you think people in the CR believe to be an ideal family (as to its composition)?; Is abortion legal in the CR?; Is the CR a religious country? What is the main religion here?; Do you think feminism is relevant today? Would you call yourself a feminist? Why/Why not?; What is neoliberalism and how does it relate to you? When you come across a word you don't know in a text, what do you do?

language, so instead, in part also because I am focusing on a rather abstract and complex issue, I strive to emphasise the analytical side of an autoethnography. In particular, I focus on specific localities and the geopolitical contexts and frameworks attached to these contexts in order to analyse the mutual influence of the above-mentioned position of gender studies at Czech universities, the impact of changes to the HE sector on the possibilities of engaging in feminist pedagogy as a study abroad programme straddling the Atlantic. The focus of an autoethnography *per se* is inevitably on the micro-level. However, the goal is to show the relevance of the concrete experience for our understanding of more general phenomena. Thus, my goal in using the autoethnographic approach is to show that concrete experience from the classroom may shed light on the workings of global phenomena, such as the insidious combination of specific geopolitics within the neoliberal university and the teaching opportunities the neoliberal university offers even to those invested in feminist pedagogy.

When aspiring to live up to the ideal of a feminist teacher, who keeps her students engaged and learns from them, and is highly self-reflexive at the same time, it is rather difficult to avoid self-doubt. What if they get bored because I am not able to start ‘that’ relationship with the class? How am I supposed to make students listen to and respect one another when six weeks into the semester some still cannot remember each other’s names? Why has he fallen asleep when the others seemed to really care? Is any teaching actually taking place?

The questions above hint at the frustration that seems to haunt the feminist teacher and threatens to strike anytime. Liz Newbery (2009) even talks about ‘surviving’ feminist pedagogy as she focuses on a situation where the tension could not be worked through and was experienced as a failure and violence. It is this possibility of failure, both in terms of not living up to the (self-imposed) expectations and encountering a breakdown that does not lead to learning, that makes the experience potentially emotionally draining. Moreover, the discontents of situations in which it becomes clear that one’s former students support sexual violence lurk as an even bigger threat (Bretz 2014).

As these issues are hardly new, the notion of a ‘teachable moment’ has been coined to refer to a difficult situation in the classroom that leads to actual learning (and teaching by default). It tends to be based on a confrontation of personal experience represented by the classroom. As Anna Feigenbaum puts it:

*The teachable moment is a disruption, a misfiring, a tangent, a digression, followed against the will of critical ordering, occurring in the vulnerable space which opens when the teacher re-envisioning student resistance as an attempt to escape. Yearning for more than the text, yearning for the text to be applicable,*

*yearning for knowledge to be produced elsewhere; this attempt to escape is not a resistance, a blockage or a refusal to learn. Rather, it is an attempt at encounter. Acknowledging the impossibility of thought being complete, in this encounter of student and teacher, knowledge is always becoming. (Feigenbaum 2007: 340)*

Thus, teachable moments occur when the teacher and the student/s attempt to actually engage with one another as embodied subjects. It is relatively easy then to see why teachable moments and feminist pedagogy in general are understood as at odds with the neoliberal university. The neoliberal university promises not to raise a citizen with critical thinking skills applicable primarily to her/his personal and political existence but rather a neoliberal subject driven by her/his endeavours in the labour market, which in the case of the study abroad programme is distinctly global and complex (Tuchman 2009).

### **The teaching/learning setting of the study abroad programme**

Arguably not all teaching methods I use in the course could be labelled as feminist pedagogy. I follow the assessment criteria designed by the programme and at times do not refrain from using the authority that derives from the hierarchical relation with the students. The relationality that is invoked in such a class cannot, however, be expected to follow a simple pattern, such as that of customer/provider. Thus, although the challenging of hierarchies and their backgrounds is crucial, there are unavoidably moments where referring to authority (one's own or of published authors) is both expected and beneficial (Gilbert 2008). Joint deliberation, whole-class discussions, sometimes led by the students, the possibility to influence the syllabus and classroom decorum, and most importantly an emphasis on forming bonds and personal connections still make up an important part of the class. At the same time, however, the geopolitical framing of the programme as presented in its official documents is heavily grounded in treating the students as customers who are presented with beautiful images of Prague and a list of things to see and do, but are also promised that they will 'grow ... professionally'.<sup>11</sup> Some of the students indeed openly (in class discussions of why they had come) acknowledge that the expectation that their education/degree will guarantee them good employment opportunities is the reason both why they enrolled in the first place and why they feel enormously stressed. A contributing factor here is the possibility to be awarded at least some scholarship in the case of an excellent academic performance, which leads students

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<sup>11</sup> <https://www.ciee.org/study-abroad/why-ciee/ciee-difference/>, accessed April 25, 2017.

to unprecedented pressure on their teachers to give them a grade A regardless of their actual performance.

As the bulk of the programme consists of area studies courses, the curriculum often capitalises on assumptions of ontological difference that stem from an acceptance of the Cold War discourse dividing the world into the distinct, hierarchically ordered categories of the developed, modern West and the modernising East that is trying to catch up (for a critique of this perspective on geopolitical relations, see Buden 2010, 2013; Kampichler 2010; Nyklová 2017). The geopolitical underpinning of the programme has been a stable focus of the class since 2010. The context is specific, for it combines a local academic setting characterised by low wages with a very small number of permanent positions, which come with requirements on academic standards and a level/type of performance defined by the corporate culture of the US programme headquarters (HQ). At the same time, the programme itself profits from the perception of Prague as being both safe and interesting due to its communist past. What gets marketed here is the perceived and thus co-constructed ontological difference between the CR and the United States that allows for an 'immersion' in and exploration of 'Prague', 'Czech', 'local', and even 'Central European' culture.<sup>12</sup>

The students' beliefs reflect the assumed insurmountable difference contained in the broadening horizons metaphor, including its implicit geopolitical power hierarchy. '*I came to learn about the region*', is how one student put it in a class discussion, paraphrasing the programme's website both on the first day of class and later in the semester. As the class covers various issues stemming from gendered social realities and relations,<sup>13</sup> the geopolitical power hierarchy is even more frequently implied by the expressed belief in the inevitable progress that will lead to policies and cultural change that are seen as 'advanced'. The hierarchy gets reflected in how students approach the study material, where difficulties with understanding are at times blamed on the 'difference' such as when one student wanted to make sure that Judith Butler '*is from here, right?*'.

To challenge such assumptions, in class we focus on the theorisation of location in relation to GS, highlighting the local long history of emancipation and feminist activism. Critical accounts of silencing, subalternisation, and unequal recognition of those on the 'periphery/semi-periphery' by feminist theorists of the 'core' countries seem to prevail in the theories of location and local influences of solidifying geopolitical

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<sup>12</sup> <https://www.ciee.org/study-abroad/czech-republic/prague/central-european-studies/>, accessed April 25, 2017.

<sup>13</sup> We cover topics such as reproductive rights, sterilisations, vertical and horizontal segregation of the labour market, globalisation of care, etc.

divisions (Blagojevic 2005; De Haan, Daskalova, Loutfi 2006; Gal, Kligman 2000; Loutfi 2009). Epistemological consequences of the different levels of dominance that are experienced and practised have also been studied (Phipps 2016; Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert, Koobak 2016), including issues regarding the im/possibility of cooperation across geopolitically grounded difference. This is relevant for the possibility of feminist teaching as a situated process, especially in a context that stresses – and capitalises on – an alleged difference, i.e. it to an extent copies the situation analysed by the mentioned authors. I now turn to two teachable moments that form the core of the autoethnography as they were moments where the belief in the ‘difference’ was successfully challenged.

### **Teachable moment 1: sexual assault**

In three semesters in the past three years, students approached me describing incidents of sexualised violence they experienced during their stay in the Czech Republic. These included incidents of verbalised sexual harassment in public spaces (e.g. in front of the programme’s building), on public transport, and in clubs. Furthermore, there were instances of groping both on public transport and at clubs. In one winter semester, a student approached me just before mid-terms to apologise for not being able to sit the exam as she had just been raped on her way from a party. This incident led to the most serious crisis for me as a teacher and nearly made me quit the programme.

Feminist pedagogy stresses the importance of challenging power hierarchies, including the teacher/student dichotomy. The sexual assault led to other dichotomies being challenged as well, namely the student/programme and teacher/administration dichotomies. Unfortunately, the case gave us ample space for making such a challenge. In the two months that followed the assault, I became the key faculty member with whom the student discussed her situation. This was partly because she expected me to understand aspects of her experience given my focus on gender relations and partly because she found that none of the members of the administration seemed to fully grasp her situation. There were instances of victimisation and misplaced blame, most brutally from the police, who refused to investigate and hinted that they believed the accusation was false, but later also from a psychoanalyst (!) to whom she was referred, and even in the attitude and approach of the administration of the programme.

Those two months were the hardest two months I have ever had to teach so far, although dealing with personal students’ issues has always been part of the job. The administration was trying to dissuade me from talking to the student about the incident and I increasingly felt my position was threatened by my repeatedly pointing

out instances of sexual violence faced by students.<sup>14</sup> I was told that ‘intercultural misunderstanding’ may have been behind these other incidents and despite not being the only teacher to ever teach on gender in the programme, no one else was consulted and I would have been completely left out had the student not approached me.

The incident taught both the student and me more about our situatedness and location than any reading alone could. While texts by Allaine Cerwonka and Chandra Talpade Mohanty are covered in my course, and when teaching on any issue I strive to find authors who do not ignore geopolitics in their writing, the breakthrough only came with the embodied experience of the assumed, ontological ‘difference’ between Czech and US ‘culture’ being used to shield the programme against its own teacher and student. In the case of the student, this was possible because the programme’s local leadership adopted the local highly stereotypical understanding of sexualised violence and this was further compounded by the leadership’s fears for the reputation of the programme, especially in the eyes of the US HQ. In my case, it was possible because of the precarious contracts and zero protections granted contract teachers by the university and the programme HQ. The whole situation made the intersection of sexualised violence as gendered violence with geopolitics and neoliberalism and its effects palpable for both the student and me.

## **Teachable moment 2: a death in the family**

In September 2014, my paternal aunt passed away. Although she had been to the hospital for the second time that year, her death came as a shock and was unexpected. Moreover, I was unable to see her in the hospital because on Friday I arrived from a demanding, week-long conference abroad, so I did not travel to see her on Saturday morning but decided to see her on Monday, when another family trip to the hospital was planned. However, we learned on Monday that she had passed away, so instead of a visit, the trip turned into funeral preparations. This event, together with the funeral, sent me down a path to depression, which lasted for almost a full year and made focusing on my relatively challenging academic job rather difficult.

The funeral was scheduled for the first day of classes at a time when a US-born teacher of English literature was appointed academic director of the US study abroad programme. The position is meant to deal with the academic aspects of the programme, such as supervising and evaluating teachers, selecting them and making decisions on the termination of contracts/courses. The management of the teachers was bureaucratised in a manner that incorporated some aspects of audit culture

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<sup>14</sup> One positive exception was a joint consultation of the students who were sexually harassed during their stay with the pedagogical advisor and me although it did not lead to a solution to the situation.



(Apple 2005; Gill, Donaghue 2016). The academic director came up with a page-long assessment sheet instead of the previous informal evaluation. The number of administrative tasks expected of faculty was increased, even though the teachers only get paid for the contact hours they spend teaching. An electronic learning environment was introduced, with training for teachers presented as an asset rather than as time that should be, but was not, remunerated. The programme is academically run by academics who mostly work on renewable one-year contracts.<sup>15</sup> The way in which the new learning environment and its mastering by the teachers was stressed made it clear a faculty member's position would be jeopardised if s/he refused to comply with the new conditions (as some colleagues indeed did). The stress the new system triggered in some teachers was substantial, unnecessary, and deeply unethical (Gill 2010). Moreover, despite the emphasis officially put on experiential learning, the programme did not address the problem of converging all the teachers' styles into a single mould, which clearly poses some issues for experiential learning.

Thus, as both my aunt's funeral and the very first day of class were approaching, I started to grow increasingly anxious as to what would be the right course of action. I realised that the academic director would not appreciate my absence on the first day and I was also concerned for my job, as it was clear to me that the students were expecting to meet their teacher for the first time. Moreover, the programme has an add-and-drop period in place, meaning that the students may drop a class during the first two weeks of classes. Thus, the first week of classes in particular is especially important for determining whether the course is opened (and you have a job) or not. As the depression had kicked in, I simply followed expectations and decided to teach the class after the trip from the funeral.

As a result, the teachable moment occurred on the very first day of class. The class was packed, as the rooms are small and 15 students are too many for the classroom. I arrived straight from the funeral, still wearing black. I did not start with the usual introduction and motivational welcome speech. Instead I looked around and spotted students I knew had come to tick off the mandatory 'gender class' box while abroad. I gave a discouragement speech, explaining why I came to teach on the day of a family funeral, introducing them to the concept of neoliberalism and precarity, and to repercussions such as permanent stress, health issues, sleep deprivation, and so on. The students were startled, but 12 turned up for the second class that week.

The short-term effect of focusing on the intersection of gender studies, geopolitics and neoliberalism as lived and embodied locally was that the class was marked by an intrinsic motivation to learn about globalisation, geopolitical location, and the students' own shifting position within. The long-term effect of that experience was

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<sup>15</sup> The only relative stability is in administrative positions.

that I ventured to make geopolitics, location, and neoliberalism the central frameworks for understanding gender relations as well as the students' own expectations of the class and the whole study abroad experience. Thus, at present, we focus on the politics of (paid) education and neoliberal reforms of research and HE institutions (Cerwonka 2008a; Evans 2004; Gill 2010; Olssen, Peters 2005; Pereira 2016; Readings 1996; Žarkov 2015). We try to define what neoliberalism is and discuss why the students take part in the programme. To do justice to the programme's goal, we focus on why many of the students understand the changes to the political and social realms, such as precarisation of work and life and increased demands placed on the state by the economy, described by Bourdieu (1998), as logical, inevitable, and de facto right and justified.

### **Localised feminist pedagogy in a neoliberalising geopolitical setting: what did we learn?**

Autoethnography as a method strives to arrive at an understanding of general phenomena from their micro-level manifestations. The two teachable moments presented above are approached and analysed here as just such manifestations. In this particular case, they should help clarify how a certain geopolitical location contingent on a specific, Cold War discourse-driven interpretation of the world order combines with the local neoliberalising university setting, and the fully neoliberal setting of the headquarters of the US study abroad programme to substantially affect the possibility of doing feminist pedagogy. At the same time, on a practical level, the two teachable moments present us with a chance to develop new, though hopefully less drastic, feminist teaching practice.

The US study abroad programme benefits from how some features of the neoliberal university have spread in several geopolitically meaningful ways. Firstly, the HQ are in the US and the standards used for making decisions about hiring a new teacher or retaining an old one are based on the standards of the US neoliberal university (Brown 2015). These stress, among other things, the need for programme faculty to regularly update their CV with publications and academic achievements, and faculty are reminded of this periodically at faculty meetings. The influence of these standards is also observed in how the CIEE prides itself on its continuous monitoring of the academic quality of the programmes on offer.<sup>16</sup>

Secondly, the programme benefits from the situation at Czech universities described above, as it offers a comparatively high salary, especially for teachers in the humanities and social sciences. Since the programme does not offer any research funding, it de

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<sup>16</sup> <https://www.ciee.org/study-abroad/why-ciee/ciee-difference/>, accessed April 25, 2017.

facto often parasites on local public HE. In order for teachers to have the required publishing record and inform their teaching with actual research, they either pay for their research with their own money or need to be employed at a public academic institution so that they are eligible for public funding, while the neoliberalising of local academia has primarily taken the form of foregrounding competitive funding, which is supposed to guarantee scientific quality.

Thirdly, geopolitics come into play when notions derived from the Cold War discourse dividing the world into 'East' and 'West' are used to market the location or as it gets called – the 'region'. Other aspects that are sometimes blamed on the very same division, such as relatively widespread sexism, do not get mentioned when marketing the programme as the 'region' is defined as safe and with a low crime rate. In class this is also manifested in how students associate certain locally observable social phenomena solely with the past, especially when those phenomena are seen as negative.

The described situation raises several issues for feminist pedagogy striving to challenge power relations as described by Feigenbaum (2007), which the two teachable moments show. The power relations to be challenged may come from different sources, so geopolitical divisions of the world and the abuse of transnational inequalities by particular actors merit the attention of feminist pedagogy. The first teachable moment shows the dangers implicit in the marketisation of alleged cultural difference or at least in marketing it as the only aspect of the programme with all other things being the same or even better than in the USA. The sexually assaulted student and I fell for this marketed version of the programme, which resulted first in frustration and then in the possibility to learn what the geopolitically informed neoliberal university actually feels like. Only as a result of this case did it become clear that there was no procedure in place to address this situation, but also that the programme did not want to use the case to prepare one.<sup>17</sup>

By 'falling for' I mean the expectations on the part of the student that the assault would be handled the way it would be in the United States. On my part, it meant the belief that the programme would have a procedure in place for such a situation. Instead, we were both reminded of the relativity of the customer/provider relation. While it might seem logical to expect the programme to meet the needs of the 'student-customer', the fear of her becoming living evidence of sexualised violence outweighed her value and turned her into a threat to the programme's standing with the US HQ.<sup>18</sup> This was further exacerbated by the highly sexist perceptions of

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<sup>17</sup> It was not until two years later that the programme introduced a procedure and appointed a member of staff to deal with students' psychological issues.

<sup>18</sup> Similar efforts have been observed in the United States, as shown in the documentary *The Hunting*

sexualised violence in the CR. I was reminded of the high precarity of my position when the assistance I gave to the student and the massive investment of my free time were not welcomed by the programme.

As a whole this incident makes it possible to understand the vulnerability and harm that stem from turning academic staff into human capital, as Berg, Huijbens and Larsen note (2016). It is the introduction of a specific customer/provider relation into the university mentioned by Gilbert (2008) that affects the possibilities open to feminist pedagogy, which has a responsibility for fostering equal relations. To some extent, these were actually boosted by the programme leadership, as the fact that I risked my position turned actions such as finding a different psychologist, meeting with the student regularly outside class, and meeting her mother, into political actions.

