Renate Haas (ed.)

Rewriting Academia

The Development of the Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies of Continental Europe

PETER LANG
EDITION

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From a historical perspective, the full academic establishment of Women's and Gender Studies is a radical and far-reaching innovation. Decisive impulses have come from the United States, the European unification and globalization. European Women's and Gender Studies are therefore intimately linked to the English language and Anglophone cultures, as the near untranslatability of 'gender' shows. In this volume 25 experts present surveys for their countries with a historical and European contextualization and offer fundamental insights not only for English Studies but also various other disciplines.

The Editor
Renate Haas is Professor of English (University of Kiel). She has published widely, one important focus being the European history of English Studies.

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A. Introduction

Renate Haas

Basic Concept and Realization

1.

The full academic establishment of Women's and Gender Studies means one of the most important innovations of the past forty years. This becomes particularly clear if we remember for how many centuries women were excluded from the universities and how extreme their marginalization remained after admission. Now Women's and Gender Studies constitute a central element in far-reaching global processes of democratization of research and education. Decisive impulses for the establishment of Women's and Gender Studies came from the United States, and European English Studies had special chances of mediating them to their own countries, of developing them further through fusion with native traditions, and of thus playing a prominent role. English Studies therefore allow a highly relevant case study, as does Continental Europe. Both are all the more illuminating, as in the various countries, the opportunities and challenges have been met in a variety of ways and as in spite of international cooperation, the specific conditions and achievements are still hardly known beyond national borders.

Like most new lines of thought or new movements, Women's and Gender Studies have a pronounced linguistic dimension. Fresh departures require a distancing from what has been and different definitions of basic concepts, and on account of the radical critique of Women's and Gender Studies, the linguistic dimension even is of heightened importance for them. Not by chance has their academic institutionalization coincided with the so-called linguistic turn. Among the languages English has played a prominent role, as the rise of Women's and Gender Studies in Europe ran parallel with the processes of globalization and thus with an enormous boost of English and its international functions. While at the beginning of the Second Women's Movement diverse influences, notably French, Dutch and Scandinavian ones, intermingled in lively exchange, over the years Anglo-American strands have become increasingly predominant, especially with regard to

academic institutionalization. In 2002, Rosi Braidotti, experienced in numerous European projects, provocatively asserted that 'both the terminology and the bulk of the scholarship in Women's [and Gender] Studies have been generated in English-speaking cultures and traditions' (285). Whether or in how far such a claim may be true is one of the questions underlying this volume.

How closely the very concept of gender is connected with English becomes evident in the difficulties of establishing it more broadly in other languages. This holds true in particular for languages that only possess a single word for the biological and sociological aspects. Often enough the English term has simply been borrowed. But even then it stands, as do loan-translations, in different linguistic and cultural contexts that subtly colour its meanings, as Braidotti has impressively demonstrated for the main European language families. The same applies to various further central concepts; just take the first item of the established triad race, class and gender. A critical analysis of the development of Women's and Gender Studies within or in close connection with English Studies – the very discipline focussing on the English language, on Anglophone literatures and cultures as well as international communication in English – can therefore yield fundamental insights not only for English Studies but for further disciplines as well.

After what has just been said, it is clear that for such an analysis, even though written in today's *lingua academica* English, the problems of terminology have not simply dissolved, if distinctions and differences are not to be levelled out. None of the key terms of the title of the present volume and of the argument so far are as unproblematic as they may appear at first sight. The combination 'Women's and Gender Studies' has been chosen, because it is most common across Europe. It is understood very broadly in order to leave room for the inflections of meaning current in the various countries. One reason for its widespread use is the advantage that it may comprise a great variety and include gay, lesbian, bisexual, trans or queer studies without alienating the public, as might also happen with an explicit reference to feminism. In contradistinction to the earlier Women's Studies, the common claim for Gender Studies is that their approaches are more complex in considering larger contexts and that they reach a higher theoretical level. The spread of the term has been greatly helped by international use in politics, organizations, networks and big research projects,

of which the 1995 UN Beijing women's conference and the EU deserve special mention (cp. Braidotti 2002: 295). On the other hand, fears persist that Gender Studies have become too 'academicized' and defused so that feminist concerns have been lost sight of. Accordingly, 'Women's' is often added, but with a keen awareness that it is no simple and straightforward signifier and must be understood as an internally differentiated category if unintended (re-)essentialization is to be avoided.

Too much homogenization may also lurk in 'Studies', as may in the very broad use of 'science', which includes the humanities regardless of their distinctive characteristics and has been boosted by European and global co-operation. Continental scholars, whether in Women's and Gender Studies or not, often find it hard to combine these terms with their own understanding of their work and with local or national academic traditions. In particular, they may feel a need to emphasize the research side, because it does not seem to them appropriately represented by 'Studies'. On the other hand, for gender specialists, 'Studies' has the advantage that its use as a singular or plural, capitalized or not, allows to suggest different degrees of disciplinary fixity. Further terms that help Continental scholars to link up with local academic traditions and language use are the noun and adjective 'Anglicist' ('specialist in English Studies' / 'belonging to English Studies'). They echo the various Latin and vernacular derivations from the Latin noun 'Angl-' and adjective 'Anglic-' that have been common in universities as far as Russia or Armenia and, in addition, have the stylistic bonus of compactness.

A broad understanding of English Studies recommends itself for the present volume in order to accommodate the geographical and historical varieties. In the last few decades, English Studies have undergone enormous differentiation, with Women's and Gender Studies as one of the new branches. Among other things, the broad understanding of English Studies means that American Studies may be included, especially the linguistic, literary and cultural studies sectors. A fair number of Americanists may see this differently, but it is at least in accordance with the joint institutionalization of English and American Studies prevalent in Continental Europe, and the present volume pays special attention to institutional aspects. This is not done out of wholesale approval, but because institutional conditions decisively influence the possibilities for the individual disciplines and because

starting from them helps to make out basic structures in the very wide and largely uncharted field.

The vastness of the field is also an important reason for the concentration on the Continent. Anglo-American Women's and Gender Studies are well known and will regularly be referred to in the chapters as trend-setters or for the sake of comparison. It is Continental Women's and Gender Studies, like the Women's and Gender Studies of further parts of the world, that need and deserve greater visibility, and the Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies of the Continent have, as mentioned before, a special, intermediate position and special, intermediary functions. Claims like the one by Braidotti quoted above or the following require a closer look and differentiation. In the same volume (2002: 3), Braidotti and Gabriele Griffin criticized that 'English-language feminism has a hegemonic hold over Women's and Gender Studies'. They focussed on the United States and Great Britain and rightly observed that too few works in other languages are translated into English and then also read there. However, not only 'native speakers' in the traditional Anglophone centres now write in English or read publications in English. So what does 'English-language feminism' or 'generated in English-speaking cultures and traditions' precisely mean in such wider perspectives? Does it mean that works not only need to be published in English to receive due attention, but in addition, in the traditional Anglophone centres and in accordance with their academic conventions? If so, for what reasons, and what can be done to remedy the situation?

In these days of Europeanization and globalization, we are becoming more and more aware of the problematic implications of such dichotomies as mother tongue / native speaker versus foreign language / non-native speaker. 'Mother tongue' often stands for 'national language', a crucial element for the constitution of a nation, and adds useful connotations of basic, intimate relations and identity. Not surprisingly, the language disciplines have had important national and nationalistic functions, and too often they still continue to transport such baggage. The institutional structures themselves are indicative. Traditionally, the big national languages get separate departments and one's own the best funding; smaller national languages and especially those of states considered less important are grouped together in language families; dialects or minority languages are subordinated to the national languages; and comparative, general disciplines (General Linguistics,

Comparative Literature) are established in the margins. Until very recently, the concept of native-speaker competence was basic to 'Foreign' Language Teaching and the various institutions concerned with it, and the maternal connotations of the term have helped to mystify power relations and neglect clear criteria. Here critical insight has been greatly deepened by Continental case studies analyzing the specificities of the new roles of English, and cosmopolitan Suman Gupta has, more broadly, even suggested that 'some of the most interesting developments in the discipline are arguably taking place' in European and other ordinarily non-Anglophone countries, 'amidst the crossings and interfaces of languages, histories and cultural forms' (2009: 18).

Another important reason for the concentration on the Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies of the Continent is the fact that, despite its *lingua franca* functions, English on the Continent is still primarily learnt in school and that, at university, English departments have to develop the students' language competence further, which has consequences for their teaching and then also their research.

Like other basic terms, 'Continental Europe' is understood here broadly and undogmatically, as Europe has no clear geographic borders in the East, as in consequence demarcation lines have shifted greatly over the centuries, and as at certain points they are still hotly contested.

The relation between English Studies and Women's and Gender Studies is among the questions central to the present volume. Answers are easier at institutional or organizational levels, but these must be followed by deeper probing. By now, the issue whether establishment in separate, autonomous departments or within existing disciplines is better and safer for Women's and Gender Studies has been discussed for several decades, and without definite resolution. Both for theoretical and tactical reasons either/or options do not appear to suffice. Inter- and transdisciplinary concepts, together with ideas of postdisciplinarity, have recently (once more) gained ground. Different models may perhaps be advisable for research on the one hand, and teaching, on the other. In this situation, an exemplary focus on Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies may yield insights of broader relevance and even seems to be urgently needed for English Studies. To my surprise, in my search for possible contributors I was repeatedly confronted with colleagues who could not really imagine that 'proper' Women's and Gender

Studies could be practised within English Studies. They were too focussed on autonomous Women's and Gender Studies or automatically associated them with the social sciences, probably because they and their surroundings perpetuated an overly narrow philological understanding of English Studies. To some degree, their social science reflex may also be due to the fact that Women's and Gender Studies have attained their best institutionalization within these subjects. At the same time, the colleagues seemed to be unaware of the important role literature and literary studies played for the Women's Movement of the 1970s and the beginning of Women's Studies, especially in the US.

The question needs, nevertheless, to be raised whether, within English, Women's and Gender Studies have indeed reached the full academic establishment mentioned in the first paragraph. The chapters of the volume will provide a more solid basis for answers. These will be different for different countries and depend on the criteria used to define 'full academic establishment'. Certainly, professorships with an exclusive or partial focus on Women's and Gender Studies hardly exist in Continental English Studies, but they do exist, as the following chapters are going to show. The chapters will also suggest different, more or less varying answers with regard to the other common criteria: recognition of a specific area of research, of specific fundamental theories and of specific methods or ensembles of methods, as well as weighty curricular anchoring.

In view of the dimensions of Europe, it is advisable to rely on representative examples. They may either be parts, e.g. fields, of Women's and Gender Studies or parts of Europe, in particular states. Since no surveys of the first kind exist yet that are detailed enough, this alternative is in danger of putting the cart before the horse, in other words, of remaining too general and of putting up with too many gaps. Another important argument in favour of taking states as frames of reference is the fact that it is still the individual states which regulate the education systems. Moreover, the language disciplines have not only fulfilled national(istic) functions but have also developed distinct national traditions, which must be taken into account and critically analyzed.

In order to encourage the contributors to transcend national limitations, I suggested the following ideal structure for the chapters:

1. Introduction
2. National contexts
   2.1 General situation and glimpses from history (e.g., degree of women-friendliness, First Women's Movement)
   2.2 The Women's and Gender Studies of country X in general
   Stages and forms of institutionalization
   Main directions / important national schools
3. Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies of X
   3.1 Institutionalization (in comparison with 2.2)
   3.2 Main lines of development, important achievements
4. Conclusion / perspectives

The awareness that there will be parallel chapters about other European countries fosters consideration of European aspects. More specifically, the contextualizations entail treatment of European connections: for instance, the inclusion of the First Women's Movement, whose influence was felt from Portugal to Turkey or Armenia and from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean and which already attained such high intellectual levels as very few are aware of today;[1] or the attention to institutionalization, which leads to European politics and EU policies. In conclusion I suggested the aim of a deeper understanding of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies as a European discipline, that is, a discipline which is to some degree conditioned by its European contexts and has specific features, tasks and functions; a discipline which is not only practised in Europe but also for Europe.

2.

In view of Europe's size and variety, a representative selection means a real challenge. Across the Continent, countries should be chosen, North and South, East and West. Countries with the image of having made an important contribution to Women's and Gender Studies in general should not be ignored. But a great difficulty arises already from the circumstance that, in contrast to other disciplines, English Studies do not show much interest

1 Broadly embedded, mention of the First Women's Movement would hopefully not suggest simple adoption of the Western wave pattern but rather draw attention to native traditions that have frequently been ignored.

in their own history. Occasionally there may be institutional histories for certain departments or similar ventures of limited scope and accessibility. Therefore, Balz Engler and I attempted a first European survey with the two volumes *European English Studies: Contributions towards the History of a Discipline*, which cover twenty-seven countries and offer overviews and European case studies. The most important reason for the Anglicists' lack of interest in their history may be that, all in all, Continental English Studies have experienced an unprecedented boom and branching out since about 1970 – after 1990 in Eastern Europe – so that in large sectors they are indeed a very young discipline. The philological sections may have longer traditions, but many of the flourishing fields are recent additions. At any rate, the development of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies has not been researched more thoroughly than the subject in general; on the contrary, even less so is the case.

Further central difficulties have arisen from the recent economic crisis, which in some places has led to the closing down of English departments and frequently hit Women's and Gender Studies worse than other sectors. Normally, Women's and Gender Studies have not proved career-enhancing, but rather a disadvantage. Often they still lack the recognition of the highest levels of the academic administration; they certainly lack broader prestige. They continue to be practised mainly by women, who, in general, are confronted with more obstacles in their career than men. Although English Studies are a female domain at the levels of students and junior staff, in most European countries women still find it quite difficult to attain a chair or other leading positions. For the lower ranks working conditions have greatly deterioriated over the past few decades, while Higher Education has become progressively dominated by the economy. Suffice it to mention the drastic increase in short-term contracts. Not so rarely, the situation of junior staff must be called exploitation. The Bologna and other reforms have sapped energy. The pressure to distinguish oneself by funded projects has grown exponentially and no longer allows extras away from the mainstream. Then, for women there is still also the special double burden of work and family care.

Without the increasing European cooperation and the founding of the European Society for the Study of English, ESSE, the present volume would hardly have been possible. ESSE conferences offered an opportunity for

presenting and elaborating the basic idea, and the contributors to *European English Studies I-II* and to a few later national analyses (Gupta / Katsarska 2009; Gupta / Schneider 2010) could be asked to participate. Next, colleagues who had made a name for themselves in Women's and Gender Studies were invited and the ESSE national secretaries consulted. In most cases, I asked women, but also a few men (primarily from Men's Studies), of whom only one could be won. In general, I tried to have a good mix: several generations, from members of the Second Women's Movement to junior staff; activists, university lecturers or people combining both (perhaps at different points in time). In the basic characterization of the project I also pointed out that it would not always be possible to realize the structure I had suggested (cp. above). If the field was largely uncharted, the contribution would necessarily mirror this situation. Then authors might start very modestly or try a cooperative effort.

On account of the various difficulties, not all countries first envisaged are represented. On the other hand, I was able to add illuminating other ones. Because of the economic crisis and the enormous challenges of the pioneer work necessary, a few authors dropped out midway. For the sake of balance, I sought replacements and thus the completion of the volume took much longer than anticipated.[2]

The difficulties of finding contributors and, in several cases, the lack of success despite great efforts, in my view, reveal much about the situation of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies and I will, therefore, highlight a few examples.

An important country I would have liked to see represented is Russia. I wrote to a variety of individual scholars, heads of departments and departments in general (including e.g. the Gender Laboratory at the Centre for Socio-Cognitive Discourse Studies of the Moscow State Linguistic University) and used both electronic and traditional mail, without getting the least reaction. At long last, I found an enthusiastic contributor, who energetically pointed out to me that women have played a crucial role in the development of Russian *anglistika*. Shortly before the deadline she asked for an extension, which I granted, never to hear from her again. I can only speculate

2 Since it was impossible to keep updating the early chapters, the date of submission is given in each case.

about the reasons, for instance, the increasing ideological pressures. Perhaps I should have relied more on NGOs in order to reach the right people in the universities or academies.

For some, particularly Western or Central European, countries, the reasons have become perfectly clear. There may, for instance, be a small state with only a handful of Anglicists concerned with Women's and Gender Studies, part of them only marginally, and then the project race forces them to follow the latest and most prestigious trends. Or a junior scholar, who works on a PhD thesis for a distant foreign university and teaches twenty-eight hours a week for a living, capitulates halfway through. In some cases, real tragedies have become evident: women who as pioneers of the Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies of their countries have not reached an adequate position but have to work under precarious conditions, because they have never been seriously considered for a professorship, or because they could not accept the only offer for family reasons, or because they and another pioneer tore each other apart in their fights for the only post available.

The most tragic case was the death of Ljiljana Ina Gjurgjan. She submitted a short paper for the seminar at ESSE 11 in Istanbul and continued to plan her presentation even while struggling for her life in hospital. Although we only have the first general part and the specification for English Studies, which was to be given orally, is missing, her sketch is printed here. Despite its brevity, it offers highly relevant insights into Yugoslavia's role of intermediator during the Cold War. It spotlights, for instance, the Korčula Summer Schools, together with the Praxis Group so important for the elaboration of Marxist theory, and the famous feminist conferences at the Inter-University Centre Dubrovnik, where Ina Gjurgjan was among the organizers. The circumstance that she would mainly have had to deal with her personal achievements may have been a decisive reason why she preferred to present the second part only orally. Now obituaries have completed this task.

