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ABSTRACT

This book provides a practically oriented reflection on gender equity in higher education and offers insights on how to achieve such equity. Equity, rather than "equality," is the focus of the discussion, which refines the discussion of gender and higher education to go beyond traditional ideas of equal provision and the mathematical equality of outcomes. The discussion includes equal treatment or treatment that is different but considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, and opportunities. Recommendations are made for developing, implementing, and monitoring gender sensitive policies in higher education. The chapters are: (1) "Key Concepts of Gender Equity"; (2) "Normative Provisions for the Promotion of Gender Equity in Higher Education"; (3) "Gender Particularities in Post-Communist Transitions"; (4) "Gender Inequity and Policies for Gender Equity in Higher Education"; and (5) "The role of Gender Studies in Promoting Gender Equity in Higher Education." (Contains 33 references.) (SLD)



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Guidelines for Promoting Gender Equity in Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe

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Guidelines for Promoting Gender Equity in Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe

Mihaela Miroiu

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Preface

The reform of higher education systems includes the reform of institutional practices regarding gender and the resulting changes in individual and collective knowledge about the subject. Consequently, “gender equity in higher education” is a recurrent issue debated today from various policy-related and political perspectives.

UNESCO-CEPES has been playing an active role in this debate, demonstrating its commitment to the enhancement of the status of women in higher education as students, teachers, and administrators and its confidence in the outcome of gender mainstreaming in higher education institutions.

This commitment goes back many years. It began in 1981 with the publication of a set of articles on the topic, “Participation of Women in Higher Education”, in the UNESCO-CEPES quarterly review, *Higher Education in Europe* (Vol. 6, No. 3, 1981). Subsequently, in 1985, 1988, 1990, and 1991, respectively, the Centre co-sponsored four meetings dealing with various aspects of this general subject that gave rise to three published studies. It also collaborated, along with the Council of Europe, in the setting up of the European Network on Women's Studies, serving, for a number of years, as its Secretariat. Later, after the transition in Central and Eastern Europe had gotten underway, it collaborated in the setting up, in 1996, of a UNESCO Chair on Women, Society, and Development at the University of Warsaw in Poland.

The origins of the present volume reflect the dovetailing of the commitment of UNESCO-CEPES to the promotion of women in higher education with its post-1989 commitment to transition in Central and Eastern Europe, especially to the reform of higher education and its adaptation to political, social, and economic change. In particular, in 1998, UNESCO-CEPES assumed responsibility for a two-year regional project on “Good Practice in Promoting Gender Equality in Higher Education” that took place within a larger UNESCO Programme titled “Women, Higher Education, and Development”.

As explained by Laura Grünberg, staff member at UNESCO-CEPES and the coordinator of this project, its main purpose “was to identify those regional, national, and local activities which have had a significant impact on the reduction of gender inequalities in higher education in certain Central and Eastern European countries” (Grünberg, 2001b, p. 7). A major outcome was publication of *Good Practice in Promoting Gender Equality in Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe* (UNESCO-CEPES, 2001) that included eight country case studies.

The present publication, by Professor Mihaela Miroiu, one of the contributors to the above-mentioned volume, continues the discussion. It provides a more practically oriented reflection in regard to the subject and offers additional insights as to how to achieve gender *equity* in higher education. The key word here is *equity* rather than *equality* and represents a further refinement of the discussion of gender and higher education, going beyond traditional ideas of equal provision or the mathematical equality of outcomes. It includes equal treatment, or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, and opportunities.

This publication is designed to be both formative and informative. The author offers a regional and international perspective on feminist priorities in education at the start of the Twenty-First Century. She combines conceptual clarifications for various key terms in the field of gender equity and historical references to the evolution of certain concepts and themes with updated information on a number of significant normative provisions as well as specific institutions and bodies that have been developed in different countries for implementing and monitoring gender equity in higher education. She also puts forward a set of recommendations, structured at various levels, with the aim of offering “tips” on how to develop, implement, and monitor gender sensitive policies in higher education.

Dr. Miroiu, an internationally recognized expert in the field of feminism and gender studies, has many publications to her



credit. Currently, she is a Professor in the Faculty of Political Science of the National School for Political and Administrative Studies in Bucharest and Head of the Master's Degree Programme in "Gender and Public Policies" at that institution. Her present study, which UNESCO-CEPES is proud to publish, is short but very weighty. Its readers will profit greatly from it. In doing so, we hope that they will identify ideas and concepts that they will be able to adapt and use, in concrete ways, within specific national contexts in promoting gender equity in higher education.

Jan Sadlak
Director of UNESCO-CEPES

Introduction

The key concept used throughout this study is that of gender equity. This concept is preferable to that of gender equality for several reasons. Gender equality stresses the fact that women can and must do what men do, within various institutions and practices. In other words, the term assumes that women can achieve masculine ideals and should follow masculine norms and rules, this being the case because the culture women found – when they secured their right to be subjects of knowledge, morals, and politics – is a culture that had been produced, for millennia, by men, under the patriarchal configuration of gender relations.

Gender equity has richer connotations. The emphasis is placed on justice and fairness, rather than on equality. The fact that women may adopt masculine values and norms is a matter of equality, without necessarily being just. Justice is served if women are the subjects of a history which takes into account their experiences as women and the specificity of their lives. It is fair that women should participate as “partners in difference” in institutional and normative constructions and in the production of knowledge. The concept that opposes patriarchy is not matriarchy, but partnership. A condition for the possibility of democratic gender partnership is gender equity. Such a possibility is conditioned by gender-specific knowledge. For this reason, higher education represents an important resource both for the production of knowledge and as a model for the institutionalization of gender equity and gender partnership. European citizenship presupposes the democratization of gender relations.

But democratization and gender equity are not ends in themselves. The goal is that individuals should be able to develop and to fully realize themselves without artificial obstacles. The exercise of personal autonomy is even more necessary in this part of Europe, where it was prohibited for more than half a century. Transition failed to give rise to additional gender partnership and gender equity. Sometimes it generated a modern form of patriarchy, from which Western

and even Central and Eastern European countries seek to distance themselves.

A study by the Council of Europe sums up the problem:

In Central and Eastern European countries, during socialism, gender differentiation was less evident. The school curriculum was the same for both sexes, and girls were expected to enter technical studies as well as boys. Significant numbers of women received vocational training and were employed in jobs that were, and still are, predominantly masculine in Western Europe. With this, the goal of gender equality was considered to be fulfilled; in all areas that have been associated with the feminine, such as home life or personal relationships, there was practically no public discussion about equality and no educational effort to achieve it. In this sense, it has been said that equality was defined as women functioning as men, while carrying a silent additional burden of responsibility for the family. If Western schools and societies failed to open "masculine" fields to women, Eastern schools and society failed as well, both to recognize the social value of "feminine" fields and to open them to men. In the transformation period since 1989, it has proven difficult to place this problem on the educational agenda.... The future priority must be to develop policies that transform the existing gender contract and the gender division of labour for both sexes. This cannot be done by simply adding questions related to men into policies focused on women's interests, or by adding more and more special interest groups to the agenda. Achieving equality means overcoming the *relationship* of dominance and subordination inherent in gender inequality. Often, this will not be a matter of inventing new measures, but of reframing existing approaches in terms of a dialogue, within which both women and men take on the challenge of change. The change that is needed affects both women and men to an equal degree, if in different ways, and thus must involve both women and men in order to succeed (Council of Europe, 1998).

Chapter 1

Key Concepts of Gender Equity

1.1. THE CONCEPT OF GENDER

The concept of gender refers to the socially constructed significance of biological sex and of the differences between the sexes. It refers to the ways in which one comes to understand and often to amplify the perceived biological differences between the sexes. One does not use gender to talk about men and women as such, but about the actions of persons, about their behaviour, and about practices to which they subscribe. In other words, it would be an error to assume that a man necessarily belongs to the masculine gender and that a woman necessarily belongs to the feminine gender.

As a *political concept*, gender does not overlap with linguistic gender, which defines “she” as feminine and “he” as masculine. Gender is not necessarily related to the body. Rather, it is a matter of a coherent set of beliefs about what is feminine and what is masculine. Consequently, one cannot say that all women are feminine and that all men are masculine. Or, to put it differently, not all actions performed by a man, in a given situation, are masculine, and not all actions performed by a woman are feminine.

All people fulfill gender roles. Gender refers to all cultural expectations associated with femininity and masculinity, and these expectations go beyond biological differences of sex. Gender roles presuppose a mixture of psychological behaviour, attitudes, norms, and values which society defines as masculine or feminine. In higher education, for instance, there is an expectation that a woman should be educated and work in fields associated with the concept of “care” (the educational sciences, medicine, social assistance).

Gender is social and relational. What is socially defined in a given context (in a given society, in given circles, in a particular period, etc.) as masculine may become feminine (or feminine

as well) in a different context or may otherwise simply escape the space of the masculine-feminine dichotomy. For example, until the early days of communism, being a professor was preponderantly a masculine calling. From then on, the profession was extensively feminized.

Gender differences have normative implications: not only do they refer to how women and men behave, but also to how they *should* behave. A person who does not comply with his or her gender role is seen either as a born deviant, or as having been inadequately socialized. Hence, sex operates with a biological distinction, while gender operates with a social and cultural distinction.

Since gender is socially constructed, it is culturally relative; it has different characteristics and connotations in different historical periods or cultural and social contexts (Oakley, 1972). Moreover, gender should not simply be viewed as a binary difference, but also as a hierarchy. The relationships between men and women are structured by power relations. Men form the dominant group, while women form the subordinate one. When feminists challenge biological explanations of gender differences they are, in effect, challenging the notion of the "natural inferiority" of women. This inferiority comes not from nature, but from the hierarchical dualism invented by the patriarchal order in order to foster masculine authority.

Radical feminists would rather preserve a strong relationship between biological sex and the social roles of women. In their view, women are different, even superior to men, owing to their biology and to their unique ability to give birth and to breast-feed. These characteristics give women an interest in life, attitudes that are anti-conflictual and anti-war, and a propensity for co-operation and care. In the opinion of Iris Marion Young (1990), the demeaning of feminine traits, sometimes even by feminists, leads to the under-appreciation of women (adapted from Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002).

1.2. THE GENDER GAP

This concept refers to the differences between men and women in three particular respects: (i) access to the public sphere; (ii) access to the job market; (iii) access to welfare. Traditionally, gender differences have been explained by the lower education level, training, and work experience of women (what is referred to as human capital theory). Gender segregation leads to the exclusion or the marginalization of women from professions or positions that generate high income and social prestige.

Feminist explanations of this state of affairs focus on the issue of the “double burden” or “double day”. In patriarchal cultures, women are responsible for domestic work and child rearing, responsibilities which exhaust resources necessary for professional achievement (this problem is especially obvious in higher education careers):

- i. *The exclusion model*: women are excluded from well-paid occupations for socio-cultural reasons. They are identified as unimportant workers and second-rate professionals. Within higher education institutions, women are excluded from, or constitute a minority among, the holders of high-level positions (full professors, deans, rectors).
- ii. *The crowding model*: women are “crowded” into the less desirable jobs and functions, which men would like to avoid (in the academic environment: tutorships, leaders of seminars, laboratory research, and practical work with students).

The gender gap cannot be overcome without (i) gender partnership in private life; (ii) a change in perception with regard to the intrinsic value of particular activities (education, care); (iii) norms and institutions promoting equal opportunities; (iv) policies for the recruitment and promotion of women aiming at gender parity, both in the hierarchy of professions and within those professions (see Kemp, 1994; Morris, 1995; Jacobsen, 1998).

1.3. EQUALITY AND DISCRIMINATION

According to classical political theory, discrimination against women is the result of differences in level of rationality: women are viewed as being less rational and less capable of autonomous action than men. They are thus unable to be citizens and to have a career. Today's political theory stipulates the equality of sexes. At normative level, laws and acts are no longer discriminatory. In principle, there are no obstacles to access to employment, positions, and professions.

Yet the lack of normative obstacles has not led to genuine equality nor to an effective exercise of rights. Public and professional life is built around the model of the individual who is free of concerns about child rearing or domestic needs. Public positions and careers are built, andromorphically, for preponderantly masculine roles.

These considerations lend support to arguments in favour of affirmative action. Women are not excluded by a gender neutral perspective; neither are they excluded owing to arbitrary (male) chauvinism, but rather because society systematically favours men in the obtaining of employment, as well as in defining achievement.

A woman who gives birth to a child has no other way of raising it than by leaving her job or taking one that requires less involvement and performance. She thus becomes dependent (on the State, her spouse, etc.). Convinced that this fate is inevitable and often accepting it with resignation, women will not try to behave as men. Rather, they will try hard to attract and keep their male partners. Gender is relevant to the distribution of resources and benefits in society. It keeps men in positions of supremacy, and is a disadvantage for women (MacKinnon, 1987).

The solution is therefore not the mere absence of explicit discrimination, but empowerment. Equality is not simply equality of opportunity to conform to roles defined by men, but rather, equality of opportunity to create roles defined by women or to assume androgynous roles.

1.4. THE FEMINIZATION OF PROFESSIONS

The feminization of professions is a historical process whereby several occupations, in which a large number of women are involved, come to be seen as typically feminine, and are considered inferior to “men’s professions” both in financial terms and in terms of status. Many of the feminized occupations are those which traditionally involved qualities and characteristics that are viewed as “typically” feminine (empathy, care toward others, ability to relate, etc.).

A consequence of the feminization of certain occupations, of the decreasing prestige and financial value attached to the fields preponderantly employing women, is the feminization of poverty. The process whereby an occupation becomes less prestigious and less well remunerated as soon as it is feminized can be observed in most societies. To a great extent, this situation arises because women are not socialized to demand their rights and to protest. As a consequence, employers or the state will try to exploit the endurance and submission of women (adapted from Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002).

1.5. GENDER AND POWER

The second wave of feminism emphasized power relations, whether power over women, the empowerment of women, or power as resistance. Feminism looks at power relations between men and women, which, to a large extent, mean control over the bodies and the reproductive capacities of women (Millet, 1972). But power relations also imply symbolic power: the power to name, to define, to explain, and to determine, in a normative sense, what and how women are, and what and how they *should be*.

The central goal of feminism is the empowerment of women as individuals and as interest groups. The concept feminists use to refer to male power is “patriarchy”.

Postmodern feminism changed common perspectives on the concept of power. Power includes repressive power as well as

productive power, the exercise as well as the possession of power, and the fact that power has multiple sources (it comes from a web of power-generating relations). Feminist groups prefer the network model to the pyramidal, hierarchical forms of organization, which are viewed as hegemonic. Changing the meaning of the concept of power should enable women to overcome the feminism of victimhood, and to look at other areas – such as knowledge or discourse – as foundational sources of relations of power and authority.

The third wave of feminism looks at how power can be brought to bear upon everyday life by means of micro-policies. In spite of such changes of emphasis, however, many feminists agree that, all in all, the power of men over women has been continuous, both at the level of the state, and in the context of legislation. Consequently, micro-policies are necessary, but not sufficient for overcoming patriarchy as a macro-policy (as in the power of multinational corporations).