The second teachable moment highlighted primarily for me and then also for the students the concepts of precarity and of the neoliberal university as a set of practices, such as auditing, and the psychological pressures that result from this (Apple 2005; Gill 2010). At first this teachable moment seemed to be going against the grain of feminist pedagogy. Power hierarchies were not challenged, as Feigenbaum (2007), hooks (1994) and Felman (2001) call for; they were obeyed. They were in fact internalised and embodied, which on my part to some extent at least was due to more than just economic necessity, as some of my personal traits, such as anxiety, fit well with the tenets of neoliberalism, where every individual is responsible for turning herself into the best possible human capital (Berg, Huijbens, Larsen 2016). All this is further exacerbated by the precarious employment situation both in the programme and in the Czech academic sector.

This teachable moment resulted from a highly uncomfortable realisation of one's own embodiment of some of the power hierarchies a feminist teacher is expected to challenge. This realisation came about when I was returning from the funeral and it made it possible for me to present the students with a very concrete example of how neoliberalism has managed to extend its effects from a location that claims a superior geopolitical status, i.e. the United States. In response, the students were called on to reflect on their own situatedness and the ways in which the programme and their participation in it further the neoliberal university and normalise it.

The two situations may thus be seen as teachable moments because they managed to show the workings of geopolitics and the neoliberal university on different levels (personal, embodied, institutional, national political, transnational) demonstrated

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*Ground* (filmed by Kirby Dick in 2015) about the prevalence of sexual assaults on US college campuses. The main difference is that the study abroad programme did not have an explicit and publicly available policy for dealing with such cases at the time of the assault. The programme responded in a very 'Czech' way, as it is typical for Czech universities, including many Charles university faculties, not to have any policy in place.

in a concrete example. I see the setting of the programme as ideally positioned for exploring how the neoliberal university is situated and what use it makes of geopolitical inequalities. Moreover, given the power dynamic of the programme, it also makes it possible to explore the possibilities for a different type of relationality than that of customer/provider. As the two teachable moments both show, even the often frustrating context offers such possibilities. The two situations also show that it is not possible to do feminist pedagogy on one's own – the relations fostered before and after the situations only made the mutual learning possible.

### **Conclusion: why should we care?**

What I have tried to do in this paper is to consider what effect geopolitical location, combined with a neoliberalising local university setting, has on feminist pedagogy in a gender studies undergraduate class taught to US students at a study abroad programme headquartered in the United States. The situation of gender studies and feminism in the neoliberal university has received extensive attention since the late 1990s, as this special issue also shows. The specific situation and issue of feminist pedagogy forms whole panels at feminist conferences and has been lamented worldwide.<sup>19</sup> Some even see the neoliberal university as incompatible with feminist pedagogy as neoliberalism transforms the student–university relationship so dramatically that critical thinking and subversion of the status quo seem the least attractive options for students to choose. However, I have tried to show how the adverse conditions may contribute to the development of the actual 'encounters' called for by Feigenbaum (2007). These result in mutual knowledge development that may in turn lead to enhancing the curriculum and possibly changing it altogether.

Both teachable moments described above and the second one in particular, which led to an even stronger refocusing of the curriculum towards geopolitics and location, substantially improved the class. I can newly address the deep-set expectations the students arrive with partly also because of the marketing of the programme and some of its content. The local neoliberalising academic setting contributed to the massification of the student population, and that was at least partly what made it possible to establish new programmes such as gender studies. However, it did not lead to the creation of stable employment conditions and higher wages for junior teachers, especially for women, who make up the absolute majority of staff teaching in gender studies departments. In this situation, study abroad programmes for US

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<sup>19</sup> For instance, at the AtGender 9th European Feminist Research Conference - Sex and Capital in 2015, Panel 4 on Practicing Feminist Teaching focused exclusively on the issues posed by changing structural settings.

students present gender studies (and many other) scholars with an opportunity to teach their discipline for a comparatively very good salary. However, the working conditions of such programmes are ruled by the logic of the US neoliberal university, which is increasingly market-driven and approached as a business.

The course I teach in particular and writing on the neoliberal university in general are enriched by focusing on the specific setting and situatedness, which are made especially visible in the framework of internationalised HE. Gender studies as a discipline has been repeatedly criticised for its universalising approach to the subject of its study and for perpetuating and contributing to thinking about geopolitics in terms of difference and hierarchies (Blagojevic 2005; Cerwonka 2008b, 2009; Hemmings 2005; Pereira 2014). The refocusing of the class in question on geopolitics has allowed me to discuss and foreground the students' own situatedness and complex ethical position, things that otherwise tend to remain hidden as a result of, rather than despite, how the study abroad programme and its teachers are marketed.

Moreover, the experience of the two teachable moments led to my recognition that I need to take care of both myself and my students. When grappling with what neoliberalism means for the students, they come across the reasons for the decreasing quality of the education they and their parents pay so dearly for, which, perhaps paradoxically, is the driving force behind some of their newly discovered political activism. I believe this is a direct consequence of the adverse conditions that can trigger teachable moments in GS classes, for these conditions affect us all, albeit in very different ways. Geopolitical differences should not be taken for granted or considered irrelevant for our understanding of higher education. The contrary seems to be the case, as I hope I have shown here.

I would like to finish on a personal note. Although I am notorious among my colleagues for being the pessimist in the room, with a great capacity for presenting the gloomiest scenario possible for every situation, the two situations invite us to actively oppose and question the almost palpable anxiety, fear, and loathing of neoliberalising reforms in the academic environment. The teachable moments show that the dystopian conclusions of some texts criticising the neoliberal university and the geopolitical inequalities it ab/uses should not be taken as definitive. It was, after all, the students who understood that there are merits to students having a different type of relation to their teacher (and hopefully to one another) that go beyond the customer/provider relation. New teachable moments for feminist and critical pedagogues may thus arise when we focus on the intersection of the neoliberal university and specific geopolitical readings of the world order and actual power inequalities between different 'regions'.

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Blanka Nyklová has worked as a researcher at the Centre for Gender and Research at the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences since 2014. Her research interests include the Czech feminist scene, gender studies in the Czech Republic, the geopolitical dimension of knowledge production, and gender STS. She has taught courses for Czech public university programmes and for two US study abroad programmes that are both affiliated with Charles University. Contact e-mail: [blanka.nyklova@soc.cas.cz](mailto:blanka.nyklova@soc.cas.cz).

# Obchodování s odlišností: dvě pedagogické příležitosti na křižovatce neoliberální univerzity a geopolitiky<sup>1</sup>

**Blanka Nyklová**

## **Marketing Difference: Two Teachable Moments at the Intersection of the Neoliberal University and Geopolitice**

**Abstract:** This article looks at the effects the neoliberal university has on feminist pedagogy when it is practised in a programme that stresses geopolitical differences. The material for the study comes from my experience as a teacher of a gender studies class for a US study abroad programme based in Prague, Czech Republic. The richly researched paradoxes of doing feminist pedagogy in the neoliberal university assume firm contours when the geopolitical location of both those 'teaching' and those 'taught' becomes the focus and indeed the 'commodity' to be sold. In my article, I focus on my situation as a teacher in an increasingly precarious educational environment in the Czech Republic, exacerbated by the specific framing of the US-based programme and its economic-moral rationality. I reflect on the ethical discontents inadvertently produced by the teaching experience and related commodification of 'difference'. I argue that the geopolitical context of that commodification is crucial for understanding the local forms and impact of the neoliberal university. The contested standing of gender studies in the Czech Republic, which has been shown to stem in part from the post-1989 developments, intersects with the reform of the Czech science system. By exploring how this setting affects the micro-level of class dynamics and lesson content I show that there is a need to study the repercussions of the neoliberal university as geopolitically located.

**Keywords:** transnational feminist teaching, commodification of education, feminist pedagogy, neoliberal university

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Řada autorů a autorek začala v nedávné době vnímat protikladnost feministické pedagogiky a změn, které zavádějí tržní logiku a vysoce individualistickou korporátní kulturu do provozu univerzit a výzkumných institucí (Alvanoudi 2009; David 2016; Gill, Donaghue 2016; Giroux 2002; Nash 2013; Pereira 2016; Sifaki 2016; Weber 2010). Tyto autorky a autoři používají různé koncepty, např. univerzita beze zdí, korporátní kultura, akademický kapitalismus a nový manažerialismus, k popisu a analýze určujících prvků „neoliberální univerzity“. Ve vztahu k feministické pedagogice, jíž se tu zabývám, se ukazuje jako velmi relevantní aspekt i tělesná a emoční újma, kterou trpí jak vyučující, tak studující (Berg, Huijbens, Larsen 2016; Gill 2010), přičemž nejvíce výzkumného zájmu bylo věnováno nárůstu úzkosti. Feministickou pedagogiku chápu jako druh politické činnosti, která zdůrazňuje a pěstuje vztahy v rámci učebny i mimo ni, přičemž zpochybňuje společenský status quo se zvláštním důrazem na genderované fungování moci. Fyzická a psychická újma je vnímaná jako pramenící z prostředí, v němž se má uskutečňovat vzdělávání. To logicky vede ke kritikám daného prostředí a ke hledání způsobů, jak nepříznivou situaci změnit. Článek, který právě čtete, je příspěvkem k těmto kritickým diskusím. Soustředím se na to, co může feministická pedagogika a vztahy, jež doufá pěstovat, získat ze zaměření na geopolitiku jako nedílnou součást neoliberální univerzity. Snažím se to ukázat na příkladu zahraničního studijního programu pro studující z USA v Praze, neboť umožňuje snadno pozorovat geopolitické ukotvení neoliberální univerzity.

Moje reflexe vychází z autoetnografické analýzy šestnácti semestrů, které jsem doposud odučila v rámci kurzu genderových studií, který je součástí zahraničního studijního programu pro bakalářské studující pocházející většinou z USA. Struktura článku je následující: Nejprve se zaměřuji na propojení feministické pedagogiky, neoliberalismu a geopolitiky. Následně krátce shrnuji místní neoliberalizující trendy v terciárním vzdělávání a ustavení oboru genderových studií v českém akademickém prostředí i s jeho geopolitickou podmíněností. Dále se věnuji metodám a použitému materiálu i konceptu pedagogické příležitosti v rámci feministické pedagogiky. Po představení dvou takových příležitostí analyzuji, jakou roli v nich sehrála neoliberální univerzita, otevřeně prodchnutá geopolitikou. Závěrem chci zdůraznit, že zaměření se na průsečík geopolitiky s neoliberální univerzitou na konkrétních, vtělených příkladech umožňuje najít nové cesty pro feministickou pedagogiku.

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<sup>1</sup> Tento článek je českým přetiskem článku „Marketing difference: Two teachable moments at the intersection of the neoliberal university and geopolitics“ v tomto čísle. Vychází z příspěvku na mezinárodní konferenci RINGS a jako takový byl primárně určen pro zahraniční publikum.

## Feministická pedagogika se protíná s neoliberální univerzitou a geopolitikou

Neoliberální univerzitu nechápu jako úhledně vymezený termín, ale spíše jako zastřešující pojem snažící se pojmenovat dopady zavádění tržních principů a s tím souvisejících druhů vztahů do akademické sféry, jež vycházejí z anglofonních zemí a šíří se napříč světem. Jedním z nejdůležitějších problémů, které tento termín pokrývá z pohledu feministické pedagogiky, je rozpačité propojení neoliberalismu s hodnotami a typem vztahovosti charakteristickým pro akademickou sféru. Jak ukázal Jeremy Gilbert (2008), vztahy v prostředí vzdělávání (vyučující–studující; mezi kolegy/němi) se nedají snadno zredukovat na vztah mezi konzumentem/kou a poskytovatelem/kou, což je vztah, který podle jeho názoru dominuje vztahům v neoliberální konzumní společnosti a který se hegemonicky prosazuje. Pro kohokoliv se zájmem o kritickou pedagogiku a její feministickou odnož je to právě tento typ nové konzumní vztahovosti, co tvoří jednu z klíčových překážek žádoucímu výsledku, tedy rozvoji kritického myšlení u studujících spolu se sociálním uvědoměním a zcitlivěním k potřebě politické akce (Amsler, Canaan 2008). Jak ale ukazují Sarah S. Amsler a Joyce E. Canaan, ale i Brenda R. Weber (2010), je to i příležitost pro vymyšlení nových způsobů výuky.

Feministickou pedagogiku chápu jako pedagogickou metodologii založenou na vědomém a záměrném budování vztahů se studujícími a mezi nimi s důrazem na upozorňování na fungování moci v dané oblasti studia a v rámci třídy. Cílem je vzbudit politické vědomí a možná i akci. Feministické/čtí vyučující většinou chápou svou roli a práci jako politickou (David 2016; Dever 1999; Felman 2001; Pétursdóttir 2015). Jejím cílem je zpochybnění společenského statu quo v rámci učebny i mimo ni. To může vyžadovat zpochybnění dominance a nárokování si vědění ze strany akademického prostředí, protože feministická pedagogika zpochybňuje nejen obsah daného oboru, ale i způsoby výuky se vztahy autority a dominance, a snaží se je přetvářet (hooks 1994). Napětí a relevantnost výukového materiálu pro osobní životy studujících jsou vnímány jako klíčové (Mei-Hui 2014).

Řada autorek a autorů poukázala na rozpor mezi neoliberální univerzitou, která rámuje studující jako zákazníky a vyučující jako zanícené (prekérní) dodavatele služeb/výrobku, a mezi klíčovými charakteristikami feministické pedagogiky. Často uváděnými problémy jsou tržní logika, která chápe poptávku jako zásadní měřítko kvality a hodnoty toho, co se nabízí. Neoliberální univerzita tím poškozují kontext učení se. Zaměřuje smysl vzdělání jako podmínky opravdu plně uvědomělého občanství za sebezdokonalování, jež lze přímo přetavit do výhody na trhu práce (Brown 2015; Giroux 2002; Weber 2010). Dalším problémem, který je v rozporu se snahami o feministickou pedagogiku, jsou postfeministické postoje, které ovládají učebny i v prostředích, jež vůči nim byly zdánlivě imunní, například australské hodiny sociologie (Nash 2013).

Vzhledem k tomu, že feministická pedagogika klade důraz na pěstování vztahů mezi studujícími a vyučující/m, narůstající počty studujících jsou také v rozporu s předpokládanými diskusemi v malých skupinkách, jež alespoň částečně vycházejí z feministických skupin zaměřených na rozvoj sebevědomí v USA (Newbery 2009). Stručně řečeno, pozici studujících v prostředí neoliberální univerzity lze charakterizovat „[s]outěživostí, soběstačností a důrazným individualismem – které představují příznaky i samotnou chorobu neoliberalismu – [a které] se zdají být zcela v protikladu k vyvracení mocenských vztahů“<sup>2</sup> (Feigenbaum 2007: 337). Na straně vyučujících má být jejich hodnota v rámci akademické sféry kontrolována neustálými audity výstupů, například ve formě článků v časopisech s vysokým impakt faktorem. Postavení vyučujících i studujících je tak rámováno společnými principy, jež jsou považovány za specifické pro neoliberalismus. Abychom jim mohli lépe porozumět, je třeba upozornit na rozdílnost od klasického liberalismu.

Autoři Mark Olssen a Michael A. Peters (2005) upozorňují, že zaměření se na soutěživost, víra v nadřazenou schopnost seberegulace trhu atd. nejsou nové a lze je najít i v klasickém liberalismu (Olssen, Peters 2005: 314–315). Novinku představuje změna pohledu na stát: zatímco dříve byl vnímán jako ryze negativní, protože stál v cestě volnému obchodu a laissez-faire, dnes se má za to, že by měl vytvářet „vhodný trh poskytováním podmínek, zákonů a institucí, které jsou nezbytné pro jeho fungování“ (Olssen, Peters 2005: 315). Stát je tak nově chápán jako garant a správce podmínek, které umožňují vzkvétat volnému trhu. Znalostní společnost je vnímána jako významná pro volný trh a výrobu, a je proto povinností státu, aby dohlížel na akademickou sféru a zaručil, že do celého procesu odpovídajícím způsobem přispívá, tj. vzdělává tvárné a individualizované formy lidského kapitálu (Berg, Huijbens, Larsen 2016).

Jakou souvislost s tím má geopolitika? Za prvé, neoliberalismus se předně soustředí na vytváření zisku a využívá k tomu nerovnosti, které charakterizují transnacionální hospodářství. Nejjasněji je to vidět v případě transnacionálních korporací a jejich vyjednávací síly umocněné nadnárodními politickými subjekty, jako je Mezinárodní měnový fond a Světová banka. Tyto subjekty využívají národní státy k zavádění politik, které podporují jejich fungování a neoliberalismus jako ideologii.<sup>3</sup> Za druhé, nerovnosti se netýkají jen ekonomiky. Naopak, ovlivňují a jsou ovlivňovány symbolickými hodnotami přisuzovanými určitým geopolitickým polohám, jež stály u zrodu dělení světa do hierarchicky uspořádaných celků, např. Východ/Západ, první/třetí svět, globální Sever/Jih, centrum/semiperiferie/periferie atd. Tyto hodnoty pak přímo i nepřímo ovlivňují akademickou sféru – například z hlediska toho, které země jsou považovány za „centra“ generování vědění (Felt 2009; Stöckelová 2012). Nebezpečí takového

<sup>2</sup> Překlady v textu pocházejí od autorky.

<sup>3</sup> Chtěla bych poděkovat Zuzaně Uhde za to, že mě na tento aspekt upozornila.

vnímání světa spočívá v tom, že vnímané odlišnosti ustrnou do celků, jež jsou potom chápány jako nositelé nepřekonatelných ontologických rozdílů (Ang 2003; Cerwonka 2008b; Mohanty 1988). Takové chápání ale znemožňuje skutečnou analýzu, protože odpověď („kvůli geopolitické poloze“) je známa předem. Navíc takové čtení transnacionálních vztahů zamlžuje jejich propojenost. Řečeným ale nechci zastírat, že výše uvedená dělení mají symbolickou hodnotu a reálné dopady, které jsou pozorovatelné a doložené v globální akademické sféře.<sup>4</sup>

Opravdu se zdá, že zabývání se dopady neoliberálních reforem na akademické kultury často vychází z jejich projevu ve Velké Británii, USA a Austrálii (Brown 2015; Weber 2010), které jsou chápány jako svého druhu záporné modely. Lokální vývoj v nich bývá prezentován a kritizován jako nejextrémnější příklady s předpokladem, že mají univerzální platnost – to znamená, že pokud neoliberální reformy začnou jinde, předpokládá se, že nabydou velmi podobného nebo zcela stejného tvaru.<sup>5</sup> Je podstatné, že se také předpokládá, že budou mít podobné výsledky, např. atomizace a rozbití kolektivů, což vede ke znemožnění jakékoli opozice (postavené na sdílené identitě a společných zájmech) (Bourdieu 1998). V mnoha případech tomu potom opravdu tak je, protože tvůrci politik skutečně hledají inspiraci v zahraničí, ale reálné dopady je třeba vždy chápat jako ovlivněné lokálním prostředím, včetně akademických politik, ale i geopolitickou polohou. Takové studie nám mohou pomoci pochopit, jaké podoby mohou tyto změny v budoucnosti nabýt. Pokud jsou zaváděny v místech, kde genderová rovnost není samozřejmostí ani jako obecně sdílená hodnota, můžeme díky tomu pochopit, co možná nastane v místech, odkud se reformy šíří. Mohlo by tomu tak být zejména tam, kde je myšlenka genderové rovnosti nahlodávána politickým vývojem v zemích, které reformy iniciovaly jako první a představují ony negativní modely. Tento článek se snaží ukázat jak dopad geopoliticky podmíněných neoliberálních reforem na feministickou pedagogiku, tak i možné cesty, jak se s nimi vyrovnat.