In spite of the uncommon difficulties, a very broad, varied and representative panorama has been accomplished.[3] Very often the authors have

3 There are various ways of subdividing Europe, depending on the criteria (geography, history, politics) and the vantage points. Preferences keep changing. In my attempts at a relatively neutral table of contents, I tried several approaches

done trailblazing work in various respects, and thanks are due to them for their great commitment and originality. On the cover, a picture of the internationally renowned artist Ekaterina Ezhkova rounds off the European assemblage. Cordial thanks also go to Elizabeth Shipley, PhD, for expert advice on questions of tricky terminology and to Dr. Jörg Rieder, Dr. Lars Blöhdorn and Steffen Bornholdt for help in IT matters. The volume gives the first overall view of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies of Continental Europe and thus can hopefully make a valuable contribution to the further development both of English Studies and of other disciplines.

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and have finally decided on the traditional method of moving from West to East and adding the other cardinal points of the compass.

B. National Surveys

Southern Europe

Ana Gabriela Macedo / Margarida Esteves Pereira

Women's and Gender Studies in Portugal: An Overview from an Anglicist Perspective

1. Introduction

> Feminism signifies a set of positions, not an essence; a critical practice not a doxa; a dynamic and self-critical response and intervention not a platform. It is the precarious product of a paradox. Seeming to speak in the name of women, feminist analysis perpetually deconstructs the very term around which it is politically organized.
> (Griselda Pollock, *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings*, 1996, 'Introd'.)

> Dear sisters:
> But what is the power of literature? Or rather: what is the power of words?
> [...] Which time? Our time. And which weapon, which weapon do we use or neglect? Where do we seek shelter or which is our struggle if only in the realm of words?
> (Maria Isabel Barreno / Maria Teresa Horta / Maria Velho da Costa, *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, 1972)[1]

The authors of this essay both teach and have been doing collaborative research within a Department of Anglo-American Studies (Faculty of Arts and Humanities) in a Portuguese University (Universidade do Minho, Braga, the north of the country), where the teaching of feminism and gender studies has an important role to play, both as a critical methodology indispensable amongst other recent critical and hermeneutical approaches to the text (be it strictly literary or otherwise visual, i.e., painting, film, performance, etc.),

1 Our translation. 'Minhas irmãs: Mas o que pode a literatura? Ou antes: o que podem as palavras? [...] Que tempo? O nosso tempo. E que arma, que arma utilizamos ou desprezamos nós? Em que refúgio nos abrigamos ou que luta é a nossa enquanto ape nas no domínio das palavras?'

and as a way to anchor literature and art in general in social reality, inviting thus a situated engagement with the object of our study.

It is not however 'easy' to teach feminist / gender studies in most places in the world (as it is not easy to be a feminist), and certainly Portugal is amongst these. You have to struggle to feed it into the curricula, you have to be prepared to argue your case when proposing a graduate or undergraduate course, or even a course within a specific degree, and it is not easy either to find a willing publisher for a monograph or a collection in the field, as the word 'feminist' is often thought of as unmarketable.

Our aim in this essay is to offer as far as possible an overview of the situation of gender studies in the Portuguese academia, mainly in connection with the teaching and research activities of English Studies. It seemed to us natural that we should first refer to what is closest to our own sphere of action, that is, the contribution to the field at the University of Minho.

We could thus trace the first teaching modules of feminism and gender studies at the English and American Studies Dept of the Universidade do Minho since the early 1990s, within a) English Literature courses, comprehending Contemporary Literature, Modernism, Victorian, Shakespeare and Elizabethan Studies, and b) seminars on Critical Theory and Theory of Literature, namely within postgraduate courses. A number of women were involved in the teaching of these courses, some of them had recently completed their PhDs in the UK, others were starting their master's and doctoral degrees in the newly created programs in Portugal. The launching of projects arrived slightly later, in the mid-1990s, first on a rather informal basis, gathering researchers, male and female, with a focus on interdisciplinarity, under the umbrella of the Humanities Research Centre at UM, CEHUM (Centro de Estudos Humanísticos da Universidade do Minho), supported by the Portuguese research council FCT (Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia). Only later were some of these projects made financially competitive through the possibility of grants, namely towards the organization of conferences and ensuing publications. Amongst these it is worth mentioning three volumes which came out of those earlier projects and produced a strong impact in local academic terms, due to the novelty of their focus and for directly addressing feminism as an 'out of the closet' issue in Portugal: *A Mulher, O Louco e a Máquina* (Woman, Madness and the Machine; 1998), *Re-presentaçõnes do Corpo / Re-presenting the Body*

(2003), *Poéticas Inter-artes: do Texto à Imagem, ao Palco, ao Écran / Interart Poetics: Text to Image, Stage, Screen and beyond* (2006).

However, despite that often covered up or residual antagonism towards feminism which we referred to above, we can say that the early years of the new century auspiciously inaugurated a turn in the kind of collaborative research and individual projects, including Master's and PhD dissertations, reclaiming a clear focus in gender studies, both as critical methodology, theoretical framework and privileged case-studies. The MA in 'English Language, Literature and Culture', which had been created in 1992, was partially responsible for this development with the completion of a large number of dissertations focussing on gender studies. Moreover, a substantial number of PhD dissertations with a focus on Gender and Literature, Linguistics, Culture and most recently in the field of the Visual Arts is of paramount importance, in terms of the growth and visibility of the discipline. The attribution of postdoctoral research grants to young researchers, not part of the University staff, but integrated in the research centre CEHUM should be highlighted in this context, as it had a tremendous impact through the very significance of their engagement in research within a number of transdisciplinary fields, where Gender, Postcolonial, Cultural Studies and Visual Poetics have fostered a salutary dialogue against the strict borderlines of the disciplines, thus permitting the hosting of permanent seminars and summer schools as well as the launching of new projects. Furthermore, as far as teaching is concerned, in 2012 a new doctoral program was created at the Universidade do Minho, entitled 'Comparative Modernities: Literatures, Arts and Cultures', which will bring about important doctoral research in gender studies across the disciplines it comprises.

On a more competitive level, the first decade of 2000 brought a crucial turn in the kind of collaborative gender studies projects: in 2002, publication of the first critical anthology of contemporary feminism edited in Portugal, *Género, Identidade e Desejo: Antologia Crítica do Feminismo Contemporâneo*, which assembled a dozen of pivotal texts from a variety of fields unavailable in Portuguese before (Macedo 2002). In 2005, another significant project (funded by the Portuguese research council FCT) accomplished the first dictionary of feminist criticism in Portuguese, *Dicionário da Crítica Feminista*, coedited by Ana Gabriela Macedo and Ana Luísa Amaral. It integrated a large team of researchers, Margarida Pereira

among them, and, to this day, the *Dicionário* is the only one of its kind in Portuguese.

In 2008, following the participation of a group of researchers from CEHUM in an interdisciplinary conference on feminism and gender studies, a special issue of the Centre's journal *Diacrítica* was organized on this topic. Apart from individual essays, it also includes a series of national and international contributions by various feminist scholars that were solicited as 'personal histories' with regard to the history of feminism in different cultural and geographical locations.

Most recently, in 2011, a second collection of key texts in translation was issued, *Género, Cultura Visual e Performance: Antologia Crítica*, aiming to divulge the ongoing debate on the history of art from a feminist viewpoint and topical issues in these very challenging interdisciplinary fields (Macedo 2011).

In our view, the main asset of these collaborative projects, which engage us symbiotically as teachers and researchers, is to contribute to a deeper knowledge but also a de-essentialization of what feminism and gender studies are and what they currently stand for. At the same time, they aim to make available and promote in Portugal, and concretely within the Portuguese lexicon, the conceptual knowledge, theoretical premises, strategic conceptualizations, methodologies and awareness of the larger problem area where they are anchored, not in a static and essentialist manner, but through a transversal and interdisciplinary rapport with other fields of knowledge, theories and academic disciplines. And, most important of all, they aim to promote the engagement of students and young researchers in this transversal discipline, by sharing with them an awareness of its unsettling dynamics and ever-new challenges. For we believe, as Griselda Pollock has written, that we should at all costs make sure that the 'price of "institutionalisation" of feminism, or the "writing of feminism's history" does not effectively erase the feminist effect, or render [it] invisible' (2008: 255). As Pollock emphasizes, feminism is, above all, a 'critical practice' and not a *doxa* or an essence in search of institutionalization. Indeed, feminism dwells on a paradox; despite all the necessary struggle for its recognition, its prerequisite derives from its 'partially utopian' dimension, that is, the non-accommodation to the *status quo* and the refusal of ideological

instrumentalism, in the name of a 'future anterior of language' (Kristeva) and a positive disruption which it ought to preserve (Macedo 2013).

2. Feminism and Feminist Movements in Portugal: General Situation and Glimpses from History

As in other places in the world, the history of women's studies in Portugal may be said to have originated in the first wave of women's movements that fought for the promotion of a more egalitarian society. Here, as elsewhere, the fight for female education, female independence and female political rights constituted the hallmarks of the first women's periodical publications (in the form of magazines or newspapers) in the nineteenth century and, later on, of the first feminist organizations, which appeared in Portugal at the beginning of the twentieth century. According to Rosmarie Wank-Nolasco Lamas, the first female publications to have a clear editorial line in favour of female independence were: *A Assembleia Literária* (The Literary Assembly), edited by Maria Antónia Pusich from 1849 to 1851; *A Voz Feminina* (The Feminine Voice), 1868, later re-named *O Progresso* (Progress), which survived for two years under the editorial supervision of the couple Francisca and Guilherme Wood; finally, in 1883, the newspaper *A Mulher* (Woman; cf. Lamas 1995: 25–26).

A proper feminist movement started only at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1910 a successful revolution overthrew the monarchic regime and introduced for the first time a Republican government in Portugal. It was in these contexts, in connection with the Republican Party and with Free Masonry that the first Portuguese feminist groups were established. The pioneer was the *Grupo Português de Estudos Feministas* (Portuguese Group of Feminist Studies), which appeared in 1907 led by Ana de Castro Osório. In 1909 this would give rise to the first national feminist organization, the *Liga Republicana das Mulheres Portuguesas* (cf. Silva 1983: 876–77; Lamas 1995: 32–33), which was mainly due to the efforts of some leading Republican men, among whom Bernardino Machado.[2] Leading

2 Bernardino Machado (1851–1944) was a leading member of the Republican Party, who would become President of the Republic of Portugal, first from August 1915 to December 1917 and again later in 1925. His voice was instrumental

feminist women like Ana de Castro Osório, Adelaide Cabete, Maria Veleda, Carolina Beatriz Ângelo, Angélica Porto, among others, were part of this national movement and were instrumental in the establishment of a feminist consciousness in different circles (although the *Liga* primarily addressed the cultivated urban middle classes). Its aims, as stated in the statutes, were to 'guide, educate and instruct the Portuguese woman within the democratic principles […], making her an autonomous and conscious individual; to make civic propaganda inspired by the democratic and republican ideal; to promote the revision of the laws in particular with regard to women and children, etc.' (*apud* Silva 1983: 877, our translation).

At the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century there were also authors outside of the movement that wrote in defence of female education and autonomy, people whose pioneering contributed, if not to the establishment of a field of feminist studies, at least to a reflection that led to changes in the social condition of Portuguese women. Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho (1847–1921)[3] and Alice Pestana (1860–1929)[4] both wrote in favour of female education, though from very different standpoints. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, an eminent German philologist turned Portuguese by marriage, who was the first woman to hold a position as Professor in a Portuguese university, also pleaded for female education, for instance, in 1902 in a daily newspaper of the time, *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, where she contributed a six-part article on the feminist movement in

in the defence of the establishment of female secondary schools and in the campaign in favour of the education of women. Cf. Rosa 1989.

3 It must be said that, although she wrote in favour of female education, namely in a book titled *Mulheres e Creanças: Notas sobre Educação* (Women and Children: Notes about Education), published in 1887, Carvalho never endorsed in any way the notion of female emancipation. She always wrote from within the ideology of separate spheres, advocating what she viewed as the necessary separation of social roles and the maintenance of the 'inferiority to which laws fatally condemn' women (Carvalho 1887: 9–10, our translation). Cf. Silva 1983: 902–3 and Pereira 2001: 163–65.

4 Pestana, a writer and journalist, who published her fiction under the male pseudonym of (Eduardo) Caël, was a crucial voice, together with Bernardino Machado, in the campaign for the establishment of the first female secondary schools. Rosa 1989; Samara 2007: 45–57.

Portugal, stating that the most pressing problem of the Portuguese woman was her lack of education.[5]

In March 1914, with the doctor Adelaide Cabete as its head, the *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas* or CNMP (National Union of Portuguese Women) was founded. From the start, it was created as a federation of twelve groups and associations, but it also accepted individual people as members. The CNMP lasted until 1947, when it was closed down by imposition of the dictatorial regime of António de Oliveira Salazar, on the grounds that the regime would appoint its own female associations to deal with the problems related to women.[6] It had an international dimension through its affiliation to the *International Council of Women* (ICW), which had been founded in 1888 in Washington D.C. and aggregated associations from all over the world, and, later on, to the *International Alliance for Women's Suffrage* (IAWS). The relevance of the ties with other European and non-European associations can be measured by the great number of women's journals received from them, of which the CNMP journal *Alma Feminina* (Feminine Soul) gives evidence (Lamas 1995: 49). The international focus of the association was greatly enlarged by the participation in international meetings, namely, in 1923, the International Conference of Rome, organized by the IAWS and, in 1925, in the International Feminist Conference, held in Washington, organized by the ICW. In both cases Portugal was represented by Adelaide Cabete, the founder and president of the *Conselho*. In 1924, the CNMP organized the first feminist conference in Lisbon: *Congresso Feminista e da Educação*. After the *coup d'état* of 1926 (which would later on lead to the establishment of the new regime of the

5 Silva 1983: 899. According to Silva, Vasconcelos criticized that the feminist movement in the Iberian Peninsula was still very incipient: 'The women submit themselves, without protestation, to the secular tradition of inferiority in culture, in the preparation for the strife of life, and even in the treatment as paid labourers in comparison with their male companions' (Vasconcelos, *apud* Silva 1983: 899).

6 According to Manuela Tavares, the order to close down the association was issued by the Governador Civil de Lisboa (Civil Governor of Lisbon), asserting that 'the State relied on the *Obra das Mães para a Educação Nacional* (Society of the Mothers for National Education) for the task of educating and guiding women' (Tavares 2010: 45, our translation).

Estado Novo / New State), the climate in Portugal was not congenial to the development of feminist ideals and the international focus of the *Conselho* would fade out due to lack of financial support.

It must be said that the First Wave of feminism in Portugal was very fruitful in terms of publications on women's issues. Women would publish articles in the magazines and journals of the associations, but they would also publish books, some of which stand out as strong first-wave feminist pamphleteering. Since it is impossible to name them all, we just mention some of them, like: Ana de Castro Osório's *Às Mulheres Portuguesas* (To Portuguese Women; 1905), Virginia de Castro e Almeida's *A Mulher: História da Mulher – A Mulher Moderna – Educação* (Woman: History of Woman – The Modern Woman – Education; 1913), Maria Velleda's *A Conquista: Discursos e Conferências* (The Conquest: Speeches and Conferences; 1909), Aurora de Castro e Gouveia's *Reivindicações Sociais e Políticas da Mulher Portuguesa na República* (Social and Political Claims of the Portuguese Woman under the Republic; 1921).

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the presence of women was gradually growing at all levels of education. The first woman to get a degree from a Portuguese university was Domitila de Carvalho in 1894,[7] at Coimbra (at the time still the country's only university). According to Joaquim Ferreira Gomes (*apud* Samara 2007: 63), 23 women enrolled at Coimbra until 1910 and 280 from that date to 1926. In 1911 two new universities were created, the University of Porto and the University of Lisbon. This meant that more students could attend university, and the number of women attending courses increased as well. Their preferences lay in the Humanities, followed by Medicine and Pharmacology. According to a study by João Peixoto, the percentages of women attending university

7 Although she was the first woman ever to enter university in Portugal, Carvalho seems to have compensated for her singularity by taking three degrees. She first entered the University of Coimbra in 1891 to study Mathematics, but graduated both in Mathematics and Philosophy. In 1899 she returned to take a degree in Medicine, which she concluded in 1904. Her professional career further seems to prove her singularity, for she was the headmistress of the first female secondary school to be established in Portugal, the *Liceu Maria Pia*, from 1906 to 1912 and became one of the first three women members of the Portuguese parliament, during the *Estado Novo*. Cf. Samara 2007: 59–73 for a concise biography.

in Portugal, in comparison to those of men, were 20.3% in 1940, 26% in 1950, 31.4% in 1960 and 45.5% in 1970 (Peixoto 1989: 184). However, on the whole, we are talking of minimal numbers (in fact, both for men and women), at least until the 1970s. The admission numbers for women would be inferior to those of men until the 1980s; by the middle of that decade (in 1985) female and male admissions were even and from then on there has been a reversal with higher female enrolments, even if in the 1980s there was still a minority of women attending engineering courses and a majority attending courses in the arts and humanities (cf. Lopes / Perista 2010: 195).[8]

From 1947 until 1974, that is, until the Carnation Revolution overthrew the dictatorship established by Salazar in 1932, women's studies did not have much of a chance to be set up. Nevertheless, in response to the closing down of the CNMP, Maria Lamas, a journalist, prominent feminist leader and the last president of the CNMP, wrote an important book with the title *As Mulheres do Meu País* (Women of My Country), which was first published between 1948 and 1950.[9] In it Lamas gave a thorough account of the Portuguese women's situation all over the country and in all the different occupations that they held. During this time many feminists integrated their action in the movements fighting the regime, namely the *Movimento de Unidade Democrática* (Democratic Union Movement), also known as MUD, and the *Movimento Democrático Nacional* (Democratic National Movement), also known as MDN, where many of the former feminists together with younger women developed their own oppositional politics, sometimes in specific feminine cells.[10] Thus, during this period the political action of women was diluted into the various oppositional channels, be it the movements mentioned above, the student unions in the country's three universities or the only organized political party (however clandestine), the Portuguese Communist Party. In other words, the political battles against the regime and, later on, against the colonial war going on in several Portuguese colonies in Africa did not leave much space for further forms of fight. As Manuela Tavares states:

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8 Enrolment data with variation by sex are available at the site of *Pordata*. <http://www.pordata.pt/en/Portugal/Search+Environment/Table> (23 June 2014).