The concept of gender power is used with respect to actions, behaviour, attitudes, and practices of individuals. Gender relations are *gender power relations*. If society values masculine behaviour and attitudes in one particular area, then gender relations in that area are biased in a way that privileges men. The most eloquent example is the field of government. Studies show that individuals who are either masculine or able to play masculine roles will benefit from advantages in obtaining high-level government positions. This reality explains why most women who reach the top of political and managerial hierarchies behave in ways that are commonly described as masculine. In other words, women who do not behave in masculine ways and do not comply with the unwritten norms of the political game (norms which have been established during centuries of male domination, at least in numerical terms, if not otherwise), cannot obtain political prominence.

Gender relations are gender power relations in the many contexts in which human beings, women and men, interact socially. These positions, at the top of political institutions which men have been holding for centuries, have enabled men

to structure these institutions, to create laws, to legitimize the substance of knowledge, to establish moral codes, and to shape culture in ways that perpetuate the power of men over women by means of gender power (*e.g.*, by imposing leadership styles, masculine norms of behaviour in the leadership of social institutions, etc.). Women who desire to infiltrate the domain of leadership have to do it on the ideological terms of established masculine norms.

Women are more empathic to the experiences of their fellow beings (unless, of course, their solidarity with other women fades, and they become misogynistic). Women have difficulty in making themselves heard and followed by means of typically feminine modes of leadership (*i.e.*, devised under the impact of feminine experiences), so as to enable men to empathize with their fellow women. Moreover, even when they adopt masculine attitudes in order to succeed as leaders, women have to be – as it is commonly said – twice as good as their men colleagues. This necessity is, of course, another illustration of the fact that gender relations are gender power relations (Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002).

1.6. PATRIARCHY AND MISOGYNY

1.6.1. *Patriarchy*

The concept of patriarchy is central to second-wave feminism. It was initially developed by radical feminists, but was later adopted and further explored by other types of feminism. The analysis of patriarchy starts from an obvious fact: women seem to be almost completely absent from history, as if their only role had been that of giving birth, raising, and taking care of the “history makers”.

Women have made history alongside men. Yet because of the fact that history is known from historical writings, and writing used to be an art to which women had little access, their contributions to history are mostly missing. The historians were men, and they wrote about experiences that seemed relevant to them as men. The life and work of women were mostly ignored or neglected. Therefore, women have

seemed marginal in the building of civilization and inconsequential, when it has come to the deeds of historical magnitude. History has been recorded and related by the masculine half of humanity. This half did not include those who were not part of racial and class élites (see, for example, various publications on universal history that exclude the contributions of Central and Eastern Europe and the New Independent States). While it is true that women and men have been excluded and discriminated against on racial grounds, no man has ever been excluded from history because of his sex.

Women, on the other hand, have been so excluded (Lerner, 1986, p. 5). This kind of exclusion is particularly apparent in fields such as religion, philosophy, and politics:

- i. The first form of domination was the domination of men over women. It was used as a framework and model for other forms of domination.
- ii. The first laws established the institutional bases of sexual subordination (with the agreement and under the supervision of the State). Women co-operated with this system for various reasons: fear, economic dependency on the head of the family, the fact of belonging to a higher social class, the division between respectable (*i.e.*, conformist) and non-respectable (*i.e.*, non-conformist) women.
- iii. The relationship between men and the means of production were direct; the relationship between the latter and women was mediated by men.
- iv. The symbolic devaluing of women in the relationship with divinity became a founding metaphor of the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim religions (Lerner, 1986, pp. 8-10).

Far from being a historical reality alone, patriarchy is part and parcel of the organization of institutions and of daily practices. Put succinctly, patriarchal organization makes men, at any level of society, the “bosses” of women. The opposing concept is not matriarchy, but gender partnership.

A feminist perspective renders both women and men able to free their minds from patriarchal modes of thinking, institutions, and practices. It makes them capable of configuring a world free of gender domination.

The history of Eastern European states/countries is itself marked by a patriarchal past, which is however of a different nature than that postulated by Western theories. Until the inter-war period, patriarchy relied primarily on traditional values (religious, cultural, and political). The kind of economy based on family agriculture, as well as the communal organization, made women less dependent on men both in terms of income and in terms of status. In the West, modern patriarchy (status and financial dependency) developed along with the process of industrialization, of separation between productive and reproductive activities, and between the public and the private spheres. The latter separation created a large number of housewives who were completely dependent on their spouses for income, even though, in time, they secured political rights. In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, as well as in many Central European countries, industrialization was an accomplishment of communism. Under communism, women, just as much as men, had an obligation to be gainfully employed. Communism could be characterized as a mixture of traditionalist patriarchy in the private sphere and the family, egalitarianism in the sphere of production, and state patriarchy in the political sphere. Modern patriarchy gained ground during the post-communist period of transition, as women started to have reduced access to the job market and to depend on their spouses for their income (especially true of younger women). Communist egalitarianism collapsed, and so did state patriarchy. In spite of the formal equality expressed in the laws, men continue to extensively dominate political power, the economy, the spheres of authority, culture, education, and the media.

1.6.2. *Misogyny*

Misogyny is fear or hatred of, or contempt or derision for, women. Starting with the second wave of feminism, the term “misogyny” has given way to other concepts that were considered preferable, such as sexism or phallocentrism. The concept of “sexism” is considered broader than misogyny. Whereas the latter has psychological connotations, the former covers domains such as the ethical, the legal, the political, and the sociological.

Fear, hatred, or contempt of women is still widespread. The main source of such attitudes is to be sought in biological determinism and the interpretation of natural differences as handicaps (for women especially). Particularly frequent forms of misogyny are the designation of women as irrational, unpredictable, illogical, impossible to understand (hence the feeling of fear or contempt). While men are “not understood”, women are “impossible to understand”.

Viewing men as “the” norm and as a model, with masculine affirmation as the only mode of affirmation that could be authentically human, had a substantial influence on egalitarian feminism, which sought to imitate the “prototype”. Currently, this view is regarded as a form of feminist misogyny (since it is contemptuous of women and of feminine characteristics). By valorizing difference, egalitarian feminism has reconfigured the feminine and the female as culturally relevant.

1.7. SEXISM

Sexism is the doctrine of male supremacy, together with the bulk of beliefs and attitudes which underlie it – social arrangements, policies, language, and practices imposed by men – which express the systematic and often institutionalized conviction that women are inferior and men superior (the misogynist form of sexism). Patriarchy is the social order that underscores this ideology. Even when institutional patriarchy was abolished and replaced with state patriarchy, as in the

former communist countries, social and family relations remained sexist.

Sexism is expressed in religion, myths, laws, institutions, philosophy, politics, and everyday attitudes toward gender. As long as sexism remains the dominant ideology of gender, patriarchy will have a reservoir for rebirth and development. Such an ideology serves to undermine those legal changes that might safeguard non-discrimination and equality of opportunity.

Like racism, sexism is paternalistic. It is considered that the superior sex (just like the "superior" race) bestows its parental benevolence upon the inferior beings (the "weaker" sex). The former is protective and authoritative toward the latter, which is seen as defenseless.

In order to preserve this state of affairs, one has to keep women ignorant of ideological alternatives, to prevent them from conceptualizing their problems as group interests which might be turned into policies (*i.e.*, women have to remain unaware of their power, to be prevented from becoming political persons). Women have to be kept detached from one another.

Sexism manifests itself nowadays under the guise of more "subtle" forms of discrimination: the tacit exclusion from high-earning professions and positions, practical training or sports training that is different for boys and girls, the encouragement of girls to choose "feminine" professions, undervaluing the authority of women in various professions and even in private behaviour (*e.g.*, the refusal of sexual advances), and the use of demeaning images in the media (women as body users rather than brain users).

1.7.1. Institutional Sexism

Institutional sexism refers to a complex body of social arrangements, rules, practices, procedures, laws, and policies, which are apparently gender-neutral, but which actually lead to treatment that is unfavourable to women, who are

discriminated against by virtue of their being women, or (less often) to men because they are men.

In addressing the issue of institutional sexism, one has to consider first the *effects* of specific practices and policies, rather than the *motivations* of majority groups. This attitude must be adopted because institutional sexism may be unintentional, *i.e.*, may operate in the absence of conscious gender prejudice. Institutional gender discrimination is more subtle, more complex, and less visible than individual gender discrimination, which is a matter of beliefs and attitudes. As a result of institutional policies, institutional sexism appears to be impersonal, and its effects may be easier to negate or ignore (adapted from Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002).

1.7.2. Subtle Sexism

There are many ways in which subtle sexism manifests itself:

- *Condescending courteousness* – the protective, paternalistic, and overly polite treatment of women. Such attitudes have been well regarded, especially coming after the austere comradeship of communist regimes.
- *Discouraging encouragement* – contradictory messages addressed to women about their attributes, abilities, and intelligence. On the one hand, women are encouraged to do, rather than merely be; to become, rather than help others to become; to look for success, rather than to make it possible for others. Yet, on the other hand, obstacles are placed in their way. In higher education, women are encouraged to study at all levels. But when it comes to promotion, they mostly remain assistants to male professors. The lack of partnership in the family is an example of such an obstacle.
- *Friendly harassment* – sexual behaviour that is apparently innocent and benign, but actually creates discomfort, intimidation, and inhibition.
- *Collegial exclusion* (benign neglect) – women are made to feel invisible or unimportant through physical, social, and professional isolation. It is well known that men are

much better organized into networks of interests and clubs. The position of men in the leadership structures of universities, even when they are elected by their women-colleagues, masks a form of subtle, often non-deliberate sexism.

Women are apparently treated as equals, but daily practice shows that this treatment enhances the freedom of men, while increasing the responsibilities of women. This subtle form of sexism is known as liberating sexism. It includes the freedom of men from managerial tasks. Women participate in this “conspiracy”, as in a form of benevolent exploitation (adapted from Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002).

1.8. SEXIST AND NON-SEXIST LANGUAGE

1.8.1. *Sexist Language*

Sexist language is not only language which excludes, offends, or trivializes women. It is also language that excludes, offends, or trivializes men. Sexist language is sometimes used unintentionally, out of ignorance or indifference (*e.g.*, in appellatives – in some languages – such as “Mrs. Ministress”, “Mrs. Rectoress”, instead of the ubiquitous, Mrs. Minister or Mrs. Rector). This situation arises in languages that allow for gender agreement.

The ways in which women are designated by men, especially in the public space, by first name, or hypocoristically (dear, sweetie, darling, sweet lady, young lady) is also considered sexist, even though apparently it is well-meaning and friendly. Most often, this kind of language reflects a position of authority, from which women are treated as subordinates, even though respectfully so. Such linguistic treatment is not reciprocal. Women are not allowed to address men with the same words without undermining their authority and position by using language considered in the best case ironical, and sometimes even brazen (adapted from Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002).

1.8.2. Non-Sexist Language

Non-sexist language safeguards equal linguistic treatment that is non-discriminatory toward *both* women *and* men.

Starting in the 1980s, non-sexist speech guides or codes have been elaborated by a series of organizations and institutions, especially by professional associations and universities. Progressively, publishing houses have started to print such materials (especially in the Anglo-Saxon world). In contemporary Western society, at least in public discourse, the norms of non-sexist language are generalized and respected. These guides have to be elaborated for each particular language, and may only be translated as a general concept.

The guides recommend the use of particular expressions (e.g., *they* instead of *he* for non-specific referents; mixed forms such as *s/he* and *he or she*; the use of gender-neutral expressions, such as replacing *man* with *person* – replacing *chairman*, *spokesman* with *chairperson*, *spokesperson* (see LSA, 1992). Using the generic masculine (*he*, *man* in English) merely reinforces the belief that men are the true representatives of humanity, the referential norm, while women are a deviation from that norm.

Discussions concerning non-sexist language have progressively become a part of a larger debate over *political correctness*. The doctrine of political correctness promotes the avoidance of discriminatory practices in languages and behaviour, and has been sharply criticized for its alleged limitations to the freedom of expression and its sometimes ridiculous terminology. The question of ability to change attitudes towards persons of different sex, religion, or race by changing terminology remains a heavily disputed matter (adapted from Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002).

1.9. SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment refers to the exercise of sexual pressures: demand for sexual favours, indecent remarks, gestures, or acts that bother or persecute the addressee. These pressures are usually exercised in contexts of unequal power. Most often,

sexual harassment occurs in the workplace and is associated with what is, ultimately, a form of humiliating blackmail. In identifying sexual harassment, one has to take into account the fact that sexual pressures are not desired by the persons on whom they are imposed.

Owing to the pervasiveness of sexual stereotypes, it is sometimes difficult to delimit sexual harassment from behaviour that is regarded as normal. There are two widespread myths that feed confusion about what is normal and what is deviant. According to the first of these myths, men have stronger sexual desires than women; therefore, it is natural for them to try to conquer their "prey". According to the second myth, women request and deserve to be conquered by any means. Sexual harassment is often interpreted, especially by men, as a manifestation of sexual attraction.

There are objective criteria that may help in identifying sexual harassment: (i) the absence of consent; (ii) the inopportuneness of the acts; (iii) offensive and persistent behaviour; (iv) the lack of reasonableness (see Le Moncheck and Hajdin, 1997).

In the academic environment, such phenomena are present, especially in relations between men professors and women students, men professors and women assistants, or between men deans, rectors, and departments heads, on the one hand, and women professors and secretaries, on the other hand. Professional assessment and promotion conditioned on acceptance of sexual favours is not uncommon.

1.10. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action refers to institutional policies meant to open fields to women that have been traditionally open to men. Examples of affirmative action include the following:

- i) the proportion of persons of one sex employed (or admitted) in a company, school, or faculty must be roughly equal to the proportion of candidates of that sex;
- ii) in cases of equal competencies, women are preferred over men;

- iii) banning sexual segregation in the workplace and in advertising;
- iv) higher salaries in fields dominated by women, according to the principle of comparable value (i.e., ill-paid work in sectors dominated by women is as valuable as well-paid work in other domains).

The arguments against affirmative action may be summarized as follows:

- i. Favouring women in the name of past injustice (past discrimination) implies injustice done to men in the present. If any discrimination is *prima facie* wrong, then affirmative action is wrong.
- ii. Market mechanisms have to be left to work by themselves. The fact that women tend to concentrate in ill-paid sectors, or that some prefer the household, is a matter of personal choice. If women wish to be paid better than they are, they should try to work in sectors in which higher salaries are possible. The principle of the comparable value of work (across sectors with important wage differences) should not be applied.
- iii. Affirmative action does nothing for the re-evaluation of domestic work. It is limited to the participation of women in the publicly accessible job market. Affirmative action merely helps women who have built careers that resemble those of men.

The major argument in support of affirmative action is that, as long as real life generates inequalities, affirmative action is necessary so as to rectify artificially created inequalities (inequalities generated by the bias incorporated in institutions, etc.) between men and women. The fact that the law guarantees the equality of sexes does not make such equality a fact. Past discrimination is reflected in present inequality of opportunity, in spite of the egalitarian legislative framework. It follows that the meritocratic principle, according to which women should not be supported by means of affirmative action, allows for the perpetuation of past injustice.

One of the beneficial effects of affirmative action is that many companies, firms, institutions, and organizations have explicitly adopted the principles of equality of opportunity. In other words, while the maximalist principle of affirmative action is less popular today, the moderate principle of the equality of chances has continuously been gaining ground.