Z obecného hlediska pochází materiál analyzovaný v tomto článku z prostředí internacionalizace terciárního vzdělávání, která se v současnosti snadno kombinuje s konceptem obchodování s terciárním vzděláváním jako formou sebevylepšování a zvyšování vlastní tržní hodnoty. V ideálním případě by rozmach internacionalizace terciárního vzdělávání mohl být chápán jako příspěvek ke spuštění opravdu transnacionálního dialogu v rámci genderových studií (Yuval-Davis 1994). Ve skutečnosti ale mohou být dopady internacionalizace přesně opačné. Očekávání vkládaná do inter-

<sup>4</sup> Dopady těchto dělení jsou např. převaha angličtiny jako hegemonického jazyka akademické produkce (Bennett 2007, 2009) i omezené kánony, které se používají při výuce genderových studií (Hemmings 2005).

<sup>5</sup> V roce 2015, profesorka Gabriele Griffin ve své přednášce v rámci první konference RINGS uspořádané v Praze použila metaforu „pohlednice z budoucnosti“, kterou chtěla přiblížit chystaný vývoj v britských politikách hodnocení akademického výkonu jako něco, co čeká celý svět.



nacionalizace terciárního školství jsou velká, existují i snahy o vytvoření globální univerzity (Halangescu 2015) a zajištění rozvoje globálního občanství (Gacel-Ávila 2005). Zároveň ale většina autorů a autorek poukazuje na instrumentalizaci vzdělávání, která ovlivňuje to, jak k internacionalizaci přistupují národní vlády, což je přímo ovlivněno neoliberalizujícími trendy. Kladou důraz na příspěvek studijních pobytů v zahraničí<sup>6</sup> ve smyslu zvyšování vlastní prodejnosti ve znalostní společnosti (Teichler 2004). Kontext internacionalizace je pro stávající studii podstatný, protože tento studijní program se hlásí k oběma slibům – slibu navýšení vlastní tržní hodnoty i myšlenky skutečné výměny hodnot, která se snaže kombinuje s myšlenkou feministické pedagogiky.

### **Ustavení oboru genderových studií jako nezamýšlený důsledek neoliberalizace terciárního vzdělávání**

I když terciární vzdělávání zůstává v České republice nezaplatněno,<sup>7</sup> prošlo některými změnami spojovanými s neoliberalizací, jako je masifikace<sup>8</sup> (Šima, Pabian 2013, 2017) a překérní pracovní podmínky pro akademické pracující před dosažením docentského titulu, který bývá častěji spojován se smlouvou na dobu neurčitou. Pro místní akademické prostředí jsou charakteristické mechanistické politiky hodnocení s důrazem na publikační výstup a prudký pokles institucionálního financování, které bylo do značné míry nahrazeno projektovým financováním (Linková, Stöckelová 2012; Linková 2017). Principem politik je to, že objem výstupů se překlápí do financování poskytovaného ze státního rozpočtu, což znamená, že čím více výstupů instituce vyprodukuje, tím více peněz obdrží. Tato praxe dále přispívá k zanedbávání terciární pedagogiky, neboť politiky nekladou důraz na kvalitu tohoto vzdělávání, přičemž kvalitní výuka zabírá čas, který by se dal využít psaním článků do časopisů s vysokým impakt faktorem, patentů atd. (Dvořáčková et al. 2014). Je zde patrný rozpor s transformativním, na zkušenosti založeným učením typickým pro feministickou pedagogiku, která získala prostor v souvislosti s plnou institucionalizací genderových studií v letech 2004/2005,

<sup>6</sup> Internacionalizace terciárního vzdělávání může samozřejmě nabývat i jiných podob, například jako studium celých programů vedoucích k získání vysokoškolského titulu v zahraničí nebo studium na pobočce vlastní univerzity v jiné zemi, kam se rozšířila ve snaze zvýšit svou mezinárodní viditelnost (University of Oxford International Strategy Office 2015). Nicméně vzhledem k tomu, že materiál pro tento článek pochází ze zahraničního studijního programu, tento převládající typ mezinárodního vzdělávání určuje i zaměření článku.

<sup>7</sup> Přesto jsou v systému terciárního vzdělávání poplatky, především pokud studující překročí očekávanou délku studia; terciární vzdělávání tak přispívá k reprodukci nerovností i v době jeho masifikace a univerzalizace.

<sup>8</sup> Reforma začala v 90. letech 20. století pod vlivem politického vývoje. Fáze masifikace a univerzalizace otevírání terciárního vzdělávání široké skupině studujících dosáhla vrcholu v nultých letech 21. století (Prudký, Pabian, Šima 2010; Šima 2013).

kdy byl otevřen bakalářský program na brněnské Masarykově univerzitě a magisterský program na Karlově univerzitě v Praze.

Načasování institucionalizace genderových studií není náhodné: obě fakulty zahájily programy v době masifikace, byť po silném tlaku feministických výzkumnic/ků a vysokoškolských vyučujících (Havelková 2009; Linková 2006; Pavlík 2004; Václavíková-Heľšusová 2006). Ustavení těchto programů není možné zaměřovat za automatické uznání významu a akademické hodnoty disciplíny ze strany akademické obce. Samotnou institucionalizaci nelze považovat za danost, jak ukázal osud ranějšího pokusu založit program genderových studií na Filozofické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy (Lorenz-Meyer 2004; Pavlík 2004). Prekérnost vyučujících genderových studií je tedy různorodá: týká se relativně nízkých mezd,<sup>9</sup> nejasného hodnocení jejich pedagogického výkonu i nejisté pozice samotných programů. Celou situaci dále zhoršuje skutečnost, že genderová rovnost a její společenský přínos nejsou ani zdaleka pevnou součástí veřejného diskursu, jak ukázal výzkum sociálních hnutí (Císař, Vráblíková 2010; Císař 2008). Neochota uznat přínos genderových studií na téměř všech společenských úrovních bývá spojována s geopoliticky vnímanými dějinnými procesy a jejich interpretací, která pojímá emancipaci jako věc minulosti a feminismus jako cizí import (Hašková, Uhde 2009; Havelková, Oates-Indruchová 2014). Pro prostředí, v němž se nachází feministická pedagogika v ČR, je tedy charakteristická křehká institucionalizace a rozporuplný status oboru v rámci akademické sféry i ve společnosti (Sokolová 2004; Václavíková-Heľšusová 2006). Jedná se o výsledek výběrového přijetí modelů neoliberalní univerzity spolu s vysoce výběrovou, geopoliticky podmíněnou interpretací místních dějin.<sup>10</sup>

## Autoetnografie, feministická pedagogika a pedagogická příležitost

Analytický materiál, který používám pro zmapování možností feministické pedagogiky, jež vyplývají z výše popsané situace, pochází z mé osmileté pedagogické práce jako lektorky úvodního kurzu o genderu v ČR a Evropě v rámci zahraničního studijní-

<sup>9</sup> Akademicky představují většinu zaměstnanců programů genderových studií. Medián platu akademiček na VŠ je 32 241 Kč hrubého. Je nicméně neobvyklé, především pro akademicky mladší pracovníky/ice, mít na univerzitě plný úvazek, takže reálná mzda je často nižší. Čísla čerpám z přehledu Českého statistického úřadu a vztahují se k roku 2015; <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/32846295/11002616A22.pdf/91cbc71e-5e1b-4281-b267-1f3c295d7f7be?version=1.0>. Navštíveno 10. září 2016.

<sup>10</sup> Jak ukazuje Maria do Mar Pereira (2014), podobná situace není výjimečná a neurčuje zcela postavení oboru genderových studií. Její studie ukazuje, že rozdíly, které panují v EU a vykreslují Portugalsko jako zemi, které se v řadě ohledů „nedostává“ a která potřebuje „dohnat“ „Západ“, vedla k přijetí vědecké politiky založené na metodice přihlížející k citačnímu indexu. Tato politika pak poněkud paradoxně pomohla ustavit genderová studia jako obor v portugalském akademickém prostředí díky jejich silné akademické produkci v angličtině (i když to nevedlo k odpovídajícímu místnímu akademickému uznání disciplíny).

ho programu s centrálou v USA, který má jedno z center v Praze. Program působí na mezinárodním trhu se vzděláním již od konce 40. let 20. století. Po roce 1989 tento program založil centrum v Praze a jeho webová stránka zve studující do Prahy, aby „objevili společnost, která se soustavně rozvíjí po nedávném přechodu z komunistické minulosti“.<sup>11</sup>

I když je program oficiálně přidružený k veřejné Karlově univerzitě, studující si coby občané/ky USA většinu nákladů hradí sami, pokud se jim nepodaří dostat jedno ze stipendií. V mnoha případech jsou tak poplatky, které platí za jeden semestr v Praze, vyšší, než by zaplatili na své domovské univerzitě. Moje třída mívá mezi devíti a čtrnácti studujícími, jimž je kolem dvaceti let, jsou to většinou cisgender ženy, často židovského původu. Většina studujících pochází ze střední třídy, přičemž se občas objevují i studující z nižší střední třídy, kteří většinou přijíždějí díky stipendiu. Vzhledem k relativně nízkému počtu studujících vedu kurz formou semináře.

Materiál, který vstupuje do překládané autoetnografie, je rozmanitého původu. Od roku 2011 si vedu složku s dotazníky, jež studující vyplňují na začátku každého semestru.<sup>12</sup> Kromě toho si vedu anonymizovanou složku s postřehy a výměnami s kolegy/němi o fungování a proměnách programu. Často si dělám poznámky na povinných setkáních pro vyučující, která se pořádají před každým semestrem. Další zdroj představují změny sylabu, k nimž jsem přistoupila po konkrétních situacích, které se odehrály ve třídě: ve většině případů vedou k odstranění textů, jež se zdají být pro studující příliš složité. Používám i anonymizovanou e-mailovou komunikaci se studujícími, která je integrální součástí kurzu stejně jako početné individuální i skupinové debaty se studujícími, obzvláště na téma geopolitické lokace.

K materiálu přistupuji z etnografické perspektivy (Ellis, Adams, Bochner 2010). Autoetnografie kombinuje popis okamžiku, který umožnil pronikavý postřeh, s analytickým přístupem podmíněným výzkumným vzděláním autora/ky. Analýza a zejména schopnost spojit náhlé pochopení obecného kulturního jevu odlišuje autoetnografii od autobiografie. Od stylu psaní autoetnografie se odlišují, protože by „měl být estetický a vyvolávající [pocity, asociace], zaujmout čtenáře/ky“ (Ellis, Adams, Bochner 2010: 4), což se obávám, je mimo mé schopnosti v cizím jazyce. Namísto toho se snažím zdůraznit analytickou stránku autoetnografie, zejména proto, že se zabývám relativně abstraktním a složitým problémem. Soustředím se na specifická místa a jejich geo-

<sup>11</sup> Viz <https://www.ciee.org/study-abroad/czech-republic/prague/>. Navštíveno: 10. září 2016.

<sup>12</sup> V současnosti dotazník obsahuje tyto otázky: Jak se jmenujete a jak vám máme ve třídě říkat? Jaká je vaše e-mailová adresa? Hlavní/vedlejší zaměření? Proč jste se rozhodl/a přijet do ČR/zapsat se do tohoto kurzu? Jak byste definoval/a gender? Co si myslíte, že lidé v ČR považují za ideální rodinu (co se složení týče)? Je v ČR legální potrat? Je česká populace nábožensky založená? Jaké je v ČR hlavní náboženství? Myslíte si, že je dnes feminismus relevantní? Označil/a byste se za feminist/k/u? Proč? Proč ne? Co je neoliberalismus a jak se vás dotýká? Když v textu narazíte na slovo, kterému nerozumíte, co uděláte?

politický kontext a rámce, které se s nimi spojují, abych mohla analyzovat vzájemné souvislosti výše popsané pozice genderových studií na českých univerzitách a dopady změn v rámci terciárního vzdělávání na možnosti zabývat se feministickou pedagogikou v rámci zahraničního programu, který působí na obou stranách Atlantiku. Autoetnografie se ze své podstaty soustředí na mikroúroveň. Jejím cílem ale je ukázat relevanci konkrétní zkušenosti pro naše chápání obecnějších jevů. Autoetnografický přístup jsem zvolila proto, že jsem chtěla ukázat, že konkrétní zkušenost z učebny může osvětlit fungování globálních jevů, jako je záludná kombinace specifické geopolitiky s neoliberální univerzitou a pedagogické příležitosti, jež tato kombinace nabízí lidem, kteří se věnují feministické pedagogice.

Pokud se snažíte dostat ideálu feministické učitelky, která udržuje své studující zaujaté a učí se od nich a zároveň je sebereflexivní, je těžké vyhnout se určitým pochybnostem. Co když se nudí, protože nejsem schopná s nimi navázat ten „správný“ vztah? Jak mám přimět studující, aby se poslouchali navzájem a respektovali se, když si ještě po šesti týdnech někteří nepamatují, jak se kdo jmenuje? Proč usnul, když se zdálo, že ostatní to opravdu zajímá? Učí se tu vůbec někdo něco?

Výše uvedené otázky naznačují frustraci, která patrně pronásleduje feministické vyučující a může se kdykoliv projevit. Liz Newbery (2009) dokonce mluví o „přežívání“ feministické pedagogiky, neboť se zaměřuje na situaci, v níž se nepodařilo napětí zpracovat, a vnímala ji tak jako neúspěch a násilí. Je to právě možnost neúspěchu, jak ve smyslu nedostání (vlastním) očekáváním, tak ve smyslu vzniklé překážky, kterou se nepodaří zpracovat tak, aby vedla k učení, co činí feministickou pedagogiku potenciálně vyčerpávající. Jako ještě závažnější se ukazují situace, kdy vyjde najevo, že naši bývalí studující podporují sexualizované násilí (Bretz 2014).

Protože podobné zkušenosti rozhodně nejsou novinkou, začal se používat pojem „teachable moment“, který zde pro snazší srozumitelnost překládám jako „pedagogická příležitost“. Popisuje složitou nebo nepříjemnou situaci v učebně, jež vede ke skutečnému učení. Tento pojem bývá nejčastěji založen na konfrontaci osobní zkušenosti ve třídě. Anna Feigenbaum k tomu říká:

„Pedagogická příležitost je okamžikem narušení, minutí se, úkroku, odbočení, kterému se věnujeme navzdory logickému uspořádání výuky a který se objevuje v okamžiku zranitelnosti, jenž nastává, když vyučující dokáže přerámovat odpor kladený studujícími jako pokus o útěk. Touha po něčem víc, než je text, touha po tom, aby se text dal prakticky použít, touha po tom, aby vědění vznikalo jinde; takový pokus o útěk není odporem, překážkou nebo odmítnutím něco se naučit. Jde spíše o pokus setkat se. Přiznání toho, že myšlení nemůže nikdy být hotové, ukončené, protože v setkání studujícího a vyučujícího je vědění vždy ve stavu stávání se.“ (Feigenbaum 2007: 340)

Podobné příležitosti se tedy naskýtají, když se vyučující a studující pokusí o skuteč-

nou komunikaci mezi sebou jako vtělenými subjekty. Díky tomu je poměrně zřejmé, proč se pedagogické příležitosti a obecněji feministická pedagogika zdají být nekompatibilní s neoliberalní univerzitou. Neoliberalní univerzita totiž neslibuje, že vychová občana/ku se schopností kriticky myslet, kterou by mohl/a použít k uchopení vlastní politické existence, ale spíše neoliberalní subjekt poháněný vlastními činy na – v případě zahraničního studijního programu jednoznačně globálním a složitým – pracovním trhu (Tuchman 2009).

### **Prostředí výuky a učení zahraničního studijního programu**

Ne všechny učební metody, které v kurzu používám, lze označit za feministickou pedagogiku. Respektuji hodnotící kritéria navržená programem a občas se nezříkám použití autority, která plyne z hierarchického vztahu se studujícími. Vztahovost, jež v takové třídě vzniká, ale nesleduje jednoduchý vzorec, jako vztah mezi zákazníkem/ poskytovatelem služby nebo zboží. Ačkoliv je tedy zpochybňování hierarchií a jejich pozadí zásadní, nezbytně nastávají situace, v nichž je odvolání se na autoritu (ať už svou vlastní nebo autorek/ů odborných textů) očekáváno a je prospěšné (Gilbert 2008). Společné přemýšlení, diskuse v rámci celé třídy, které někdy vedou sami studující, možnost ovlivnit syllabus a způsob fungování třídy a především důraz kladený na vytváření osobních vztahů přesto tvoří důležitou součást hodin. Zároveň ale geopolitické rámování celého programu tak, jak se objevuje v jeho oficiálních dokumentech, silně vychází z přístupu ke studujícím jako k zákazníkům, jimž se nenabízejí jen krásné obrázky Prahy a seznam věcí, které mohou vidět a dělat, ale také přísliby toho, že „profesionálně porostou“.<sup>13</sup> Někteří ze studujících pak opravdu otevřeně (v diskusích ve třídě o tom, proč přijeli) uvádějí, že očekávají, že jim jejich vzdělání/titul zaručí dobré pracovní příležitosti. To je pro ně důvod, proč se vůbec ke studiu přihlásili i proč pociťují vysokou úroveň stresu. Ke stresu přispívá možnost získat alespoň nějaké stipendium v případě vynikajících studijních výsledků, což vede k nebývalému tlaku, který studující vyvíjejí na vyučující ve snaze získat nejlepší výsledky i bez ohledu na skutečný studijní výkon.