9 It appeared first in installments and only in 1950 was it issued in book form.

10 For more details about the oppositional movements, cf. Tavares 2010: 45–131.

> The great aspiration to equality of rights between the sexes that the second wave of feminisms brought to women in the United States and Western Europe did not, however, find similar resonance in a country where the antifascist fight was still absorbing the energies of many women and where the dimensions of class and gender did not manage to meet in that struggle. (Tavares 2010: 93, our translation)

In the chapter dedicated to professional women in *As Mulheres do Meu País* (1948–50), Maria Lamas stressed that although there were already many professional women working in such diverse areas as education, health, law, laboratories, public services and private enterprises, most behaved as if this did not have a bearing on women's social roles, which were still viewed as linked to the domestic and the maternal (Lamas 2002: 440–41). Understandably (in the face of the recent closing down of the CNMP), she saw the reason in the absence of women's studies in the country: 'To this state of affairs greatly contributes the absence of female institutions especially dedicated to the study and solution of woman's problems and to her enlightenment, as to her position in the family, in society and in national life' (Lamas 2002: 442, our translation).

Nevertheless, some women's groupings emerged even under the restrictions, in the face of such a long-lasting regime, which, despite some changes over the years, invested the family with the centrality of the social organization and firmly maintained the ideology of separate spheres. The *Movimento Democrático das Mulheres* / MDM (Women's Democratic Movement) was established in 1968 (Tavares 2010: 136), but it was essentially a movement that fought against the regime, directing its efforts against the Colonial War and supporting political prisoners; its action would be extended after the revolution. Also a Portuguese branch of *The Grail* (*Graal*), a progressive Catholic movement, was founded in 1957 headed by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo.[11] It led a pioneering action for the improvement of the social condition of women (Tavares 2010: 148–50).

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11 Pintasilgo would be a leading political voice in the first governments after the Carnation Revolution. Having taken part in the first, second and third provisional governments as a secretary of state and minister for social affairs, she would be the first (and until now the only) woman Prime Minister of Portugal in 1979. For information about the important social and political activities of Pintasilgo cf. the site of the *Centro de Documentação e Publicações da Fundação*

In 1972, foreshadowing the downfall of the regime, a book was published that would draw the attention of international feminists to Portugal: *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* (The New Portuguese Letters), by Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa, referred to in the epigraph to this chapter. This book – a collection of texts written collectively by these three (they have never disclosed the authorship of any of the parts) – was banned by the established censorship and seized by the political police; the three women were accused of immoral behaviour and obscenity and faced a trial, but would be acquitted immediately after the Revolution, in May 1974. In the meantime, this case led to a wave of international solidarity on the part of feminist movements, and worldwide many demonstrations were held in support of the three Marias (as they came to be known). One of the effects of this wave of solidarity was the establishment in Portugal of a *Women's Liberation Movement*, just after the Carnation Revolution and the end of the trial for obscenity in May 1974 (Tavares 2010: 176–94).

3. Women's and Gender Studies in Portugal

3.1 General Overview

Although, as we have tried to demonstrate in the above section, there were several women's organizations in Portugal throughout the twentieth century, but especially before the fascist regime of António de Oliveira Salazar, it was only after the revolution in 1974 that we can speak of the establishment of women's studies in Portugal, first still outside academic structures. One of the institutions that had an instrumental impact was the governmental *Comissão da Condição Feminina*, CCF (Commission of the Female Condition), later re-named *Comissão para a Igualdade e os Direitos da Mulher*, CIDM (Commission for Woman's Rights and Equality), and currently under the name of *Comissão para a Cidadania e Igualdade de Género*, CIG (Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality). This commission was

Cuidar o Futuro (Centre of Documentation and Publications of the Foundation Caring for the Future).

established in 1975,[12] under the tutelage of Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, who was at the time Minister of Social Affairs.[13] Its purpose and mission were to 'support all forms of promoting Portuguese women's awareness and the elimination of discrimination practiced against them, in order to integrate them into the transformation process of the Portuguese society […]'. One of the first tasks, in view of the lack of information concerning women, was to get a quantitative as well as qualitative overall picture of their social situation.[14] Thus, through its publications, the commission made an enormous contribution to the field of women's and gender studies, at a time – the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s – when the presence of these studies in the universities was only very tentative.[15] Simultaneously, the commission was also instrumental in developing women's and gender studies as a research field, especially within the social sciences.

Concomitantly, in 1979, the *Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego*, CITE (Commission for Equality in the Job Market) was established. Thus, according to Rosa Monteiro (2010: 31–56), from the middle of the 1970s to the middle of the 1980s, the preconditions that led to the establishment of a very advanced legal framework for the promotion of labour equality were created in Portugal. According to this author: 'The existing space in the Portuguese political and institutional system for such a "woman's" agenda was a space conquered […] by more or less institutionalized women's networks (staff belonging to the *Comissão da Condição Feminina*, politicians, civil servants, representatives of women's

12 According to a historical outline published by CIG, the commission was officially created in 1977 ('institutionalized in November 1977 by Decree-Law No. 485/77 of 17 November'; CIG, our translation). See also, in relation to this, Monteiro / Ferreira 2012: 15–16.

13 According to the CIG outline, its history goes back to the time before the Revolution, when in 1973 the *Comissão para a Política Social relativa à Mulher* was created, presided by Pintasilgo. This commission, in turn, had originated in a former working group of 1970 (CIG). This information is confirmed in Monteiro / Ferreira 2012: 16.

14 In relation to this cf. Magalhães 2001: 31 and Pinto 2008: 40.

15 A first impression of the amount of work produced by the commission at this time can be obtained from the list of its publications, available at the site of CIG. See especially the collection 'Cadernos Comissão Feminina', launched in 1976.

organizations) against the indifference and even hostility of a civil society insensitive or uncritical concerning these issues of the status of women, even at a revolutionary and democratizing moment like that of the 1970s' (Monteiro 2010: 39, our translation).

There is a broad consensus (cf. Magalhães 2001: 32–38) that in Portugal the constitution of Women's Studies as a university discipline was slow and may be said to date back to the final years of the 1980s. The retardation is attributed both to the general underdevelopment of research in Portugal and to the financial problems of the time (very few economic resources were available), as well as to the near absence of women in academia (*Idem*: 32). Other reasons seem to be connected to a certain resistance to change within the academic disciplines themselves (cf. Magalhães 2001: 33).

Be that as it may, women's studies, gender studies or feminist studies started to come into being in Portugal at the turn of the 1980s to the 1990s, making themselves visible in the form of MA or PhD dissertations, publications, seminars or courses, but not, it must be said, as an autonomous discipline.

In 1991, the *Associação Portuguesa de Estudos sobre as Mulheres*, APEM (Portuguese Association of Women's Studies) was created and its journal *Ex-Aequo* launched in 1999. The APEM has been instrumental in congregating all the people that are dedicated to women's studies in Portuguese universities, as well as in other institutions. Its activity has been wide and far-reaching, namely the organization of several conferences, congresses and seminars, some of them in collaboration with universities, and publications.[16]

In 2001 and 2002, *Ex-Aequo* dedicated two volumes (Nos 5 and 6) to assessing the state of women's studies in Portugal. They contain contributions from the different disciplinary areas within which women's studies have developed here, namely the social sciences and the humanities. Thus, from within such disciplines as Philosophy, Literary Studies, Cultural Studies, Education, Sociology, Social Psychology, History, Economy and Law, experts give an outline and take stock of the way their disciplines have drawn on feminist / gender studies. A number of them agree that the great impetus

16 This is well described in Ferreira 2000: 125–28 and Magalhães 2001: 27–68.

in the development of women's studies was mainly felt in the 1990s,[17] although in some disciplines, such as Education and History, it was from the 1980s onwards that the gender focus made its appearance in the form of dissertations and colloquia, among other things. By the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, several MA and PhD dissertations had been produced in all the areas mentioned before. Funded research projects in the field and subsequently teamwork, mostly interdisciplinary, also became established in the 1990s, at first timidly but slowly growing in visibility and impact, which in our view meant a groundbreaking step in the process of recognition of the research field and discipline – the *Dicionário da Crítica Feminista* (Macedo / Amaral), referred to earlier on, is amongst these.

As was stressed in the Introduction, the institutionalization of gender studies in the Portuguese academy has not been an easy task; much has been done either through the adoption of clear feminist perspectives in the courses taught (for example, studying literature with an emphasis on gender and feminist criticism) or through the adoption of themes and issues that were concerned with women. However, from the 1990s onwards women's studies have gained a new institutional visibility, either through the introduction of degree programs in gender studies, or through the introduction of gender and women's studies courses in graduate degree programs of a more general turn.

There has been long-standing work in gender studies within departments of psychology and social studies in several Portuguese Universities, amongst which we can mention the *Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e do Emprego – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa*, ISCTE – IUL, and the leading work of Lígia Amâncio in the area of gender stereotyping (cf. Amâncio 1994). Another landmark in the area of social sciences is the establishment in 2012 of the *Centro de Estudos Interdisciplinares em Estudos de Género*, CIEG (Centre of Interdisciplinary Studies in Gender Studies) in the School of Social and Political Sciences of the University of Lisbon. At the Universidade Nova de Lisboa work in women's studies has also been conducted, particularly linked to the disciplines of Sociology, Philosophy and History,

17 In her article on the state of women's studies in the field of literature, Ramalho (2001: 108) observes that by 1995 they were taking their first steps in Portugal, but not as an autonomous branch of knowledge.

which led to the launching of the journal *Faces de Eva* and which has enabled the recent creation of an MA course in Women's Studies, with the title 'Women's Studies: Women in Society and Culture' (started in 2013).

The first Portuguese degree course in Women's Studies was an MA at the Universidade Aberta (Open University) in Lisbon, which started in 1995, followed by a PhD in 2002, at the same university. These are interdisciplinary courses with a focus on women's studies, with a strong connection to the social sciences (History and Sociology), as well as to Philosophy; the leading role of Teresa Joaquim, coordinator of the degree, should be highlighted in this context.

In the curricular year of 2007/2008 the University of Coimbra started an MA in Feminist Studies, followed, the next year, by a doctoral program. These new programs have meant greater visibility in an area of studies which, as we have tried to demonstrate, made their entrance in the Portuguese academia in the 1980s, but have been slow to develop.

3.2 Focus on English Studies

According to Martin Kayman (2000: 15), the introduction of English Studies at Portuguese universities dates back to the first decades of the twentieth century, with the creation of the Faculties of Letters in Lisbon, Coimbra (the old Faculty of Theology was transformed into the modern Faculty of Letters in 1911) and Porto (the Faculty of Letters there being founded in 1919). Thus, the institutionalization of English Studies at university level was, in Portugal, a rather late affair. As acknowledged by Kayman in the same article, as far as ideas and the arts are concerned, Portugal, a Catholic country, 'traditionally drew inspiration more from France and Italy' (2000: 14), although the situation changed radically in the second half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, at so many other levels, especially in the economy and in politics, the relation with England and English was a much older one, which means that the English language had been studied since at least the seventeenth century, when the first English grammars for Portuguese speakers were produced (Kayman 2000: 14).

In general, women from the high bourgeoisie were particularly exposed to the study of languages, since, as happened in other European countries, they were educated at home by governesses and, apparently, Portuguese

governesses came mainly from other European countries like France, England or Germany.[18] The girls were taught in the languages of their tutors. This means, on the one hand, that these girls read and wrote in French, English and German (or, at least, in one of these languages) and, on the other, that they were acquainted with the culture of these countries. Thus, for example, we can find a book by Cláudia de Campos, a by now obscure nineteenth-century woman writer, titled *Mulheres: Ensayos de Psychologia Feminina* (Women: Essays on Feminine Psychology), about several women writers, where the author deals with her English education and the influence she received from English women writers like Charlotte Brontë.[19] This book is not only a good example of the influence of English literature and culture on Portuguese women, but represents a study of female writers in a remarkable work of gynocriticism *avant la lettre*. Notwithstanding, the pervasive cultural tie was essentially with French.

In Portugal, the cultural transition from French to English was mainly felt after the 1960s and, as explained by Kayman (2000), the big push of English appeared in the 1970s and the 1980s, when there was a reform in the 'classical', older universities of Coimbra, Lisbon and Porto, as well as the introduction of new teacher training courses in the newly founded universities of Minho, Aveiro and Universidade Nova de Lisboa, and, later on, in the Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, among other polytechnics where English started to be taught. This represents an enormous growth in the teaching of English in Portugal, which, from the late 1980s onwards, began to replace French as the main foreign language of communication.[20]

With the increase of English and North-American departments in several universities all over the country, the influence of English Studies started to be strongly felt in Portugal and with it, the obvious spreading of women's

18 Cf. Cecília Barreira 1991: 39–40.

19 More information about this in Pereira 2003: 143–47.

20 This does not mean that English and English studies were absent from Portuguese society before. The English language was taught at secondary level from earlier on and it must not be forgotten that the first-wave feminists from the beginning of the twentieth century were well aware of the battles that were being fought by their counterparts all over the world, notably in the United Kingdom and the United States. Cf. Pereira 2005.

studies connected to these departments in universities like Minho (as stressed in the Introduction) as well as Coimbra, Aveiro and Porto.

Despite the transdisciplinary approach to the subject, the MA and PhD courses in Feminist Studies in the University of Coimbra were launched by the Anglo-American Studies group, which still coordinates the course and constitutes the majority of its teaching staff. In the assessment made for the *Ex-Aequo* volume about the situation of Women's Studies in Portugal, Maria Irene Ramalho (the scientific coordinator of these programs in Coimbra) argues that the development of women's studies is largely affiliated to an Anglo-Saxon tradition. In addition, she establishes a link between the development of Women's Studies in the United States and the parallel development of the discipline of American Studies (Ramalho 2001: 108–9), explicitly stating that a 'brief overview of the route taken by the two areas in the United States will easily confirm that they have affirmed and consolidated themselves, academically as well as institutionally, in close connection' (*idem*: 109; our translation). In the Portuguese case, Ramalho herself as an Americanist seems to prove a similar route. On the whole, we can say that in Portugal the connection between gender / feminist studies and Literary Studies is certainly more significant in departments of Anglo-American Studies than in other literature departments, particularly Portuguese ones.

Accordingly, we can find the engagement of English Studies with gender and feminist studies in several other Portuguese universities (this includes the American Studies variant of the field, which in Portugal belongs to the same departments or disciplinary sections). As far as the University do Minho is concerned, we gave a detailed overview of the situation in the first part of the chapter. We would only like to stress that the input (teaching and research) given to the field, comes primarily from the English and American Studies Department, when we focus on the Humanities. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that significant research has been carried out in the Schools of Psychology, Sociology and Media Studies. In the University of Porto an optional introductory course titled 'Introdução aos Estudos Feministas' has been taught to undergraduate students of Humanities programs since 2002. Ana Luísa Amaral, who has created and taught this course up till now, also coordinated from 2004 to 2012 a variant of Women's Studies in the MA in Anglo-American Studies, where several graduate courses were taught on Feminist Studies, feminist utopias and women's writing.

Simultaneously, in the MA in Comparative Literature, a course entitled 'Estudos Feministas e Estudos Queer' has been offered since 2004. All this means that there is a visible body of feminist research being conducted within the Anglo-American department at the University of Porto.[21]

At the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon, and in connection with the teaching and research produced in the Department of Anglo-American Studies, a large and solidly anchored department, there has, at least over the last two decades, been work done with a focus on Women's Studies, namely at postgraduate level, MA, PhD and postdoctoral research. This is also the case in other universities where English and North-American Studies exist as a field of study and / or a department, notably the University of Aveiro and Universidade Nova de Lisboa, although in this last case the development of gender studies is not predominantly linked to English.

4. Some Final Notes as a Conclusion

As this essay tried to demonstrate, the feminist ideals have been present in Portugal since the end of the nineteenth century at the least, and although there is not a widespread awareness of the feminist fights in Portuguese society, the historical legacy is not to be overlooked. Nevertheless, the history of this legacy, actively engaged with society and with bringing about change, reminds us that, as was mentioned in our Introduction, feminism as a critical practice must resist institutionalization, so as not to be made invisible as 'history', that is, as a finished process and a stagnated theory, rather than an engaged critical praxis and discourse.

Although women's and gender studies often are not considered an autonomous academic discipline, which is signalled by the absence of undergraduate courses and the scarcity existing at MA and PhD levels, there is evidence of a continuing strong body of research in gender and women's studies linked to a wide variety of disciplinary fields – from Law to Economics, from Psychology to Sociology, from Education to History, from Literary Studies and the Visual Arts to Linguistics –, which can no longer be ignored.

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21 Currently, Ana Luísa Amaral is coordinating an inter-university project which aims at creating a wide international network around the study of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, reflecting the variety of national and international research which has been done around the subject.