In higher education, the main problems are those of the masculinization of several domains (the business and the technical fields, especially) and the feminization of others (especially, the humanities). Some occupations tend to become feminine and to incur financial and status penalties, while others masculinize themselves and are progressively associated with high income and prestige. In such cases, it is possible to introduce a quota system during admission (*e.g.*, a minimum of 40 percent and a maximum of 60 percent of either sex (adapted from Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002)).

1.11. GENDER AND EDUCATION

Schools and higher education institutions are marked by gender norms, stereotypes, and ideologies. Gender models prescribed in official education are very important for the future placement and integration of individuals in society. School contributes to gender segregation in various ways, by creating men and women with different projects, preferences, and competencies. It often limits the means of expression of the individual in public life (especially the case for women), as well as in the private sphere (especially in the case of men).

For a long time, formal and informal education for women has been substantially different from that for men. Girls used to have no access to education, especially to higher education. In spite of the remarkable progress made in the past decades, discrimination between men and women and boys and girls still exists in education. International statistics show, for instance, that most of the illiterate adults in the world are women, as are most school dropouts.

Questions pertaining to the gender dimension of education may be dealt with from a quantitative perspective – with

reference to absolute figures and derived statistics (indices such as literacy rates, admissions rates, rates of school survival, graduation rates) or to gender sensitive indices (such as those used in human development reports) – or from a qualitative perspective (with reference to what is studied in schools and how it is studied, to the implicit or hidden curriculum).

More to the point, we may speak of gender discrimination in education when:

- statistics point to limited access for one sex to certain levels of education; sex-based differences in dropout or illiteracy rates; differences in terms of sex of promotion criteria and of levels of education; imbalances in the sex-based structures of specializations obtained after graduation; imbalances (and their consequences for men and women) between the supply of and the demand for education and vocational training on the job market; sex-based hierarchical structures in the administration and management of higher education;
- qualitative data indicate sexism in the curriculum: in the contents of programmes, textbooks, didactic materials (the quasi-invisibility of women in history, the emphasis placed on historical politics rather than on the history of everyday life, gender role stereotypes promoted in textbook images or texts, etc.); the school environment (a “feminine” environment in the first years of secondary education, which seems to favour girls and to create a hostile environment for boys; sexual harassment, etc.); different expectations and assessments based on the sex of the student, coming both from teachers and from the students themselves (including surprise at the performance of boys/girls in several fields); subtle labeling and its effects upon students, etc. These aspects have not been the subjects of adequate research in Central and Eastern Europe and in the New Independent States.

Gender discrimination in education, whether implicit or explicit, is to be found at the level of: (i) results; (ii) the structure of educational institutions (the pyramidal model); (iii) the substantive content of education.

One may identify horizontal gender differences (e.g., the feminization and/or the masculinization of fields of study), as well as vertical gender differences (e.g., different salaries and different placements in professorial and managerial positions based on gender).

Feminist pedagogies criticize the authoritative role of the teacher and reassess the relation between the latter and his or her students from a gender perspective. They place emphasis on personal experience as an important source of knowledge (experiential learning). Feminist pedagogies problematize the concept of difference, and frequently employ teaching/learning methods and techniques which exploit the double vision (involved relational teaching that stresses interaction and the co-production of knowledge). Many educational institutions in Eastern Europe practice discrimination and unconsciously encourage asymmetries. They are gender blind rather than gender bound (adapted from Miroiu and Dragomir, 2002).

1.12. FEMINISM AND ACADEMIC FEMINISM

1.12.1. *Feminism*

In a very broad sense, feminism is the advocacy of women's rights. Minimally, it involves two presuppositions:

- i. Women are systematically subservient (through subordination or oppression);
- ii. Gender relations are neither natural nor immutable, but the result of social organization and of misogynous culture. They are unjust to women, and they need to be changed through political involvement.

In the ex-communist countries, the use of the term, *feminism*, turned out to be troublesome, because of widespread ignorance, on the one hand, and of a pervasive fear of ideologies, on the other hand. The concept is viewed as having

negative connotations (strident and aggressive militancy), or as unsuited for post-communist experience (under communist rule, women were promoted by force, often on the criterion of counter-selection). For this reason, many men and women, who are active in supporting women's rights and gender equality, and who harbour attitudes that are similar to those of the feminist movement, prefer not to assume their feminism openly. Another reason for the rejection of the term is ignorance with respect to the actual history of Central and Eastern European feminism. The historical orthodoxies were the class struggle and, recently, resistance to communism.

Irrespective of reservations and terminological antipathies, feminism had and still has an important contribution to make to the changing of the situation of women's and gender-determined roles. Critical theory, new fields of research, political ideologies with a major impact upon public life, social life, the media, and the private sphere, have been developed *within* a feminist framework. The opportunities of women have increased tremendously in terms of access to almost any domain, as have their independence and self-assertion.

The regulating idea of feminism in the last decades, "personal is political", prompted an extension of political analysis to the private sphere (also scrutinized as power relations). Domestic violence or parental responsibilities toward rearing children were dealt with as political issues. The type of power targeted by feminist analyses is patriarchal power. Within the broad framework of feminism, there is a large diversity of trends: liberal feminism, socialist feminism, radical feminism, postmodern feminism, eco-feminism. These trends influenced each other as each put the spotlight on a central aspect of the emancipation and self-assertion of women.

In general terms, feminism emerged in Central and Eastern Europe in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, and it developed along lines that were consistent with Western feminism, but also with the cultural, social, and political realities of the region. Under communist rule, feminist

research and a feminist movement in general were made impossible by the official egalitarianism, on the one hand, and the intolerance to other ideologies and policies, on the other hand (except in the case of former Yugoslavia). Women's organizations were completely controlled and manipulated by the ruling communist parties.

After 1990, feminism progressively secured for itself a place, both in the sphere of research, and in that of activism and militancy.

1.12.2. Academic Feminism

The usual connotations of academic feminism are negative: élitism; alienation from the real, down-to-earth problems of women; alienation from the women's movement and from feminists engaged in practical, pro-women work. Academic feminists are viewed as producers of abstractions, as inventors of problems that do not exist as such for women. Their position toward those persons outside the narrow circle of the elect is commonly regarded as one of superiority.

In spite of these not always unperceptive reactions, taking up feminist issues in academe involved access to theory and scientific method, a substantial level of epistemic authority for feminist research and theory, and the ability to scientifically legitimize feminist policies.

Academic feminism has also to be understood as a reaction against sexism in the academic environment (marginalization, inferior positions, and lower wages). Women start with an initial disadvantage in a cultural environment dominated by men, but are privileged in terms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1988). The academic environment is unfriendly in terms of its masculine organization – hierarchical and authoritarian. It is not desirable that women should simply integrate into this environment. They should challenge its principles, values, and practices, and especially the tendency of this environment to break with everyday life and to ignore private life as a subject of research.

Women with feminist consciousness and feminist theoretical approaches made their way into universities thirty years ago (in North America, Australia, and Western Europe). In Eastern and Central Europe, the process was slower. Feminists in the academic environment may help increase the chances of other women to attain important positions and of doing important research. They are active in independent research centers, produce and edit literature on gender issues, co-operate with domestic and international organizations in order to build adequate knowledge of the economic, political, cultural, and familial situation of women, and support the definition of gender policies. In some cases, they may repeat the errors that first generated suspicion of academic feminism: strictly Western theories and a position removed from the grassroots and the gender particularities of their societies.

1.13. WOMEN'S, GENDER, OR FEMINIST STUDIES

The emergence and development of Women's Studies as an academic product of the feminist movement may be considered one of the most remarkable innovations in higher education curricula over the past decades.

Women's Studies are studies usually authored *by* women (and recently by an increasing number of men), *about* women (seeking to explain their social position, to analyze patriarchy at institutional, ideological, and subjective level), and *for* women (helping them understand their identity from a non-sexist perspective).

Women's Studies and their two components – the educational and the research dimensions – have been seeking answers to such questions as the following: Why has intellectual production been overwhelmingly the outcome of men, and why does it neglect the experiences of women? Why are women underrepresented, both as object and as subject, in the main domains of knowledge? What is the relevance of the views of women on culture, society, and economics?

“Women's Studies” is an umbrella term that covers a wide range of interdisciplinary, trans-disciplinary, and multidisciplinary

research in which a variety of subjects, methods, and theoretical outlooks are employed. In challenging traditional research and theories, Women's Studies have suggested changes in perspective in fields such as the social sciences and literary and arts criticism and has brought about changes in the assumptions of other fields.

Some reasons for the divergences and regroupings among those active in this field, either as advocates or as researchers, are the following:

- the definition of Women's Studies as *autonomous* disciplines (which would lead, according to some authors, to a "ghettoization" of the field), as opposed to their *integration* into already existing university programmes (which, in the view of other authors, would be synonymous to admitting that as a discipline, Women's Studies is inferior);
- the very name used to describe the movement. "Women's Studies" is a concept that was taken from North America and exported to Anglophone countries. "Feminist Studies" is the European answer, which signals the feminist engagement with the object of study. "Gender Studies", the most recent proposal (*i.e.*, not so much studies about women, as studies about men and women, so also about men), was initially welcomed enthusiastically, but is considered inoperative (many languages lack an adequate correspondent) and overly neutral;
- the links of Women's Studies to other social movements. Some persons believe that Women's Studies should be inseparably linked to social movements and demands; others see the field as autonomous (with origins in the liberation movement, and always able to borrow ideas or to lose itself in abstract theoretical details);
- the validity of Women's Studies as theoretical research, as opposed to applied practice.

Initially, the curricular changes proposed and generated by this type of study led to an awareness of the fact that women

were largely absent from knowledge and that an information void had to be filled. The second step was to treat women as forming a disadvantaged, subordinate group (in courses such as “Women and Politics”, “Women and the Media”, etc.). Later on, women were studied on their own terms, in women-centered courses, that tried to impose a form of epistemological separatism by fashioning new paradigms.

More recently, there have been attempts at integration with the help of the notion of “gender”, considered a central concept. At this stage, all academic disciplines have been questioned in order to make possible a generalized curricular transformation which would foster an inclusive view of human experience, based on difference and diversity (see Grünberg, 2001a).

In ex-communist countries, these studies emerged – with precious few exceptions – only after 1990, as courses integrated in existing curricula, such as Gender Studies modules, as studies about women, or as Feminist Studies (sometimes called Feminology, as in Russia), both at undergraduate and postgraduate level. As of 2002, the Central European University in Budapest has been offering a doctoral programme in Gender Studies.

Chapter 2

Normative Provisions for the Promotion of Gender Equity in Higher Education

2.1. INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN CONVENTIONS AND INSTITUTIONS PROMOTING GENDER EQUITY

- Implementation of the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW);
- The Beijing Platform, 1995: need to observe the principle of gender equality and to emphasize an institutional approach to the struggle against gender discrimination;
- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;
- The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.

2.2. THE CONSTITUTIONS AND THE LAWS OF GIVEN STATES

2.2.1. *The Constitutions*

National constitutions generally prohibit discrimination, including discrimination based on sex. They rarely include norms and principles for affirmative action. Sexism does not feature, as such, in most of the Central and Eastern European constitutions. The language is generally addressed to the "citizen" (in the masculine rather than the feminine), in spite of the fact that some languages do allow for gender inflection.

2.2.2. *The Laws or Governmental Ordinances concerning the Prohibition of All Forms of Discrimination*

Such laws or governmental ordinances are normative acts of national legislation that deal with the question of discrimination. All forms of discrimination based on race, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, social group, political conviction, age, sex, and sexual preference are prohibited.

Normative acts provide that the principles of equality among citizens, the prohibition of privilege and of discrimination, are guaranteed, especially in the exercise of the right to equal treatment before the law, in regard to the security of the individual, as well as in the exercise of political and civil rights. In all cases of discrimination designated by such acts, aggrieved parties may sue for damages proportional to the damages incurred, for the reestablishment of the situation prior to the discriminatory act, or for annulment of the effects thereof.

Non-governmental organizations dedicated to the protection of human rights enjoy a *locus standi* whenever a question of discrimination appears in their line of activity and harms a relevant community or group. Should an individual appeal to such an organization, the latter enjoys *locus standi* status with respect to the act of discrimination involving such individuals as well. As in the cases of other normative acts, it is necessary to create institutions that monitor acts of discrimination and take preventive and/or disciplinary action against those who commit them.

In the case of higher education, such a law leads to the forbidding of student segregation and to restrictions in the access of students, on the basis of sex, to any kinds of education (military education, for instance).

2.2.3. *Laws on Equal Opportunity*

Such laws embody a modern approach to the principle of the equality of opportunity and of treatment of men and women in terms of access to education, jobs, culture, and information, as well as in terms of access to and participation in decision-making. They establish a positive obligation for the public authorities to act so as to realize this principle. The law forbids direct as well as indirect discrimination on the grounds of sex, both in the workplace and outside it, punishes sexual harassment, guarantees the equal access of women and men to all fields of social life, and establishes the obligation of public authorities to act to this effect. Without accompanying

public policies and in the absence of institutions that monitor the application of such laws, they remain simple normative acts.

In universities, such laws entail affirmative action policies in the admission of students, as well as gender-balanced staff policies.

2.2.4. Laws on Paternal Leave

Such laws promote the principle of partnership in family life and in regard to the distribution of child-rearing responsibilities among both parents. They encourage fathers to involve themselves in the care of their children. These laws are part of a strategy aiming at the reconciliation of professional obligations and family life. Their application enables a strategic career partnership between spouses.

2.2.5. Laws on Education

Generally speaking, these laws do not contain any discriminatory provisions, but neither do they generally contain, for any level of education, explicit gender equity provisions. As an example, education for private life is not mentioned as a general objective. Implicit discrimination (*e.g.*, curricular discrimination) is not cited. Affirmative action policies for underprivileged groups do not benefit from an explicit normative correspondent.

2.3. NORMS AT UNIVERSITY LEVEL

2.3.1. General Framework

The principle of gender equity should be stipulated in each *university charter*.

The Strategic Plan of each university should include, among its goals, the safeguarding of gender equity among students and staff, as well as a special budget for ensuring the success of such policies.

Each university senate should adopt a code of ethics. This code should contain explicit provisions with respect to the



ethical problems of gender relations. On the basis of a law on equality and opportunity, and even in its absence, university senates should adopt clear provisions concerning *sexual harassment*. A council for equal opportunity should be active in every university. It should monitor cases of discrimination in admission to study programmes, competitions for positions, the retention of positions, promotions, assessments, and the distribution of resources and other benefits and propose penalties and remedies.

2.3.2. *Codes of Ethics and Codes of Conduct*

Owing to the gap between the official code of ethics and ethical requirements at different levels, a gap that was very large during the communist period, most domains and professions in the Central and Eastern European countries have yet to adopt their own codes. Universities are hardly an exception to this rule. The first step is the elaboration of a specific code which, along with the University Charter, should provide a normative framework for relations within the academic space, for the principles and values to which universities are (or should be) devoted.

In what follows, several suggestions are made concerning possible provisions that bear, directly and indirectly, upon gender equality.

2.4. A PROPOSED CODE OF ETHICS AND CODE OF CONDUCT¹

The proposed Code of Ethics is a statement of the principles of ethics, values, and behaviour expected of staff and students in a university. The Code of Conduct is based on principles, values, and behaviour outlined in the Code of Ethics. It is a formulation of policies, rules, and guidelines that define the specific actions or procedures applicable to members of a university for a range of specific ethical issues.

¹ What follows is based on the "Code of Ethics" and "Code of Conduct" of Western University, Australia.