Protože většina kurzů v rámci programu spadá pod teritoriální studia, učební plány často těží z představ o ontologickém rozdílu, který plyne z přijetí diskursu studené války, jež rozděluje svět na jasně ohraničené, hierarchicky uspořádané kategorie rozvinutého, moderního Západu a modernizujícího se, dohánějícího Východu (pro kritiku tohoto pohledu na geopolitické vztahy viz Buden 2010, 2013; Kampichler 2010; Nyklová 2017). Právě na geopolitické pozadí programu se můj kurz zaměřuje od roku 2010. Kontext kurzu je specifický, neboť kombinuje místní akademické pro-

<sup>13</sup> Viz <https://www.ciee.org/study-abroad/why-ciee/ciee-difference/>. Navštíveno 25. dubna 2017.

středí poznamenané nízkými platy a nedostatkem stálých pracovních pozic s nároky na akademický standard a výkon, které vyžaduje korporátní kultura ústředí programu v USA. Zároveň program těží z vnímání Prahy jako bezpečného města a místa zajímavého kvůli jeho komunistické minulosti. Tím, co se zde prodává, je vnímaná, a tedy spoluvytvářená ontologická odlišnost ČR a USA, která umožňuje „ponoření se do“ „pražské“, „české“, „místní“, a dokonce i „středoevropské“ kultury a umožňuje i jejich objeovávání.<sup>14</sup>

Představy studujících odrážejí předpoklad nepřekonatelné odlišnosti, kterou obsahuje i metafora rozšiřování obzorů s její implicitní geopolitickou mocenskou hierarchií. „*Přišla jsem se sem poučit o regionu,*“ jak to podala jedna studentka v parafrázi obsahu webové stránky programu jak na první hodině, tak později v průběhu semestru. Protože se kurz zaměřuje na různé problémy, jež vycházejí z genderované sociální skutečnosti a vztahů, hierarchie se ještě častěji objevuje ve víře v nevyhnutelný pokrok, který povede k politikám a kulturnímu přerodu k „rozvinutosti“. Hierarchie se projevuje v tom, jak se studující vztahují ke studijnímu materiálu v případě, že mají potíže mu porozumět – občas nesrozumitelnost svádějí na „odlišnosti“, jako v případě, kdy se studentka potřebovala ujistit, že Judith Butler „*je odsud, že ano?*“

Abychom takové předpoklady narušili, zaměříme se v kurzu na teoretické uchopení místa ve vztahu k genderovým studiím, přičemž se soustředíme na dlouhou místní historii emancipace a feministického aktivismu. V teoriích místa a pojednáních o místních vlivech na utužení geopolitických dělení převládá kritika umlčování, podřizování a nerovného uznání těch, kdo se nacházejí na „periferii/semiperiferii“. Kritika směřuje především k feministickým teoretičkám ze zemí „centra“ (Blagojevic 2005; De Haan, Daskalova, Loutfi 2006; Gal, Kligman 2000; Loutfi 2009). Epistemologické dopady těchto nerovností, které jsou zakoušeny a uplatňovány na různých úrovních, byly také podrobeny studiu (Phipps, 2016; Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert, Koobak, 2016), včetně otázek týkajících se ne/možnosti spolupráce z důvodu geopolitické odlišnosti. To všechno je důležité pro zvážení možnosti feministické pedagogiky jako situovaného procesu, a to především v kontextu, který zdůrazňuje údajnou odlišnost a těží z ní. Do určité míry tak kopíruje situaci, již rozebírají právě uvedené autorky. V následujících dvou sekcích článku představím dvě „pedagogické příležitosti“, které tvoří jádro této autoetnografie, neboť se jednalo o okamžiky, kdy byla úspěšně narušena právě víra v tuto „odlišnost“.

<sup>14</sup> Viz <https://www.ciee.org/study-abroad/czech-republic/prague/central-european-studies/>. Navštíveno 25. dubna 2017.

## Pedagogická příležitost 1: Znásilnění

V třech semestrech během posledních tří let se na mne obracely studentky, které popisovaly sexualizované násilí, jemuž byly vystaveny během pobytu v ČR. Šlo o případy slovního sexuálního obtěžování na veřejnosti (např. před budovou studijního programu), v prostředcích MHD a v klubech. Dále se vyskytly případy osahávání v MHD a v klubech. Jednou v zimním semestru za mnou přišla studentka těsně před písemným testem uprostřed semestru, aby se omluvila, že nebude moci test napsat, protože byla znásilněna cestou z večíрку. Tato událost vedla k jedné z nejvážnějších krizí pro mne coby vyučující a málem jsem kvůli ní z programu odešla.

Feministická pedagogika zdůrazňuje význam zpochybňování mocenských hierarchií včetně dichotomie vyučující/studující. Znásilnění studentky také vedlo ke zpochybnění dalších dichotomií, především těch, které určují vztah mezi studující a programem a mezi vyučující a vedením programu. Daný případ nám naneštěstí poskytl spoustu prostoru pro podobné zpochybňování. Během dvou měsíců po znásilnění jsem se stala tou vyučující, se kterou se studentka bavila o své situaci. Vyplynulo to částečně z toho, že očekávala, že díky mému zaměření na genderované vztahy pochopím různé roviny její zkušenosti, a částečně z toho, že měla pocit, že nikdo z vedení nebyl schopen její situaci plně pochopit. Objevila se viktimizace a nemístné přenášení viny, v nejhrubší podobě ze strany policistů, kteří odmítli vyšetřovat a dali najevo, že si myslí, že je obvinění vymyšlené, ale později i ze strany psychoanalytičky (!), za kterou byla poslána, a částečně i v postoji a přístupu vedení programu.

I když diskuse o osobních problémech studujících vždy představovala součást mé práce, tyto dva měsíce byly jednoznačně nejtěžší ze všech, které jsem musela odučit. Vedení se mne snažilo odradit od toho, abych se studentkou o její zkušenosti mluvila. Čím dál tím silněji jsem cítila, že je ohrožena moje vlastní pozice, když jsem opakovaně poukazovala na případy sexualizovaného násilí, se kterým se studentky potýkají.<sup>15</sup> Bylo mi řečeno, že takové zkušenosti – kromě samotného znásilnění – mohly být způsobeny „mezikulturním nedorozuměním“, a přestože nejsem jedinou vyučující, která kdy v rámci programu učila genderová studia, vedení se ve věci neobrátilo ani na kolegyně s obdobnou průpravou. Pokud by za mnou studentka nepřišla sama, vůbec bych o případu nevěděla.

Celá zkušenost naučila jak studentku, tak mě víc o naší situovanosti a místě než jakýkoli text. V kurzu používám textu Allaine Cerwonky a Chandry Talpade Mohanty, a ať už se zaměřujeme na cokoliv, snažím se najít autorky a autory, kteří ve své práci neignorují význam geopolitiky. Přesto průlom nastal teprve s tělesnou zkušeností

<sup>15</sup> Pozitivní výjimku představovala společná konzultace studentek, které byly během pobytu sexuálně obtěžovány, mne a pedagogické poradkyně, nicméně ani ta nevedla k výsledku, který by situaci řešil.

v souvislosti s předpokládanou ontologickou „odlišností“ české a americké „kultury“, když ho program použil, aby se chránil proti vlastní vyučující a studentce. V případě studentky to bylo možné, protože u místního vedení programu se spojily místní vysoce stereotypní představy o sexualizovaném násilí se strachem o pověst programu především na ústředí v USA. V mém případě to bylo možné kvůli překérní smlouvě a nulové ochraně externích vyučujících ze strany univerzity a centrály programu. V důsledku celé situace jsme já i má studentka pocítily průsečík sexualizovaného násilí coby genderově podmíněného násilí s geopolitikou, neoliberalismem a jejich dopady.

## **Pedagogická příležitost 2: Úmrtí v rodině**

V září 2015 zemřela moje teta z otcovy strany. I když byla ten rok v nemocnici už podruhé, její smrt přišla nečekaně a byl to šok. Nestihla jsem za ní dojet do nemocnice, protože jsem se v pátek vrátila z náročné týdenní konference v zahraničí, a proto jsem za ní v sobotu ráno nejela, ale rozhodla jsem se přijet v pondělí, na kdy byla naplánovaná další rodinná návštěva. V pondělí jsem se ale dozvěděla o jejím úmrtí a místo návštěvy jsme jeli zařizovat pohřeb. Celá událost spolu s pohřbem u mě vyvolala depresi, která přetrvala téměř celý rok a způsobila, že soustředit se na relativně náročnou akademickou práci bylo pro mě velmi obtížné.

Pohřeb byl naplánován na první vyučovací den v době, kdy se do pozice osoby zodpovědné za akademickou část programu a vyučující dostal učitel literatury narozený v USA. Pozice s sebou nese dohled nad vyučujícími a jejich hodnocení, nábor a rozhodování o ukončení smluv nebo zavření kurzů. V souladu s některými aspekty kultury auditu (Apple 2005; Gill, Donaghue 2016) se projevila mnohem výraznější byrokratizace vedení vyučujících. Místo předchozího relativně neformálního hodnocení přišel akademický ředitel s celostránkovým hodnocením podle formálních kritérií. Objem administrativních úkonů, které se od vyučujících očekávají, narostl, byť jsou vyučující placeni za hodiny, jež odučí. Bylo zavedeno virtuální vzdělávací prostředí, přičemž kurzy k němu byly prezentovány jako přínos pro vyučující spíše než jako čas, za který by měli být placeni, ale placeni nejsou. Program akademicky zajišťují akademici/čky, kteří pracují na jednoleté obnovitelné smlouvě.<sup>16</sup> Důraz kladený na význam virtuálního prostředí tak neměl daleko k ohrožení vlastní budoucnosti v rámci programu, pokud by s tím někdo nesouhlasil (což se také stalo). Stres, který nový systém u některých vyučujících vyvolal, byl nezanedbatelný, zbytečný a značně neetický (Gill 2010). Navzdory důrazu, jenž je formálně kladen na zkušenostní učení, program se nijak nevyjádřil k překážkám, které zavedení jednotné formy usměrňující výukové styly všech znamená právě pro zkušenostní učení.

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<sup>16</sup> Jedinou relativní jistotu nabízejí administrativní pozice.



Jak se blížil den tetina pohřbu i prvního dne výuky, začala jsem mít čím dál tím větší obavy o to, jak bych měla správně postupovat. Bylo zřejmé, že akademický ředitel by neoceníl mou absenci v první den výuky, a také jsem se bála o svou práci, protože bylo jasné, že studující prostě očekávají, že se tam se mnou poprvé setkají. V rámci programu funguje cca dvoutýdenní období, během něhož si mohou studující rozmyslet, které kurzy si ponechají zapsané, což znamená, že během prvních dvou týdnů si mohou předmět škrtnout. První týden je tedy klíčový pro to, zda kurz zůstane otevřený (a zda máte práci). Jak se moje deprese prohlubovala, rozhodla jsem se prostě splnit očekávání a odučit první hodinu po návratu z pohřbu.

Výsledkem situace tedy bylo to, že pedagogická příležitost nastala hned první den výuky. Třída byla přeplněná, protože místnost je pro 15 studujících příliš těsná. Přijela jsem přímo z pohřbu celá v černém. Nezačala jsem tradičním úvodem a motivační řečí na přivítanou. Místo toho jsem se rozhlédla a všimla si studujících, kteří zjevně přišli, aby si mohli odškrtnout povinný genderový kurz právě během svého pobytu v zahraničí. Promluvila jsem nikoli proto, abych některé z nich odradila, ale abych jim vysvětlila, proč jsem v den rodinného pohřbu přišla učit. Představila jsem jim koncept neoliberalismu a prekérnosti, stejně jako jeho dopady v podobě dlouhodobého stresu, zdravotních obtíží, spánkové deprivace atd. Studující byli zaraženi, ale dvanáct z nich přišlo i na příští hodinu.

Krátkodobým účinkem zaměření na průsečík genderových studií, geopolitiky a neoliberalismu jako lokálně zakoušených a žitých v těle bylo to, že studující získali vnitřní motivaci naučit se něco o globalizaci, geopolitické lokaci a své vlastní proměňující se pozici v nich. Dlouhodobým účinkem dané zkušenosti bylo, že jsem se odvážila udělat z geopolitiky, lokace a neoliberalismu ústřední rámce pro uchopení genderových vztahů i pro vysvětlení očekávání studujících od kurzu a od studia v zahraničí. V současnosti se tedy zaměřujeme na politiku (placeného) školství a neoliberální reformy výzkumu a vysokoškolských institucí (Cerwonka 2008a; Evans 2004; Gill 2010; Olssen, Peters 2005; Pereira 2016; Readings 1996; Žarkov 2015). Pokoušíme se definovat, co je neoliberalismus, a diskutovat o tom, proč si studující program vybrali. Abychom učinili za dost cíli programu, zaměřujeme se na to, proč mnoho studujících chápe změny v politické a sociální oblasti, jako jsou prekarizace práce a života a zvýšené nároky kladené na stát ekonomickou sférou, jak to popsal Pierre Bourdieu (1998), jako logické, nevyhnutelné a v podstatě správné a opodstatněné.

## Lokalizovaná feministická pedagogika v neoliberalizujícím se geopolitickém prostředí: Co jsme se naučili?

Autoetnografie se coby metoda snaží dosáhnout pochopení obecných jevů prostřednictvím jejich projevů na mikroúrovni. K oběma výše popsaným pedagogickým příležitostem přistupuji právě jako k takovým projevům a také je jako takové analyzuji. V tomto konkrétním případě by měly pomoci objasnit, jakým způsobem se mísí určitá geopolitická lokace závislá na specifické interpretaci světového řádu na základě diskursu studené války s místním neoliberalizujícím se univerzitním prostředím a s plně neoliberálním prostředím zahraničního výukového programu s ústředím v USA tak, že zásadním způsobem ovlivňují možnost věnovat se feministické pedagogice. V praktické rovině obě pedagogické příležitosti ukazují možnost vytvářet novou, i když doufejme méně drastickou, feministickou pedagogickou praxi.

Zahraniční studijní program s ústředím v USA těží z šíření různých stránek neoliberální univerzity, a to několika způsoby, v nichž hraje roli geopolitika. Předně se skutečnost, že se ústředí nachází v USA, tedy v prostředí neoliberální univerzity (Brown 2015), odráží ve standardech používaných při nabírání nových vyučujících anebo ponechání si stávajících. Tyto standardy mimo jiné kladou důraz na neustále aktualizovaný životopis s publikacemi a akademickými úspěchy. Vyučujícím je to pravidelně připomínáno na povinných setkáních. Vliv neoliberální univerzity se také odráží v hrdosti programu na průběžné sledování akademické kvality programů, které nabízí.<sup>17</sup>

Program rovněž těží ze situace na českých univerzitách popsané výše, neboť nabízí relativně vysoké finanční ohodnocení, a to především v případě humanitních a společenských věd. Vzhledem k tomu, že program nenabízí žádnou podporu výzkumu, de facto parazituje na místním veřejném terciárním vzdělávacím systému. K požadovaným publikacím a možnosti obohatit výuku skutečným výzkumem vedou v zásadě dvě cesty. Vyučující si buď výzkum financují ze svého, nebo jsou zaměstnání na veřejné akademické instituci, aby se mohli ucházet o veřejné finanční zdroje. O ty je třeba soutěžit, neboť neoliberalizace místní akademické sféry má primárně podobu upřednostňování projektového financování a soutěže, které mají zajistit vědeckou kvalitu.

Další roli sehrává geopolitika, když program pro prodej polohy pražského centra – či „regionu“ –, používá pojmy odvozené z diskursu studené války, který dělí svět na „Východ“ a „Západ“. Problémy někdy také zdůvodňované stejným dělením, jako je relativně široce rozšířený sexismus, nejsou při prodeji uváděny – „region“ je popisován jako bezpečný a s nízkou kriminalitou. V kurzu se to projevuje tím, že studující spojují určité lokální společenské jevy čistě s minulostí, a to zvláště tehdy, pokud je vnímají negativně.

<sup>17</sup> Viz <https://www.ciee.org/study-abroad/why-ciee/ciee-difference/>. Navštíveno 25. dubna 2017.

Popsaná situace staví feministickou pedagogiku snažící se zpochybnit mocenské vztahy, jak říká Anna Feigenbaum (2007), před několik problémů, jak ukazují obě popsané pedagogické příležitosti. Mocenské vztahy, které je potřeba zpochybnit, mají různé zdroje, takže geopolitická dělení světa a zneužívání transnacionálních nerovností konkrétními aktéry si zaslouží pozornost feministické pedagogiky. První pedagogická příležitost ukazuje na nebezpečí skryté v prodávání údajně kulturní rozdílnosti nebo přinejmenším při prodávání právě této rozdílnosti, přičemž všechno ostatní je stejné, či dokonce lepší než v USA. Z násilněná studentka i já jsme této nabízené verzi programu uvěřily, což nejprve vedlo k frustraci a poté k možnosti zakusit geopoliticky podmíněnou neoliberální univerzitu na vlastní kůži. Na základě této zkušenosti se ukázalo, nejenom že program nemá jasně daný postup pro danou situaci, ale že ani nechce daný případ využít k tomu, aby si ji okamžitě vytvořil.<sup>18</sup>

Uvěřením mám na mysli očekávání studentky, že znásilnění bude řešeno, jako by bylo v USA. V mém případě to znamenalo přesvědčení, že program má pro takové případy postup. Namísto toho jsme dostaly upozornění na relativnost vztahu mezi „prodávajícím a kupujícím“. I když by bylo logické očekávat, že program se vynasnaží zajistit potřeby „studentky zákaznice“, převážila obava z toho, že se z ní stane živoucí důkaz sexualizovaného násilí, což z ní učinilo hrozbu pro pozici lokálního centra v očích centrály v USA.<sup>19</sup> Celá situace byla zostřena silně sexistickým chápáním sexualizovaného násilí v ČR. Prekérnost mé pozice vyvstala, když program vůbec neuvítal mou pomoc studentce, se kterou jsem strávila spoustu volného času.

Celá situace proto umožňuje na extrémním případě porozumět zranitelnosti a újmě, které plynou z proměny akademických pracujících na lidský kapitál, jak ukazují Lawrence D. Berg, Edward Huijbens a Henrik G. Larsen (2016). Právě zavedení vztahu mezi prodávajícím a kupujícím na univerzitu, jak ukazuje Jeremy Gilbert (2008), ovlivňuje možnosti feministické pedagogiky, která má za úkol pěstovat rovné vztahy. Vedení programu do určité míry právě tuto zodpovědnost za vztahy silně podpořilo, protože riskování vlastní pozice učinilo politické činy například z hledání jiné psychologické pomoci, pravidelného setkávání se studentkou mimo výuku a setkání s její matkou.