As we hope has been made clear, the feminist impetus in the Portuguese academy stems as much from the positive contamination that comes through the contact with the feminist empowering movements outside the academy as from the academic discourses that, especially from the 1980s onwards, have started to permeate the social movements themselves.

As far as the Humanities are concerned, and notwithstanding the substantial work that has been produced in gender and women's studies linked to disciplines such as History (cf. Vaquinhas 2002: 147–74) and Philosophy (cf. Joaquim 2001: 60–106), in the field of Literary Studies and Linguistics the major output has come from within departments of English Studies. There is undoubtedly a fruitful relation between Anglicist Studies (in their English and American variant) and gender studies in the Portuguese academy, which have positively 'contaminated' each other over the years, at least over the last two and a half decades, as we have shown, certainly with a clearer incidence in particular locations and more welcoming contexts.

As a final note, we would like to reemphasize the need to de-doxify and de-essentialize the concepts of feminism and gender studies, as a 'dynamic and self-critical response and intervention not a platform [which] perpetually deconstructs the very term around which it is politically organized' (Pollock 1996: XX). We thus defend the future of *feminisms* in the plural, whether within the academy or outside it, firmly anchored in difference and heterogeneity, rather than attempting to represent a single and homologic version of sameness.

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Esther Álvarez López / Isabel Carrera Suárez / Carla Rodríguez González

Women's Studies and English Studies in Spain: From Democracy to Transnationalism

1. Introduction

The history of both English Studies and Women's Studies is relatively recent in Spain, as these two disciplines achieved recognition in the last quarter of the twentieth century, following the end of the dictatorship in 1975 and in the context of the expansion and democratization of universities in the 1980s. Institutionalization then took place with unusual speed, fostered by the transformative urge that guided Spanish politics and culture after a long period of totalitarian isolation. English ceased to be a politically inconvenient language and Women's Studies entered universities as the natural extension of feminist thought and activism, although not without difficulties. The extent of their consolidation in such a brief period of time is impressive, even if many obstacles remain in place. The information that follows tries to convey the history, as well as the depth and range, of Anglicist Women's Studies in Spain, highlighting the main landmarks for research and education, in the context of the country's political and academic history.

2. National Context

2.1 Historical Overview: Democracy, Women's Rights and Women's Studies

Although feminist thinkers and activists can be traced back in Spanish history,[1] both the development of the Women's Movement and the

1 Notably, at the turn of the century, women who publicly advocated women's political and cultural rights, such as Concepción Arenal (1820–93), who had attended University disguised as a man; Carmen de Burgos (1879–1932, pseudonym *Colombine*), journalist and writer; Teresa Claramunt (1862–1931), textile worker and trade-union activist; essayist and fiction writer Emilia Pardo Bazán

establishment of Women's Studies as a discipline in Spain take place after 1975, with the end of the dictatorship that followed the Civil War and which, in its 36 years of existence, destroyed all previous advances in civil rights and forced women back into a restrictive role based on the Catholic ideal of motherhood and marriage. Immediately before this period, during the years of the Second Republic (1931–39), a very significant development in the situation of women had taken place. Although the vote had not yet been gained at its establishment, in 1931, two women were elected to the Constituent Assembly of the Republic: Victoria Kent (1898–1987) and Clara Campoamor (1888–1972). They were to play a significant role in the achievement of women's suffrage, finally recognized by the Constitution of 1931 (Article 36). Women were thus able to vote for the first time in Spanish history in 1933, although Franco's subsequent dictatorship would prevent all citizens from this right between 1939 and 1975. During the Republican interval, women were legally and politically regarded as independent individuals; equality was specifically recognized by Article 43 of the Constitution, while quite extraordinary transformations took place in social relations, education and law. Aside from Campoamor and Kent, the era provided other pioneering women such as Margarita Nelken (1898–1968), elected MP in 1931, Federica Montseny (1905–1994), Minister of Health and Social Affairs during the Civil War, and, particularly famous, Dolores Ibárruri, *Pasionaria* (1895–1989), who founded the association *Mujeres contra la Guerra y el Fascismo* ('Women against War and Fascism'), led the Communist Party in exile and would make a historic return in 1977 to preside over the constitutive session of the new democratic Parliament. The potential of such women and the many others who entered public arenas in the brief Republican period is a measure of the huge loss and regression that the dictatorship meant in Spain.

A number of women's organizations had existed from the beginning of the twentieth century, ranging from early Catholic groups to those inspired by the experimental, progressive education project of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. Many associations, both liberal and conservative, were active

(1851–1921), or educator María de Maeztu (1882–1948), who founded the *Residencia de Señoritas* for women students (1915), and the Lyceum (1926) in Madrid.

during the Republican period, but only those with conservative inclinations were tolerated after the Civil War, the rest being dismantled by repression, death and exile. The fascist *Sección Femenina de la Falange Española* was conferred great power by Franco's regime, and aimed to impose the ideology of women's subservience to men and nation. With the defeat of the Republic, progressive social measures such as those allowing for civil marriage, divorce, birth control or abortion were overridden, and there was a radical reversion in women's rights, education and employment. The new laws punished women for working in paid employment and prevented their access to most jobs, allegedly to protect motherhood or their physical integrity. However, despite military control over the population, civil resistance was active from the 1950s in the form of public protests in universities and underground political movements, and some women's groups, such as the *Movimiento Democrático de Mujeres* ('Democratic Women's Movement'), met under cover of housewives associations. While in the 1950s and 60s some reticent official moves were made towards liberalizing the economy and relaxing restrictions for married women, blatant legal discrimination survived until the death of the dictator: as late as the 1970s married women needed their husbands' permission to work or to manage their legal and economic affairs, including bank accounts.

The dictator's death in 1975, at the end of a year proclaimed by the United Nations as International Year of Women, brought a radical transformation to a country eager for change, where democracy developed at great speed. In 1978, the text of the Constitution was approved by referendum and became a reference for equality and non-discrimination (Article 14, on equality, reinforced by Articles 9.2, on public policies, and 35.1, on the right to work). In the new atmosphere of activism and freedom, during the period known as the Transition, feminist groups expanded and became very public. University women, together with those who had participated in political anti-Franco struggles, were active sectors, a fact that will be relevant to the development of Women's Studies (Casado Aparicio 2002: 231). As many feminist activists were or had been members of political parties and trade unions, the question of the double allegiance to these and to feminist struggle (known as the 'double militancy') produced theoretical debates and sometimes divided loyalties, giving rise to a heated discussion at the convention held in Granada in 1979, where different feminisms met

and, according to some historians (Birriel 2002), fell out, creating a schism in early Spanish feminism. There is no space to describe here the development of the feminist movement(s) in the country or their path to the multiple contemporary perspectives, but it is worth noting that the 'political' origins of Spanish feminism, growing in parallel to the struggle against the dictatorship and the campaigning for full democratic rights, conditioned the direction of early feminisms and the institutionalization of Women's Studies, as will be explained further in the next section.

2.2 The Institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies in Spain

When Women's Studies finally entered academe in Spain in the late 1970s, they did so against a rigid and centralized Higher Education structure, inherited from the dictatorial regime. As is true of other countries (Griffin 2006), Women's Studies originated in grassroots feminism and were introduced into universities through the efforts of committed lecturers and researchers. The progress accomplished by the discipline in the first two decades of democracy in Spain has been recognized by Rosi Braidotti as 'a remarkable story' (2002: 203), aided by the yearning for change that pervaded Spanish society and was particularly strong in women.

This historical evolution, however, also produced more ambivalent consequences, such as a top-down approach to gender policies, their fluctuation with changes of government and a sometimes sceptical social reception of legislative measures. Within Spanish academe, it also meant the prominence of a feminism of rights and equality, obscuring the work carried out in less state- or public-policy-oriented areas of feminism, such as that usually produced in English Studies, which nevertheless developed steadily, often in more innovative directions.

Although many nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century feminist writings constitute antecedents of academic feminism, it is the end of the 1970s that saw the official establishment of seminars and courses in Women's Studies, created by committed feminist academics. In 1979, two Women's Studies groups (*Seminario de Estudios de la Mujer*) were created at the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM) and Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), soon followed by the University of the

Basque Country (1980) and University of Barcelona (*Centre d'Investigació Historica de la Dona*, CIHD, 1982). These early seminars sprung from the areas of sociology, anthropology and history. New research groups involving further areas were also created in Granada (1984), Málaga (1984), Madrid (Complutense, 1985), Valencia (1985), Oviedo (1986) and Tarragona (1990) among the most consolidated (Ballarín et al. 1995: 25–26; Ortiz Gómez 2003: 9) and with strong Anglicist presence.

The 1980s, following the election of the first Socialist government in 1982, brought remarkable political and legal support for equality. One of the landmarks was the creation in 1983 of the *Instituto de la Mujer* ('Women's Institute').[2] This government-dependent institution would play a crucial role in promoting and funding research and dissemination of Women's Studies, as well as in designing the successive triennial Plans for Equal Opportunities (PIOM), which, launched in 1988 and inspired by European Union equivalents, underlined the need for research and education in the field.[3] Such timely support coincided with a major change effected in the structure of universities by means of the University Reform Act (*Ley de Reforma Universitaria*, LRU), also passed in 1983. Aside from establishing democratic procedures in the university, this Act emphasized the importance of research and collective R&D projects, which the Institute would eventually support. Further backing came from newly created equal opportunities bodies at regional and local levels, from international contacts and from EU funding. Given its exclusion from the continent's affairs for over three decades, Spain was quite decidedly pro-European, and the entrance into the European Union in 1986 brought political models for equity and

2 Initially located in the Ministry of Culture, and successively, with government changes, in those of Social Affairs, Employment and Social Affairs and (briefly) of Equality; currently (2013) in the Ministry of Health, Social Affairs and Equality.

3 Among the declared aims of the 2nd Plan for Equal Opportunities (II PIOM, 1993–95) were the improvement of the socio-political knowledge on Spanish women, through better statistics, research, and gender indicators; a further aim was to promote equal participation of women in the production and transmission of knowledge, and the critique of the androcentric character of science and knowledge. These were advanced but unfortunately only *recommended* measures, and their power of implementation was limited. Mandatory laws would only appear in the Acts passed between 2004 and 2007.

expanded opportunities for educational networking. Spanish feminists were active in networks such as WISE, ENWS or FICIHM, and in ERASMUS, ALFA, MED-CAMPUS and SIGMA programmes.

In addition, the Spanish university system was expanding. In the early years of the following decade (1990 to 1993), thirteen new universities were created across the country, bringing an increase in students and lecturers, and thus further opportunities for women to enter a male-dominated academia, even if this had to be done through traditional disciplines. The context of change and participation therefore favoured the expansion of Women's Studies, although mostly at an informal level, in the shape of seminars, summer courses and research, not yet in terms of official degrees or even courses. By the end of the 1990s, there were seminars or groups – in varying degrees of institutionalization and intensity of dedication – in almost every university in Spain (Ortiz 2003), and two consolidated national networks were in action: *Asociación Universitaria de Estudios de las Mujeres* (AUDEM, 'Women's Studies University Association') and *Asociación Española de Investigación Histórica sobre las Mujeres* (AEIHM, 'Spanish Association of Historical Research on Women'), both created in 1991 and holding annual conferences to this day. Several of the Women's Studies seminars were turned into Research Institutes as defined by the LRU Act (Autonomous University of Madrid, Centre Duoda at the University of Barcelona, University of Granada, University of Valencia), while the dissemination of feminist knowledge in publications, conferences and seminars became widespread. Women's Studies was infiltrating the university system, although specialists were unable to escape the double shift, moving between their official discipline and the extra, often contested, labour in Women's Studies.

Much of the early research was promoted and financed by the Women's Institute, which crucially negotiated the inclusion of a specific Programme for Gender and Women's Studies in the National R&D Programme from 1996. This helped to confer prestige and scientific status to the discipline of Women's Studies, too often belittled by traditional academics. In fact, goals such as these were achieved through direct action of the feminist movement in academe, channeling demands through the Women's Institute, and more often than not, with support from national or regional equity bodies rather than the universities themselves, which continued to be traditional and male-dominated in structure.

The fact that the Spanish higher education system is very centralized and rigid in its disciplinary structure (see Carrera Suárez, Viñuela Suárez and Rodríguez González 2005), together with resistance to change by more conservative university members, also meant that less was achieved in the area of teaching. Very few compulsory courses in gender were incorporated into official programmes, most feminist teaching remaining at the optional or extra-curricular level. By the beginning of the new millennium, according to Ortiz Gómez (2003: 11–15), there were 39 Women's Studies groups active in 28 Spanish universities, 25 of them created in the 1990s. She also records 16 PhD programmes in Gender or Women's Studies and 14 postgraduate (expert, specialist or unofficial MA) programmes, while 17 universities had one or more undergraduate courses in their curricula, almost all of them optional. Because the only flexible structure at the time was that of the PhD programmes, which were allowed free course content and titles, and could be changed without the cumbersome process of centralized approval by the Ministry, these were the earliest official degrees in Women's Studies, beginning in the 1990s. The first was established at the University of Granada in 1990, soon followed by Barcelona, Málaga (1991), Valencia (1992) and Oviedo (1995).

In the early years of the new millennium, given that all national degrees and curricula were to be adapted to the EHEA, and that the Ministry of Education planned to do this through a 'national catalogue of degrees' which would radically change the map of HE studies, hopes were raised of having a Women's Studies degree recognized at national level. Meetings and conferences (such as those organized by AUDEM, 2000–2004) brought together important actors in Women's Studies to discuss tentative mappings of a WS/Gender curriculum, and a Manifesto was signed by over 1,000 university lecturers (Pedregal 2007). A subsequent change of direction by the Ministry, discarding the idea of a national catalogue (see Carrera Suárez and Viñuela Suárez 2006) meant that this first degree would not be established as a national syllabus, nor did individual universities implement it.[4]

4 There was one exception: the young Juan Carlos I University (Madrid), offering two degrees in Gender Equality, one of them online. These have been cancelled by the university for the year 2014–15.

In contrast, MA degrees flourished at this point. Masters had not been an official category in the Spanish HE system until then, but the Ministry of Education decided to begin European harmonization by transforming postgraduate studies, and this became an opportunity to introduce official MAs in Gender and Women's Studies into this employment-oriented category. PhD programmes and some of the former, unofficial postgraduate degrees (*Títulos Propios*) were transformed into official MA programmes. The first nine official MAs in WS/Gender/Feminist Studies were approved by the quality assessment agency, ANECA, in 2006;[5] another 19 universities at the time offered postgraduate studies with some Gender or Women's Studies content, several of which became independent gender MAs in subsequent years. The relatively established and internationalized history of doctoral Women's Studies in Spain smoothed the process of meeting accreditation requirements, as some of the existing PhD programmes already held the prestigious *Mención de Calidad* or 'Quality Award' (Oviedo, Cádiz-Huelva) and many had international connections; they also all complied with the conditions of multidisciplinarity, equivalence with European degrees and engagement with social and employment matters.

This mapping did not vary too substantially between 2007 and 2013, although, given the constant changes in legislation and the ever-increasing prerequisites, not all programmes initially approved survived, and others were added or changed. The universities offering both postgraduate degrees (MA and PhD) are relatively stable, mostly corresponding to established feminist groups. Current MA degrees show a preference for the term *gender* vs *women* and many focus on equality, partly showing the influence of recent state policies, which governed funding and employment prospects.[6]

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5 These first official MA programmes were taught by Universidad Autónoma de Madrid; U. Cádiz and U. Huelva, jointly; U. Granada; U. Jaume I and U. Miguel Hernández, jointly; U. Oviedo; U. Santiago de Compostela; U. Valencia; U. Vigo; U. Zaragoza (see *Resolución de 17 de Mayo de 2007 de la Secretaría General del Consejo de Coordinación Universitaria, por la que se publica la relación de los programas oficiales de posgrado*. BOE 14/06/2007).

6 The debates and history of the naming of 'Women's Studies' (*Estudios de la mujer / de las mujeres*), 'Feminist Studies' and 'Gender Studies' are similar to those in other countries, responding both to changes in feminist philosophy and to negotiation with university, local and national authorities. For further

The programmes share an interdisciplinary approach, with a number of them evidencing the presence and influence of Anglicist scholars (see 3.2).

The Bologna process thus initially resulted in many employment-oriented MAs in Gender and Women's Studies, with PhD programmes losing their central role. Subsequent changes in government and constant restructurings have taken place, with an Act (*Real Decreto*) passed every two years or less (RD56/2005; RD1393/2007; RD861/2010; RD99/2011; RD534/2013). These affect accreditation requirements and, together with the recession, are making it increasingly more difficult to sustain MA and PhD programmes. At the time of writing, a new reorganization into Postgraduate Schools is taking place, which requires larger groups of staff and students for a PhD programme to survive, and the outcome of adaptation is uncertain.

As of September 2013, the national register of degrees (RUCT, Ministry of Education) lists 24 official MA programmes and 17 PhD programmes (see Table 1 below) in Gender or Women's Studies.

Table 1

PhD Programmes in Gender or Women's Studies (2013)			
University	**Title**	**Accreditation**	
U. Autónoma de Madrid U. Salamanca	Interdisciplinary Gender Studies		2010
U. Complutense de Madrid	Women and Health Feminist Perspective as Critical Theory		2010 2010
U. Cádiz U. Huelva	Gender, Identity and Citizenship	2005	
U. Granada	Women's and Gender Studies	2005	
U. Internacional Menéndez Pelayo (UIMP)	Studies for Gender Equality: Human, Social and Legal Sciences	2005	2010
U. Jaume I U. Miguel Hernández	Research in Women's, Feminist and Gender Studies		2010

information on the Spanish context of the terminology debate, see Birriel 2002: 218; Casado Aparicio 2002: 233; Ortiz 2003: 21.