The proposed codes apply to all staff and students of the university, as well as to visitors and contractors.

The university fosters the values of autonomy, academic freedom, justice, merit, equity, openness, honesty, tolerance, fairness, benevolence, care, and responsibility in social and moral as well as in academic matters.

The proposed Code of Ethics is intended to assist staff and students in identifying and resolving ethical issues that might arise during their employment or in the course of their studies. It is designed to guide them in their dealings with colleagues, students, the university, and local, national, and international communities. It does not exclude or replace the rights and obligations of staff under the common law.

A university is a complex organization comprising a diversity of populations in terms of sex, race, ethnic groups, religion, political convictions, abilities, and disabilities that have different relationships to one another. These may be relations of power and/or status. It is essential that, in such a community, all members recognize and respect not only their own rights and responsibilities, but also the rights and responsibilities of other members of the community and those of the university itself.

Staff and students may have allegiances to particular differences, and it is recognized that these allegiances are not always in harmony. It is the obligation of staff members and students to weigh the importance of these allegiances in each particular set of circumstances.

2.4.1. Principles

EQUITY AND JUSTICE

People are to be treated fairly – not discriminated against, abused, nor exploited because of their sex, race, sexual orientation, ethnic group, economic status, religion, political orientation, and disability. Justice is concerned with power sharing and preventing abuses of power. In a just community, all community members can gain access to opportunities that allow for their full participation in that community.

EQUITY OF ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT AND TO PROGRAMMES

The university seeks to remove any barriers that might impede the benefits and conditions of employment and the delivery of university services. The university is committed to providing an environment of equal opportunity, free of discrimination, as well as affirmative action for existing and prospective staff and students in the pursuit of their academic goals and the realization of their potential and to contribute to the achievement of the mission of the university.

HARASSMENT

The university is committed to maintaining an environment that is free of harassment. Harassment in such forms as sexism, racism, chauvinism, homophobia, or bullying is inconsistent with the institutional equal opportunity policy and denies respect for the dignity and rights of staff and students to fair treatment and respect. Harassment can be harmful to the climate of an appropriate academic life and community.

The university has adopted the following equal opportunity policy Statement: The university is committed to a policy of equal opportunity in employment and education. The university accepts that it has a responsibility to create an environment free of discrimination and to ensure that the principle of personal merit operates unhindered. The university will act to ensure that its structures are free of direct or indirect discrimination on the grounds of sex, marital status or pregnancy, race, age, sexual preference, religious or political beliefs, impairment, family responsibility, and family status.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Academic freedom is consistent with academic autonomy and is recognized and protected by the university as essential to the proper exercise of teaching, research, and scholarship. Academic and research staff should be guided by a commitment to freedom of enquiry and should exercise their traditional rights to examine social values and to criticize and challenge the belief structures of society in the spirit of a

responsible and honest search for knowledge and its dissemination.

The university will seek to protect staff and students from any attempts, including contemptuous and intimidating attitudes concerning certain domains and topics, to suppress or to reduce this freedom (Here one should note that gender topics and Gender Studies are very often the objects of such practices).

2.4.2 Respect for People

People should be treated as persons with rights to be honoured and defended, under the principles of non-discrimination and equal opportunity. Their autonomy has to be defended, as should personal dignity. The main responsibility within a university is to protect the right to personal development and achievement. Membership in a community, however, means that individuals not only have rights, but that they also have duties and responsibilities to act openly and honestly. Demonstrating respect for persons requires, for example, dealing with disagreements by reasoned argument rather than by using language (words, labels, style, and tone) that have the effect of inappropriately attacking or demeaning the listener.

2.4.3. Conflicts of Interest

Staff members should take suitable measures to avoid, or to deal appropriately with, any situation in which they may have, or be seen to have, a conflict of interest that could, directly or indirectly, compromise the performance of their duties. Failure to do so and continuation of such a conflict of interest may lead to disciplinary action. Some examples of relationships that may cause conflicts of interest are: family relationships, emotional relationships (including all romantic and/or sexual relationships), personal or family conflicts, antagonisms, close friendships, and financial relationships. The university will take all measures to avoid nepotism and/or "mafia"-type relations. When, for example, someone is romantically or/and sexually involved with another person from within the

university, that person has to avoid assessment of the other person (either as a student or as a subordinate).

2.4.4. Confidentiality

Staff must take care to respect the confidentiality and the privacy of students and only provide information when authorized by the Office of the Registrar or for legitimate academic purposes (this is also the case of personal requests for confidentiality concerning marital status, sexual orientation, or hidden disability). Staff members who have access to official university documentation and information must take care to maintain the integrity, confidentiality, and privacy of such information so as to protect any individual concerned. Members of the university should undertake to maintain the privacy of oral communications when that has been requested. Personal files are highly confidential records relating to staff members.

2.4.5. Intellectual Property

Intellectual property includes invention patents and copyrights in regard to various types of work. Intellectual property is recognized by the university which stipulates that the benefits should provide equitable returns to the originators of intellectual property, both as an incentive and as a reward, as well as to the university itself. All the participants in different stages of a research activity, the results of which are made public, have to be acknowledged, for ethical reasons and in the spirit of professional honesty and gratitude. (It is necessary to note that sometimes women are requested to take responsibility for certain stages of a research activity without being mentioned as co-authors/participants).

2.4.6. Acceptance of Benefits and Gifts

Staff members should not solicit or accept benefits or gifts, if doing so could be reasonably viewed as an inducement to act in a particular way or to place a staff member under an obligation that may either directly or indirectly compromise or

influence him or her in his or her official capacity. It is strictly prohibited to solicit or receive sexual favours from the staff in virtue of the position that staff members have in relation to those offering said favours.

2.4.7. Outside Employment and Private Practice

Professional and consultative work outside the university should not conflict with the interests of the university.

2.4.8. Personal and Professional Responsibility

The principle of taking personal and professional responsibility requires that people avoid doing harm to others and, at the same time, that they exhibit polite behaviour in order to achieve a common good. They are expected to protect the rights of others and to respect the diversity of cultures and different experiences. Those strong enough to assert their rights have a reciprocal duty to exercise care towards those who depend on them for their well being. The university has to provide care in order to facilitate the work and fulfillment of students and staff members.

2.4.9. Personal Development and Achievement

All staff and students must maintain and develop knowledge and understanding of their areas of study, expertise, or professional fields. They should continuously seek to improve work performance with an emphasis on quality skills. The members of the academic community should actively seek ways to bring about quality improvement in their workplaces. Students should endeavour to make full use of their learning opportunities while at a university. According to the principles of the ethics of care, in order to facilitate achievement and to eliminate obstacles to self-development, the university will take special measures to assist pregnant women and to offer day-care services to those with children.

2.4.10. Use of University Facilities and Equipment

Members of the university are expected to use university facilities and equipment efficiently, carefully, and honestly. Resources should be used economically, secured against theft or misuse, and waste should be avoided. Resources should not be used for personal purposes unless express permission has been granted, in accordance with university policy. Facilities may not be monopolized according to extra-professional criteria (e.g., woman-students may not be kept away from technological equipment because it might be dangerous, with the exception of substances or radiation that might affect pregnancy).

2.4.11. Public Comment

Members of the academic community are encouraged to comment publicly. When they are representing the university, the highest ethical and professional standards are expected of them, primarily owing to the sensitivity of some issues within the community. Staff members in their capacity as private citizens have a right to make public comments. If a staff member is publicly commenting on an issue not within his or her professional expertise, he or she must make clear that the comment is being made in a private capacity. Public comments made by members of the academic community in the name or on behalf of the university or in an official capacity should avoid words and phrases that are prejudicial or discriminatory in terms of sex, race, sexual preference, ethnicity, etc.

2.4.12. The Right to Disobey

Students and the staff have a right to disobey when their supervisors and superiors within the academic hierarchy clearly violate human rights, the University Charter, and the Code of Ethics, and to express their attitudes and the reasons for the latter.

If such a code is to become effective, it needs additional acts, such as:

- state legislation;
- a university charter;
- an equal opportunity and affirmative action act;
- a sex discrimination act;
- a racial discrimination act;
- disability compensation;
- a sexual harassment act;
- a racial harassment act;
- guidelines for conduct in the workplace;
- a workplace relations act;
- a work and family guide;
- workplace agreements;
- a freedom of information act;
- a guide to the intellectual property policy;
- intellectual property regulations;
- guidelines on research ethics and research misconduct;
- a financial administration and audit act;
- an anti-corruption commission act.

2.5. SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND ITS ELIMINATION FROM THE ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT

Sexual harassment is hardly the only form of harassment. Individuals may be harassed for religious, ethnic, racial, and political reasons, or because of physical disabilities. Sexist behaviour and repeated and ostentatious misogynist utterances are themselves forms of harassment. In other words, they affect the environment in which a person lives; they insult, intimidate, and lead to reduced levels of performance. When it remains unpunished, such behaviour leads to low self-esteem, to an unjustified feeling of guilt, and to alienation. Even worse, sometimes, it leads to abandonment of work or to mental disturbance.

The academic environment may be and often is affected by harassment. From the perspective of gender, a frequent form of harassment is sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is often a source as well as a result of gender inequity.

The universities in Central and Eastern Europe must implement specific regulations and policies concerning harassment, irrespective of whether such policies are stipulated in laws.²

The university promotes the existence of an academic residential community within which all members are entitled to participate fully and equally, in an environment free of harassment, exploitation, and intimidation. The university safeguards respect for the rights, privileges, and preferences of each and every one of its members.

Acts that create an environment of intimidation, fear, and hostility are considered offensive for any person. Each member of the university should be aware of the fact that the university opposes sexual harassment and that sexual harassment is absolutely forbidden, both under the law and by the norms and policies internal to the university. The university shall take all required steps to prevent, rectify, and, when necessary, take action in regard to behaviour that is contrary to its norms and practices.

2.5.1. Defining Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is behaviour which results in discomfort or the reduction of school or professional performance of the person to whom it is directed, and which is embarrassing to that person. Victims of sexual harassment may be women as well as men, and sexual harassment may occur between persons of different sex or between persons of the same sex.

Below are some examples of acts or behaviour which qualify as sexual harassment:

- persistent behaviour aimed at obtaining sexual acceptance through letters, telephone calls, or importuning of another person, when the latter has clearly indicated that such behaviour is not welcome;

² What follows is based on the Princeton University Health Services, 1989-1999, PUHS Publications on-line <<http://www.princeton.edu/pubs/program/shtml>>.

- remarks with sexual connotation made repeatedly by a person in a high position to his or her inferiors, in spite of requests to the contrary;
- a student who refuses to meet privately with a teacher and consequently incurs a penalty in evaluation (the same may occur with members of university staff, especially when differences of hierarchy are involved);
- in public places (in cafeterias and in the entrance ways of residence halls, etc.) groups of students systematically importune others, actions which result in avoidance of those places by persons who find such behaviour offensive or undesirable;
- systematic utterance of sexist statements, of jokes with sexual connotations or sexual fantasies, in spite of the fact that those nearby specifically protest against this type of behaviour;
- sending unwanted obscene or pornographic materials to another person, without the latter's request;
- touching another person in an erotic, sexual way, without the consent of the latter.

2.5.2. Policy Statement

The university defines sexual harassment as unwanted sexual importuning, demand for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical acts when:

- submission to or rejection of such acts conditions teaching, promotion, or participation in academic activities;
- submission to or rejection of such acts conditions the evaluation of students, teaching staff, or non-teaching personnel through decisions which affect persons in the academic environment;
- such behaviour generates intimidation, hostility, and/or offense, and thus affects the work, academic performance, lifestyle, and environment of another person.

2.6. MEASURES TO BE TAKEN AT UNIVERSITY AND AT FACULTY LEVELS

- The university shall appoint a body and individuals to monitor and to reach decisions as to such cases;
- Faculties should elect counselors from the ranks of the students and of the teachers (a student ombudsman or an affirmative action officer), a body for ethics and academic discipline, and an office in charge of security in the academic environment (inside the campus and university buildings);
- Universities should make public the ways in which they address and solve complaints, as well as the identities of the counselors;
- Universities should safeguard full confidentiality.

2.7. DEALING WITH SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Usually, persons who harass have no reason to stop until they are warned or even punished, while victims of harassment often fail to describe their experiences fearing that they will not be believed or might be blamed for provocative behaviour. Consequently, it is imperative that individuals subjected to harassment make such acts known publicly and be able to register complaints with institutionally or legally mandated persons. Ignoring or under-emphasizing cases of sexual harassment does not make the phenomenon disappear. Rather, it makes the situation worse. Sexual harassment may be prevented by direct action, such as the following:

- Direct, specific, unequivocal negative responses from those affected, without apologies or intimidated smiles. Disapproval has to be clearly stated.
- When it is difficult to confront a harasser directly, write to him or her asking him or her to stop, and keep a dated copy of the letter. Also, consult the counselor.
- Keep a record of the facts when harassment does not stop.

2.8. RESPONSES TO INCIDENTS

If a person considers that he or she is affected by sexual harassment, he or she should contact the person in charge of dealing with such problems, through an adequate and prompt notification (formal or informal). An informal resolution involves an attempt at mediation between the parties, with or without the direct meeting of the two. A complaint and a formal resolution are addressed to a body appointed by the university senate to take disciplinary action.

Counselors and Discipline Commissions should make sure the complaint is true to facts, so as to do justice to all parties.

2.9. CONFIDENTIALITY

Counselors are persons trained to provide advice, answer questions, resolve minor or incipient cases, and protect those counseled from potentially harmful indiscretions. Counselors are not allowed to disclose any conversations regarding the topic under discussion (unless harassment has resulted in physical injury or significant psychological disturbance), without the explicit permission of the person having requested counseling. Upon the request of the counseled party, or if the case seriously affects the academic environment in general, counselors may address the Discipline Commission, the Deans, the Rector, or the University Senate.

Chapter 3

Gender Particularities in Post-Communist Transitions

3.1. THE COMMUNIST INHERITANCE: GAINS AND LOSSES IN GENDER EQUITY

3.1.1. *Modern Patriarchy in Western Europe*

Owing to the segregation between the public and the private, between productive and reproductive work, the traditional patriarchy of Western societies was replaced by modern patriarchy, in which women have become dependent on men in terms of income and status. Industrialization created a large number of housewives who found themselves dependent on their spouses who worked for income. In other words, the dependence of women on men concerned not only traditional-cultural aspects and legal and political aspects, but also economic survival and social identity. This process was characteristic of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the Twentieth Century. The gender policy agenda and the feminist struggle forced Western societies to accept the equality of women and men in terms of law, and, around the 1970s, to start a movement for the right to difference and equal opportunities.

3.1.2. *Traditional Patriarchy in Eastern Europe*

Countries in Central and Eastern Europe (and especially Eastern Europe and the New Independent States) had atypical backgrounds. They relied on agriculture, which was based on the organization of the rural community. Women played an important role in this process. Embryonic industrialization did not significantly affect society, so that one could not speak of a real divorce between domestic work, reproductive and productive work, or between public and private life. The population was composed mostly of peasants, and it was

significantly marked by a form of traditional patriarchy. The proportion of housewives was reduced, and, consequently, their economic condition was not strictly related to that of men. The Central and Eastern European countries did develop a feminist movement for equality, but the second step could not be taken owing to the coming of communism, which aimed at the solution of all problems, including gender problems, within one ideology and policy.