Druhá pedagogická příležitost ozřejmila primárně pro mě a poté také pro studující pojmy prekérnosti a neoliberální univerzity coby souboru praktik, jako je

<sup>18</sup> Postup a pozice v rámci administrativy programu, která má na starosti psychologické problémy studujících, byly zavedeny až dva roky poté.

<sup>19</sup> Podobné snahy lze sledovat i v USA, jak ukazuje dokumentární film *Lovný revír* (natočený Kirbym Dickem v roce 2015) o rozšíření znásilnění na univerzitních kampuzech v USA. Hlavní rozdíl spočívá v tom, že program neměl explicitní a veřejně přístupnou politiku pro podobné případy v okamžiku, kdy k útoku došlo. Program zareagoval velmi „českým“ způsobem, protože české univerzity, včetně mnoha fakult Univerzity Karlovy, žádný takový postup nemají.

například provádění kontrol (kultura auditu) a psychologický tlak, které z nich plynou (Apple 2005; Gill 2010). Tato zkušenost se nejprve zdála jít proti podstatě feministické pedagogiky. Nezpochybňovala jsem mocenské hierarchie tak, jak by vyžadovaly Anna Feigenbaum (2007), bell hooks (1994) a Jyl Lynn Felman (2001), ale naopak jsem se jimi řídila spolu s očekáváními ze strany akademického ředitele. Zvnitřnila jsem si je a staly se součástí mé tělesnosti, což alespoň částečně souviselo s mými ekonomickými potřebami. Moje osobní vlastnosti, jako je úzkostnost, velmi dobře souzní s principy neoliberalismu, které kladou na každého nárok, aby se proměnil na co nejlepší lidský kapitál (Berg, Huijbens, Larsen 2016). To dále umocňuje překérnost jak v rámci programu, tak celého českého akademického sektoru.

Tato pedagogická příležitost vyplynula z velmi nepříjemného uvědomění si toho, že ztělesňuji některé z mocenských hierarchií, jež bych jako feministická pedagožka měla zpochybňovat. Okamžik pochopení tohoto ztělesňování uzrál cestou z pohřbu a umožnil mi představit studujícím velmi konkrétní příklad dopadů, které se neoliberalismu podařilo rozšířit z místa, jež si nárokuje nadřazený geopolitický status, tj. z USA. Celá situace mi pomohla motivovat studující, aby začali uvažovat o vlastní situovanosti a způsobech, jimiž program a jejich účast na něm podporují a normalizují neoliberální univerzitu.

Obě situace je proto možné vidět jako pedagogické příležitosti, protože na konkrétním příkladu ukazují fungování geopolitiky a neoliberální univerzity na různých úrovních (osobní, vtělené, institucionální, státněpolitické, transnacionální). Prostředí programu vnímám jako ideální pro zkoumání toho, jak je neoliberální univerzita situovaná a jak využívá geopolitických nerovností. Navíc v důsledku mocenské dynamiky programu toto prostředí umožňuje zkoumat možnosti jiných typů vztahovosti než prodávající/kupující. Jak obě pedagogické příležitosti ukazují, i t takový, často frustrující kontext podobné příležitosti nabízí. Oba příklady také ukazují, že feministickou pedagogiku nelze provádět osamoceně – vztahy pěstované před popsány událostmi a po nich umožnily vzájemné učení se.

## **Závěr aneb proč se tím zabývat**

Cílem tohoto článku je pokusit se reflektovat, jak geopolitické umístění v kombinaci s lokálním prostředím neoliberalizující se univerzity ovlivňuje feministickou pedagogiku v kurzu genderových studií pro bakalářské studující, kteří pocházejí z USA a přijíždějí na zahraniční výukový program. Jak ukazuje i toto monotematické číslo, situaci genderových studií a feminismu na neoliberální univerzitě se od konce 90. let 20. století věnuje mnoho pozornosti. Specifická situace a problematika feministické pedagogiky plní celé panely na feministických konferencích a byla široce

kritizována.<sup>20</sup> Některé autorky a autoři dokonce vidí neoliberální univerzitu jako prostředí, v němž není možné feministickou pedagogiku provozovat, protože neoliberalismus mění vztah mezi studujícími a univerzitou tak zásadním způsobem, že kritické myšlení a podryvání statu quo se stávají tou nejméně přitažlivou možností, kterou by si studující mohli vybrat. Pokusila jsem se ale ukázat, jakým způsobem mohou nepříznivé podmínky přispět k rozvinutí skutečných „setkání“, po kterých volá Anna Feigenbaum (2007). Jejich výsledkem je společné rozvíjení poznání, které může posléze vést k vylepšení kurikula a možná i k jeho celkové proměně.

Obě výše popsané „pedagogické příležitosti“, a zejména druhá z nich, která vedla k silnějšímu zaměření obsahu kurzu na geopolitiku a místo, zásadně vylepšily celý kurz. Mohu tak nově reagovat na silná očekávání, se kterými studující přijíždějí také díky tomu, jak se program a část jeho obsahu prodává. Místní neoliberalizující se akademické prostředí přispělo k masifikaci počtu studujících, což alespoň částečně umožnilo ustavení nových programů, např. genderových studií. Nevedlo ale k vytvoření solidních zaměstnaneckých podmínek, zvláště vyšších mezd pro začínající vyučující a zejména pro ženy, které tvoří naprostou většinu vyučujících na katedrách genderových studií. Za stávající situace představují zahraniční výukové programy pro studující z USA příležitost pro vyučující genderových studií (a řady dalších oborů) učit svůj obor za relativně velmi dobrého finančního ohodnocení. Pracovní podmínky těchto programů se ale řídí logikou neoliberální univerzity z USA, která se snaží čím dál tím více přiblížit trhu a k univerzitnímu vzdělání přistupuje jako k obchodu.

Obohacení mého kurzu a snad i příspěvek k diskusi o neoliberální univerzitě vidím v zaměření se na specifické prostředí a situovanost, které jsou velmi dobře viditelné právě v kontextu internacionalizovaného vysokého školství. Genderová studia se opakovaně stávají terčem kritiky pro svůj zevšeobecňující přístup k předmětu vlastního studia a za to, že i nadále udržují přemýšlení o geopolitice v mantinelech odlišnosti a hierarchií a přispívají k takovému myšlení (Blagojevic 2005; Cerwonka 2008b, 2009; Hemmings 2005; Pereira 2014). Přeorientování kurzu na geopolitiku mi dovolilo diskutovat o vlastní situovanosti studujících i zdůrazňovat naši složitou etickou pozici, která jinak obvykle zůstává skryta právě kvůli tomu, spíše než navzdory, jak se daný zahraniční výukový program prodává i se svými vyučujícími.

Zkušenost s oběma pedagogickými příležitostmi navíc vedla k uznání potřeby začít se starat jak o sebe, tak o mé studující. Když se studující snaží dostat na kloub tomu, co neoliberalismus znamená, nacházejí důvody, proč má jejich vzdělání snižující se kvalitu, i když za něj oni a jejich rodiče velmi draze platí, což je možná trochu paradox-

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<sup>20</sup> Například na konferenci „9th European Feminist Research Conference – Sex and Capital“, pořádané organizací AtGender v roce 2015, byl uspořádán panel nazvaný „Practicing Feminist Teaching“, který se zaměřil pouze na problémy pramenící z proměňujících se strukturních nastavení.

ně hnací síla části z jejich nově objeveného politického aktivismu. Jsem přesvědčena, že se jedná o přímý důsledek nepříznivých podmínek, které mohou vést k pedagogickým příležitostem v hodinách genderových studií, protože se dotýkají nás všech, i když velmi rozmanitým způsobem. Jedním z vlivů, jež nesmíme ignorovat, je to, že geopolitické rozdíly bývají považovány za samozřejmost a jako něco nepodstatného pro naše porozumění terciárnímu školství. Opak se ale zdá být pravdou, jak jsem tu doufám ukázala.

Dovolte mi skončit na osobní notu. I když mne mé kolegyně považují za nevyčleptelnou pesimistku v kanceláři, která dokáže přijít s nejčernějším scénářem pro každou situaci, dvě výše popsané události nás nabádají k aktivnímu nesouhlasu a zpochybňování neoliberalizujících reforem akademického prostředí, které vyvolávají téměř hmatatelnou úzkost, strach, a dokonce i zhnusení. Obě pedagogické příležitosti ukazují, že dystopické závěry některých textů kritizujících neoliberální univerzitu a geopolitické nerovnosti, které neoliberální univerzita využívá a zneužívá, by neměly být považovány za danost. Byli to koneckonců právě studující, kdo pochopili, že jiný vztah k jejich vyučující (a doufejme, že i k sobě navzájem) nabízí možnosti, které překračují vztah mezi zákazníkem a poskytovatelem služby nebo zboží. Nové pedagogické příležitosti pro feministické a kritické vyučující tak mohou vznikat, když se zaměříme na průsečík neoliberální univerzity a specifických geopolitických čtení světového řádu a skutečných mocenských nerovností mezi různými „regiony“.

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Blanka Nyklová pracuje od roku 2014 na oddělení NKC – gender a věda Sociologického ústavu AV ČR, v.v.i. Její výzkumný zájem se soustředí na českou feministickou scénu, postavení genderových studií v České republice, geopolitický rozměr utváření vědění a STS z genderové perspektivy. Učila na Karlově univerzitě a v současnosti působí na dvou zahraničních programech primárně určených pro studující z USA, které spadají pod Karlovu univerzitu.

## How to Survive as Feminist and Gender Researchers in the Neoliberal University?

**Lena Weber**

Pereira, Maria do Mar. 2017. *Power, Knowledge and Feminist Scholarship. An Ethnography of Academia*. London: Routledge.

What does it mean to conduct feminist research and to teach in the 'entrepreneurial university'? What strategies do feminist researchers and teachers develop to achieve the epistemic status of 'proper' science? Under what conditions is feminist knowledge production generated and distributed? *Power, Knowledge and Feminist Scholarship* (2017), by feminist researcher Maria do Mar Pereira, offers a rich ethnography of the working conditions and knowledge production of feminist academics and about feminist research. She draws on an impressive collection of data from fieldwork in Portugal that is supplemented with participant observations in the UK, US, and Sweden. The author conducted interviews with 36 feminist researchers in 2008/2009 and again, with twelve of them, in 2015/2016. In addition, she documented corridor talks, classroom lessons, and conference chats.

The book contains seven chapters that focus on the academic boundary work of feminists and their strategies to produce knowledge that can be considered 'proper' science. The starting point is that academic communities, whose research is acknowledged as 'proper' science, are doing everything to appear different from gender and feminist research because those research areas are considered 'improper', 'not objective', or 'political'. Pereira's goal is to analyse the strategies that feminist researchers establish to counter these allegations of producing 'improper' or 'not objective' science and how they develop strategies to attain a stable epistemic status in contemporary so-called 'performative' universities. The author shows how these strategies of scientific boundary work are entangled with the institutionalisation process of feminist and gender research in the Portuguese 'performative university'.

As a gender and feminist scholar based in Germany, I am convinced that the outline of the book is highly topical (cf. Hark, Villa 2015). In Germany, public criticism of gender and feminist research has increased only recently, especially among journalists and some segments of civil society. Thus, the situation Pereira describes for Portugal holds true for Germany, too. It seems to be true that, as soon as gender studies are integrated into bachelor's and master's programmes in higher education and gender research becomes more and more institutionalised, the public voices against gender research grow louder. At the same time, established scientists in other research fields



question the 'objective' and 'proper science' status of gender and feminist research. This process can be interpreted as a battle for financial resources and it shows that gender and feminist research always have to reflect and explain their legitimacy to society. The book highlights the highly relevant issue about how feminist and gender research is constructed in academia, what problems it faces, and how the construction of epistemic status as well as its counteractions can be reflected. For those who are interested in the boundary work of researchers defining 'proper' academic knowledge and distancing themselves from 'improper' knowledge, this book is strongly recommended.

The chapters of the book build on each other, but every chapter also stands on its own. To show the line of argument, I will give a short overview of each chapter. The introduction provides a well-written overview of the central terms, definitions, and ideas. In Chapter 1, Pereira describes the precarious epistemic status of Women's, Gender and Feminist Studies (WGFS) in the science system worldwide. She shows that, in most countries, WGFS is not regarded as 'proper' science. Instead, the picture of WGFS in public and mainstream science is 'too political' and 'too subjective'. In the second chapter, Pereira outlines her research approach on 'epistemic status', linking different strands of theoretical perspectives, namely Michael Foucault's approach of epistemic genealogy, with Science and Technology Studies (Thomas Gieryn) and feminist epistemology (Lorraine Code). In Chapter 3 Pereira ties together the changes currently taking place in the scientific landscapes, which she indicates are a transformation towards 'performative knowledge production', and the precarious institutionalisation of WGFS in the Portuguese higher education system. Chapter 4 is dedicated to Pereira's empirical finding that, whereas *gender* research has almost passed through the gates of academic recognition, *feminist* research is split up and often dismissed by other scholars. Pereira shows that scholars' differentiation between gender and feminist research is a part of their boundary work. Her interpretation of this strategy is that 'splitting provides a supposedly legitimate epistemological rationale for taking into account the WGFS insights which broadly fit mainstream frameworks, while simultaneously rejecting as epistemological unsound of the WGFS critiques of those frameworks' (p. 114). In Chapter 5, she uses the concept of epistemic maps, which describe boundaries and spaces, and the distance between or proximity of the different research strands. The author depicts how the scholars she interviewed locate feminist research in comparison to 'proper' and 'mainstream' science, which results in five more or less distinctive maps with varying relationships between 'proper', 'mainstream', and feminist science. In Chapter 6, Pereira explains the ambivalent role of the Portuguese science system in a global context. She states that the epistemic status of science is unequally distributed in the world and that the origin of 'proper' science is perceived to be located in Western societies. Furthermore, she notes the existing

hegemony of English language in science. Even Women's Studies is dominated by an Anglo-American discourse. In contrast, Portugal is often viewed publicly as the 'tail of Europe': a modern state with various deficits in modernisation (p. 151). As Pereira shows, even Portuguese scholars describe their science system as 'delayed'. Thus, she argues for further opening up, modernisation, progress and, at the same time, for increasing the value of feminist research, which was institutionalised sooner in the English-speaking 'modern' world. In the last chapter Pereira reviews some of her first research results and interpretations of earlier interviews in contrast to her recent ones, stating that the practices of knowledge production in the performative university have exhausted and frustrated many scholars.

With reference to the changing conditions for academic work in the 'neoliberal' or 'entrepreneurial' university, Chapter 3 and Chapter 7 are particularly interesting. Below, I will focus on Pereira's analysis of the 'economic shift' in academia and its consequences for scholars in their everyday lives.

Chapter 3 reflects on the relationship between the neoliberal transformation of academia and the institutionalisation process of WGFS in Portugal. The most interesting finding in this chapter is that 'at the end of the noughties, there [has been] arguably more openness to gender equality discourse within and outside academia' than before (p. 76). WGFS has become more and more recognised as proper knowledge, through the large (and fast-growing) amount of literature on the subject that meets the requirements of the performative university. However, this recognition, as Pereira describes it, is a conditional one: 'WGFS is recognised as proper knowledge *if* it leads to publications' (p. 79). Thus, as soon as its publication output declines, the epistemic status of WGFS is questioned.

Instead of talking about the 'entrepreneurial' or 'neoliberal' university like the majority of the contemporary research literature, Pereira chooses to speak of the 'performative university'. For her, the performative university is based on two pillars: first, a new form of knowledge production that aims at high(er) levels of productivity; and second, the development of new auditing and surveillance structures of academic performance, especially for the 'production' of publications. Nevertheless, what are the conceptual advantages compared to the terms and concepts that already exist remains an open question. In my view, the notion of the performative university focuses on only one aspect of the academic transformation, whereas the reasons for the transformation are overlooked. Thus, some of Pereira's empirical findings could be better explained by using a broader approach, such as examining them in reference to the neoliberal or entrepreneurial university, which would be a more complex approach.

As Pereira shows, this transformation is a two-sided one: on the one hand, academia is opening up to new disciplines and broader student access, and on the other hand, the working conditions for academics are deteriorating. The number of professorships has



decreased, and more and more researchers are employed on the basis of a temporary contract. The new neoliberal 'spirit' in politics calls for more transparent, objective, and measurable output criteria to legitimate academic work. Study programmes have to attract enough students to be profitable for the university, and scholars are required to produce continuously innovative knowledge measured by publication quotas, to acquire third-party funding for their projects, and to make contributions to societal welfare through commercial innovations. However, using the concept of 'performativity', Pereira is not able to link these economic pressures in academia to her findings, which extend, also, to the everyday practices of WGFS scholars.

Pereira's idea of the economic transformation as being two-sided gets more or less lost at the end of the book, where the negative impacts of the neoliberal shift overshadow the analysis of the situation as a whole. This can be seen in the last chapter, where Pereira again picks up the thread about the performative university in order to make more critical comments. She highlights the major difference between the interviews from 2008/2009, when the neoliberal shift entered the universities and gender research become institutionalised, and the interviews from 2015/2016, when the reforms had already been implemented for some years. Pereira points out that, to survive in the science system, the strategy of many of the feminist researchers interviewed has been to follow the performative university's imperative of productivity. However, there are physical, mental, and social limits to this: in the interviews from 2015/2016, almost all the scholars stated that they are physically and mentally exhausted and lack enough time to read and to discuss findings and other important but not always visible productive parts of academic work. In Pereira's view, it is the governance of the performative university that is responsible for the increased workload in administration.

While this interpretation of the results might be valid – in fact, the new governance of science overburdens scholars with tasks and duties – some questions remain unanswered. For example, it is not known whether these effects only apply to WGFS scholars (because only those have been interviewed) or whether 'exhaustion' is a general problem experienced by scholars at a certain stage in their academic career: At the beginning of a career, scholars have a great deal of enthusiasm and spirit and research issues they want to investigate. After working for some years in academia, the energy of the first years can fade. In this chapter, a discussion of existing literature on these very findings would have been illuminating.