PhD Programmes in Gender or Women's Studies (2013)			
University	**Title**	**Accreditation**	
U. Murcia	Gender and Equality		2010
U. Oviedo	Gender and Diversity	2005	
U. Rovira i Virgili	Social Intervention: Youth and Gender		2007
U. País Vasco/EHU	Feminism and Gender	2005	
U. Rey Juan Carlos	Gender and Health		2007
U. Santiago de Compostela	Education, Gender and Equality	2005	
U. Sevilla	Women and Writing		2010
U. Valencia	Gender Studies	2005	
U. Vigo	Gender Studies	2005	
U. Zaragoza	Gender Relations		2011

Source: RUCT, accessed 8 Sept 2013. The titles are originally in Spanish (our translation).[7]

This relative abundance of degrees against the odds of academia reflects the consolidation of the work carried out by feminist lecturers, and also the enabling effect of certain political measures. Between 2004 and 2011, important equity legislation was passed, targeting higher education. The 2004 Act against Gender Violence (*Ley Orgánica de medidas de protección integral contra la violencia de género*) established that universities would promote 'training, teaching and research in gender equality and non-discrimination' (I.I.4.7). In 2007, the 'Equality Act' (*Ley Orgánica para la igualdad efectiva de mujeres y hombres*) devoted a full article to the promotion of women in higher education (II.2.25), making it mandatory for public administrations to promote teaching and research on equality through courses in the curricula, postgraduate degrees and research. Other articles in this Act dealt with the teaching of women's presence in history (II.II.24), sex segregated statistics (II.I.20), the use of non-sexist language (II.I.11), and the creation of Equality Units in all Ministries (VIII.77); several deal with equal

7 The renewal of PhD programmes accredited in 2010 (practically all those in existence) in the new, stricter conditions is currently in process, and data are not available yet in the RUCT. Oviedo was accredited in July 2013, and others should be doing so in the near future, some in a new form or as joint degrees.

representation in decision-making bodies. Also in 2007, the 'University Reform Act' (LOMLOU) was passed, and the preamble defined the role of universities as conveyors of values, meeting the contemporary challenge 'to achieve a tolerant and egalitarian society' (LOMLOU 4/2007: Preamble). The Act introduced mandatory measures for all universities, among them the creation of Equality Units, the production of periodic reports on gender equality; the balanced representation of women and men (a 60/40 limit) on all boards for elections, promotion and peer evaluation. Such legislation should have reinforced Women's Studies as a discipline and created job opportunities, but implementation found resistance or passivity in too many quarters. On the Socialist Party's re-election in March 2008, equality was still announced as one of the three main lines of action, a new Ministry of Equality was created and a paritary government, with six women ministers, designated for the first time in Spanish history. However, the recession almost immediately curtailed all developments; cuts were applied to all public spending and the Ministry of Equality, fiercely contested by conservative – and even progressive – sectors, was suppressed. The election of 2011 gave the conservative party an absolute majority. Since then, politically targeted cuts have seriously affected the welfare state and a deep regression in the legal handling of women's issues and human rights is in process, including plans for fundamentalist Catholic control over women's reproductive rights, a turn unimaginable a few years back.

On a more optimistic note, considering the relative youth of Women's Studies in Spain, the development has been remarkable, and it is hard to imagine that they will not continue to produce some excellent research and teaching, even if hampered by political and economic drawbacks. In the new century, postgraduate degrees have expanded, and the same is true of competitive research projects obtained and led by Women's Studies specialists. Journals such as *Arenal, Asparkía, Duoda, Anuario de Hojas de Warmi, Clepsydra, Mujer y Salud*; book series published by the universities of Cádiz, Granada, Málaga, Oviedo (*Alternativas*), or commercial publishers such as Cátedra, Icaria, KRK, Síntesis, have continued their work, although also affected by cuts. On the other hand, the variety of perspectives brought into feminisms in the last decades, often by Anglicist feminists, such as the focus on class, race, ethnicity, difference, ecofeminism, globalization, migration or space, among others, show that the narrowly

focused 'political', equality and citizenship oriented feminism, born from the Transition period, has expanded its outlook and is seriously able to challenge androcentric and Eurocentric thought from a variety of angles. Internationalization, often led by Anglicists, has played a crucial role in this opening.

Over the past two decades, European programmes have provided external referents for Women's Studies degrees, reinforcing their claims, and occasionally contributing with decisive funding. Several established feminist groups (Granada, Complutense Madrid, Oviedo, Alicante, Balearic Islands and Málaga) took part in the influential Advanced Thematic Network in Activities in Women's Studies, ATHENA, which produced collective volumes, supported feminist conferences and created a lively educational and scholastic discussion across Europe from 1998 to 2009. Almost all official representatives from Spanish universities came from English Studies, demonstrating the crucial role played by this discipline in the internationalization of Women's Studies. Similarly, the success of the first (and only) Erasmus Mundus MA programme in Women's and Gender Studies (GEMMA; see 3.2) involving two Spanish universities, Granada as coordinator and Oviedo as a partner, shows the importance of European funding and prestige for the consolidation of Spanish Women's Studies, as well as their continental integration. European research calls are at present looked upon as a further opportunity for overcoming local and national limitations, both monetary and ideological.

Given the huge recession that Spain is suffering, one cannot be too optimistic about immediate renewal of groups through new academic posts, but, bearing in mind that a number of feminist academics are finally well-established and have become full professors in a variety of departments and areas, they may at least have some power to make access smoother for younger aspirants. The question of the relationship with the next generation, already raised in 2003 (Ortiz 2003: 19), is currently tinged by youth disenchantment with traditional politics, reflected in the Occupy the Street movement and in young feminist activism (FEMEN among them); a different way of conceiving feminist transformations and strategies seems to be in process, and it can only be hoped that the next generation gets a chance to define these also in academe.

3. Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies in Spain

English Studies in Spain date back to 1952, when a Section of Modern Languages was created at the University of Salamanca. Although English language courses had been taught at other Spanish universities since the early twentieth century,[8] it was not until 1954 that the first degrees in English Philology were sanctioned by the Spanish Ministry of Education for the University of Salamanca and the Complutense University of Madrid, followed by the University of Barcelona in 1955. International relations played an essential role in the consolidation of English Studies in Spain after the Civil War, as Tomás Monterrey (2000) states. The important contribution of The British Council in Madrid, 'a triumph of the British diplomacy in its attempt to counteract the German influence' (2000: 37), and the growing presence of American culture in the country in the 1950s coincide with 'a significant Economic and Military Agreement between Spain and the United States' (2000: 38), which provided the regime with some of the international recognition it required. After 1958, when the Madrid headquarters of the Fulbright Commission opened, this institution's initiatives, together with those of the Embassy of the United States, were crucial for the cultural and higher education exchange between the USA and Spain. The 1970s and 1980s would witness the consolidation of English Philology in Spanish universities, partly as a consequence of increasing job opportunities in the teaching sector (both at secondary and higher education levels), but also due to the efforts of a generation of vocational academics who introduced new perspectives into the teaching of English and who had started to produce the first doctoral theses in English Studies in the 1960s.

Women scholars were very active in the process from the very beginning. After Tomás Ramos Orea completed the first PhD in English Studies in 1961, Asunción Alba Pelayo (1962), Carmen Vázquez Ruiz (1962), Doireann MacDermott (1964) and Patricia Shaw (1964) followed closely (Monterrey 2000: 41). They became professors in the late 1960s or early 1970s and contributed greatly to the development of the English departments in

8 See Tomás Monterrey 2003 for a detailed account of the educational reforms affecting the inclusion of English Studies in Spain during the first half of the twentieth century.

different Spanish universities. Doireann MacDermott introduced Commonwealth – later to become Postcolonial – Studies in Spain (Hand 2003), and also became the first woman professor at the University of Zaragoza. Patricia Shaw became president of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies (AEDEAN), of the Spanish Society for Mediaeval English Language and Literature (SELIM) and the International Association of University Professors of English (IAUPE), among many other significant merits. She was awarded the Order of the British Empire in 1988 for her outstanding work in English Studies.

Patricia Shaw left her Chair at the University in Barcelona in 1970 to lead the English Department at the University of Oviedo, which she presided over until 1986. Shaw's interest in and commitment to literature written by women was crucial for subsequent researchers. Unlike more conservative professors, who prevented any work in the field of feminist/women's literature or gender perspectives, this inspirational scholar practiced and fostered such studies. As early as 1979, when only (male) canonical writers seemed to merit academic attention, her lecture on 'The Romanticism of Mary Wollstonecraft,' in the 9th English Week in Oviedo, was the only talk to focus on a woman. She would soon supervise PhDs in the area and enable other scholars to consolidate a strong Gender Studies group at the University of Oviedo, led by María Socorro Suárez Lafuente and Isabel Carrera Suárez. Anglicist women in other universities underwent similar processes in academe, encouraged by pioneers such as Ángeles de la Concha, Pilar Hidalgo, Barbara Ozieblo, Elizabeth Russell or Justine Tally.

The dynamic 1980s period brought a significant growth in student numbers nation-wide, together with a baby-boom generation who came of age just after Franco's death, had different yearnings and concerns, and embraced a new language to name and define them. They were eager to try out new ideas and life-styles, as well as the liberties recently conquered, and to do so both inside and outside the country's now fully opened borders, after joining NATO in 1982 and the EU in 1986. They looked to England and the United States as the home of major pop culture, along with far-reaching struggles for freedom, such as the civil rights, youth (hippy, anti-Vietnam) and women's liberation movements. English-speaking countries had also been producing a groundbreaking body of theory and literature for over two decades that aimed to contest hegemonic values and traditional

(patriarchal) notions of identity, sexuality, society and culture, while highlighting the interplay of race, gender, and class. In an all-white country with very little immigration to speak of (yet), race or ethnicity did not engage immediate interest, but issues of gender and class, of difference and equality, became paramount.

Women's Studies underwent a relatively fast institutionalization, and by the 1990s had increased the number of lecturers and students in the field, the vast majority of which were (and still are) female. Sheer numbers, however, do not necessarily mean power, and all statistic studies show that women have had greater difficulties in reaching decision-making posts, in being eligible for national R&D project funding, and, as a consequence of these and other factors, in being promoted, whether in research groups, departments, or more political positions within the university system.[9] The glass ceiling has been, and continues to be, a subtle but weighty reality in women's academic careers. As described earlier, Women's Studies managed to develop at a regular pace thanks to the support of the Women's Institute, networking and the unwavering determination of established groups, Seminars or Research Institutes, a good number of whose founding members were Anglicist women.

These committed Anglicists saw the need to create academic spaces to reflect upon and disseminate women's/gender/feminist work. Thus, in 1990, Professor Pilar Hidalgo (University of Málaga) presented the first panel on Feminism and Literature at the 14th (Vitoria-Gasteiz) conference of the Spanish Association for Anglo-American Studies (AEDEAN), which had been created in 1976.[10] She coordinated this panel until 1994, when Elizabeth Russell, another pioneering and active scholar from Rovira i Virgili University (Tarragona) took over the renamed Feminist and Gender Studies panel (1994–2002). This section has been a permanent feature of

9 See *Mujeres y Hombres en España*, published by the Instituto de la Mujer with the National Statistics Institute (INE) at <http://www.inmujer.gob.es/estadisticas/mujeresHombres/home.htm> for data. Percentages show the classic 'scissors diagram' of women's progress in the different academic levels: a presence of women which is over 50% at student level, but well below this figure in lecturers, whose numbers dwindle steadily towards the professor end, 18.1%.

10 Founded by Patricia Shaw, Javier Coy, and Joaquín Oltra. Patricia Shaw would be member number 1 of the association and President from 1977 to 1983.

AEDEAN's annual conferences since then and is presently one of the nineteen permanent panels comprising different areas, subareas, and periods of English Studies. In 2013, the feminist panel at the 37th AEDEAN Conference included 22 papers from established scholars and young researchers, male and female, coming from 12 universities. A good number of other panels in the areas of linguistics, literature and culture also registered relevant contributions, a positive sign of the interest the field continues to awaken in both senior and junior academics. The same holds true for the international conferences held biennially by the Spanish Association for American Studies (SAAS), and conferences organized by different universities on postcolonial, Canadian literatures or specific topics related to research projects, as well as Spanish contributions to ESSE and other international conferences.

Feminist Anglicists have also been active and influential in national transdisciplinary Women's Studies associations, such as AUDEM (Women's Studies University Association, see 2.2), which has had two Anglicist presidents, María Socorro Suárez Lafuente (1999–2003), María Elena Jaime de Pablos (2011-). A number of Anglicists have also been invited speakers at conferences by the influential women's history association AEIHM, and networks such as RING, as well as numerous multidisciplinary conferences.

Yet despite the quantity and quality of the research, and the extracurricular activities and dissemination carried out since 1975 (see 3.4), there has not been a parallel impact on education. Cristina Segura (1999: 136) argues that gender issues should be most present in teaching, as it is through education that prevailing ideas about women can be changed. The inscribing therein of the contributions of Women's Studies, she contends, is key to eradicating patriarchal paradigms and effecting social change. While there have been considerable advances at postgraduate level, such a goal has not yet been achieved to a significant degree in the broader university education of the undergraduate levels.

3.1 Gender Content in Undergraduate English Studies

Sustained debates around the Bologna process (see 2.2) notwithstanding, the insertion of the vast bibliographical production and knowledge in Gender Studies into the undergraduate level in Spain is limited. The causes are varied and include rigid university structures, but it must also be stated that,

like the English language until the late 1980s, Gender and Women's Studies have been academically underrated, even while their success was feared in many quarters. Nevertheless, and judging from the increasing presence of gender epistemologies in the syllabuses, there appears to be room for hope. In a survey conducted to gather information for this chapter among Anglicist Women's/Gender/Feminist Studies lecturers and researchers,[11] many respondents reported that the specialization of lecturers, as well as the number of specific courses, has steadily increased, and that there is a crucial awakening of gender awareness and academic interest on the part of English Studies undergraduates. This interest is manifest in the number of undergraduate dissertations dealing with gender. Beyond their personal or collective contribution to the field through publications, seminars, R&D projects and teams, as well as numerous social, cultural and political actions – sometimes earning them valuable awards and distinctions inside and outside academe – most respondents declare that their long-standing determination and work have been essential to making gender issues visible. Given the scarcity of official courses, some regard the inclusion of one or two subjects in the curricula as one of the most significant achievements of all.

A look at the new EHEA-adapted English Studies degrees in the country is illustrative of the obstacles met in traditional perspectives and rigid national structures. In general, courses have been incorporated into the curricula of English Studies where there already existed a strong group of lecturers committed to Gender and Women's Studies, who pushed their claims and succeeded in including them, even if only as electives.[12] Given the shortening of former English Studies curricula (from 5-year to 4-year degrees), the new compulsory first year common to all Humanities degrees (where gender is unfortunately absent), the mandate to restructure specific courses to fit the broader Bologna spirit,[13] and last but not least, the

11 Carried out through the mailing list of AEDEAN in 2013.

12 There are exceptions, however, as some English Studies degrees in universities with well-established and very active groups, such as Cádiz, Huelva, Málaga, Jaume I, do not appear to have incorporated any.

13 Usual course nomenclatures maintain traditional reference to geo-political areas (English, Irish, American, Canadian, African, Postcolonial, etc.), periods (Modern, Contemporary, Nineteenth-century, Twentieth-century, Medieval,

demands of more established senior lecturers to keep the(ir) conventional, 'orthodox' subjects, gender rarely managed to make it into the compulsory list. Only at the University of Oviedo and the Open University (UNED) was this possible, despite the Equality Act of 2007 (see 2.2). The Autonomous University of Barcelona created a unique Minor in Gender Studies launched in 2012–13, but is not specific to English Studies.

Most English Studies degrees do have at least one elective course, which is usually integrated in the literature modules.[14] The specific weight of these gender elective courses within the curricula ranges from 3 to 8 ECTS, an acceptable figure were it not for the significant fact that students may choose from a list ranging from 30 to 180 ECTS. What does distil from the different syllabuses in most English Studies disciplines consulted on the university/department webpages is that in order to disseminate the extensive literature in the field, lecturers have incorporated specific gender content transversally into conventional subjects. Many had been doing so since at least the early 1980s, as reported for our survey by Ozieblo (Málaga), Tally (La Laguna), Durán (Complutense Madrid), and Suárez Lafuente (Oviedo), among others.

3.2 Gender in English Studies MA Degrees

Increasing legal, administrative and academic requirements, sometimes including interdisciplinarity, have greatly conditioned the number of MAs offered by Spanish universities, so that not all departments with an English Studies degree have a corresponding English Studies MA. Those that have been officially accredited usually offer one or more subjects from the perspective of gender, only very few of these being compulsory. Among current programmes, special mention must be made of the MA in American Studies

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etc.) and genres (Literature and Film; The Novel; Drama; Poetry). Most of these denominations are accompanied by 'in English' or its alternative, 'in English-speaking countries'.

14 Literature and gender courses are offered at Alcalá, UAB, Autónoma de Madrid, Basque Country, Complutense Madrid, Granada, UIB (Balearic Islands), La Coruña, La Laguna, La Rioja, León, St Louis University in Madrid, Salamanca, Seville, Oviedo, UNED. Titles of courses refer to literature and gender/women, in a few cases combined with sexualities, class, race, ethnicity, culture, nature or identity.