3.1.3. Gender Egalitarianism and the Double Burden under Communism

PROVISIONS FOR GENDER EQUALITY

Submission to communism put gender relations in Eastern Europe on a different path from that in the West. By proclaiming the equality of rights and duties between women and men, the communist parties enforced constitutional provisions that all income should consist of either salaries or pensions, and that each citizen, irrespective of sex, had a duty to work if physically able to do so.

Since these stipulations were also valid for women, the state took over the problem of raising children and, consequently, created and supported nurseries (*crèches*), generally located close to industrial plants. Almost half of the workforce in the communist countries was represented by women. Their status was that of being the comrades of men in work and life. Education was gender-blind and had to produce “the new man”, a person strictly devoted to the interests of the State. Formally, and to a great extent, mature and elderly women were not dependent on men, either in financial terms or in terms of status; moreover, during the communist period, the number of housewives was not significant.

THE DOUBLE BURDEN AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE MIXING OF GENDER EGALITARIANISM AND TRADITIONAL PATRIARCHY

Communism preserved a “fatherless patriarchy” (Miroiu, 1998), *i.e.*, traditional patriarchy in the family, the symbolic role of men, and a double burden for women.

As a result, communism included a mixture of egalitarianism and traditional patriarchy. Women were represented in leading positions through a quota system. They depended little or not at all on men, but they depended on the State – regarded as an absolute patriarch. Classical patriarchy was replaced by state patriarchy. This change in status affected women more than men, since, in some countries, the State controlled the reproductive capacities of women and because the lack of resources over-burdened women with the need to engage in various kinds of survival strategies (Kligman, 1998).

It can be said that the patriarchal state “negatively feminized” Eastern European men. They too were deprived of autonomy, of real participation in public life and, finally, of control over their personal lives.

The communist doctrine did not allow for other “isms”. Women *did win* something under communism: they won jobs, economic and status independence from men, state assistance in raising children, promotion to leadership positions, access to all levels and types of education, and co-education in terms of gender. However, these gains were not the outcome of a feminist struggle or of feminist policies. It is difficult to believe that the promotion of women to leading positions was a benefit, since they gained power when power was actually meaningless, given the dependence of men and women on the State. If autonomy means self-government, then it was experientially absent for both sexes. Communism was a society of duties, not of rights.

As a result, in 1989, societies in the Central and Eastern European region were confronted with a mixture of traditional patriarchy, gender egalitarianism, and state patriarchy.

From a gender perspective, the end of communism was accompanied by the rejection of egalitarianism (as a state policy). This rejection was consistent with the preservation of traditional patriarchy and the emergence of modern patriarchy. Therefore, the transition period seemed to reinforce

the dependence of women on men, the eloquent expression of gender inequity.

3.2. THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN PATRIARCHY IN POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION

By modern patriarchy, the author means the dependence of women on men, in terms of income and/or status.

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe began with communist egalitarianism. After a decade of transition, they reached polarization, a web of hierarchies, and the shaping of status, wealth, and income élites (amounting, usually, to no more than 10 percent of the population) which now monopolize power, as well as economic, symbolic, and/or social capital. These élites dominate all spheres of public life: politics, the professions, ranking positions, and the capacity to wield civic influence.

As a result, a hyper-stratified patriarchal model, which facilitates gender discrimination, was set up at the level of the entire society. Transition also meant a dramatic decrease in industrial production, an increase in unemployment, and migration from urban to rural areas and from industry to agriculture.

Besides a lack of equal opportunities, one of the main factors contributing to the polarization and the hyper-stratification of society in Central and Eastern Europe is the absence or the underdevelopment of the middle class. Scarce resources are, in fact, directed at the membership of the élites.

3.3. THE ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE OF WOMEN ON MEN

The economic dependence of women on men is a new phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe, which emerged in the context of transition and which replaces communist interdependence. Moreover, this dependence, which can easily be identified among young women, tends to lay the foundations of modern patriarchy. A significant characteristic of the policy-making process was the important role of the

demands and pressures brought to bear by the trade unions in the industrial sector. The State ceased to be protective of women, but remained protective of men who became the "favourite children" (or, better, the sons) of transition, at least in terms of the income gained from the redistribution of the public budget.

Post-communist transition is characterized by the distribution of power to the benefit of men, and by the distribution of social costs to the disadvantage of women, even though, apparently, these costs seem to have a greater effect on men through the dramatic reduction of the industrial sector in which they used to work (see Weber and Watson, 2000).

One easily observes that women work in the surviving fields: the textile industry, public services, trade, public health, and education. In some of these fields, employees are not benefiting from wage increases, owing to the fact that productivity is not large and that the state does not offer support. Most of these enterprises were privatized and are not unionized. On the other hand, in the state sectors (such as health, administration, and education) salaries are very low. Another important explanation for the dependence of women is that their age of retirement is usually lower than that of men.

Mature and elderly women were strongly affected by the influence of the ideology of gender egalitarianism. Their socialization contained gender egalitarian elements. However, they are becoming more and more dependent on men, both economically and in terms of status.

At this point in transition, the *inequality between women and men* is turning into the *dependence of women on men*. Governments are failing to acknowledge the deep significance of present social trends and are continuing to comfortably design policies that address unemployed women by including them in the category of housewives. At the same time, the problems of men are addressed differently: according to present day policies, men who are jobless are included in the category of the unemployed. The underlying idea seems to be that housewives remain "unemployed" by free choice.

Consequently, their problems are not public, but private. On the contrary, the unemployment of men is regarded chiefly as a political problem.

An essential error that has encouraged the dramatic amplification of gender discrimination is the fact that no public policies specifically directed at women were implemented. These policies would have led to empowerment. Instead, the choice was only for social protective policies, supported by very inadequate resources. To many governments, women appeared more significant as victims than as equal competitors with men.

3.3.1. *The Paradox of the Empowerment of Women: Education*

The social progress of women is superior to that of men only so far as their level of education is considered. When completing their education, young women have a certain ascendancy over young men in almost all the countries of Central and Eastern European and the New Independent States. Generally, women represent more than 50 to 52 percent of the students in each country. Perversely, this advantage turns into a serious obstacle when young women attempt to enter the labour market.

The progress of women in the 1990s was not the result of any intentional or specific policy, but owing to the fact that the prevailing masculine education (especially technical education) went into major decline after the collapse of communism, as did, also, the industries which had absorbed its graduates. Women too were, and still are, directed towards education, but, ironically, after graduation and to an extent larger than that of men, they now have little access to work places. In the Central and Eastern European context, *it is not higher education that brings high income, but occupational status.*

The members of the latest generations of women high school graduates seem yet to be excellent candidates for housewife status. The high schools are starting to mimic the interwar housekeeping schools that had as a main function the delivery of young women to the marriage market (even if,

today, in the schools, education for private life is completely lacking). As compared to women, men are more easily absorbed by the labour market because many of them graduate from vocational schools. The rate of enrollment of women in technological education or in the Building Trades has declined radically in most states.

What happens, then, with educated women who lose their qualifications? They begin to take part-time jobs or to undertake unqualified labour, especially on the black market. Other women continue to depend on their parents, on men (spouses or partners), or on several men (the case of voluntary prostitutes and of women who are forced into prostitution). Some women eventually become victims of women trafficking. The unsafe environment in some countries is also an impediment to higher education for women (see "Albania", "Kosovo" and "Education", in, *International Federation for Human Rights*, 2000).

3.3.2. The Political and Cultural Basis of the Dependence of Women

During the post-communist period, egalitarian modernization collapsed and was not replaced by any sort of powerful ideological or political offer similar to what is typical of the liberal democracies. As a result, the actual image is one of a medley of pressures and influences.

The influence of the conservative right wing through the Church and the conservative parties is increasing the public discourse of intellectuals making up the conservative élite.

The liberal and social-democratic parties lack a proper agenda concerning gender relations. Women are treated, politically, as a category in need of social policies (mostly protective) rather than of public policies encouraging empowerment.

Poverty and the tendency towards ruralization is threatening the foundations of social modernization and represent a step back, even with respect to communist egalitarianism (in its turn, an egalitarianism of poverty).

The left conservative wing (collectivist and statist) reflects the excessive masculinization of the trade unions and their pressures for a specific pattern of GNP redistribution, which is favourable to men. (Moreover, women tend to disappear in silence when there is no more need for their work). Women do not protest, or their protests are not taken seriously.

The tendency of the media (notably the television channels) to adopt a post-feminist approach, as a consequence of spontaneous globalization (the artificial, independent, and successful Barbie doll-type, with sex-appeal, a career, and access to high levels of consumption), makes it harder to fashion a feminist discourse or a coherent gender policy. The same is true with respect to most women's magazines. At the opposite pole, women are treated merely as victims, as delinquents, or as prostitutes.

The trend toward normative legal modernization (equal opportunities) comes particularly as a consequence of international pressures (the European Union, the United Nations, the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, Beijing plus 5).

The development of local feminist movements occurs mainly in academic environments and in NGOs focused on research and education, and only timidly, at grassroots level. A new feminist network was created, but unfortunately lacks significant political influence. However, it succeeded in maintaining an adequate dialogue with the global community. This tendency is relevant to the important role of higher education as a vanguard for future policies of gender equity.

3.3.3. The Private Sphere under Patriarchy

At descriptive level, the private sphere does not leave room for modernization, but only for egalitarianism as a matter of principle. Women provide services to breadwinners. They are managers of home resources, providers of housekeeping services, babysitters, teachers, and givers of affection (care work). Men are the preeminent breadwinners. Cultural pressures (the return to tradition) and, even more, recent

socio-cultural pressures are pushing men into assuming financial responsibilities. Women are forced to take responsibility for caring. Sadly, when it comes to actual practice, men opt for the first type of responsibility, while women are left with both. The contemporary profession of a married mother was built on the image of the "all in one" (multiple responsibilities).

The lack of gender partnership in the private sphere affects the participation and performance of women in higher education as well as in public life, especially in business and politics (even if most people believe that women are capable of both activities, and that their presence in business and politics plays an important role).

3.4. Conclusions

The egalitarian communist outlook was directed at social homogenization. Discrepancies of gender, race, nationality, culture, income, and environment were alleviated, destroyed, or hidden. The post-communist discourse about "alterity" has started to gain considerable ground through the mixture – at political and cultural levels – of pre-modern traditionalism, modern dualistic tendencies, and postmodernist and multiculturalist trends. The last two have primarily emphasized discrepancies of ethnicity rather than gender differences. The policies designed and implemented in this period have led to the dependence of men on state redistribution policies and to that of women on men.

The origin of patriarchy in this part of the world is not the same as in Western Europe, where patriarchy was the result of an amalgamation of industrialization and the hierarchical organization of the family. The prevailing organization in Eastern Europe was that of a rural community, in which gender asymmetry stemmed from religion, tradition, and the division of labour. The public-private, work-family distinctions were weaker, at least historically. Massive industrialization was a product of communist rule, and it involved almost all women in work outside their families. Indeed, *the foundations*

of modern patriarchy were laid recently, as a by-product of transition.

The direction in which gender relations developed in Eastern and Central Europe was not from traditional patriarchy and partnership, but from traditional patriarchy to communist egalitarianism and then to modern patriarchy.

The locus of patriarchy has changed. It is retreating from public life, the economy, and official culture and is hiding in the private sphere. Women seem to be losing ground on the labour market (the main forms of discrimination are related to professions and income and are being stimulated by the new capitalism). As a result, the marginalization of women and their exclusion from the public sphere and from access to income lead to a completely new phenomenon: *women depend on men* (they have lower incomes, gradually pass into the group designated as housewives in the urban area, and, respectively, of unpaid family workers in the rural area).

In the process of accession to the European Union, one may predict a shift of policy focus from social protective policies to public policies centered on development. How such policies will affect women and gender relations is not yet known.

In the absence of a coherent grassroots movement, the most important role in building gender equity belongs to higher education, which can constitute a vanguard for emancipation and autonomy. State policies, insofar as they are inspired by the European normative and institutional approach, can be very important in achieving gender equity.

The State approach to women is to consider them in devising social policy in regard to the family, children, and sometimes youth. The portrayal of women in the media reinforces deep-rooted, patriarchal, and harsh views in regard to the role of women and men in society, reducing their status to those functions that they have traditionally performed, rather than presenting them as individual human beings endowed with rights. States, politicians, and various professional categories support and encourage this detrimental strategy. Instead of conceiving of women's rights as human

rights, these countries (those of Central and Eastern Europe and the New Independent States) enshroud women's rights in the myth of formal equality, claimed as a *fait accompli*, but rarely, if ever, enforced (International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, 2000).

Chapter 4

Gender Inequity and Policies for Gender Equity in Higher Education

Women are winners among losers
(R. Siemieńska, 2001).

4.1. GENERAL REMARKS

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe have several peculiar characteristics that are also visible in the case of education. They continue to be preponderant importers of know-how. They still maintain an excessive separation between research and higher education. Applied research is less developed. The social sciences were subject to prohibition. They had to confront all sorts of obstacles during the period of communist rule and have had difficulties in reforming themselves. The technical sciences have been left behind in comparison to their Western counterparts. The excess of state dependence and the lack of a tradition of academic freedom make universities prone to behave in accordance with leftist conservatism (statist and collectivist) or to borrow, by virtue of their newly gained freedom, from right-wing, élitist conservatism.

Since university autonomy is summary, the universities do not, themselves, design university policies, and even less, affirmative action policies, in the absence of an explicit request from the Ministry of Education. They are not self-reflexive, do not conduct self-evaluations, and rarely design their own strategies. It is, thus, difficult to find an internal Code of Ethics in most universities. The regulations do not exceed legal norms, the university charter, and regulations for students and teaching staff.

A widespread belief still prevails that, for instance, the professor is not a provider of services and know-how, but a sort of apostle with a special, idealistic mission, and is

therefore “priceless”. It is no wonder, then, that wage policies conform to this standard. Salaries are symbolic because the reward has to be sought elsewhere – in “the satisfaction of providing the country with educated people”. The ideology of professorial self-sacrifice is pervasive, and women fall prey to this trap very frequently. Education becomes a sort of “care work” and is devalued in terms of income generation. A career in education becomes a sort of additional profession, one that provides pocket money for men and so-called women’s income.

Gender awareness and gender policies find themselves in a primitive state. In some academic communities, they are simply absent. To bring them into existence one needs to develop gender studies and research, including self-reflective practices. Otherwise, gender issues will continue to generate diffuse and often personal discontent, fail to become “political” in the feminist sense of the word, and consequently, fail to lead to strategies in support of progress.

4.2. WOMEN AS WINNERS AMONG LOSERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, women have a larger stock of educational capital than do men. Generally speaking, more than 51 percent of the students in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Community of Independent States are women. This proportional level is particularly the case for university graduates. In some countries, the percentage of women among graduates is as high as 65 percent. Women receive higher quality education than men, both at high school and university levels. Men represent a majority in vocational and technical schools. Within the Central and Eastern European space, the ratio of women’s salaries to men’s salaries is greater than in Western Europe and the United States. Access to disciplines that are not traditionally feminine (law, economics, medicine) is high (60-70 percent women), and the number is increasing in the case of the technological faculties (20-25 percent). The participation of women in doctoral programmes is visibly on the rise (in some countries, the figure

is as high as 40 percent). A new, mature generation of educated women is encouraging younger women to enroll in higher education institutions in Master's Degree and Doctoral Degree programmes (parents with higher education qualifications contribute to the breaking of stereotypes such as what a "man's job", "women's work", etc. are).