Each chapter provides interesting insights into the epistemic status practices of WGFS, boundary work strategies, and their implications. The empirical findings and their interpretation are presented well, but more systematic information about the data collection, the interviewees, and the fieldwork would have been useful for readers. Pereira provides readers with ostensive insights into the mechanisms and strategies of scholars tackling, on a local level, global shifts in scientific governance.

For her research objective of investigating the epistemic status and boundary work of academic communities, the concept of the performative university is instructive, but it results in some blind spots in her interpretation of her empirical findings. The strengths of the book lie in the empirically grounded critique of current science politics regarding gender and feminist research, and in the reflections on the strategies used to establish and sustain 'proper' epistemic status. The findings of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 in particular are very well presented and illustrated using impressive examples. Pereira does not shy away from remarking critically on the effects of the performative university and their entanglements with the institutionalisation of WGFS. Furthermore, she offers some recommendations for changing and shaping science. According to her, a key idea is to think through which projects we like doing, and to 'regularly say no' (p. 215) to other projects that we cannot do owing to limited time or physical resources. However, we should not forget that there are, to date, successful political bodies that support women in science and gender research, especially in the EU, and that collective strategies are important for solving problems. What is more, in order to strengthen WGFS, in my opinion it is more helpful to highlight the valuable contributions made by feminist research (p. 210) than it is to discredit other strands of research.

And now, I am going to 'spend the rest of [my] day being unashamedly and deliciously non-productive' (p. 218), just as recommended.

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## The Principle of Slow (Food), Applied to the Corporate University

### Annette von Alemann

Berg, Maggie, Seeber, Barbara K. 2016. *The Slow Professor: Challenging the Culture of Speed in the Academy*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.

Many books have been published on the corporate university, and a lot of researchers have studied and commented on recent developments in academia. Maggie Berg and Barbara K. Seeber, two Canadian professors of English language and literature at



Queens University and Brock University, respectively, add a refreshingly new approach to the subject.

In fact, the authors are not specialists in higher education research but in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fiction. However, they are recognised experts in university teaching. Berg, winner of the Chancellor A. Charles Baillie Award for Teaching Excellence in 2005, held the Queen's Chair of Teaching and Learning from 2009 to 2012. Seeber received the (Brock University) Faculty of Humanities Award for Excellence in Teaching in 2014. The idea to write a book on the corporate university rose out of personal concern about the processes of acceleration in academia and the consequences of this for their personal well-being. Inspired by the Slow Food movement, the authors present a book that combines a literature review, a guidebook, and a political manifesto. The literature review draws on works about the corporatisation of higher education, studies on the effects of stress on physiological and psychological health, self-help literature about time management in academia, campus novels, and key texts of the Slow movement. It is organised as a classical literary criticism, the discipline both authors represent, and it incorporates empirical studies conducted in fields such as sociology, psychology, medicine, information science, and labour studies (p. viii).

The framework concept of the book is that of the Slow movement, which is primarily concerned with slow food. The Slow Food movement was founded in Italy in 1989. It is, to date, a global movement that stands for preventing 'the disappearance of local food cultures and traditions', counteracting 'the rise of fast life' (Slow Food 2015). By ensuring access to 'good, clean and fair food' for everyone (Slow Food 2015), the movement wants both to work for a sustainable and ethical method of food production and to stipulate the conscious pleasure of eating. Slow Food activists believe that 'food is tied to many other aspects of life, including culture, politics, agriculture and the environment' and that individual food choices can 'collectively influence how food is cultivated, produced and distributed' (Slow Food 2015). The principle of Slow has been extended to architecture, urban life, and personal relations (p. x). Before Berg and Seeber's book, it had not been applied to education (or the academic world) in an explicit way – although there have been some earlier thoughts about 'fast' and 'slow' thinking (e.g. Kahnemann 2011) and even an ongoing academic discussion about the acceleration of academic life (see Accelerated Academy 2017). Other books on 'slow' academic disciplines (e.g. philosophy, cf. Boulous Walker 2016) were published shortly after so that there seems to be a rising Slow movement in academia as well.

In their 'Slow Professor Manifesto' the authors depict the situation of the current neoliberal university as a place where 'power is transferred from faculty to managers' and 'economic justifications dominate' over 'pedagogical and intellectual concerns' (p. x). Concerned 'above all with efficiency', the corporate university contributes



to an overall climate of acceleration that makes those who are subjected to it 'feel powerless' (p. x).

Berg and Seeber mean their book to be an 'intervention' and a 'call to action' (p. ix), fostering a better understanding of the ways in which the culture of speed enhanced by the corporate university affects the professional practice and well-being of academics. Thus, the authors seek to offer a 'model of resistance' by sketching 'a counter identity' to the 'beleaguered, managed, frantic, stressed, and demoralized professor' (p. ix). In this way, the book aims to be 'more optimistic than works on the corporate university, more political and historicized than self-help, and more academically focused than those on stress and the Slow movement' (p. vii).

The book is structured as follows: After the Preface, the Introduction, and a chapter about time management, co-authored by Berg and Seeber, a chapter about teaching is authored by Berg and another about research by Seeber. The following chapters about collegiality and the conclusion are written, again, by both authors. The brevity of the book (128 pages) is intentional: the authors want their book to be 'useful' and 'accessible to a variety of disciplines' (p. ix).

The Introduction starts with a description of personal experiences, which are reflected in the results of statistical surveys: 'stress in academia exceeds that found in general population' (p. 2). It has negative consequences not only for the psychological and physical health of scholars but also for their teaching and scientific productivity. The academic world, however, is 'reticent in acknowledging its stress' (p. 2) because of its long tradition of privileging the mind over the body and the constant attempt to disprove the public 'stereotype of the lazy academic' (p. 3). The privileges of the academic life – job security, flexibility of hours, personal autonomy, creativity, and excitement – have their downsides: idealism can turn into excessive self-expectations, and '[f]lexibility of hours can translate into working all the time, particularly because academic work by its very nature is never done' (p. 3). Academic self-expectations are increased by the external pressures of the changing academic culture – for example, expanding class sizes, increased use of technology, a rise in clerical tasks, and the need to achieve key figures such as publications or external funding. An increasing number of academic tasks, different and sometimes even conflicting in content and required skills, places demands on the scholars' limited resources of time, power, and concentration and leads, therefore, to a constant feeling of time pressure and stress.

Chapter One is a critical examination (or, to be more precise, a deconstruction) of advice literature on time management targeted specifically at academics. The authors argue that texts promising to offer solutions to the increasing and overwhelming demands in teaching, research, and administration do not achieve their purpose. Rather, they make the reader feel inadequate by setting contradictory goals.



Celebrating the self-responsible, efficient, and goal-oriented academic, the self-help texts pretend that every goal is attainable by working in the early morning, planning in small time slots, delegating, and learning to say no. Instead of alleviating time pressure, what they really do is strengthen the rationalisation of academic work. At the end of the chapter, the authors present their own advice, which runs counter to that of the self-help literature: 'get off line', 'do less' (p. 29), get both 'regular sessions of timeless time' (p. 30) and 'time to do nothing', and 'change the way we talk about time all the time' (p. 31).

In Chapter Two, Berg presents her suggestions about 'slow' university teaching, which means finding pleasure in teaching and creating a personal connection to the students. She relies on empirical studies about intelligence as being 'contextual and embodied' (p. 35) and learning outcome depending on the (positive) emotions felt in the classroom. It is not surprising that she prefers face-to-face over remote learning, proposing to be aware of the class as a personal interaction that implies humour and people listening to each other. Berg conceptualises courses as narrations by giving them 'coherence and logic' (p. 49) and adapting them to the listeners, and her assignments are to be 'useful and enjoyable for the students themselves', allowing them 'to follow their own interests' (p. 50). This is not specifically 'slow' in the sense of 'doing less' (p. 29), but it aims at making teaching more pleasurable for both professors and students, which is a central claim of the Slow (Food) movement. What is left out here is a discussion about curricula: should 'slow teaching' not also include a reflection on the choice of subject matter – classical versus contemporary references, time for reading versus time for reflection, etc.?

Chapter Three presents Seeber's thoughts on scholarship in the time of the corporate university. As research has to meet economic expectations expressed in buzzwords such as 'competitive, ground-breaking, cutting-edge, relatable, applicable, impactful or transferable' (p. 14), the corporate university prizes easily quantifiable and marketable results, prioritising certain research areas above others. It is specifically at odds with the humanities and the social sciences, and especially with feminist thinking, because of their potential (and need) of openness and critical thinking, which is not easily transferable to those measurable parameters. Seeber proposes, then, a counter-identity to this kind of scholarship by adhering to the classical rules of academic thinking: to accept that 'thoughts take time' and 'speed can produce less than desirable results' (p. 64), to permit oneself to '[w]alk to the library' (p. 66) and 'to read things that we don't "have to" read' (p. 67), and to recognise that the density and complexity of thoughts are values in themselves. The central point of the chapter, however, is to stop measuring 'our "output" against that of others' (p. 69) and to admit openly the difficulties of writing and all the 'detours, delays, and abandoned projects' that are usually hidden in a highly competitive academic environment (p. 65).

Chapter Four links directly to these reflections, deploring the loss of community and collegiality in the corporate university that results from lesser daily interactions between colleagues caused by 'demoralization, overwork, and competition' (p. 76). The increasing 'loneliness at work' (p. 72) has negative effects on both well-being and professional development of academics. The authors resent mandatory community building rituals and advice books about 'networking' as they conceive collegiality as a social (and economic) resource. Instead, collegiality means a 'holding' or supportive environment (p. 83), and it can be a prerequisite against the sensation of stress caused by the corporate university.

In the Conclusion, Berg and Seeber reflect on the process of co-authoring the book. Their description of their working together illustrates their conception of a holding environment: When mutual trust is given, working together can result in an experience not only 'more pleasurable' (p. 86) but also more productive than any other project. Co-authorship in this sense is 'putting Slow philosophy into practice' (p. 15), meaning seeing the co-author as a whole person, to be patient with each other, giving each other 'permission' to follow their own work-life balance, and to 'genuinely listen to each other'" (p. 88). '[T]hinking together' can be a way of challenging 'neoliberal models of higher education' (p. 89).

*The Slow Professor* is a very personal book, arising out of personal suffering and meant to inspire political action (and change). This is mirrored in the style of the writing, which is emotional, vivid, and full of examples and stories (and, alas, contains various repetitions of ideas and sometimes strays away from the main point). Based on a profound literature review, it combines personal experience with scientific references and personal advice. It can be read quickly and easily, like a guidebook, but only by reading it consciously will the reader discover all the ideas it contains. It is not a systematic analysis of the situation from a sociological perspective, but rather a compilation of intelligent observations and references. However, it can be a starting point for a multitude of empirical studies. As social structures are reflected in the practices of everyday life, Berg and Seeber's book depicts the structures of the corporate university in everyday experience.

Being professors themselves, the authors focus on the situation of the professor in the corporate university (and address, mainly, university professors), mentioning only a few times the situation of graduate students. It would be interesting to know Berg's and Seeber's ideas about 'slow' supervision and mentoring of (graduate) students, who have to advance their careers in the corporate university, and what a 'slow' academic career would be like. Much could be said about the situation of the non-professorial academic staff, which is strongly represented in European universities and whose conditions of work are dramatically worse than those of the professors. For many of them, the corporatisation of universities has led to more and



more personal instability, induced by an increase in temporary (short-term) contracts, regional mobility, competition, and dependence (on supervisors, third-party funding, etc.). Nevertheless, Berg and Seeber are right in their approach to focus on tenured professors. Because of their relatively stable work situation, they are the ones with the greatest potential for political action. The question remains open, however, as to whether readers, by changing their own conduct in academic work (as suggested by the authors), can change the corporate university as a whole.

In any case, it is still an open question whether changing the corporate university means going back to the 'old' university and whether that would really be a good idea. Berg and Seeber seem to lament the downfall of a (traditional?) university where scholars in the humanities had time for thinking and teaching small numbers of interested students and did not have to meet requirements for a certain number of peer-reviewed publications or third-party-funded research projects. However, they neglect the fact that even in the 'old' university this was true for only a number of full professors, namely *male* (and white) full professors, who, by the way, followed the tradition of perceiving science as a vocation and not as a profession. Thus, some of the problems described in the book (e.g. academia's neglect of the body and work-life balance) are not related specifically to the corporate university but to the academic tradition of privileging the mind over the body and the academic vocation over everything else. Although Berg and Seeber speak, at some points, of the 'remasculinized university' (p. 83), gender issues are not a central part of their reflections. Apart from mentioning the negative impact of the corporate university on feminist thinking, the authors neglect the feminist discourse on the neoliberal university as presented, for example, by Maria do Mar Pereira and Rosalind Gill. What is more (and this is very consistent with the current feminist discourse on the neoliberal university), they do not think about the possible positive effects of new public management on universities – for example the discussions about work-life balance and diversity (management) of race, class, gender, and other dimensions of heterogeneity as integrative parts of modern organisations.

Maybe it is the mixture of 'old' and 'new' conditions that make the contemporary university such a difficult place to work, and maybe the systematic analysis of the 'old' and the 'new' and its interaction will lead us to improvement and change. In this way, *The Slow Professor* can inspire new discussions about the downfalls as well as the chances of academic work in the corporate university, and to critically reflect on both of them.

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## Krok k odstraňování homofobie

### Irena Smetáčková

Sloboda, Z. 2016. *Dospívání, rodičovství a (homo)sexualita*. Praha: Pasparta.

V roce 2016 vykročilo nakladatelství Pasparta Publishing, s.r.o. – sociální podnik zaměstnávající lidi s poruchou autistického spektra, jehož zřizovatelem je Národní ústav pro autismus, z.ú. (NAUTIS), mimo svoji obvyklou oblast a vydalo knihu *Dospívání, rodičovství a (homo)sexualita* od sociologa Zdeňka Slobody. Logika tohoto tematického posunu nemusí být zřejmá na první pohled, avšak začne být zřetelnější z perspektivy snah o inkluzivní společnost, která je schopna přijmout různé typy rozmanitosti, včetně té, jež se týká sexuality. Porozumění zdrojům odlišnosti a respekt k těm, kteří jsou jiní z hlediska své sexuality, jsou cílem této knihy. A autorovi se to daří naplnit.

Protože „oblast sexuality je oblastí multiparadigmatickou“ (s. 11), autor v knize aspiruje na zmapování všech, dokonce i přírodovědných přístupů k (homo)sexualitě a na její roli v dospívání a při zakládání rodiny. Tento příslib se však záhy ukáže falešný, protože se autor jednoznačně hlásí k sociálněkonstruktivistické a sociálněkritické tradici (ve spíše užším pojetí) a vymezuje se proti převládajícím medicínským východiskům, která v českém prostředí v pojetí homosexuality převládají. Prostor pro hlubší, kritické představení jiných než sociálněvědních poznatků a specificky sociálněkonstruktivistického paradigmatu tak kniha příliš nenabízí. Bohužel, navíc východiska svého přístupu teoreticky ukotvuje jen stručně, zhruba v rozsahu jedné stránky, a navíc v poznámce pod čarou. Podobně nenaplněný zůstává i požadavek intersekcionality, jež je opakovaně uváděna jako významný prvek pro porozumění znevýhodňování, které může vyplývat z neheterosexuality (v kombinaci s jinými třídícími znaky). Při samotném výkladu jednotlivých témat ale není intersekcionalita tematizována. Tyto nenaplně-

né ambice však v knize nepůsobí jako zásadní nedostatek, a to proto, že publikum, pro něž je určena, by jejich plnou realizaci stejně neocenilo nebo by knihu dokonce mohlo z těchto důvodů odmítnout.

Pro koho je tedy kniha určena? Zdeněk Sloboda do knihy zařadil „sociálněvědní poznatky a pohledy na téma homosexuality, resp. neheterosexualit, které je možné využít nejen v sociologii, ale i v příbuzných oborech, jako jsou například mediální či kulturní studia, sociální politika, sociální antropologie, nebo v dalších disciplínách, jako je třeba pedagogika, psychologie, sociální pedagogika či sociální práce“ (s. 7). Tyto obory se od sebe značně liší a víceméně jediné, co je spojuje, je teoretizace a praktická realizace přímé nebo zprostředkované práce s lidmi, kteří jsou mimo jiné sexuální bytosti a mají určité představy o různých typech sexuality a mají k nim odlišné postoje. To je víceméně staví do jedné roviny s laiky, kteří komunikují se svými dětmi, rodiči, příbuzenstvem, kamarádskými a pracovními skupinami. Ve výsledku je proto pochopitelné, že kniha „má do určité míry popularizační charakter“ (s. 7). Domnívám se, že míra tohoto rysu je více než „určitá“. Jednoznačně převažuje nad jinými rysy, které kniha nese, a to jak ve zvolené struktuře, tak ve výkladovém a stylistickém uchopení. Dobře je to patrné na práci se zdroji, na které je jen částečně odkazováno přímo v textu (často se vyskytují v poznámkách pod čarou). Text je přiznaně autorský – Zdeněk Sloboda používá ich-formu a prezentuje tak de facto svůj odborně-osobní pohled, v němž necítí potřebu (nebo to považuje za čtenářsky nevhodné) opírat všechna prezentovaná stanoviska o určité autory a autorky a konfrontovat se s nimi.

Protože je kniha primárně popularizační, nelze v ní hledat nové informace a pohledy, nelze od ní očekávat posun vědeckého poznání o homosexualitě. Přináší ale ucelený a poměrně komplexní výklad toho, jaké jsou zdroje společenské stigmatizace neheterosexuality a jaká rizika to přináší pro budování vlastní identity, hledání partnerského vztahu a zakládání rodiny. V tomto ohledu je kniha přínosná a jistě najde své čtenářky a čtenáře, jimž pomůže lépe pochopit sexualitu, její místo v naší heteronormativní kultuře, v mnohém jim může otevřít oči a vybavit je argumenty pro diskuse. Pokud bylo hlavním cílem Zdeňka Slobody obohatit a kultivovat postoje veřejnosti k homosexualitě, má kniha jistě potenciál tento cíl splnit. Zvláště cenné je, že autor odkazuje na velké množství českých pramenů, a kniha se tak stává „svědkyní“ současné výzkumné evidence o LGBT (I+) a postavení různých forem neheterosexuality v české společnosti.

Knihy pokrývá 163 hutných stran, které jsou rozčleněny do šesti kapitol, seznamu použité literatury, zdrojů dat, slovníčku a anglického shrnutí. Oproti běžným doporučením pro odborné monografie kniha nezahrnuje jmenný a věcný rejstřík. To jde zřejmě na vrub editorskému vedení, jež navíc přehlédlo i chybu v číslování kapitol a několik překlepů.