(MUENA), University of La Laguna, with four courses in all; the University of Granada can also boast three courses in their English Literature and Linguistics MA. As is the case with degrees and MAs in other disciplines, a good number of courses in the English Studies MA programmes are traversed by gender contents and perspectives, a common practice among English Studies MA lecturers.

In terms of leading transdisciplinary and international MA studies, the role of the University of Granada is particularly noteworthy, coordinating a consortium of seven European institutions that in 2006 launched the first European Erasmus Mundus Master's Degree in Gender and Women's Studies (GEMMA). GEMMA was reinforced in 2011, being once again selected for funding under the prestigious Erasmus Mundus brand and distinguished from amongst 177 proposals as 'a pilot project and model in the field' (http://masteres.ugr.es/gemma/). Anglicist Adelina Sánchez heads this interdisciplinary, inter-university programme, and the University of Oviedo is a partner university with coordinators and most lecturers from English Studies. Both this programme and the one-year MA in Gender and Diversity were initiated and have been coordinated in Oviedo by Anglicists (Isabel Carrera Suárez, Esther Álvarez López, Emilia Durán Almarza). Other English Studies staff in Spain have been responsible for creating very strong inter-university MAs: Pilar Cuder Domínguez and Mar Gallego Durán (Huelva), together with Asunción Aragón Varo (Cádiz), have, at different stages, coordinated and fully established the awarded MA in Gender, Equality, and Citizenship, with extensive participation of Anglicists. Many English Studies specialists have actively taken part in the creation and/or consolidation of specialized interdisciplinary Gender MAs and teach courses within them. Such is the case in Almería (Gender Studies: Women, Culture and Society, coordinated by María Elena Jaime de Pablos); Complutense Madrid (Feminist Studies); Balearic Islands (Equal Opportunities Policies and Gender Violence Prevention); La Laguna (Gender Studies and Equal Opportunities Policies); Málaga (Equality and Gender); Salamanca/Valladolid (Interdisciplinary Gender Studies); Seville (Gender Studies and Professional Development); UB, UAB, Rovira i Virgili (Estudis de Dones, Gèneres i Ciutadania); UB (Construction and Representation of Cultural Identities); Vigo (Education in Gender Equality and Equal Opportunities Policies), among others.

3.3 Doctoral Programmes

PhD programmes have the longest history in Gender Studies in Spain (see 2.2) and can be traced back to their pioneering past and through their legacy in the present. From the 1980s onwards, the research and vocational dedication of university lecturers were channeled through either specific PhD programmes or through courses within those offered in related disciplines. In Cristina Segura's survey of Gender Studies in higher education for the early period of 1992–95, PhD programmes constituted by far the largest number of gender entries, whether in the form of courses, parts of a course or extracurricular activities (1999: 156, Table 3.5). A segregation of figures by disciplines shows that Literature at the time came first in the rank of gender entries (69), followed closely by History (63) and very far behind by Anthropology (26) and Education (24) (1999: 158, Table 3.6). Of the 69 entries for the overarching term 'Literature', a good portion corresponds to English Studies, as transpires also from our own survey. Respondents to the latter remarked that doctoral courses with specific feminist guidelines had been part of PhD programmes and duly taught since the mid-eighties onwards (Complutense Madrid, La Laguna, Seville). In Málaga, the Interdisciplinary Women's Studies Programme (established in 1991) was not only taught but also coordinated by the English Studies Department for many years. Such is also the case with the University of Oviedo, where English Studies lecturers made sure that the gender/feminist perspective was offered in the curricula before (and after) an independent PhD programme on Women's Studies could be established in 1995, also coordinated in its successive modifications and re-adaptations by English Studies lecturers and by the English Department.

The outcome of these first kernels of the eighties and nineties is the number of present-day MA and PhD programmes (24/17 as of 2013) in Gender or Women's Studies. In terms of current PhD programmes with Anglicist leaders, there are a few outstanding examples: in Andalusia, the multidisciplinary Women in the Social Sciences, initiated in Cádiz in 1994, eventually became the inter-university Gender, Identity and Citizenship (universities of Cádiz and Huelva), which received the 'Quality Award', at present coordinated by Asunción Aragón Varo (Cádiz) and formerly by Mar Gallego Durán (Huelva); the University of Granada has an independent programme,

Women's and Gender Studies, coordinated by Adelina Sánchez Espinosa and located in the English and German Department. At the opposite end of the country, Oviedo has just renewed its six-year accreditation for the PhD in Gender and Diversity, running since 1995, awarded a 'Quality Award' in 2006, the Award of Excellence in 2011, and coordinated almost uninterruptedly by English Studies scholars (from 2005 by Isabel Carrera Suárez).

While PhD programmes have the longest history and now constitute the top academic achievement for Women's Studies, it is also true that current restrictions may affect their continuity or force them into coalitions, as much larger 'critical mass' and higher student numbers are being required for accreditation from 2014.

3.4 Survey of Anglicist Research in Women's and Gender Studies in Spain

Early academic feminism, in the case of Anglicist Studies, materializes in the completion of the first doctoral theses dealing with gender issues in the 1980s. Many of these ground-breaking dissertations focus on British women's writing or American literature, with postcolonial studies making a first appearance at the end of the decade. Early English Literature scholars, Luis Rodríguez García (Seville, 1981), M. Luisa Venegas Lagüens (Seville, 1984), M. Rosario García Doncel (Seville, 1986), Pilar Sineiro Rodríguez and M. Paz Kindelán Echevarría (Complutense Madrid, 1986) write on Behn, Gaskell, the Brontës, and contemporary women's fiction; US gender studies are pioneered by the theses of Angels Carabí Ribera on Toni Morrison (Barcelona, 1987), Esther Álvarez López on Afro-American women's fiction (Oviedo, 1989) and Carlos Martín Gaebles (Seville, 1989) on gay fiction. Isabel Carrera Suarez's comparative study of short story women writers (Oviedo, 1988) is the first to adopt a transnational approach to women's literature, combining postcolonial and gender theory. Mercedes Bengoechea Bartolomé's work on Adrienne Rich (Madrid, 1991) opens the productive 1990s with a study of language and gender. This new decade brings a dramatic rise in the number of theses combining Anglicist and Gender Studies, a figure which has grown steadily up to the present. According to TESEO, the official database of doctoral theses of the Spanish Ministry of Education, these theses have been submitted in 30 out of 40 Spanish

universities that either have degrees in English Studies, English departments or have incorporated these studies and research into other structures, like Translation or Humanities degrees, or interdisciplinary postgraduate programmes. TESEO shows that the universities with a higher number of theses are those with strong groups with institutional recognition, mostly at postgraduate levels, although absences also reflect the relative youth of some otherwise active universities or departments, which could only begin producing PhDs in recent years.

Table 2

Anglicist PhD Theses in Gender or Women's Studies 1981–2013	
University	Number of theses
U. Oviedo	24
U. Seville	16
Complutense U. Madrid	14
U. Barcelona	11
U. Málaga	11
Autonomous U. Barcelona	9
UNED (Open University)	9
U. Granada	8
U. Huelva	8
U. Alcalá	7
U. La Laguna	7
U. Valencia	6
U. Zaragoza	5
U. Santiago	5
U. Alicante	4
U. Castilla-La Mancha	4
U. Coruña	4
U. Cádiz	3
U. País Vasco	3
U. Salamanca	3
Autonomous U. Madrid	2

Anglicist PhD Theses in Gender or Women's Studies 1981–2013	
University	Number of theses
U. Burgos	2
U. Córdoba	2
U. Deusto	2
U. Las Palmas	2
U. Jaén	1
U. León	1
U. Lleida	1
U. Murcia	1
U. Valladolid	1
U. Vigo	1
Total:	177

Source: TESEO.[15]

TESEO confirms the clear prominence of theses dealing with literary, visual or cultural matters, with an initial prevalence of works on British and American texts. The latter group pioneered the adoption of intersecting categories of analysis that may include ethnic, religious or linguistic difference until, in the 1990s, postcolonial approaches burst onto the scene. This powerful drift can be observed in the increasing number of theses on the work of authors from the former British colonies, but also in the incorporation of postcolonial theory into other fields of research. *Atlantis*, the journal of AEDEAN, founded in 1979, evidences this shift. The first article on gender issues to be published in *Atlantis* (3:1, 1981) was Pilar Hidalgo's 'The Crisis of Realism in Doris Lessing's *Shikasta*' ('La crisis del realismo en Doris Lessing: *Shikasta*') and subsequent pieces are mostly about American

15 Due to the traditional stigmatization of feminist research in Spanish academe, sometimes authors exclude, among other traces of their approaches, words such as *feminism* or *gender* from their keywords and abstracts, which complicates the search and may have distorted slightly the data included in this table. TESEO also has lacunae for theses completed in the 1980s, yet it is the only official record in the country. Where we have found or received information of others, they have been added.

or British literature until the 1990s, when contributions on postcolonial studies also become a regular phenomenon.

The field of linguistics is represented by Mercedes Bengoechea Bartolomé's group at the University of Alcalá, who focus on cultural representations and discursive constructions (gender violence, gender identities in virtual environments, heterosexual desire in poetry, gender in legal documents, among others). They have also elaborated glossaries of non-sexist expressions (Spanish-English), and studied, within the transdisciplinary NOMBRA group, gender issues in the Spanish normative dictionary, *DRAE* (Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Language). The resulting volume, *Lo Femenino y lo Masculino en el Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (1998) received a special mention by the United Nations. Bengoechea is the director of the research group GENTYLL (Gender in Translation and Language and Legislation) and has coordinated national R&D projects in the area of gender, language and translation.

In general, research groups have tended to materialize around the work of one or several committed scholars whose leadership and mentoring have become crucial for training younger scholars and consolidating research. This often happens initially in older or larger universities where strong feminist groups operate, but younger academics soon move to action in newly established institutions, which sometimes offer the advantage of less fossilized academic structures.

The cities of Madrid and Barcelona bring together a number of higher education institutions, some of which also function within regional networks. Feminist research at Catalan universities was unified at institutional level in the early 1990s, with the creation of the Inter-University Institute of Women's Studies and Gender Research (IIEDG). Anglicist Women's Studies are mainly associated with the University of Barcelona and the Autonomous University of Barcelona, yet very solid work has also been produced at Rovira i Virgili University (Tarragona), by the group Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Class (GREC), with Elizabeth Russell and Cynthia Wyatt leading its Anglicist domain. Russell's intense involvement in feminist scholarship is evident in her many international publications. She coordinated a national R&D project on ethnic and national identity in contemporary Anglophone women's writing, has collaborated in other national and European projects and established international feminist networks.

In 1994, Àngels Carabí co-founded the *Centre for Women and Literature. Gender, Sexualities and Cultural Criticism* at the University of Barcelona, thus institutionalizing activities begun in 1990 as the Seminar of Literature Written by Women. The centre publishes *Lectora: Revista de Dones i Textualitat* (Journal of Women and Textuality, coedited by Anglicist Cristina Alsina), as well as the series *Mujeres y Culturas* (Women and Cultures). The Centre's stated aim is to analyze gender and cultural minorities in multicultural and postcolonial contexts, women's artistic creations (cinema, literature), masculinities, and gender and sexual difference. Carabí has coordinated three research projects on masculinities since 1999, and the work in this area has now been extended to the University of Castilla-La Mancha, where Josep M. Armengol (PhD on masculinities from Barcelona) lectures in American Literature and leads the research team Bodytext. The University of Barcelona also has a dynamic research team on Women's Creation and Thought (*Creació i Pensament de les Dones*). Also in the city of Barcelona, at the Autonomous University (UAB), Aránzazu Usandizaga led two national research projects, on gender and war narrative and on female authorship, gender and genre in Spanish and English writing. Felicity Hand has published widely in postcolonial and transnational women's writing, and Sara Martín Alegre, a member of the transdisciplinary group *Cos I Textualitat* (Body and Textuality), has added Popular Culture Studies to feminist research in Spain.

Another node of intense activity is based in Madrid. At the Complutense University, Isabel Durán Giménez-Rico, Esther Sánchez-Pardo and JoAnne Neff, among others, have a long trajectory in feminist studies. The English Department organized its first International Conference of Women's Studies in 1990, a biennial event which has produced ten collective books. This was the starting point for the creation of a research group on Women's Studies in Anglophone countries (*Estudios de la Mujer en el Ámbito de los Países de Habla Inglesa*), led by Durán Giménez-Rico since 2008. Members of this group have coordinated eight research projects since 1999, most of them led by María Antonia Rodríguez Gago, Eulalia Piñero Gil or Julia Salmerón, and have supervised theses on a wide range of topics. Some of these Anglicists at the Complutense have also collaborated in projects with colleagues from the Autonomous University of Madrid, where, aside from a strong interdisciplinary group brought together by its Institute, there is

an Anglicist Women's Studies Seminar, founded in 1998 and led by Piñero Gil and Salmerón. Publications in the areas of US and Canadian literature feature strongly, and Pilar Somacarrera has specialized in Canadian literature, particularly on Margaret Atwood.

The Madrid-based UNED (Open University) has likewise been a focal point since 1992, when Ángeles de la Concha, who had carried out extensive research on British women writers, organized the first summer course in Literature and Feminism at its Ávila venue, six years before a degree in English Philology was implemented at this university. Subsequent editions were at times led by other Anglicist colleagues, like María Teresa Gibert Maceda, and held elsewhere (Pontevedra and Denia) in cooperation with scholars from other universities. Collaboration with other disciplines at the UNED resulted in the creation of the interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies, whose main areas of interest involve science and technology, language, multiculturalism and equal opportunities. De la Concha has also led two interdisciplinary research projects on gender, one on the cultural construction of maternal roles, the other on the representation of gender violence in literature. Anglicist theses completed at the UNED, supervised by de la Concha and Gibert Maceda, mostly focus on contemporary literature; the department now includes further long-standing feminist researchers such as Ana Zamorano.

One of the most productive groups is based at the University of Oviedo (Ortiz Gómez 1999: 88), where Anglicist scholars have played an essential role in the institutionalization of Gender Studies at postgraduate levels. The Women's Studies Seminar (SEMUO), founded in 1995, as an interdisciplinary extension of the Permanent Seminar on Women and Literature (established in 1986), was initiated by María Socorro Suárez Lafuente, Isabel Carrera Suárez and Esther Álvarez López. The group publishes the series *Alternativas*, where Anglicist titles prevail. Álvarez López, Carrera Suárez and Suárez Lafuente have supervised most of the 24 theses completed in the field and some of their former PhD candidates are now lecturers at other Spanish universities – León, Illes Balears, Zaragoza, Vigo, La Coruña – where they have continued their specialization and have been active members or founders of seminars, new modules or academic structures, also becoming supervisors of a younger generation of feminist researchers. Carrera Suárez and Suárez Lafuente have taken part in EU funded projects and reinforced

international connections with other universities through networks like ATHENA. Suárez Lafuente has coordinated two projects, on otherness in literature and on the deconstruction of myths about the female body, whereas Carrera Suárez, aside from participating in two EC-funded R&D projects on Women's Studies (5th and 6th Frameworks), has coordinated five projects on topics ranging from the re-rendering of canonical texts by women writers, textual strategies in postcolonial writing and translation or the redefinition of national identities from postcolonial and gender theory, to two recent national projects focusing on gender and urban representation. The group also took part in two projects on women filmmakers and gender in cinema coordinated by María del Carmen Rodríguez Fernández, and collaborated in a number of national and international projects on gender.

Doctoral dissertations in Oviedo have dealt mainly with postcolonial literatures (8), American literature and culture (7), English, Irish or Scottish literature, some combining the analysis of visual and literary texts. Oviedo has a strong multicultural and postcolonial focus, and has produced many international publications in the area since the end of the 1980s. Carrera Suárez and Suárez Lafuente were the organizers of the EACLALS (European Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies) Silver Jubilee Conference in Oviedo in 1996, where gender papers abounded. They are now joined in the research teams by an active cluster of feminist scholars, already supervising PhD theses themselves and the authors of extensive publications on postcolonial, Irish, Scottish and transcultural literatures. Luz Mar González Arias and Carla Rodríguez González have long trajectories in Irish and Scottish literatures respectively, while Emilia Durán Almarza, Alejandra Moreno Álvarez and Carmen Pérez Riu are among the most consolidated in the next generation, reinforcing the Oviedo lines in performance, postcolonial and film studies, respectively.

In the Canaries, the adoption of gender perspectives in Anglicist research at the University of La Laguna began with Justine Tally's work and the early interest shown by J.S. Amador Bedford. Along with Aída Díaz Bild, who has also published on the matter, they encouraged younger scholars to pursue this specialization, now supported by the University Institute of Women's Studies (founded in 2007 as an extension of the former Centre of Women's Studies, inaugurated in 1995), which publishes, since the year

2000, the feminist journal *Clepsydra*. This journal's contents demonstrate that Anglicist research has played a prominent role. Equally, the *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* (Canaries Journal of English Studies), one of the earliest Anglicist journals in Spain, provides, as was the case with *Atlantis*, good information on the development of these studies in the country.[16] The journal's contents confirm that the 1990s are pivotal and mark the expansion of Anglicist feminism in Spanish academe. This can also be observed in the rest of English Studies journals in the country, which have progressively included articles on gender issues, particularly those with a literary and cultural focus.[17] Also in La Laguna, Eva Darias leads the research team Literature and Gender in English, and has coordinated two research projects on Canadian women's writing; many of the theses completed in this university deal with Canadian literature.