Women usually have the highest scores on admission examinations and in the lower stages of higher education, but they have the lowest scores in later stages (promotion, etc.).

All of the above does not guarantee that one will avoid suffering a reduction in income and status. Between 60 to 70 percent of unemployed persons holding higher education qualifications are women. The general percentage of women's employment has decreased from about 47 percent of the workforce to approximately 41 to 45 percent (see Grünberg, 2001a; and Weber and Watson, 2000).

4.3. THE STUDENTS

4.3.1. *Explicit Gender Discrimination in Access to Higher Education*

The studies collected by Laura Grünberg (2001a) and UNESCO-CEPES indicate that, in some countries, the access of women to certain forms of higher education and of higher education institutions is forbidden or severely restricted. These forms include military education, the police academies, and theological faculties.

In all these cases, discrimination is unconstitutional. If the unconstitutionality is obvious in the case of military education, it may appear less so in the case of theological education. The question here is one of confusion between a profession (that of a cleric) and a branch of higher education, namely theological education. The religions that are fairly widespread in the region are Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Islam, and Judaism. The only one of these that admits women as clerics is Protestantism.

The practice of excluding women from the clergy should not be interpreted as the right to refuse women access to

theological education. In the case of religions other than Protestantism, the access of women is often limited to the social-assistance and pedagogical departments. The teaching of religion is also very limited, or even obstructed, in the case of women.

Suggestions for further policies:

- According to the principles of non-discrimination stipulated in the constitutions of the Central and Eastern European countries and the international norms to which these countries have subscribed, women have to be guaranteed access to all forms of education. Any institution that obstructs such access must be the object of sanctions. Penalties imposed on universities that are guilty of systematic violations should go so far as to include the withdrawal of accreditation or authorization.
- When rules internal to a religion do not allow for co-educational religious education, the university has to guarantee co-educational study so as to facilitate the attendance of women.
- Access to military and religious careers should be safeguarded and protected by the State. When there are explicit prohibitions, such as religious ones (*e.g.*, the denial of membership in the priesthood to women), all other careers must remain open, including professorships, social assistance, and research. The right of access has to be expressly stipulated, and the exercise of this right must be protected.

4.3.2. Recruitment and Admissions

The social polarization that has occurred in the Central and Eastern European countries has dramatically diminished the possibilities for certain categories of young people to benefit from higher education. These include students from rural areas and small towns, as well as from poor regions and from communities with a tradition of reduced educational experience (*e.g.*, the Rroma [Gypsy] community). In the case of

Roma, especially, among the traditional groups, girls are either not permitted to go to school, or they are withdrawn after they complete primary education, so as to get married (at ages 12 to 14). Roma girls, in traditional communities, have almost no chance to obtain a higher education, a situation equally true of girls in certain Muslim communities and, in general, of communities that live in abject poverty. In such communities, families cannot afford to send their children to school and might be tempted to exploit them by sending them out to beg in the streets and to engage in trafficking.

The situations of certain Roma and Muslims represent a case of limited discrimination in education that benefits from the tacit acceptance, by ministries of education and school inspectorates, of a poorly interpreted principle (respect for the cultural specificity of traditionalist Roma communities and of fundamentalist Muslim groups). The right to education is thus not enforced. The second instance, that of parents who send their children out to beg, is not a matter of discrimination on the grounds of sex but, rather, a by-product of severe, hopeless poverty.

Admission policies must address both undergraduate and postgraduate students (Master's Degree and Doctoral Degree levels). There has been an increasing demand, in the Central and Eastern European countries, for admission to social sciences programmes, law schools, and economics faculties. New fields have emerged: Political Science, Communication and Public Relations, Journalism, Public Administration, Business, and Computer Sciences. With the exception of the technical and computer sciences faculties (which lead to well paid professions), women are a majority among those admitted to studies and who graduate. The situation is a clear case of gender asymmetry. In the first case, it is men who are affected. When admittance is heavily competitive (especially in the Humanities, the Social Sciences, Law, Economics, and, sometimes, also in the case of Business Schools), men have lower scores. This result is attributable to the high school environment and the age peculiarities of adolescent boys. A

tendency toward non-conformity and escaping from family authority lead to lower admissions scores.

Suggestions for further policies:

- Governments have to guarantee the exercise of the right to education, at least for compulsory education, even for persons belonging to traditionalist groups that forbid women to attend educational institutions. Measures include the punishing of parents and the creation of study opportunities, including non-coeducational clauses in the case of communities that prohibit co-education.
- Laws must expressly provide for allowances for children and for financial support to enable poor families to send their children to school.
- In competitive admissions, gender discrepancies that last longer than three years (that is, one of the sexes falls below 30 percent of those admitted) need to be corrected by a quota system (*e.g.*, a minimum of 30 to 40 percent for each sex).

4.3.3. Continuation and Graduation

Women also do better in terms of continuing their studies and graduating, especially because they tend to be more careful about class attendance and completion of assignments. Both aspects – continuation and graduation – may be affected on gender-specific conditions and activities: pregnancy, birth and breastfeeding; withdrawal owing to marriage and child-rearing; an unsafe climate on the campus (risk of sexual assault, etc.); sexual harassment; sexist or misogynous harassment (intimidation in competitions and performances).

Suggestions for policy improvement:

- attendance exemptions for periods of pregnancy and breast-feeding, support for the gradual making up of incomplete activities, in public as well as in private universities;

- financing from the public budget or, in the case of private institutions, from fee exemptions for the setting up and operation of university nurseries;
- adequate lighting on the campus; police and bodyguard protection enabling free circulation throughout the campus;
- self-defense courses for students;
- the adoption of norms and procedures which prevent and punish sexual harassment;
- the adoption and enforcement of a Code of Ethics.

4.4. THE STAFF

4.4.1. Wage Policies and the Feminization of Education

A key matter which every contributor to *Good Practice in Promoting Gender Equality in Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe* (Grünberg, 2001a) is that of wage policies in higher education. Throughout Central and Eastern Europe, education is the Cinderella of the public budget. The amounts invested in other budgetary areas (defense, police, administration, etc.) are always significantly higher than those invested in higher education. Moreover, during transition, social protection has burdened the budget in two ways: legitimate protection (toward children, retired persons, individuals with disabilities, and the unemployed) and hidden, barely legitimate protection for work in non-competitive sectors and especially in bankrupt industries. These budgetary priorities systematically limit funds for education and health and condemn these two domains to perpetual poverty.

Higher education (and education in general) within the Central and Eastern European countries seem to have entered a process of pauperization. Pauperization condemns higher education (as in the case of other fields undergoing pauperization) to feminization. As wages in higher education decrease, so does the prestige of higher education, and the relationship between a person's income and his or her studies becomes less relevant. Men tend to look for domains in which

income and prestige are on the rise. Generally, within the Central and Eastern Europe space, the incomes of women in higher education are less than two-thirds of those of men, because of their inferior position in the academic hierarchy.

A consequence of this state of affairs is that more women than men are admitted to, and graduate from, higher education institutions. In time, there will be more women among the staff members. Currently, the number of women in the teaching staffs of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe is below that of men (with some exceptions: languages and literature, the arts). Most women are assistants. Professors and lecturers are usually men, and very often, older men. Many have stayed in higher education because they are idealistic in their motivations, or because they were already there and would find any change difficult, or because their positions convey prestige and access to other positions (*e.g.*, in politics). Young men in higher education, to a larger extent than young women, have several jobs. Their links to higher education are transitory and often end as soon as they secure a better job.

Women have moved massively into higher education as teachers over the past ten years. This career path is in part owing to their qualifications (including the fact that many have graduated from Master's Degree and Doctoral Programmes in Western universities, more open to the participation of women), and in part to the feminization of the academic environment (itself a consequence of the diminishing level of income and prestige offered by these institutions).

Most women behave in the academy just as they behave in their families: They assume responsibilities. They have difficulties in leaving (especially the students) in favour of opportunities that better serve their interests. They transfer the ethics of care to the job. They would rather take up several poorly paid work quotas in the same institution and work twice as much for this university because of their inferior positions in it (additional classes, additional papers to grade, additional seminars to prepare, additional work with

undergraduate and graduate students). Women deal with most of the domestic tasks that arise inside universities. They thus have fewer opportunities for additional income. Since they have to combine academic and domestic work, women in the teaching staffs of higher education diminish their ability to occupy high positions, advance in research, and conclude well-paid extra-academic agreements.

The following policy improvements are suggested:

- modifying the wage system in institutions financed from the state budget so as to make education a motivating domain;
- exploiting the possibilities of university autonomy so as to enable salary flexibility and the raising of extra-budgetary income;
- development of entrepreneurial universities as providers of know-how and educational service;
- the ending of practices whereby certain funded programmes may only be led by professors and lecturers;
- the involvement of women in trade unions and pressure groups in order to protect their interests as employees;
- making the low retirement age for women optional so that women might pursue university careers for as long as men, if they so wish.

4.4.2. *Participation in Decision-Making: The Masculinization of Higher Education at the Top*

Education tends to feminize at the base and masculinize at the top. This tendency is particularly apparent in higher education. The segregation is vertical – a pyramidal model of women’s inclusion into hierarchically distributed positions. The number of women decreases with the increase in the importance of positions. All the contributors to *Good Practice* noted, in one way or another, the “glass ceiling” phenomenon (barriers to the access of women to high-ranking positions).

Few ministers, state secretaries, or General Directors for higher education are women. Even when women hold such

positions, they do not promote gender policies and, indeed, they seem to become gender blind (questionnaires addressed to individuals holding such positions were answered in gender blind fashion; the subjects did not even encourage the collection of gender statistics for an analysis of higher education (Grünberg, 2001b, p. 12).

University senates are mostly made up of men because the system of representation is hierarchical and based on seniority. In higher education institutions, men are the rule-makers.

The number of women-rectors is very small (7 percent in the best cases). The same is true for the number of women pro-rectors. The number of women holding positions of Dean, Department Head, Chairperson, and other administrative positions is also small. Some researchers speak of the preference of staff members for a male boss, since it is assumed that he will be liberal and rights-oriented, while female bosses are viewed as being duty-oriented.

Women are not encouraged to live full professional lives nor educated to do so. They must follow a longer, more difficult path in order to achieve full professorships (positions which provide more opportunities for decision-making). Prejudices, segregation, and the hierarchical model force women into giving priority to the interests of men.

The fact that there are very few women professors is not simply an academic problem. It also affects access to financial sources, grants, and programmes that have to be initiated by full professors or assistant professors.

There are cases in which women discourage one another, or even themselves, when faced with the prospect of assuming positions of authority or power. They avoid situations that generate additional responsibilities and conflict.

One may conclude that academic decision-making by women is very limited and restricted to domestic rather than to strategic matters. Women have even less to say about university budgets (in situations of universities having considerable autonomy).

Suggestions for further policies:

- All statistics must be gender separated (on horizontal and vertical levels).
- Even if women do not hold high positions in the hierarchy, they must promote a gender agenda at the level of budgetary policy and norms against gender discrimination. They should have their own organization in order to monitor gender equity within the university.
- University senates should admit members according to the criterion of representativity and the principles of gender parity, not so much according any criterion of seniority.
- Even if a Department Head position calls for high-level university titles and extended curricular competencies, a Dean's position is managerial and should be attributed according to the criterion of administrative competency. The career of a university manager should not overlap with that of a professor.
- The strategic plan, periodical assessments, and accreditation of universities must take into account gender equity as a significant criterion.
- Gender equity has to become a criterion for the financing obtained from the public budget. Support for gender-balanced financial policies should also benefit private universities.
- Women should accept positions of authority when they are available and accessible.

4.4.3. *Gender Conservatism and Anti-Feminism in Academic Life*

Higher education in Central and Eastern Europe is dominated by a lack of gender awareness. Questionnaires distributed for a UNESCO research project in 1999 and 2000 (Good Practice in Promoting Gender Equality in Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Countries) requested data that could have been obtained from statistics which included gender indices. Yet, in most cases, such data turned

out to be non-existent or was considered totally irrelevant. "Gender does not matter" was the most frequent response given by the higher education authorities.

In the approach to higher education issues, gender questions are either absent, or are considered minor and pushed to the end of the list of higher education policies. The main factors leading to gender blindness and gender conservatism are the following:

- The reform of higher education in the Central and Eastern European countries is generally being led by men who are over 50-60 years old. Usually, they do not "see" gender problems (these problems do not affect them; they are not trained to see them; they lack gender know-how). Most of the women involved in steering education and reform (usually as counselors and as experts) lack gender know-how themselves.
- This state of affairs is convenient in the short run. Men easily accept the idea that possible competitors are excluded or marginalized. Once a part of the system, women try not to interfere with masculine authority. They want to be acknowledged as being able to remain "neutral" and "objective". On the other hand, successful women like to adopt strategies that appear to be exceptional and consider themselves flattered because they have managed to shed their "feminine" condition and to be accepted in areas of "masculine" prestige.
- In addition, there is the resistance of the academic establishment to perceived outsiders and intruders.
- Restraint is exercised because the fulfillment of university policy objectives costs money. The budget is running dry and must be used for survival (salaries and maintenance) and technological improvement. A myth even exists according to which technology by itself engenders modernization, that it is "socially messianic".
- Policies in favour of social justice and equity are mocked, labeled "communistic", and eliminated. The fetish of

merit and competition blocks policies favouring equal opportunity.

- Universities are still only loosely linked to the outside world. Many of them are still ivory towers. This situation is primarily the result of the absence of a tradition of universities as providers of know-how for reform (a position unthinkable during the communist period during which universities were expected to be compliant and legitimizing). Also, the relationships of Central and Eastern European universities to the world of NGOs and business are still in an incipient stage. The universities still lack the status of know-how providers for the specific or strategic interests of administration, business, and civil society.
- Anti-feminism often precedes feminism and works as a protective shield. It is also preferred by women owing to the tendency to “normalization” and institutional routine. In some academic circles, feminism is perceived as a form of fundamentalism.
- Gender-focused initiatives are looked upon with suspicion and open hostility. They are subject to derision (in phrases such as “academic witches” (see Slavova, 2001, pp. 111). Students enrolled in Gender Studies are sometimes ostracized.
- The level of solidarity among women in higher education (students and teachers) is low, a situation usually justified by the need to be accepted by the male establishment. As women have little power, it is wiser to please one’s male colleagues.

Suggestions for further policies:

- All statistics and data should contain relevant information pertaining to gender.
- The university charter and Code of Ethics should prohibit sexist behaviour.
- Reform commissions in higher education should include specialists on Gender and Equal Opportunity Policies.

- Specialists in gender policies should be trained and should attend ministerial commissions and university senate and departmental meetings (or at least be consulted by these bodies).
- Gender studies (autonomous or integrated) should be introduced into university curricula so as to make this approach familiar.
- When necessary, consciousness-raising groups and women's clubs should be established in order to improve gender awareness and gender solidarity.

4.4.4. Women's Academic Careers

THE REDUCED SUCCESS OF THE ACADEMIC CAREERS OF WOMEN IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF MEN

Fewer women than men participate in the full cycle of an academic career. Women earn fewer doctorates than men. They have greater difficulties in becoming full professors. The progress of women is slower than that of men.