Z uvedených šesti kapitol jsou dvě rámuje – pětistránkový úvod a třístránkový závěr. Jejich obsah se částečně překrývá, zejména v představení východisek knihy. Účel tohoto překryvu se stává srozumitelný v popularizačním zaměření textu, kdy v úvodu autor naznačí základní obrysy svého přístupu, v hlavní výkladové části ho aplikuje a v závěru – příznačně nazvaném „Závěrem o rozmanitosti a úhlu pohledu“ – zopakuje použité principy i hlavní závěry. Použitý přístup se tím pro čtenářstvo reflektuje, stává se vědomým a důvěryhodným.

Knihy dále obsahuje čtyři výkladové kapitoly. První kapitola – „O sexualitě, ženách a mužích“ – obsahuje vymezení sexuality a souvisejících konceptů (sexuální orientace, citová orientace, láska, sexuální chování, sexuální identita a genderová a/nebo sexuální identita). Součástí této kapitoly, jak název napovídá, je i snaha zasadit sexualitu do genderového kontextu. Ačkoliv to činí jen povšechně (na dvou stranách), autor si díky tomu vytváří půdu pro pojednání o sexualitě mužů a žen jako kulturně (spolu)utvářené. Z toho pak mimo jiné vyplývá, že oproti většině publikací týkajících se sexuality věnuje více pozornosti, než je běžné, ženské sexualitě. Alespoň stručně tematizuje marginalizaci ženské sexuality, kterou je „možné pozorovat na případu ženské homosexuality“ (s. 33).

Druhá kapitola – „Od homosexuality k různorodosti sexuálních identit“ – diskutuje o samotné homosexualitě a v menší míře i o jiných formách neheterosexuality. Pro cíl knihy je klíčovou podkapitola „Homosexualita v kontextu naší kultury“ a navazující podkapitola „Heteronormativita“, ve kterých autor osvětluje socio-kulturní faktory, které se podílejí na homofobních předsudcích konkrétních osob i na celkovém homofobním ladění naší společnosti a jejích institucí. Zdeněk Sloboda se velmi dobře orientuje v současné legislativě i reálných životních podmínkách homosexuálních žen a mužů, což zúročuje ve dvou dalších relevantních podkapitolách i v celé knize. Jedná se bezesporu o velkou přednost knihy, jež se ale zároveň může stát její slabinou, protože informace relevantní k roku 2016 budou zastarávat. Jako historický doklad ale samozřejmě může být užitečná dlouhodobě.

Třetí kapitola – „Dospívání“ – se věnuje coming outu, k němuž nejčastěji dochází v průběhu adolescence. Je škoda, že samotné uvědomování si vlastní neheterosexuality je pojato víceméně jen v intencích dosavadních českých publikací a nenabízí nic nového (např. průběh coming outu je přiblížen prostřednictvím notoricky citované periodizace Vivienne Cass z roku 1979). Naopak ale kvitují, že kromě vnitřního a vnějšího coming outu samotné osoby, která si uvědomuje svoji neheterosexuality, kapitola poměrně obsírně pojednává i o coming outu rodičů. Tím zcitlivuje obě strany – děti i rodiče, ale i další zúčastněné (příbuzní, kamarádi) k prožitkům těch „druhých“, díky čemuž celý proces coming outu může probíhat pozitivněji. Velká část této kapitoly se soustřeďuje na školu jako na normotvornou instituci, v níž dospívající tráví podstatný díl svého času. Autor je vůči českým školám kritický, a to jak z hlediska obsahu učiva,

tak z hlediska interakcí a klimatu. V podkapitole „Inkluzivní duhová škola“ proto nabízí dvě možná pojetí principů, jejichž realizaci by školy aktivně odstraňovaly homofobní předsudky a vytvářely příznivé prostředí pro rozvoj LGBTI+ studujících.

Čtvrtá kapitola – „Rodičovství“ – je věnována přechodu od neheterosexuálního partnerství k založení rodiny. Považuji ji za vrchol knihy, a to nejen proto, že homoparentální rodičovství dosud není v českém prostředí běžným tématem, a tato kniha je tudíž jedním z mála příspěvků, ale také kvůli jejímu dobře strukturovanému uchopení. Na malém prostoru se Zdeňku Slobodovi podařilo vyjmenovat všechny klíčové aspekty homoparentálního rodičovství, včetně stěžejního dilematu mezi biologickým a sociálním rodičovstvím. Za podnětnou také pokládám podkapitolu „Diskuse kritiky duhových rodin“, která na třech stranách přehledně nabízí argumentaci proti hlavním výhradám, jež zaznívají v laickém i odborném diskursu na adresu homosexuálních rodičů a vývoje dětí v homoparentálních rodinách.

Napříč všemi kapitolami jsou zařazena jakási jazyková okénka, v nichž Zdeněk Sloboda upozorňuje na jazyk používaný v komunikaci o sexualitě, resp. neheterosexualitě. Například ukazuje významový rozdíl mezi anglickým a českým slovem sex a sexuální/sexual. Ačkoliv se na poli genderových studií nejedná o nikterak originální informaci, jeho zastoupení v popularizační knize je nezpochybnitelné a spolu s dalšími prvky přispívá ke kultivaci pohledu a diskuse v této oblasti.

Zdeněk Sloboda opakovaně deklaruje používání sociálněkonstruktivistické a sociálněkritické perspektivy, avšak proto, že kniha není primárně a pouze odbornou monografií, je přihlášení k ní neúplné. Mnohem silnějším pilířem knihy se mi jeví autorův aktivismus. Ten je bohužel přiznaný jen částečně. Například při opakovaném připomínání aktivit PROUDu se nedozvíme, že autor je jeho (spolu)zakladatelem a stále aktivním členem. Jinak však aktivistické pozadí s oporou v odborných znalostech pokládám za ideální východiska pro popularizační knihu. Nejen, že tím z knihy číší zaujetí a energie pro posilování rovnosti, ale také tím, že s dobrým vhladem představuje projekty hlavních neziskových organizací i státních institucí.



## Conference Report 'The Geopolitics of Gender Studies'

**Julia Grulich<sup>1</sup>**

The 2nd annual meeting and conference of the International Research Association of Institutions of Advanced Gender Studies (RINGS) titled 'The Geopolitics of Gender Studies' took place in Cape Town, South Africa, from 16 to 18 November 2016.

RINGS was inaugurated at Örebro University, Sweden, in October 2014. In November 2015, the national assembly meeting and a conference focusing on gender studies in the neoliberal university was held in Prague, Czech Republic. (This special issue of *Gender and Research* is one of the results of the conference). One purpose of RINGS is to promote advanced, critical, transformative, self-reflexive gender and feminist research. In order to enhance transnational and cross-functional cooperation of critical gender scholars the first two RINGS conferences mainly served as a meeting place for the representatives of the various member organisations and as a possibility to get to know each other. For this reason, the call for papers for both conferences, in Prague as well as in Cape Town, was open only to member institutions of the RINGS-network.

The goals of the conference in 2016 were to: discuss topics that currently dominate gender research, contemplate the geopolitical shape of feminist scholarship, exchange experience with pedagogical practices, and expand possible scholarly collaborations across/between/transnational contexts.

The conference programme covered a broad range of themes, all of which were concerned with different aspects of gender, racism, and post-colonial power inequalities. To offer a broad thematic focus on issues questioning the geopolitics of gender, seven consecutive panels with 29 oral presentations were organised: (1) 'The Geopolitics of Gender Studies: Continuities and Change', (2) 'Queer Studies across the Global Contexts', (3) 'Diversity & Inclusion/Exclusion', (4) 'Gender Studies: Contemporary Contexts & Challenges', (5) 'Gender Equality: Geopolitical Perspectives', (6) 'Critical Posthumanism & Decoloniality', (7) 'Ethics of Care: Intimacy & Vulnerability'.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the topic of this special issue, I focus here on the presentations that referenced the processes of neoliberalisation. The keynote speaker, Josephine Ahikire from Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, brought attention to the situation of gender studies in Uganda. Since the 1990s, gender studies has increasingly gained

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Julia Grulich, Institute of Sociology, Georg-August-University Göttingen, Julia.grulich@uni-goettingen.de

<sup>2</sup> For the conference abstracts see: <http://ringsgender.org/aktuality/rings-conference-the-geopolitics-of-gender-studies#.WJmhnHqvxVU>.

acceptance as a result of governmental support. The Ugandan government largely depends on international donors of development aid. One difficulty with this is that politicians only support a specific kind of knowledge that is directly applicable (e.g., consulting, evaluation of gender mainstreaming processes, etc.), at the expense of theoretical basic research. After this inaugural talk, Amanda Gouws from the University of Stellenbosch in Cape Town, South Africa, had a talk that answered to and commented on the keynote lecture. She stated that donor funding was reduced at the same time as gender studies got institutionalised and diversified (including studies on masculinity and sexuality). She concluded that putting new issues on the agenda might harm gender studies' legitimacy. According to her, the diversification of gender knowledge and the professionalisation of gender consultancy could increase gender studies' independence from political pressures. For the future, she pins hopes on the new generation of gender scholars, who may be able to address issues that are politically taboo and marginalised, such as LGBTQ and land rights.

Many of the problems raised in the keynote speech were similar to those described by European researchers that were confronted with the neoliberal university. This includes the dependence on external funding, precarious jobs, and the assessment of individual success according to allegedly universal norms as well as indirect and hidden forms of discrimination. The process of neoliberalisation is one of the major developments at European universities. All talks in panel four ('Contemporary Challenges') were devoted to the effects of the neoliberal university on gender studies.

Eliza Steinbock from Leiden University challenged the alleged multiculturalism heralded by European universities. Although universities present themselves as open to cultural diversity, they do not really fight implicit forms of racism and do not openly discuss the fact that most of the employees at universities are male, white, and heterosexual.

Kadri Aavik from Tallinn University talked about the situation in Estonia where gender studies are not institutionalised and remain largely invisible. Scientists have precarious jobs and are highly dependent on external funding. Scientists and especially those interested in research on gender have to struggle for their existence and only receive recognition and promotion from funding organisations if they produce applicable results. As a matter of consequence, there is a lack of theoretical basic and critical research, especially regarding social issues. The need for political acceptance and financial support of gender studies thus also contradicts the scientific criterion of excellence that is set in the international scientific community. Meeting these criteria mostly involves publishing in English in peer-reviewed international journals and this in turn means having a low impact on Estonian debates.

In harsh contrast to the Estonian case, gender studies in Sweden is a highly institutionalised discipline and an integral part of science. Liisa Husu from Örebro

University recounts her experience with one of the by-products of the neoliberalisation of academics, the acceleration of the review and evaluation processes that create high visibility, which consequently builds the ground for further political and financial support. Based on the example of an evaluation that certified the Gender Centre and the gender study programme at Örebro University as insufficient, she critically asks who is empowered and entitled to make such powerful judgements. Especially in the case of gender studies, mostly comprising a small field of experts, the jury entails specialists in gender research on the one hand and on the other hand also scientists with a totally different scholarly background. Answering the unfair evaluation report, the Gender Centre employed collective counter-strategies such as letters of support from the scientific community and an extensive self-evaluation report.

Heike Kahlert from Ruhr-University Bochum, provided insights into the German state initiatives and debates on excellence in science in relation to gender. Here, one can see that gender was an integral part of the state funding system, review, and evaluations procedures and thus led to an increase in gender knowledge and gender equality initiatives. However, there is a considerable counter-reaction claiming that gender should not be an integral part of excellence. And even gender studies requires a change in the funding mechanism because it is mainly women studying STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) who benefit from the excellence funding, whereas the humanities and social sciences are disadvantaged.

At first glance, gender studies faces similar challenges worldwide. However, it became yet again obvious that feminist scholarship has never been a seamless unitary body of knowledge production: in regards to the neoliberal processes and practices, the conference brought attention to significant differences that mainly depend on national political, socio-economic, and material contexts in which the different centres of feminist scholarship are located.

A great merit of the conference is the international exchange of experiences of gender researchers. The conference enriched the field of gender studies by contributing international perspectives on the contemporary political situation of the discipline and gender research. The presence of representatives from across Europe, former Soviet countries and southern Africa in particular helped extend the debate to areas of research which remain on the periphery even within mainstream gender research.

However, despite the diverse size of the network, it was striking to see that Western and Northern European countries were over-represented at the conference and, thus, dominated the debates. Representatives of Australia and America were largely absent and it is unfortunate that other African and Arabic countries as well as other continents such as Latin America and Asia are not yet part of the network. RINGS was established

in Sweden, a country with a long tradition of gender studies. This regional advantage certainly worked in favour of the institutionalisation of a global network of gender studies, but also laid the foundation for the current national imbalance. It is good that RINGS wants to emancipate from global hierarchies and structural inequalities and seeks to enlarge and open up to more countries from different continents. By now RINGS includes 46 gender centres from 20 different countries in Africa, Australia, the Caribbean, Europe, and North and South America and continuously strives to enlarge the network. At the conference, member organisations were once more encouraged to invite others to become a new RINGS member with particular emphasis on an attempt to strengthen the participation of Global Southern countries outside Europe and the post-Soviet states in Central and Eastern Europe.

To become a member of the network, contact Jeff Hearn, Örebro University, Sweden: Jeff.Hearn@oru.se. For more information on RINGS, see <http://ringsgender.org/>.

## Čtvrt století kritické teorie v Praze

**Zuzana Uhde**

V roce 1993 se v Praze konala první konference „Philosophy and Social Science“, která navazovala na dřívější vědecká setkávání mezi Východem a Západem na Korčule v 60. a 70. letech 20. století a od poloviny 70. let v Dubrovniku, kde na počátku stáli jako organizátoři Jürgen Habermas a Gajo Petrović. Zatímco dubrovnický seminář byl v roce 1991 ukončen válečným konfliktem v bývalé Jugoslávii, v Praze byla zahájena dnes již 25letá tradice mezinárodního setkávání a dialogu vědců a vědkyň inspirovaných tradicí kritické teorie, kterou v současnosti organizuje mezinárodní kolektiv konferenčních ředitelů: Alessandro Ferrara (Itálie), Marek Hrubec (ČR), María Pía Lara (Mexiko), William E. Scheuerman (USA), Maeve Cook (Irsko), Rainer Forst (Německo), Amy Allen (USA) a Hartmut Rosa (Německo). Letošního setkání v Praze v druhé půlce května se zúčastnila celá řada významných osobností a celkově více než 150 přednášejících ze zahraničí, konkrétně z Německa, Itálie, Velké Británie, Irska, Dánska, USA, Mexika, Brazílie, Jihoafrické republiky a řady dalších zemí. Setkání se neslo v duchu rekapitulace, ale i společenských a vědeckých vyhlídek do budoucna a reflexe role kritické teorie.

Letošnímu výročí bylo také věnováno speciální číslo časopisu *Philosophy & Social Criticism* (roč. 43, č. 3/2017) vydávaného v Bostonu, ve kterém současní i bývalí konferenční ředitelé a ředitelky i pravidelní účastníci a účastnice konference představují

svůj pohled na význam těchto každoročních konferencí jak pro vytváření prostoru pro kritické diskuse a rozpracování teoretických konceptů společnosti, tak pro vzájemnou spolupráci a solidární kolegiální. Vedle současných organizátorů konference napsali svůj příspěvek mezi jinými Axel Honneth, Nancy Fraser, Seyla Benhabib, Charles Taylor, Frank I. Michelman, Jean L. Cohen, Robert Fine, Banu Bargu, David M. Rasmussen, Eva Erman a další. Výjimečný ráz letošního ročníku byl nadto podpořen uspořádanou výstavou vizuálního umění na téma „Rozhněvaná planeta: globální konflikty a lokální souvislosti“, kterou v Galerii Národní technické knihovny v Praze kurátorsky připravili Milan Mikuláščík, vedoucí Galerie NTK, a Milan Kreuzzieger z Centra globálních studií FLÚ AV ČR.

U příležitosti čtvrtstoletí byly hlavním konferenčním tématem „Globální konflikty a lokální souvislosti“, které jsou v současnosti také předmětem transdisciplinárního výzkumného programu v šesti ústavech Akademie věd ČR v rámci Strategie AV21, jenž koordinuje Marek Hrubec. A jak napovídá název výstavy, umělecká díla vstupovala s tímto tématem do dialogu. Dějiny kritické teorie i samotných seminářů předcházejících pražské konferenci jsou poznamenány jak válečnými, tak politicko-ekonomickými i kulturními konflikty. Po zdánlivě klidnější dekádě je ovšem téma globálních konfliktních interakcí a jejich vlivu na makroregionální, národní a lokální společenskou dynamiku opět na stole s jasnou naléhavostí. V rámci této konferenční tematické linie se diskutovalo o otázkách spojených s transnacionální migrací, kritickou kosmopolitní teorií a postnárodní spravedlností, zkoumáním role globální občanské společnosti, sociálních hnutí a OSN, krizí globálního kapitalismu, nástupem populismu nebo s mezinárodními a mezináboženskými konflikty a možnostmi vzájemného dialogu, ale hovořilo se i o dalších tématech.

Například sekce zaměřená na transnacionální migraci otevřela velmi aktuální otázku, jak rozlišovat mezi legitimními a nelegitimními požadavky minorit a skupin migrantů. Angela Taraborrelli ve svém příspěvku rozpracovala koncept kosmopolitní integrace, který nesklouzává do relativismu ani do esencialismu a na kterém je podle jejího názoru nutné založit kosmopolitně orientovanou demokratickou společnost. Její příspěvek tak rovněž otevřel prostor pro kombinaci částečné národnostní suverenity s kosmopolitní otevřeností, která se stává nezbytným požadavkem doby. Ali Emre Benli i můj příspěvek otevřely problém limitovaného a ve svých důsledcích přehlíživého pojetí politického aktérství dominantního proudu západní politické teorie, která opomíjí taková vyjádření kritiky, jež nesplňují kritéria klasického politického protestu v podobě kolektivně organizovaného a explicitně zaměřeného politického aktu. Benli ve svém příspěvku navrhl rozšíření konceptu občanské neposlušnosti tak, aby zahrnoval jako projevy protestu i situace migrantů, kteří se ocitají v extrémně zranitelné pozici a nemohou realizovat tradiční formy politického protestu. Přehlížené formy protestu představil exemplárně na pochodu migrantů z budapeštského nádraží přes

hranice do Rakouska v září 2015. Přehlíženými formami protestu se zabývala ve své plenární přednášce rovněž Banu Bargu. Ta na příkladech hladovek a diskutabilního sešívání rtů dále rozvinula svůj koncept *těla jako zbraně* (*weaponization of the body*) a vymezila argumentační pole pro uchopení projevů, jež překračují hranice klasicky chápaného politického aktérství a které nelze v rámci logocentrismu, jež upřednostňuje rozum a řeč, vyslyšet.