In Andalucía, the University of Seville, as one of the older Andalusian universities, was responsible for training early English graduates, and several of the 16 theses completed in the field were submitted by scholars who are now active in neighbouring universities, such as María Rosario García Doncel, Pilar Cuder, and Zenón Luis, or are part of the staff in Seville itself, as is the case with Carolina Sánchez-Palencia, an established feminist literary scholar. The Interdisciplinary Seminar of Women's Studies, although officially registered in 2013, has been functional since 1992. The participation of Anglicist scholars has been strong and some are also members of the transdisciplinary research group Women Writers and Writings (*Escritoras y Escrituras*).

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16 The first relevant article in *RCEI* is F. van Leeuwen's 'Female Gothic: The Discourse of the Other' (1982); a year later an interview with Doris Lessing by J. Fernando Galván Reula and Bernhard H. L. Dietz Guerrero was published, followed in 1985 by Justine Tally's interview with Beverly Guy-Sheftall, 'Black Women Studies in the 1980s'.

17 This list comprises *Anglogermánica Online*; *AUDEM*; *Babel a.f.i.a.l*; *BELLS*; *ES*; *Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense*; *Estudios Irlandeses*; *The Grove*; *International Journal of English Studies*; *Journal of English Studies*; *Miscelánea*; *Odisea*; *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*; *Revista de Estudios Norteamericanos*; *SEDERI*; *SELIM*. There is also a clear presence of Anglicist research in academic feminist journals like *Arenal. Revista de Historia de las Mujeres*; *Clepsydra*; *Cuadernos Koré*; *Feminismo/s Investigaciones Feministas*. All of these journals are available online.

Feminist Anglicists at the University of Málaga, on the other hand, are mostly concerned with British writing and culture or with American playwrights, demonstrating the influence of Pilar Hidalgo Andreu and Barbara Ozieblo Rajkowska. The Association for Women's Historic Studies (AEHM) was the starting point for a homonymous research group in the English department, which now focuses on American women's theatre. Along with Ozieblo, scholars like Blanca Krauel Heredia, Miriam López Reyes and Inmaculada Pineda have organized conferences on American drama, one of them on the representation of gender violence on stage. Other members of the department have also analyzed gender issues in American and British literature, like Rosario Arias Doblas, Ruth Ann Stoner, Carmen Lara Rallo or Sofía Muñoz Valdivieso, with Silvia Castro Borrego and Isabel Romero Ruiz focusing on diaspora and migration. The university inaugurated the book series *Atenea* in 1991, which specializes in gender studies and has had important contributions by Anglicists.

Also in Andalucía, the University of Cádiz is the home of pioneering Women's Studies scholar María Rosario García Doncel, who now coordinates the research group Cultural Studies in English incorporating gender perspectives. The interdisciplinary Women's Studies Seminar, founded in 1990, includes scholars from English and American Studies who have at times presided it, like Asunción Aragón Varo, also part of the transdisciplinary and gender-oriented R&D project *Afroeurope@s*, led by Marta Sofía López Rodríguez, another Anglicist, from the University of León.

In Alicante, María Teresa Gómez Reus leads the all-Anglicist research team on Literature, Gender and Society. Members have participated in research projects focusing on the cultural construction of motherhood (Silvia Caporale), intermediality as cultural mediation (Terri Ochiagha) or women's representation of transit spaces and urban cultures and literature (Gómez Reus), which have been the origin of several PhD theses. The University of Alicante publishes the journal *Feminismos*, edited by the Centre of Women's Studies since 2003.

Some of the more recently established universities nationwide (the product of the 1990s expansion, see 2.2.) have had the benefit of young, dynamic scholars who participated actively in the structural organization of their institutions and introduced gender studies early on. At the University of Huelva, the first activities related to Anglicist gender studies take place

in 1994, one year after the creation of the university, within the 'Women and Literature: Women from Text to Context' forum, which precedes the foundation of the Women Studies Seminar in 1996. Research projects at this university have been led by Pilar Cuder Domínguez, Sonia Villegas López and Luis Zenón, on women writers of the English Restoration, sexualities and gender identities in contemporary Anglophone cultures, and, with Belén Martín Lucas, from the University of Vigo, on transnational poetics in the 1990s.

At Jaume I University, the Seminari de la Dona (Women's Seminar) has been operating since this institution's foundation in 1991. Its name changed into Seminar of Feminist Research in 1992 and eventually became the University Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies in 2009. Anglicist Mary Farrell was one of its founding members, soon joined by Nieves Alberola Crespo. The Institute publishes the feminist book series *Sendes* and the feminist journal *Asparkía*, founded in 1992. Anglicist contributions abound in both, as they do in the journal *Dossiers Feministes*, published annually since 1998. Alberola Crespo participated in a research project on gender violence and its representation, and collaborates in interdisciplinary educational initiatives.

The University of Vigo also has a relatively recent but very committed group, led by Belén Martín Lucas and Ana Bringas López, both holding feminist PhDs from Oviedo. They run the 'Feminisms and Resistances: Theories and Practices Feminar' [sic], have published extensively, organized academic activities and coordinated research projects on contemporary women's writing, mostly postcolonial, the most recent on globalized cultural markets (led by Martín Lucas). Martín Lucas is editor, with Cuder Domínguez (University of Huelva), of the journal *Canada and Beyond*, which has a declared focus on feminist criticism from its launch in 2011.

To some extent, Anglicist feminism at the University of the Balearic Islands (UIB) is also a spinoff of the University of Oviedo. The English degree was implemented in 2001, requiring academic staff from other institutions. Specialists in feminist Anglophone literatures begin to arrive in 2002 and have integrated into existing feminist academic structures while also contributing to the development of new ones, such as the Dones i Lletres (Women and Letters) Seminar. They also incorporate gender perspectives into their teaching practices. The group organized the AUDEM conference

in 2005 and have contributed to the series Treballs Feministes (Feminist Works), published by the UIB. Patricia Bastida Rodríguez, specializing in British and diasporic writers, and Marta Fernández Morales, an American Studies scholar, who ran the Chair for the Study of Gender Violence (Cátedra d'Estudis de Violència de Gènere), are currently the main Anglicist feminist scholars at UIB.

Aside from these universities, hosting established groups, it must be emphasized that work is carried out by specific Anglicist lecturers in almost every university in Spain. At the University of Salamanca, Ana Manzanas, Ana María Fraile and Olga Barrios publish on contemporary women writers in US, Canadian and postcolonial contexts. The same interests in US and postcolonial literatures are shared by specialists from the University of La Coruña, like María Frías Rudolphi, María Jesús Lorenzo Modia or Begoña Simal González, with two research groups including gender as part of their work. In Santiago de Compostela, the focus is mainly on American and Irish literature. Constante González Groba has coordinated research projects on space, gender and race in American fiction, and Patricia Fra López has published on American women's literature. Manuela Palacios González has supervised theses and led five research projects in Irish women's writing, with Margarita Estévez Saa coordinating a related project. At the University of Alcalá, aside from Bengoechea's linguistics group, other Anglicists have applied feminist theory to the study of literary and cultural works: Carmen L. Flys Junquera (ecocriticism), Maya García de Vinuesa (African literatures), Esperanza Cerdá Redondo (American literature). At the University of Almería, María Elena Jaime de Pablos coordinates the research group 'Women, Literature and Society' and specializes in Irish women's writing, while Blasina Jesús Cantizano Márquez explores gender in children's literature. Adelina Sánchez Espinosa leads a research group on women, literature and genre in Granada. In Zaragoza, Maite Escudero Alías publishes on ecocriticism and performativity, and Silvia Martínez Falquina on American native women. Added to this already extensive list, a growing number of thoroughly trained young scholars, who have submitted their PhDs recently or are in the process of writing them, are contributing with specialized and highly theorized publications, and are eager to enter the academic world with this training.

4. Conclusion

Anglicist Women's, Gender and Feminist Studies in Spain have grown steadily since the crucial year of 1975 (which brought Franco's death and the UN International Year of Women), and have reached a relatively high degree of institutionalization and relevance in Spanish academe. Anglicist feminists have exerted a considerable influence in Spanish Women's Studies, introducing international perspectives into an excessively equity-oriented vision of gender, anticipating and reinforcing notions of intersectionality, race, ethnicity or postcoloniality, and adding depth to theories of masculinity, queer studies, ecofeminism, globalization or diasporas. Anglicists have also played a crucial role in reinforcing international networks for Women's Studies in Spanish universities, a contribution sometimes duly recognized by their institutions. Within the area of English Studies itself, as is the case worldwide, the work of feminist scholars has transformed the field, not just through their dissident re/reading of the literary and cultural canon, but by thoroughly renovating the discipline in the addition of texts and authors and, crucially, through the critical stance and theoretically informed perspective that are essential components of feminist expertise. In both research and teaching, they have effected a major transformation, which can be measured by even a cursory comparison between the content of current programmes, R&D projects and PhD dissertations, as described in this chapter, and those existing in the 1970s. Resistances and obstacles do remain, as has also been discussed here, and the former official support for gender studies is unlikely to continue in the current period of conservatism and recession. Nevertheless, given the achievement so far, we can only expect that the level of commitment and the institutionalization reached will allow its survival and academic growth. The many consolidated research groups and the now well established feminists within academe will hopefully continue to mentor and enable younger researchers, who might bring new energies and perspectives into the dynamic world of Women's and Gender Studies, and into English Studies in Spain.

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Vita Fortunati

Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies in Italy: The Bologna Case as an Emblematic Example

1. In order to understand the complex and contradictory situation of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies in Italy one has to take into consideration the controversy about the institutionalisation of the studies themselves in the universities. It has been going on for many years, is intimately connected to the history of Italian feminism and poses a crucial question about the *visibility* and *inclusion* of these studies in academic curricula. For many women the inclusion of Women's and Gender Studies in institutions means the recognition of their formative and educational strength, while for others it means depriving them of their subversive potential.[1] Inside this heated debate my position has always been that of supporting the importance of the transmission of feminine knowledge inside the academic institutions. Women's and Gender Studies, in fact, are not only concerned with the study of the relationship between the categories of male and female, but also that between different identity groups, linked to issues of power and *agency* (the capacity that a subject has of acting inside social systems), between dominant cultures and the so-called minority cultures. This because Women's and Gender Studies examine the distribution, the accessibility, the production of knowledge and *savoirs* in different disciplinary fields. In this sense Women's and Gender Studies are connected to Multicultural Studies in a continuous exchange and expansion of the issues and questions both examine. At the end of the nineties and the beginning of the new century, we have witnessed the effort on the part of the Italian ministry for equal opportunities, especially with Ministers Laura Balbo and Katia Belillo, for an effective disciplinary insertion of Women's and Gender Studies in academic curricula.[2]

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1 Cp. Marcuzzo / Rossi Doria: 1987 and Di Cori / Barazzetti: 2001.

2 Laura Balbo was minister for equal opportunities from 1998 till 2000 and Katia Belillo in 2000–2001.

For a better understanding of the development and features of Women's and Gender Studies in Italy it is important to outline the relationship between Italian universities and North American or further Anglo-Saxon Women's and Gender Studies. Such a relationship was born from the necessity of comparing European and extra-European realities, the latter already having had departments and teaching in this disciplinary field. Their experience has enriched ours, since there has never been an imitation, carried out with no awareness of the different historical contexts, but a comparison that has enhanced our scholarly tradition. We have, as a matter of fact, tried to *translate* experiences and knowledge. The migration of the various *savoirs* between our culture and the North American one has faced us with problems that we have taken into account when inserting Women's and Gender Studies into Italian study curricula. And, as regards contents, the translating of various experiences has not homogenised, but has further nuanced and enriched the teaching of Women's and Gender Studies at a European level. Amongst many congresses, the one organised in 1993 by the University of Bologna and the Centre for Women's Documentation and Research in Bologna[3] on this side of the Atlantic and the University of California on the other has shown the necessity of leaving behind controversies in order to search for a constructive comparison of experiences.

It is in this perspective that in Europe the didactics (courses, teaching materials) and research experiences in the field of Women's and Gender Studies are being compared, in order to draw up a common development program in academic as well as high school education, keeping constantly in mind, of course, the specificity of each single case. Italy's case is particularly complex, because, although there do exist inside the various institutions courses, seminars, PhD and master's programs on Women's and Gender Studies, this discipline is not actually recognised institutionally. Nevertheless, the university reform envisages the insertion of gender perspectives in

3 The Centre for Women's Documentation and Research in Bologna was founded in 1982 and has an important Library and Archive (*Server Donne*: www.women.it). Other important Women's Centres linked with universities are in Turin (Interdisciplinary Centre of Research on Women's Studies and Gender), founded in 1991, and in Padua, founded in 1996. In Italy there are women's associations in literary studies (www.societadelleletterate.it), in history (www.societadellestoriche.it), in science, and theology.

the different degree syllabuses. The lack of recognition at a higher level of institutions has resulted in setbacks and lack of communication between the various faculties and departments where work was being carried out on Women's and Gender Studies. The lack of communication between Italian universities and even inside the same athenaeum has slowed down the comparison of contents and progress. We (Bologna University) realised this forcibly when, due to the Erasmus projects, we entered the European Women's Studies network, with universities such as Utrecht, York, London and Madrid, where Women's and Gender Studies departments already existed, and where they were taught in an interdisciplinary way. Establishing links between the various teachers of Women's and Gender Studies at a European level has foregrounded the everyday difficulties of our university in this field of study. We have found ourselves faced with a gap between *an extremely high level of the research projects and an almost non-existent recognition at the institutional level.* Despite all the PhD programs,[4] summer schools and seminars, all backed by a long and glorious tradition, there is a difference in level between the research and the visibility of Women's and Gender Studies inside the Academia. The crucial question is that of how to insert Women's and Gender Studies in the university organisation. Keeping in mind the experiences that have preceded us in other countries, it would be important to establish Women's and Gender Studies Departments, in order to create transdisciplinary research among colleagues and to facilitate the students' choice in the direction of Women's and Gender Studies. For this reason it would be essential to strengthen the field of comparative and integrative studies in the Italian universities. Comparative studies as a cognitive method has emphasised how one of the most innovative and fertile characteristics of feminism is its pluralism, which is based on the idea that all global summaries tend to amalgamate the complexity and multiplicity of female identity. The comparative studies practised by women will never be monolithic, precisely because the theoretical thought, culture and literature of women are formed by a set of knowledge bases which are born in social and political contexts very different from each other: knowledge

4 Among the Italian PhD programs in the field of Women's and Gender Studies I would like to mention Dottorato di Ricerca in Studi di Genere, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II: www.genderstudiesphd.unina.it.

bases which are transmitted from one continent to another with very fertile results and hybridisation.

At the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures in Bologna (now with the new Italian reform 'School of Languages and Literatures, Interpreting and Translation'), our research and teaching experience has always had a European scope, favoured by the influx of foreign lecturers and students arriving from European universities and allowing the comparison between the different teaching methods.

The complex problem of the migration of *savoirs*, and the more practical one of migration in Europe make a multicultural perspective necessary: a perspective moreover that favours a theoretical approach to multiculturalism, and that does not limit itself simply to the introduction in the curricula and syllabuses of postcolonial or Afro-American criticism and literature. There is an urgent need for a 'translation' of experiences (e.g. postcolonial or Afro-American) that takes into account the differences of European culture's historical experiences, investigates the different issues and produces studies and analyses of multiculturalism in Italy and Europe. Yet again the transdisciplinary quality of Women's and Gender Studies, linked to Comparative Studies, can constitute a powerful instrument for the elaboration of new conceptual paradigms.

As regards Bologna and our specific situation at the School of Languages and Literatures, Interpreting and Translation, we have organised seminar courses in Women's and Gender Studies addressed to Erasmus and our own students from 1989 onwards, but we found ourselves obliged to graft them on to the English Language and Literature Course, since the subject did not possess a juridical existence. In that year we created the *Women's and Gender Studies Permanent Course* linked to Erasmus projects based on the mobility of students and teaching staff coming from various European universities (Utrecht, Odense, York, Dublin, Athens, Paris, London, Madrid, Antwerp), and to the ATHENA Network (based at Utrecht University). Together with the universities of the Erasmus and Socrates networks, with the Women's and Gender Studies thematic webs (ATHENA)[5] and those of

5 ATHENA was a network on Women's Studies, coordinated by Rosi Braidotti of Utrecht University and linked to A.O.I.F.E., the Association of Institutions

Comparative Studies (COTEPRA, ACUME1 and ACUME2[6]), the *Permanent Course* has also hosted a summer school of European Women's and Gender Studies, having multicultural perspectives, and participated in the summer schools on Women's and Gender Studies organised by Utrecht and Bologna. From the *Course's* experience the summer schools were born, always in collaboration with the European network for Women's and Gender Studies (Utrecht, Bologna, Madrid, Paris, York, Dublin, Thessaloniki, Åbo, Odense), and they have enabled students and teachers coming from diverse backgrounds to compare different historical contexts and socio-political realities. The summer schools were attended also by students and lecturers from Eastern Europe, which has contributed to the creation of a realistic image of the state of Women's and Gender Studies in the whole of Europe. In addition, the summer schools have always had a transdisciplinary organisation, including scientific subjects such as biology and natural sciences.

The seminars have enabled students and teachers to confront each other with the main theoretical debates on cultural traditions and critical methods of Women's and Gender Studies, maintaining a multicultural, transdisciplinary and multimedia approach. To cross the boundaries between literary genres and disciplines, to bridge the gap between different cultures and eliminate the dichotomy that has been created in Western thought between high and low culture are amongst the routes that are deemed most important in women's thought, together with a rethinking of traditional fields of knowledge by means of a hermeneutical process that includes women in their being 'different' and those subjects that were once defined as 'marginal'. From the didactic and research experiences linked to the permanent Gender and Women's Studies Seminar critical and methodological texts

for Feminist Education and Research in Europe, of which Bologna University is a member.