A less successful academic career is a state of fact turned into stereotypes, prejudices, and arguments for hidden discrimination based on the idea that women should not have top-level academic careers. These stereotypes are encouraged in academic writing; in local, national, and international scientific meetings; and also with respect to temporary positions (chairpersonships, panelists).

Stereotypes become a part of the lives of children as early as primary school. Schoolbooks portray the status of women and men differently (mother *versus* professional). The world of employment is the man's world. Women are portrayed in typically feminized occupations, while men are relaxing at home or helping their wives. Women are busy satisfying daily needs in the area of maintenance. Family relations are portrayed as being patriarchal.

As the contributors to *Good Practice* show, women are perceived as making only small contributions to important theoretical work. They are viewed as being less creative and capable of dedicating themselves to the cause of knowledge –

altogether less effective than their male colleagues. Once such an outlook is assumed, it may become a self-fulfilling prophecy (the level of knowledge and daring decreases, the *hubris* of creativeness is not educated). Women are not accustomed to undertaking gender research, nor are they familiar with feminist epistemologies and methodologies. They are kept away from strategies other than those that subscribe to existing paradigms. Although it is acknowledged that women may learn from or teach others, they are, nevertheless, assumed to be less able to put their minds to good use than men are.

The double workday is a common phenomenon in the societies of Central and Eastern Europe. To women, the home is neither a place of relaxation nor of rest. It is not a place where they can study and do research; rather, it is a place for domestic work and child raising. For this reason, women's careers begin when their children are old enough to have some independence, while men do not need to worry about any discontinuities. As Maria Janion, a Polish Professor of Philology, put it, in the free post-socialist countries, women have become "family beings" rather than "human beings" (quoted in Siemieńska, 2001, p. 78).

This tradition of parental and domestic mono-responsibility is a source of handicap and a form of gender inequity.

An obstacle that cannot be left aside is the restraint placed upon mobility. Scientific communication and scientific training have become globalized. This reality implies internal and international academic mobility. Women's access to communication and training is therefore limited, because tradition places women in the *gyneaceum*, because women have to take care of their families and even their faculties, because sometimes their spouses are unwilling to let them leave home, especially for long periods. According to tradition, a wife should follow her husband when he pursues an academic career. Less frequently do husbands follow their academic wives. For this reason, international and regional exposure is decreasing, and so also is the popularization of women's research. Careers that imply spatial mobility, both

internal and international, are much less open to women than to men.

In the Central and Eastern European region, there are countries in which no woman is a member of the National Academy. In most cases, women are an absolute minority. During the transition period, the practice of ignoring the candidacies of women has been aggravated.

Suggestions for further policies include the following:

- gender partnership to be represented in textbooks;
- the image of the “human being” in scientific publications to be that of a “woman being” as well as a “man being”;
- research on the experiences of women, from the perspective of women, and the inclusion of such research into relevant bibliographies in various fields;
- gender parity in scientific teams and programmes;
- fiscal policies leading to reductions in the costs of electrical housekeeping appliances and the encouragement of the participation of both spouses in domestic work;
- the encouragement of active paternal responsibilities;
- funding of the costs of nurseries and kindergartens for the children of teaching staff members from budgetary and extra-budgetary sources;
- elaboration of statistics on external mobility, within each university, which include gender as an index; elaboration of policies rectifying gender inequity.

THE PRICE OF SUCCESS IS HIGHER FOR WOMEN THAN FOR MEN

A successful career in higher education often carries a high price for women. Often, it means that for women in higher education, having a family is no longer possible. The academic careers of men are built with the support of wives who are in charge of raising the children, undertaking the household activities, and generally concerning themselves with the “daily worries” of the successful man. The latter is thus free to concentrate on his personal development.

The sacrifices made for science by women have been perceived as second rate. Rather, they have made sacrifices for

the “man” of science and for the development of knowledge by him. Switching gender roles in such situations seems almost inconceivable, and the practice of partnership by the two composing the couple is very rare, in spite of the fact that only through such partnership can the women become successful without paying the price of abandoning her family. Studies show that many successful university careers involving women are those of unmarried or divorced women, and of married women with no children or with only one child. Many a divorced woman takes on a high level academic career as compensation for the absence of a family of her own. Most men with academic careers are, on the contrary, married and rely on the support of their wives. They are often cared for by their wives. The publicity accorded to scientific success on the part of women is so limited that success itself appears to be deviant, its beneficiaries, viewed as eccentrics.

A woman academic who is married to a colleague has to deal with the prejudice that she should embrace a slower career than that of her husband. If she is professionally successful or scientifically deserving, her situation is attributed to her being the wife of an academic man. Naturally, such realities cannot be dealt with by legal or political means, only by ethical means.

Women, and especially married women, have a lower level of integration into the domestic, regional, or international academic community than do men. Hence, the traditional dilemma: either a successful career or a family with a more “domestic” academic career (*i.e.*, closer to the needs of one’s university and of one’s family).

Suggestions for further policies to rectify this situation are the following:

- the raising of gender awareness with respect to obstacles in the way of academic careers for women, starting at the undergraduate level;
- the transfer of such “private” problems to the public academic sphere for analysis and debate;

- the demonopolization of awards and the increasing of the acceptance of the publicity of the academic and scientific success of women;
- educating men to feel pride in regard to their academically successful partners; educating men to offer partnership and support for the careers of their wives.

4.5. CURRICULAR DISCRIMINATION

Sexism and discrimination in curricula and in educational practices take the form of institutional sexism and discrimination, linguistic sexism and discrimination, as well as hidden and subtle sexism. In many cases, women are excluded from the designing of curricula at all levels of education, and even more so within higher education. The most frequent form of discrimination is the absence or the marginalization of the experiences of women in curricula.

The curricula of higher education ignore, neglect, exclude, or marginalize, both epistemically and ethically, the relevance of women's experiences, or of other experiences that are preponderantly lived by women.

4.5.1. *Women's Experiences*

Usually, curricula deal with such experiences as pregnancy, birth, breastfeeding, menstruation, and menopause from a medical perspective. They are either barely mentioned or absent, altogether, from psychology, sociology, philosophy, social assistance, political science, economics, and the arts. Sometimes, the strictly medical dimension is ignored in theological education, which associates women's experiences with purity and impurity. These issues, therefore, remain chiefly private; they are not part of a circuit of public knowledge, and are reduced to the level of tacit common sense.

Such experiences as rape, prostitution (whether deliberate or forced), trafficking, pornography, and domestic violence are often dealt with from a purely normative perspective as in law schools. Sometimes, they become case studies (usually

marginal ones) in sociology classes. If other fields take an interest in collective violence (*e.g.*, rape in wartime, racial or ethnic rape) the interest is very limited or non-existent in political science, for instance. The trafficking of women is not studied in economics or politics, and remains a matter fit only for social assistance programmes or law schools. Prostitution is neglected in most fields of research, while domestic violence remains a detached topic in social assistance courses in law, and perhaps in the police academies. Pornography is considered too undignified to be a topic of study in terms of language and imagery. It is not even considered to be worth studying in terms of its psychological impact.

4.5.2. *Caring Work*

After the fall of communism, caring work: the raising of children, domestic work, the nursing of sick persons with disabilities, and the elderly, again became a problem for the family or for poorly funded institutions. Consequently, this type of work became free, voluntary, and provided mainly by women. Because it is almost totally unpaid, it is not considered “a job”; so care work is not studied within academic disciplines.

The language used in scholarly publications in addressing others is often explicitly or subtly sexist. The generic term, “man”, is used for males and is defined androcentrically. The names of positions of authority and prestige are masculine (Minister, Rector, Chairman). Women are designated by terms that indicate marital status (*e.g.*, Miss), while men are not. Scholarly writings and lectures are addressed to (male) readers, (male) students, (male) researchers (in languages that allow for gender inflection). These practices have significant effects upon the self-perception of women and generate self-fulfilling prophecies.

Suggestions for changed policies are the following:

- the participation of women in the design of curricula;
- the introduction of feminist and gender approaches to deal with the experiences listed above in various types of

disciplines (law, economics, sociology, social assistance, psychology, philosophy, political science, linguistics, literature, and medicine);

- the introduction of speech codes aimed at gender equity, designed for each particular cultural and linguistic area, according to the guidelines for non-sexist action already elaborated by universities and publishing houses;
- the introduction and development of autonomous gender studies and research (Gender Studies, Women's Studies, Feminist Studies, Feminology), so as to create local and regional epistemic expertise.

Chapter 5

The Role of Gender Studies in Promoting Gender Equity in Higher Education

Given that gender studies are “the academic arm of feminism”, gender studies have flourished in the region because of the currently existing patriarchal cultures (an idea that Natalia Kutova shared with other authors of Good Practice, 2001).

Skepticism towards revision of the sciences seems especially strong in Central and Eastern European countries where, during the socialist period, women were present in substantial numbers in the very fields socially associated with masculinity in the West. Yet, given the high price that women paid for fulfilling unquestioned masculine norms while carrying the burden of devalued feminine responsibilities, a debate on the ways in which masculine culture permeates both the organizational culture of academia and the content and patterns of access to high-prestige academic fields is needed throughout Europe.... There are clear indications that in the transformation period since 1989, much of the knowledge, skills, and talent of women in Eastern Europe has been lost from fields that have undergone a “masculinization” process. Centers of feminist studies at universities in these countries are an essential tool to observe, to call attention to, and to help counteract such trends (Council of Europe, 1998).

5.1. THE NEED FOR GENDER STUDIES

At social level, and implicitly at the level of higher education, gender equity cannot be promoted and realized in the absence of gender studies in regional and local contexts. The tendency of progressive decision-makers in these countries is to borrow norms and know-how. Many countries in Central and Eastern Europe have signed conventions and passed laws promoting gender equity. Often, states refer to the formal resolution of the

issue of gender equity by invoking the existence of such norms. But beyond the official, normative level, there is the institutional and organizational reality, a reality that is both private and public, and in which gender inequity survives unscathed.

Gender Studies and gender policies at all levels should be interdependent. Gender Studies offer the know-how that is necessary for the elaboration of gender policies in different environments and domains.

Presented below are the main arguments for the introduction of Gender Studies:

- Recognized knowledge is preponderantly masculine, *i.e.*, produced by men and about the experiences of men. The curricula neglect the experiences of women *qua* women: women are excluded or marginalized in history. The economic sciences are not interested in domestic work. The private sphere is neglected. The lack of Women's Studies and of gender issues leads to partial knowledge from partial perspectives.
- Epistemic and normative authority are strongly related to the development of knowledge of specific types of problems. If an issue does not reach sufficiently elevated epistemic levels, it is treated as non-existent or marginalized as "non-scientific" and private.
- Knowledge of the other by the other is a condition for understanding, mutual respect, self-assertion, and assertion of the community, as well as for democracy. If problems that affect women as women, women's perspectives, and gender relations are neglected, then understanding and gender partnership in education and public and private life are seriously affected.
- A "new social contract" between women and men is needed. This time, it should be negotiated by well-informed women.
- There are general similarities, as well as local differences, between gender relations. These differences can only be made visible if knowledge is bound to a specific cultural

space. It follows that the products of gender expertise should be mixed rather than simply imported as universally relevant. The Central and Eastern European region and the communities within these areas are all different. Gender Studies should therefore relate to regional and local specifics.

- Higher education may and should assume the position of a vanguard in the know-how of social reform and should reform gender relationship from within.
- Academic freedom is a source of alternative curricula. It is therefore necessary that it should be supported by the Ministries of Education, so that universities might play a leading role in reshaping education and in achieving European citizenship for women.
- Last but not least, the aims of Gender Studies are to provide high quality, up-to-date professional training in the chosen careers; to help each of its women students in developing their intellectual abilities, creative spirit, self-esteem, and self-confidence.

5.2. ACADEMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF GENDER STUDIES

The trends in the introduction and extension of Gender Studies in Central and Eastern Europe are encouraging.

The numbers of women enrolled in higher education, either as students or as teaching staff members, have increased. Consequently, a critical number of women exists to enable Gender Studies to become a part of university curricula.

The academic environment and the cultural context are undergoing a period of crisis and reform that would enable a “gynoshift”, *i.e.*, the turning of public interest towards women’s issues (see Zdravomyslova and Snyrova, 2001, p. 34).

Another important aspect is the globalization of research networks and the access to cyber-expertise.

The development of Gender Studies in the region has been the chief success of the process of gender equity in this part of the world (see Grünberg, 2001b, p. 15). With some exceptions,

these studies were supported by international programmes and institutions. Consequently, they are up-to-date in terms of bibliography and often in terms of results.

An essential role was played by the personal enthusiasm and qualifications of programme leaders, as well as by the positions of authority held by feminist or gender-sensitive researchers in the academic environment. The introduction of these studies often depended on key persons – usually women – found or placed in key positions, who were willing to support the ideas and the projects linked to gender issues. That there are achievements in the area is beyond doubt.

Certain persons, programmes, and institutions in the region are pioneers in the promotion of gender awareness through education.... A new élite stratum [of gender specialists] is being created, an élite that, in time, will promote greater social equality by modifying and transforming traditional socio-economic hierarchies. Departments and curriculum development in this area are indicative of the introduction of a subtle commitment to social change, an activist orientation within academe. In the long run, this strategy will influence the structures of power within and outside higher education institutions (Grünberg, 2001, p. 14 and 16).

It follows that

There is expertise in the region, that there are strong personalities with energy and commitment to feminist values, and that there is a need to strengthen regional collaboration for the imposition of this regional expertise (Grünberg, 2001, p. 15).

Another important aspect is the relationship of these persons and programmes with the NGOs that promote women's issues (militant as well as research organizations). In many cases, academics led or established such NGOs before Gender Studies were introduced into given higher education institutions.

Machismo in the region has not had sufficient time to fully develop, and neither has chauvinism with respect to the access of women to the academic environment, especially owing to the



egalitarian ideology of communism. The crisis of identity engendered by the transition from paternalist to liberal-democratic ideologies is also manifest in men in the Central and Eastern European region.

The alliance with men in the academic environment is extremely favourable. There are gender-aware men who are motivated to introduce a gender approach to their own fields of study. There are pro-feminist men.

The following recommendations are made:

- Persons interested in this type of research should profit from curricular changes in universities and should propose at least optional courses.
- It is necessary that women in academic environments have access to and accept leadership positions so as to be able to influence curricular policy at faculty and university levels.
- Considering that up to the present Gender Studies were usually programmes created jointly with Western and Central and Eastern European universities, it is recommended that such associations be established locally and regionally. An advanced research center can support others in the region. Locally and regionally relevant know-how may thus be produced.
- Academic centers should remain in touch with relevant NGOs and should assume their issues in order to provide know-how. As such, they would legitimize themselves both in civil society and in the academic world.
- Certain forms of expertise in Gender Studies must be offered as gender equity projects for political parties, parliaments, and governments. Such projects would increase the influence and perception of the utility of Gender Studies, as well as their chance of being financed from the state budget.

5.3. FINANCIAL OPPORTUNITIES

The crisis of the academic environment and the reform process sometimes made Gender Studies appear to be potentially good contributors to the university budget.