Další téma, které na konferenci silně rezonovalo, bylo téma populismu a pravicového extremismu zejména v kontextu Evropské unie a USA. Malte Frislee Ibsen současný vývoj využil k aktualizaci Habermasovy teorie legitimizační krize ve vztahu ke globalizovanému kapitalismu. Zdrojem krize legitimacy se zde stává strukturální nemožnost národních států kontrolovat globalizovaný kapitalismus a globální trh. Vedle habermasovské linie kritické teorie byla na konferenci rovněž významně přítomná kritická teorie uznání Axela Honnetha. Honnethovy rozborů boje o sociální uznání byly analyzovány jak v rovině osobního života, tak i v rovinách státu a občanské společnosti. Několik konferenčních sekcí se zaměřilo na nuancovanější rozpracování konceptu zneuznání i kritiku redukovaného přístupu k uznání jako k pouhému sociálněpsychologickému vztahu. Další analýzy sociální svobody ukázaly limity odlišného, v současné době převládajícího konceptu svobody, který svobodu chápe jako projev velmi sociálně izolovaného jedince. Takové izolované pojetí jedince však vede k odcizení, ke ztrátě rozvinutého vztahu k ostatním lidem, k absenci dostatečné ohleduplnosti a solidarity.

Kurátoři výstavy „Rozhněvaná planeta“, která téma konference prezentovala prostřednictvím vizuálního umění, v Praze představili vůbec poprvé práci ateliéru jednoho z nejvýznamnějších současných evropských umělců, nizozemského sochaře Joepa van Lieshouta, který byl na výstavě zastoupen dystopickou sochou „Kůň, matka a dítě“ ze souboru „Město otroků“ (Slave City). „Plastika připomínající na první pohled patetické protiválečné pomníky se při bližším zkoumání změní v morbidní scénu konzumace vnitřností koňské mršiny,“ uvádějí kurátoři v tiskové zprávě o tomto sochařském díle, jež bývá srovnáváno s proslulou Picassovou Guernicou. Další významnou osobností, jejíž dílo bylo na výstavě zastoupeno, je Martha Rosler z USA, která patří mezi zakladatelky feministického umění. Vystavovala zde tři fotomontáže ze série „Válka až do domu“ (Bringing the war home), v níž současně navazuje na svoje dřívější umělecké kritiky války ve Vietnamu. V sérii „Válka až do domu“ tematizuje souvislosti západní konzumní společnosti a válečných konfliktů na Blízkém východě, před kterými nelze zavřít dveře domova, neboť jejich důsledky vstupují prostřednictvím nových médií, populismu a migrace do našich pohodlných konzumních domovů. Radovan Čerevka ze Slovenska zde prezentoval model dystopické kombinace afrického totemismu a válečných letounů a někteří další umělci rozpracovali svá témata také s náznaky možných řešení současných globálních a lokálních konfliktů. Pomyslnou třešničkou

na dortu je video „Svoboda a nezávislost“ (Freedom and Independence) od německého umělce Bjørna Melhuse, který v něm parodizuje ultrapravicové doktríny Ayn Rand. Za zmínku rovněž stojí, že příští rok bude rozšířená verze výstavy představena v brněnském Domě umění.

Letošní konference zdůraznila mnohaletou tradici, na kterou kritická sociální věda i pražská konference navazují, ale také výzvy, které před kritickou teorií stojí. Svou lokací toto setkávání vstupuje rovněž do dialogu se sociálněvědním a humanitněvědním výzkumem v českém kontextu. Jak zaznělo z úst Alessandra Ferrary z Říma, který se ze všech organizátorů věnuje přípravě pražské konference nejdéle, poděkování patří Josefu Zumrovi, který byl na začátku 90. let ředitelem Filosofického ústavu AV ČR a umožnil přesunutí konference do Prahy, a Josefu Velkovi, který pro tento přesun a první ročníky pražské konference vytvořil na Akademii věd ČR nezbytné podmínky. Marek Hrubec navázal na práci těchto svých předchůdců a od počátku milénia spoluorganizuje konferenci se zahraničními kolegyněmi a kolegy. Pražská konference vstupuje do další etapy, v níž před kritickoteoretickým výzkumem stojí nové výzvy globálních konfliktních vztahů s jejich problematickými dopady v lokálních kontextech, včetně České republiky, jež jsou svou naléhavostí neméně zásadní než ty, které ve 30. letech stály před první generací kritické teorie.

## Udržitelný rozvoj a genderové nerovnosti.

### Zpráva z konference Ženy jako aktérky udržitelného rozvoje

**Romana Marková Volejníčková, Marie Pospíšilová**

Dne 24. února 2017 proběhla v Impact Hub Praha konference *Ženy jako aktérky udržitelného rozvoje*, kterou pořádala Ekumenická akademie.<sup>1</sup> Na konferenci bylo přítomno široké spektrum aktérů a akterek, které se zajímají, ať už pracovní nebo osobně, o téma udržitelného rozvoje. Byli zde zástupci a zástupkyně akademické sféry, místních samospráv, neziskových organizací a dalších. Tato konference jednoznačně ukázala, že je genderovým nerovnostem v některých oblastech udržitelného rozvoje, klimatických změn či v ekologických otázkách věnována malá pozornost, přestože, jak ukázali prezentující, se situace mění k lepšímu. Každý příspěvek představil důležité argumenty problematiky genderových nerovností v určité oblasti udržitelného rozvoje.

<sup>1</sup> Informace o konferenci včetně publikovaných příspěvků jsou dostupné na: <http://www.pestujplanetu.cz/aktuality/73-ohlednuti-za-konferenci-zeny-jako-akterky-udrzitelneho-rozvoje>.

je a nastínil i další směr pro budoucí diskusi a analýzy. Dalším nesporným přínosem této konference bylo, že o tématu genderových nerovností v oblasti udržitelného rozvoje se diskutovalo z různých úhlů pohledu a ukázalo se, jak jej lze uchopit z globální i lokální perspektivy. Globální perspektiva představila například téma chudoby žen, které se týká jak žen globálního Jihu, tak i zemí Severu. Jiné příspěvky byly více zaměřeny na Českou republiku, díky čemuž byla globální témata přenesena do lokálního českého kontextu. Příkladem byla naše prezentace studie *Gender a energetika*, kde bylo ukázáno na specifika feminizace chudoby v ČR v souvislosti s energetikou. V následujících řádcích představíme nejzajímavější prezentace, jež se zabývaly dvěma nejdůležitějšími tématy – dualitou lokálního a globálního a participací žen v oblasti udržitelného rozvoje.

Téma života žen globálního Jihu na konferenci představil Ondřej Horký-Hlucháň z Ústavu mezinárodních vztahů. Jedním z důležitých argumentů příspěvku bylo, že některé země Afriky jsou na evropské státy stále velmi silně napojeny i dnes. V důsledku toho mohou mít některá rozhodnutí na evropské úrovni, byť dobře míněná, negativní dopady mimo jiné i na genderovou rovnost v zemích globálního Jihu. Jedním z příkladů je oblast zemědělství, kde velmi často pracují ženy. Zavedení moderního zemědělství v některých afrických státech způsobilo praktické i symbolické znehodnocení práce žen v zemědělství a naopak byla posílena role práce mužů a jejich postavení ve společnosti. V příspěvku byl také zdůrazněn genderový rozměr problematiky – chudobou je v těchto zemích ohroženo mnohem více žen než mužů (stejně jako v zemích Severu). Prezentující poukázal na to, že podle odhadu UNDP (tj. Rozvojový program OSN) jsou v oblasti globálního Jihu dvě třetiny z nejchudších právě dívky a ženy. Prezentace ukázala, že feminizace chudoby je celosvětový problém, který v lokálních kontextech nabývá jiných forem.

Podoba feminizace chudoby v českém kontextu byla představena v naší prezentaci studie *Gender a energetika*,<sup>2</sup> ze které byly na konferenci prezentované některé výstupy. Cílem této publikace bylo analyzovat, zda a jak je v ČR genderová rovnost v energetice sledována a prosazována, především ve vybraných oblastech, jež oslovění experti a expertky v naší studii považovali za aktuální pro český kontext. Na konferenci jsme představily především téma nízkého zastoupení žen v energetice, téma energetické chudoby<sup>3</sup> z genderového hlediska a genderové nerovnosti v dopadech energetiky na zdraví. I náš příspěvek, stejně jako jiné příspěvky na konferenci, ukázal, že tématu genderové rovnosti v oblasti udržitelného rozvoje nebo energetiky se v evropském kontextu věnuje pozornost poměrně nově. Zároveň jde o témata, které

<sup>2</sup> Publikace je ke stažení na <https://cz.boell.org/cs/2017/01/31/gender-energetika>.

<sup>3</sup> Energetická chudoba je nedostatek energie (nebo nepřijatelné náklady) na vytápění, ochlazování, vaření, osvětlení a užívání elektrických spotřebičů v domácnosti. Podrobněji viz <http://fuelpoverty.eu/>.



bylo dosud studováno zejména v rozvojových zemích. Důvodem tohoto zaměření je, že v těchto zemích jsou to ženy, které zajišťují základní životní potřeby rodiny, jako je dřevo na topení nebo pitná voda. V tomto světle se mohou jevit dopady vykáčení lesů nebo znečištění pitné vody jako palčivější problémy než ty, o kterých se v kontextu genderových nerovností v energetice diskutuje v Evropě (detailněji je o těchto tématech pojednáno níže). I to může být důvodem, proč je v evropských zemích genderová rovnost v oblasti energetiky tématem až posledních několika let. Jednou z hlavních oblastí výzkumu je nízké zastoupení žen v energetice (především v průběhu vzdělávání, v otázkách horizontální a vertikální genderové segregace, ale také v expertní a vědecké komunitě). Ve studii i v prezentaci jsme však ukázaly i další témata, kterým zatím není věnován dostatek prostoru. Například v oblasti energetické chudoby není genderové hledisko řešeno téměř vůbec. Současné studie ale poukazují na to, že jedním z aspektů vedoucích k energetické chudobě jsou malé finance (např. při počáteční investici do úspornějších opatření domácnosti). Ze statistik vyplývá, že ženy mají menší příjmy než muži a že jsou více ohroženy chudobou, a lze proto usuzovat, že to budou právě ženy, které budou více ohroženy i energetickou chudobou. Pokud však genderové hledisko nebude v energetické chudobě prosazováno a nebude se o něm diskutovat, případná opatření snižující energetickou chudobu nebudou tuto situaci žen řešit.

Přednáška Moniky McGarrell Klimentové z Institutu plánování a rozvoje hl. m. Prahy poukázala na to, jak je genderová dimenze zatím poměrně přehlíženým tématem v oblasti udržitelnosti ve městech a obcích. Ve svém příspěvku odhalila zdánlivou genderovou neutralitu fungování měst a jejich vztahu k udržitelnému rozvoji. Upozorňovala na různé životní role mužů a žen a s tím spojené odlišné životní zkušenosti a různý vliv a přístup k řešení environmentálních a sociálních problémů. Příkladem je rodičovská role spojená s péčí o děti, která se častěji týká žen. Péče o děti vyžaduje jiné potřeby, co se týče transportu a pohybu po městě (např. vyzvedávání dětí z kroužků). Na jedné straně tak mají ženy a muži jiné požadavky na podobu města a trávení času během dne, na straně druhé má jejich aktivita jiné dopady na životní prostředí – jedná se například o vyšší míru využívání osobní automobilové dopravy muži oproti ženám, které častěji využívají ekologičtější hromadnou dopravu. Nástrojem, který by měl tyto rozdílné potřeby a přístupy odhalovat, je gender mainstreaming, který propojuje konkrétní opatření s rozsáhlejšími strukturálními změnami. Konkrétní kroky mohou mít podobu specifických opatření například ke sladování pracovního a rodinného života ze strany zaměstnavatele nebo obecnějších systémových změn, jako je zvyšování zastoupení žen v politice.

Druhá část konference měla participativní podobu. Jednalo se o workshopy, ve kterých účastníci a účastnice diskutovali nad tématem participace žen na lokální politické úrovni a nad tím, jak vnášet cíle udržitelného rozvoje do každodenní agendy města.

Tato témata opět ukazovala vztah lokálního a globálního – diskutovalo se o konkrétních možných krocích, které lze provádět na lokální úrovni, případně o bariérách, které jsou přítomny v jejich zavedení. O jednotlivých možných krocích se uvažovalo v širším kontextu globálních dopadů, jež tato opatření mohou mít. Samotné diskuse s účastníky a účastnicemi v některých případech ukázaly právě na to, že uvažování o genderových nerovnostech je v oblasti udržitelného rozvoje poměrně novým tématem.

Hlavním cílem konference bylo upozorňovat na současnou roli žen v oblasti udržitelného rozvoje. Příspěvky popisovaly jejich postavení, význam jejich zapojení a možné bariéry, kterým čelí. Jak se ukázalo, v některých oblastech jsou téma zastoupení a význam tohoto zastoupení poměrně nové nebo nesamozřejmé. Největším přínosem konference je, že ukázala na konkrétní problémy či kroky, jež může jedinec dělat (nebo nad nimi alespoň uvažovat) s vědomím širších souvislostí a dopadů, které tyto kroky mohou mít.

Časopis *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* je recenzovaný vědecký transdisciplinární časopis v oblasti genderových studií a feministické teorie. V časopise jsou publikovány stati v češtině a angličtině, které uplatňují genderovou či feministickou perspektivu v oboru sociologie, filosofie, politologie, kulturních studií anebo v dalších sociálních a humanitních vědách. Časopis vydává od roku 2000 Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i., do roku 2016 vycházel pod názvem *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum*. Redakční rada časopisu podporuje publikace, které přispívají k rozvoji transdisciplinárních genderových studií s přihlédnutím k autorskému analytickému přínosu textů.

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*Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* is a peer-reviewed transdisciplinary journal of gender studies and feminist theory. The journal publishes articles in Czech and English with gender or feminist perspective in the fields of sociology, philosophy, political science, cultural studies, and other branches of the social sciences and humanities. The journal was founded in 2000; it is published biannually by the Gender & Sociology Department of the Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences. Until 2016, the journal was published under the name *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum / Gender and Research*. The editorial board supports work that represents a contribution to the development of transdisciplinary gender studies and it takes into account the analytical contribution of manuscripts.

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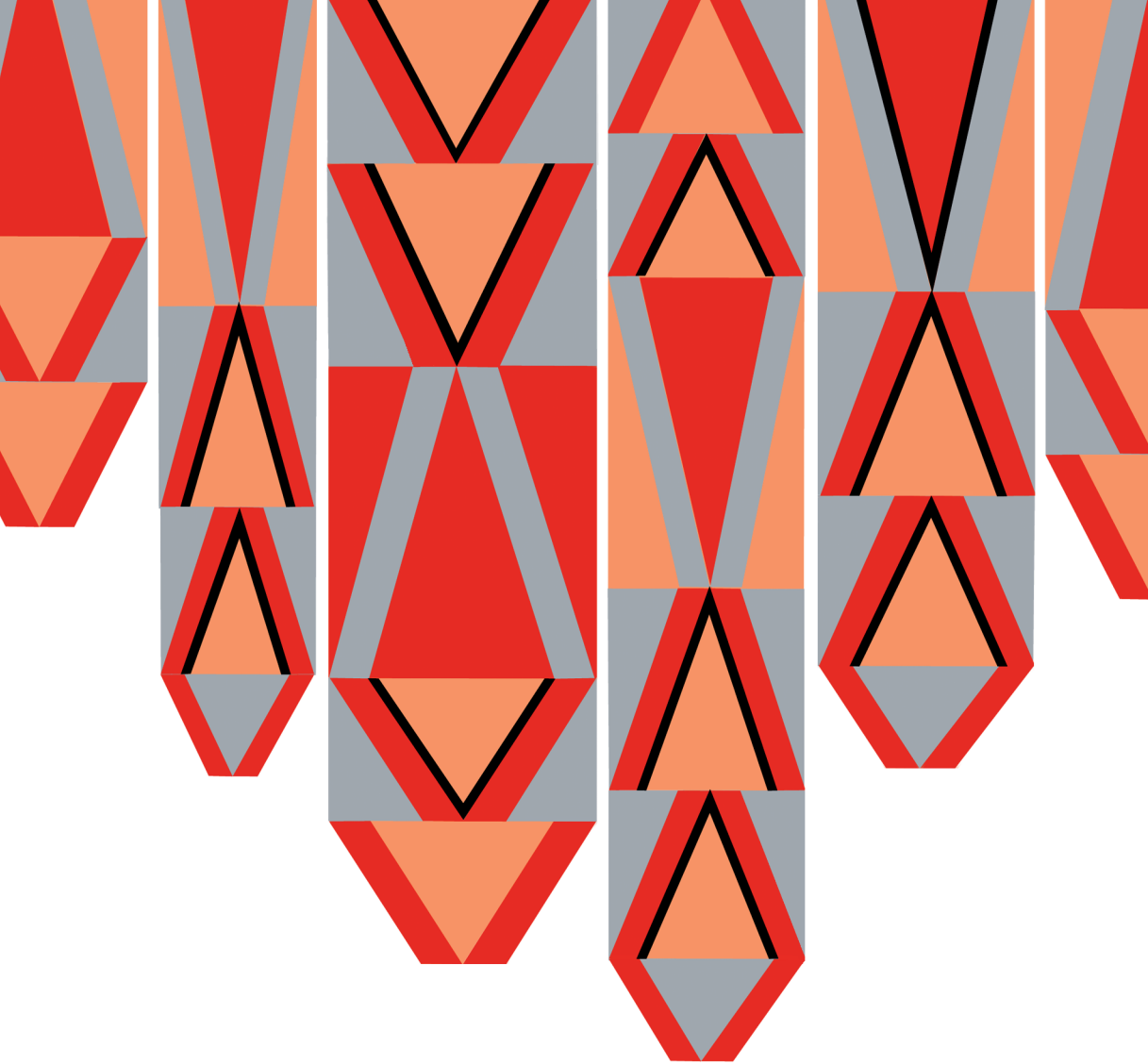
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