In most cases, and especially when they are established autonomously, Gender Studies depend on foreign financing and, more rarely, on private sponsorships. For this reason, the privileged place in the region is occupied by the Master's and Doctoral Degree programmes of the Central European University in Budapest.

The most important source of support for Gender Studies was the Open Society Foundation. Additional financing came from other sources, such as non-reimbursable grants for research and academic development from the World Bank, as well as from other important international funding institutions (foundations or research institutes).

Stand-alone Gender Studies disciplines (especially optional ones) are financed from the public money given to universities. In rare cases, when they depend on the authority and influence of the initiators, research, and Master's degree programmes are financed publicly (*e.g.*, in Romania; see Miroiu, 2001, pp. 127-128).

The following recommendations are put forward:

- The main providers of resources are foreign programmes, especially in the countries applying for membership in the European Union. Academic centers may play a leading role in such programmes aimed at the achievement of European Citizenship for Women.
- Women managers in important businesses in the region may be asked to sponsor research programmes and publications.
- An important source of funding might be derived from modular courses leading to diplomas, provided for a fee to individuals working in the fields of politics and administration who are interested in acquiring the relevant expertise.

- If Ministries of Education are persuaded to accept gender equity as a goal for higher education, an important financial mechanism might arise if gender equity and gender expertise become criteria for the funding of universities.

5.4. ENTRY POINTS

In many cases, Gender Studies had their origins in summer schools and research in local communities or through the introduction of gender issues in already existing courses. Women's Studies and Gender Studies are mainly being developed within the Humanities and the Social Sciences divisions.

Fields that are most open to the introduction of this type of studies are the newly emerging ones or those that were rehabilitated after the fall of communism: International Relations, European Studies, Political Science, Sociology, and Journalism. Women have been able to enter these domains as teaching staff more easily than they have been able to enter other domains. Access to international research programmes brought specialists into contact with gender perspectives.

Women's Studies centers can be found outside universities almost everywhere. Women's studies modules can be found in several higher education institutes, Master's Degree programmes, and regional gender programmes. An increasing number of young students from the region are interested in the topic.

In certain traditional areas, such as Law or Pedagogy, "Women's Rights" and "Gender and Education" courses are particularly well-received.

The following recommendations are made:

- Particular domains may play a leading role provided that specialists achieve high levels of performance in the respective fields.

- When specialists are separated in different domains, it is recommended that they come together in interdisciplinary centers at university level.
- Doctoral subjects focused on gender issues or feminist approaches may influence the acceptance of Gender Studies in a new field.
- Since inter-disciplinary Master's Degree programmes are new forms of study, they may incorporate Gender Studies courses with relative ease.
- Gender research is a good entry point for Gender Studies, especially when they exhibit the advantages of performance.

5.5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER STUDIES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: CURRENT REALITIES AND POSSIBLE STRATEGIES

5.5.1. *Main Controversies*

MAINSTREAMING VERSUS CURRICULUM TRANSFORMATION PROJECTS

Mainstreaming implies that there is one mainstream and that one wants to join it. Transformation, on the other hand, places emphasis on changing that which exists, and not on joining it. Those supporting the need for separate, institutionalized women's studies argue that only if the field is legitimized will its prestige increase. Others do not necessarily consider that knowledge about women is simply an additive to, a subset of, or a complement to knowledge about men, but feel that there exists no required expertise yet and that by creating separate modules, the domain is marginalized, *i.e.*, feminized (Grünberg, 2001b, p. 16).

AUTONOMIZATION VERSUS INTEGRATION

The *autonomization* of gender studies was the preferred option in Russia (Ivanovo State University), Poland (University of Warsaw), Ukraine (Kharkov Center for Gender Studies), Romania (Babeş-Bolyai University), Belarus (The ENVILA Women's Institute, the only higher education institution in the

country that admits only women), and Hungary, at the Central European University (the Gender Studies Programme, initially called "Gender and Culture").

Those supporting the need for separate, institutionalized Gender Studies or Women's Studies programmes stress the need to specialize in and to legitimize the field, so as to increase its prestige. The skeptics say that this way of proceeding leads to the marginalizing and the ghettoization of the field. Autonomous academic communities and women's journals are viewed, very frequently, as marginal.

While Gender Studies centers may indeed look marginal, in fact they are producing autonomous knowledge and have access to private financial sources (as opposed to public sources) and international programmes. They also have the advantage of a multi-disciplinary approach.

Integration has had its own supporters, as in the European University in St. Petersburg, where Gender Studies have been introduced at postgraduate level in the Department of Political Science and Sociology, in Bulgaria (the St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia), and in Romania, where the Master's Degree in Gender and Public Policies is integrated into the Faculty of Political Science, and the National School of Political and Administrative Sciences (SNSPA), Bucharest.

This strategy emphasizes the notion that the promotion of gender studies and feminist ideas in universities is a vicarious and gradual way of "gendering" large numbers of traditional disciplines by focusing on interdisciplinarity.

Skeptics, on the other hand, believe that this strategy leads to assimilation and loss of specificity.

The following recommendations are made:

- Separate institutions or programmes for women are based on gender authenticity. They are recommended when women feel psychological discomfort in competition with men and when it is therefore more appropriate that they be trained separately so as to develop creativity and to achieve self-assertion. This type of separation provides a good climate for self-confidence, solidarity, and for

mutual support among women. Such strategies may provide counseling in careers as well as re-training and may lead to the development of potential leadership for women.

- Integration is an opportunity for creative gender work or feminist approaches to one's own field of research. It is recommended in open and dynamic institutions, in which it does not lead to assimilation, and in which gender perspectives do not become mere "footnotes" to other types of research.
- A mixed strategy - integration combined with relative autonomization - may be utilized by the introduction of courses into the existing curricula, by introducing modules on gender, a Master's Degree programme on gender, and a gendered Master's Degree programme in certain fields or in an inter-disciplinary programme (as a sub-domain). This strategy is recommended when the numbers of specialists are high, when colleagues with other specializations are receptive to the gender approach, and when PhD theses can concentrate on issues of gender. This strategy is feasible in more advanced stages of development and receptivity.

THE NAMING OF STUDIES AND OF CURRICULAR STRATEGIES

The concept of gender has become common in all English-speaking countries. There are serious disputes with respect to the use of this concept, which has no meaning in some languages (*i.e.*, languages which do not have gender, such as Finnish or Hungarian, or have an extended ambi-gender applying to non-human beings and things, such as the Latin languages).

It is recommended that even when there are difficulties of translation, the term may be borrowed because it is operational nature in terms of international and regional communication.

The designations of fields of study are not random. They emerged as Women's Studies, Feminist Studies, Gender

Studies, or Feminology (in Russia). Different names involve different curricular policies. The designation, "Women's Studies", places an emphasis on descriptive methods in analyzing the situation of women in the region. The designation, "Feminist Studies", stresses theoretical and normative aspects inspired by the different feminist trends. The title, "Gender Studies", is a hybrid designation that places emphasis on gender relations within different spheres of social life, but also on designing strategies for refashioning these relations.

The most controversial name and strategy is that of "Feminist Studies", simply because most prejudices are directly linked to feminism and the thought that it evokes (aggressive militantism, changing the form of domination, or an ideology in a world saturated with ideologies). The greater the ignorance concerning feminism, the greater the prejudice. Yet, for this very reason, the advantage of this designation is that of assuming a cultural and political identity. If the implied image is well-represented (expertise, public influence, persuasiveness), respect and sympathy for feminism will come in the end. The feminist approach is expressly emancipatory and implies explicit assumption of a project of cultural and social change. When it is superficial, slogan-like, and opportunistic, prestige will diminish and the effect will be reversed. It follows that feminist engagement in the academy is more demanding and taxing. Its failure may compromise the influence of feminism in Central and Eastern European societies, because the commitment is not simply epistemic, but also ethical, ideological, and political.

The designation, "Women's Studies", as a term and strategy, is better tolerated, but may suggest that the type of studies in question is marginal (marginalizing women and studies with the name is, after all, consistent). It focuses on understanding the situation of women, a type of knowledge that is necessary both to feminism and to gender partnership strategies.

The term, "Gender Studies", is considered more appropriate. It allows for a social-biological distinction (at least to the extent to which it is not dubious to deal with the biological as the "natural"), and is a guarantee that men are not forgotten or neglected. The approach is more neutral, looks less "dangerous" than feminism, because it is more "conservative" in a good way. Gender equity may "increase organically", provided we have adequate policies. It may have a larger influence on institutional change and may train specialists in expertise and gender policies. In the absence of feminist approaches, it lacks the theoretical-normative component. Without women's studies, it lacks consistently descriptive knowledge of the women's position.

All of these strategies are contextually relevant.

The following recommendations are made:

- The *name* to be given to the studies depends on the adopted strategies and the ability of those involved in the programme to achieve its goals. Consequently, there is no best or worst strategy outside a context. Any strategy may be beneficial for increasing knowledge and influencing norms and practices that lead to gender equity.
- *Feminist Studies* may be influential through courses integrated into various other disciplines, when there are relevant specialists (e.g., feminist philosophy, feminist political theory, feminist socio-linguistics, feminist approaches to international relations, feminist theories in education, etc.). A Master's programme in Feminist Studies would require specialists for all courses, as well as a substantial level of coherence among the disciplines taught, so as to make the entire package appropriate (e.g., a Master's Degree in Feminist Theory, Feminist Cultural Studies, Feminist Policies, etc.).
- *Women's Studies* may be introduced in an integrated fashion, such as: "Women and (Politics, Media, etc.)", "Women in the (Economy, in Transition, in Local Literature, etc.)", "Women's Rights". At Master's Degree

level, Women's Studies may be organized along with the specificity of the host discipline (host faculty or department), *e.g.*, "Women and Politics", "Women in Education", "Women and Society", etc. This approach will work, especially when there is a significant number of specialists or when interdisciplinary approaches to a particular issue are sufficiently developed. When research is less specialized, a pluri-disciplinary Master's Degree programme in Women's Studies should be organized.

- *Gender Studies*, as the more "neutral" approach, may be introduced by means of combining know-how from the areas of Women's Studies and Feminist Studies, especially in institutions in which men exhibit a larger degree of interest in these studies (including interdisciplinary studies with a gender dimension). They may be introduced as autonomous, multi-disciplinary programmes, under the label of "Gender Studies", such as "Gender and (Culture, Economics, Literature, Public Policies, Politics, Education)". Should the number of specialists be limited, the programmes may be restricted to courses or course modules.

LEVELS IN THE INTRODUCTION OF GENDER STUDIES

Gender Studies (irrespective of their actual name) have been introduced in this region especially at undergraduate level (courses and course modules, optional in most cases) and Master's Degree level (courses, course modules, specialized Master's Degree programmes). The Central European University in Budapest is the only institution to offer a doctoral programme.

The number of students who benefit from such programmes is small. So far, one can speak of only a small number of gender experts who have graduated from such courses or programmes. Most specialists have been trained in Western European and American universities, or are self-taught and

have benefited from short research programmes in Western universities:

The following recommendations are made:

- At the undergraduate level, relevant issues should be introduced into courses other than gender studies courses *per se* as well as special courses and course modules. Possibly, such courses should enable one to accumulate at least 40 percent of the total number of credits needed for the first degree thus conferring a minor in Gender Studies.
- Post-graduate studies in Gender Studies should be institutionalized as multi- and inter-disciplinary approaches in order to enable lecturers and researchers in the gender area to work together, to legitimize gender studies in faculties, and to make it possible to establish Gender Studies courses in home faculties. Doing so would provide an opportunity for people from different universities to become teammates and to participate in joint research projects. Master's Degree theses are important for the acknowledgement of young specialists in the field.
- Doctoral programmes and theses could take up issues that are germane to other disciplines. Such theses would be most suitable for feminist staff members. Their completion and defense would alter the way the field is received; from negative attitudes and irony, to respect on the part of staff members who are men. This way of proceeding would raise the prestige of the field and legitimize the topics and disciplines by the pioneering of groundbreaking work and by the display of a high level of competency and relevance.
- The institutionalizing of separate doctoral programmes in Gender Studies might turn out to be difficult. States in the Central and Eastern Europe region have different rules for determining who qualifies to be a doctoral adviser (usually he or she has to be a full professor), as well as for accepting a field as being fit for doctoral

programmes (depending on the number of advisers and the development of the respective field). Should the necessary conditions be fulfilled, such programmes might develop to the benefit both of science and of gender equity norms inside universities and in society at large.

5.5.2. *The Research*

In most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, specialized literature (either translated or local) is lacking. When such literature is available, it is usually scant and covers the bibliographical necessities only to a very limited extent. Most literature in the fields under discussion is written in English, a language that those who enroll in such programmes usually read, speak, and understand. Thus, they have access to information (especially via the Internet). A frequent strategy for researchers in the region has been to do research and to publish as part of international programmes. In this context, researchers have remained aloof from the "hard" area of theory and have focused on providing studies on the situation of women and gender studies in the local community, or comparative studies with a similar topic (generally published abroad). There are many cases in which an academic is better known in the international community of gender studies than in the local academic community. Vast national empirical research projects on gender relations, as well as studies centered on women, have rarely benefited from financing (as in the case of OSF, *The Gender Barometer – Romania* (2001), for instance).

The history of the feminist movement in this region is little known, if at all. Usually, the chosen strategy was that of doing research on very specific matters, such as monitoring the media and elections, small focus groups, and sometimes even analyzing the traditional literature of a community from a gender perspective.

Feminism involves a great deal of theoretical audacity irrespective of where it is practiced, rather than simple admiration for the audacity of Western feminists.

The following recommendations are made:

- The practice of Gender Studies in Central and Eastern Europe presupposes a balanced relation to Gender Studies as practiced in the West, in which both commonalities and specific differences are recognized. A purely imitative strategy of mimicking the Western approach is unconvincing in terms of its usefulness for the community in question.
- The quality of research depends on the competencies of the person or team, on the type of programme, its level, and its methodology. Research into theory increases intra-academic prestige, whereas applied research usually has a larger impact upon public opinion and the design of gender equity programmes. Neither strategy should be neglected.
- It is desirable to have research centers for gender issues for at least two reasons: to increase the possibilities for teamwork and to provide access to financial resources to which educational programmes do not have access. When the centers also provide training, they increase the chances for local (rather than international) financing.
- Research should provide resources through curricular development and continuing education, through the development of cross-institutional research programmes to promote scholarship, research, and publications; through support for new local initiatives and for the promotion of regional and international networking and co-operative projects (so far, only the Central European University in Budapest has managed to secure large-scale funding).
- Improved access to research programmes should be offered in the context of regional co-operation. Should such co-operation take place, improved chances exist that new centers will be supported and that the visibility of gender issues and gender awareness will increase.
- The publicizing of results must be undertaken in several ways: through specialized periodicals, Websites, and

collective volumes published by printing houses having the capacity to disseminate their products over a wide area in the written and visual media (which have a large impact upon the general public). Such an extension of mediatization would help to coalesce women's rights activism and overcome the dichotomy of academic and militant feminism, which sets back the very purpose of these studies - the practical achievement of gender equity.

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The Author

MIROIU, Mihaela. Professor of Political Science and Coordinator of the Master's Degree Programme in Gender and Public Policies

Address: Faculty of Political Science, National School for Political and Administrative Studies; 6-8 Povernei Street, Sector 1, Bucharest, Romania
Telephone: +4021-650-6750, Ext. 105;
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