6 COTEPRA (network on comparativism), ACUME1 (on cultural memory), and ACUME2 (Interfacing Science, Humanities and Literature), all coordinated by Vita Fortunati (Bologna). These thematic networks have formally strengthened both the link between the various Women's Studies courses in Italy and Europe, and those between comparative studies. The union between the thematic networks has produced teaching modules that call for the mobility of lecturers of the various universities, both European and extra-European.

were created, such as the first critical anthology in Italian, *Critiche femministe e teorie letterarie*, published in 1997 (Baccolini et al).

2. A few examples of the content of our modules and seminars may also illustrate the aim of our research. The analysis of the theories and the methods linked to Women's and Gender Studies, in stressing the comparative critical and methodological set-up, confronts the main interpretative categories in a transdisciplinary way, starting from women's cultural traditions, up to their connections with the most recent intercultural studies. In this context the relationship between genres and gender is useful in order to explain the link between canonising operations and ideological systems. The emphasis on the rewriting of the body and on nomadic thought deepens the complex relationship between dominant *savoirs* and cultures that are marginal or marginalised at different epistemological, hermeneutic and political/cultural levels. The study of Afro-American criticism in the teaching of Women's and Gender Studies in Europe foregrounds the critical and methodological instruments that are most relevant to the construction of a European thought open to other cultures. The complex issue of exile – of belonging, of alienation and of the relationships between different ethnic groups – is analysed also with the tools of postcolonial criticism and cultural anthropology. The issue of otherness and of identity is taken as an example, at a theoretical level, in contexts in which differences are in direct contact, in order to tackle the complex issue of the relationship between *identity* and *alienation*, *belonging* and *exclusion*. The link between *Women's and Gender Studies* and *Cultural Studies* has always been fundamental for explaining the construction of the critical methodology of Women's and Gender Studies, not to mention the need for a transversal debate amongst the various disciplines. Amongst the topics treated we would like to mention the following: 1) Comparative Studies and Cultural Studies: analysis of the various critical theories and methods, 2) Translations and metamorphoses in the migration of different *savoirs* between Women's Studies in Europe and the USA: comparative critical analysis, 3) Exile, belonging, nomadism: the impact of postcolonial criticism on women's literature, 4) Revisions of the literary canon, 5) Women's and Gender Studies: genealogies, methods and theories in various traditions of criticism, 6) Nomadic subject and 'situated knowledge': revisions of marginalisation.

The strength of Women's and Gender Studies is in fact that of offering transversal paths and, above all, of re-crossing the various *savoirs* from a gender-hermeneutical perspective. What has emerged after feminism's first phase is the importance of considering gender as linked to other categories, such as ethnicity, class and sexual preference. In harmony with scholars that operate in various cultural contexts, we think that Women's and Gender Studies offer the opportunity of confronting certain pivotal conceptual issues of our age: multiculturalism, the relationship between different fields of knowledge, between hegemonic cultures and minority ones, the body, and in particular the difficult attempt at finding a common basis between women and different cultures, without assimilating differences. The problem consists in valorising the different cultures women belong to with the awareness of belonging nevertheless to a common tradition. It is the sense of belonging to this common tradition that gives women the strength to leave marginality and to construct a social force that cannot be isolated without much difficulty.

Women's and Gender Studies can thus be considered as a complex discourse – in the sense that Foucault and feminist scholars have taught us – where different *savoirs* interact, involving issues related to power and to the different roles that men and women play in society. The comparison between different *savoirs* and belonging favours the capacity of being able to translate and move easily beyond disciplinary borders and areas that have for too long been kept separate and rigidly fixed. In this sense we hope that transversal courses can be a useful tool for implementing innovation at the university level. Innovation means creating new teaching materials and teaching new transdisciplinary modules, making academic knowledge no longer fixed to disciplinary classification, which remains anachronistically the same, despite the quick changes in knowledge.

The most recent result (2007) in the teaching of Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Bologna is its inclusion in the European Master GEMMA. GEMMA Erasmus Mundus Master's Degree in Women's and Gender Studies is a joint European multidisciplinary program which provides high quality academic education and professional competencies for students wanting to conduct further research or intending to work in the areas of Women's Studies, Gender Studies and equal opportunities.

This European Master is unique in the way it brings together approaches to feminism from different European perspectives. Created as a result of concerted efforts on the part of several universities working together within the Socrates Thematic Network ATHENA, it utilises the expertise on postgraduate studies of all the institutions involved. In its composition the GEMMA consortium represents the harmonisation of seven different institutions from six different European countries: University of Granada (coordinator), University of Bologna, Central European University (Budapest), University of Hull, University of Lodz, University of Oviedo and University of Utrecht. GEMMA is thus the fine tuning of North European, South European and Central European higher education institutions where Women's and Gender Studies is one of the main elements in their postgraduate offer. The innovative character of this project consists in offering courses which explore women's issues through the politics of location through transdisciplinary methodologies. The various courses deal with the crucial issues of feminisms experienced in all cardinal parts of Europe, such as women's migration, violence on and exploitation of the female body, traumatic experiences in recent conflict areas, equal opportunities in education, careers and job market, discrimination in sexual orientation, religious prejudices, equal access to justice. As for the methodologies, the category of gender is examined with other axes of differences such as race, class, ethnicity, age, and sexuality. Within this frame, the methodology of *intersectionality* is essential. In each partner university, the Master's courses explore not only the different historical traditions of feminism in Europe, but also the main trends in contemporary gender theories such as: the comparison between French and Anglo-American Feminism, European *vs*. Trans-European Feminisms, Postcolonial and Cultural Studies, Cyberfeminism, Queer, Lesbian and Gay Studies.

An innovative element in this Master is the mobility offered to the students and scholars. The students' mobility allows them to select their field of research and specialisation according to their intellectual and practical skills, while scholars' mobility stimulates and develops different competences and expertise. This is another added value for the Master's students, since they practice a dialogical and open approach to feminist knowledge. After this positive experience the GEMMA Consortium has recently received a grant from the European Commission (Lifelong Learning Program LLP

Edges) in order to develop a model of a joint European PhD on Women's and Gender Studies.

3. Women's and Gender Studies in Italy have a distinct specificity, linked to the history and tradition of our own context, accordingly nuanced in each region, in the North and the South. It is useful to illustrate this with a significant example. Oral culture, such as folklore, which is so important in women's world, has been recently analysed by women scholars as a category to be deconstructed, because if it is true that it identifies the specific cultural heritage of minorities and preserves the memory of its own identitary roots, it is also true that such a heritage has been ideologically used to keep women in a subaltern state. (See for example the research of Daniela Corona at the University of Palermo.)

Women's Studies challenge fossilised knowledge; it is not by chance that one of the founding concepts of a great American poet and critic, Adrienne Rich, was that of *re-vision*, the act of looking at history with new eyes, of observing knowledge from new critical perspectives. For Rich, the act of re-gazing becomes an act of survival. Part of the project of revision consists not only in investigating Western history from a perspective that is no longer andro- and Euro-centric, in making the so-called mainstream culture interact with the once marginalised ones, but also in eliminating the separation between high culture and low culture, between different artistic codes, from cinema to television, from comics to spoken tradition. (See for example the research of Ornella De Zordo, University of Florence, and Mirella Billi, Tuscia University.)

In this direction, Italian research and didactics have centred on an analysis of the main critical methods of Gender Studies and of theories of culture, together with the re-reading not only of texts written by women, but also of classics (Maria del Sapio, University of Rome III, Laura di Michele, University of Aquila, and Gilberta Golinelli, University of Bologna) and of so-called postcolonial texts (Giovanna Covi, University of Trento, and Eleonora Rao, University of Salerno). Studying the impact of Women's and Gender Studies on literary studies, postcolonial criticism and Cultural Studies has brought about a re-discussion of the relationship between different *savoirs* and cultures when put into contact with one another (Carla Locatelli, University of Trento, Lidia Curti, University of Naples, and Laura Di Michele, University of Aquila).

These critical debates have also the aim of re-discussing a possible redefinition of European identity in a multicultural setting. The usual categories of gender, the issue of race and ethnos, of sexual difference and its various constructs are thus put in connection with the relationship between identity and otherness, with processes of hybridising, and with the issues brought on by subjectivity and agency. In this field, some themes, certainly crucial in Women's and Gender Studies, have revealed themselves as essential to connect critical and literary genealogies and traditions to future research prospects. Amongst these we would like to list the re-writing and the subversion of literary genres, the use of the theme of the body and its re-writing as a source of subjectivity, as a sign of the construction of different discursive processes (Nicoletta Vallorani, Milan University). A complex issue is the so-called 'nomad subjectivity', which has been examined as a relocation of the concept of margins and of centre, a mobile and multifaced category that indicates the fluidity of the concept of gender, and, at the same time, the necessity for a dynamisation of knowledge (Paola Zaccaria, University of Bari, Liana Borghi, University of Florence, and Maurizio Calbi, University of Salerno). The body, materiality and sexuality envisaged as discourses linked to the construction of the self and its identity refer to processes of deconstruction of stereotypes and clichés involving the female body. At the same time, to talk of the re-writing of the body means finding new pictures of the self and of one's own materiality, freeing women from the constrictions that traditional images of the body have built upon them. The body becomes thus the place not of the biological differences, but the incarnation of historical and cultural differences of the subject. An important element for the rethinking of our cultural system is finding new representations of reality, capable of breaking the double thought and the reproduction of traditional symbols (Nicoletta Vallorani, University of Milan, Annamaria Lamarra, University of Naples Federico II, and Vita Fortunati, University of Bologna).

Another important line of research in Italy is 'Cultural Memory and Oblivion in Women's and Gender Studies'. Taking its start from an analysis of the social, political and cultural functions of memory, the research focuses on some conceptual crux. It particularly takes into consideration the relationship between the (re)construction of the past, the written or recounted experiences of women, individual stories and collective history (Rita Monticelli, University of Bologna). The study of family stories and

sagas, for example, is examined as an epic re-reading, embracing the old and the new through the recounting of the histories of individuals and the communities. In these sagas, realistic style and symbolic language, oral culture folklore and classical tradition all come together in the attempt to depict female experience in all of its complex aspects. History is thus re-read through the stories of women and of other marginalised groups.

Women's autobiography has been studied from the point of view of gender highlighting how it has followed the various stages of feminist critical theory from structuralism to post-structuralism, from deconstruction to neo-historicism. Furthermore women's autobiography has been analysed from the point of view of 'memory studies'. One of the central concepts emerging from recent studies on memory is that it is not a fixed, monolithic entity, but a dynamic, fluid one: it changes in relation to the different phases of a woman's life. From this important concept there emerges the idea that autobiography spotlights how the moulding process of woman's identity, of her subjectivity is not only stratified in time, but depends upon the different political and socio-historical contexts in which the reminiscing woman is set at the moment (Vita Fortunati, University of Bologna).

Amongst the events of the past, conflicts between nations are endowed with particular significance, being periods subject to great celebrations, both preceding and following the events themselves. Traditionally excluded from the genre of war literature and its archives of memory, women's war testimonies are studied both as historical documents and as critical literary and cultural reconstructions. Women's memory is thus a criticism of oblivion and of marginality, and not only a testimony and a recovering of female genealogies and experiences.

Cultural memory is also studied together with forms of oblivion, since both have an ambivalent meaning in women's culture. The leading strain in women's memory is found in the intention to acquire, recover and transform the past as a preparation for the future and an awareness of the present. Through deconstruction and the retrieval of memory, oblivion, amnesia and nostalgia, women's writings, in particular dystopias and slave narratives, propose a constant critical re-reading of official History (Rita Monticelli, University of Bologna, and Giulia Fabi, University of Ferrara). The reading of texts that are defined as transcultural and multicultural (on the plane of the motives and contexts) highlights the double function of

memory, as a reconstruction of the past and a retrieval of one's origins, but also as a possible mystification of the same. Women's cultural memory will thus be studied in transcultural texts as a threshold and a mediation between different experiences and contexts. In questioning the meaning that the memory of one's roots has in a world of cultural hybridisation, and in reflecting on what the language of submerged cultures, the language of legends, of dreams, of spoken tales, personal and family epics teaches us today, women give complex, anti-rhetorical answers. In this perspective, the link between differences, whether of gender or of ethnos, class, sexual preferences of different geographical or political contexts, constitutes a fundamental analysis of the routes of women's memory. The connection between different styles, between popular cultures and learned registers, written and oral culture, myths and fables marks the course of the writings of women's memory, indicating a necessity for the transgression of genre boundaries as mirrors of gender boundaries.

By the late 1980s biography started to be studied as a distinctive genre and considered as a useful instrument in the interpretation of the literary text. This revaluation of biography was helped by the interest in this genre within Women's and Gender Studies. Many Italian scholars have dedicated their research to trying to reconstruct the historical and socio-political context of women poets and writers together with their psychological inner life (Nadia Fusini, University of Florence, Barbara Lanati, University of Torino, and Marina Camboni, University of Macerata). Biography is an ambiguous genre, because the relationship between biographer and biographee is always ambivalent, located between the two poles of love and veneration for the biographee and, at the same time, a desire for detachment and the anxiety of her influence. The devouring relationship the woman biographer builds with the object of her narration can acquire voyeuristic features, since like a voyeur, the biographer is possessed by an obsessive will to see, to penetrate the hidden recesses of the life and the psyche of the object of her research. At the same time, she cannot avoid establishing an empathic relation with the biographee, since they must cohabit for a very long space of time. Biography has also fostered in many women researchers their creative writing: in Italy we witness this interesting phenomenon that a large number of scholars are also poets and novelists such as Bianca Tarozzi, Nadia Fusini, and Nicoletta Vallorani.

Another important new line of research is 'Translation and Gender' that studies not only the role of women translators in the different historical contexts but also faces theoretical and practical issues (Oriana Palusci and Eleonora Federici, University of Naples, and Vanessa Leonardi, University of Ferrara).

In conclusion what emerges in my brief survey of the main Italian lines of research in Women's and Gender Studies is that there is a great gap between its high level of specialisation and originality and still its invisibility as an institutionalised discipline.

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Western and Central Europe

Florence Binard

Beyond Invisibility and Bias: English Women's and Gender Studies in France[1]

1. Women's and Gender Studies in France: A General Overview

As in most other Western countries, the history of women's and gender studies in France has its roots in the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1970s and is marked by its closeness to feminism.

However, in France this history should also be viewed in the context of its relationship with the protests of students and intellectuals in May 1968, which brought about a substantial transformation of the university system that had existed since the end of the 19th century. This system was strongly structured along traditional disciplines anchored in the prestigious Sorbonne University, which attracted the best professors and students. The teaching of these disciplines was – and still is – based on passing the 'agrégation', a national competitive exam, followed by a PhD thesis, which on average required about ten years of research work.[2] Bearing in mind this constrained structure, specific to France, the difficulties encountered by women's and gender studies – characterised by their pluridisciplinary approach – can be better understood. It must be added that French universities were entirely dependent for their funding on the Ministry of National Education and on the Ministry of Research. As a consequence, contrary to what was happening, for example, in the United States or Germany, where

1 I would like to thank all the colleagues who kindly replied to my emails and questionnaires about their experiences of women's and gender studies within English studies. My special thanks go to Françoise Barret-Ducrocq for her helpful comments, additions and insightful criticism of this chapter. I am also grateful to Martine Spensky, who gave me valuable documents, and to Clare Doyle and Michel Prum for their proofreading.

2 Since the Savary law of 1984, the length of the research period has been reduced to three years in order to comply with the PhD requirements in other Western countries.

universities could rely on private or regional funding to develop such an innovative field as women's and gender studies, French universities could not.[3]

Nevertheless, this did not mean that women's and gender studies were absent from the French academic scene. Indeed, a few months after the events of May 1968, on November 12th, Edgar Faure's framework law on higher education was voted on. It led to the fragmentation of the Sorbonne into nine, and then thirteen, autonomous universities. Two among these, Paris 7, now called Paris Diderot-Sorbonne Paris Cité, and Paris 8, previously at Vincennes, adopted teaching as well as research policies that were breaking with the tradition, notably in the field of women's and gender studies. The University Paris 8-Vincennes, which opened its doors on December 8th 1968, soon distinguished itself by its intellectual effervescence. Two of its internationally most renowned professors were Michel Foucault and Hélène Cixous, but others such as Luce Irigaray, Michel Serres or Gilles Deleuze should also be mentioned. The pluridisciplinary University Paris 7 was founded on January 1st 1971 and counted in its ranks Michelle Perrot, Julia Kristeva, Rita Thalmann and Françoise Barret-Ducrocq. It was in these new universities, which attracted individuals keen on developing new scientific approaches, that women's studies emerged in the early 1970s. These female scholars, who had been recruited following the institutional procedure ('agrégation' plus PhD), introduced courses on women and feminism within the official syllabuses but, more importantly, they organised non-official research groups. Indeed, their respectable status in the eyes of the university authorities gave them the freedom to organise women-only meetings, to which female academics and researchers, co-opted on the basis of their feminist commitment, were invited. These groups pioneered women's studies in France and, in most cases, established themselves in the left-leaning universities.

In an article written in 1995, Dominique Fougeyrollas noted that whereas feminists of previous generations had fought against any kind of imprisonment in the so-called 'woman's question', the feminists of the 1970s were claiming the right to exclude men from their groups. This, she

3 Private funding, mainly dedicated to medical and scientific research, appeared in France in the 1980s, and regional funding was made possible by the Decentralisation Law of 1982.

explained, would have a marked impact on future strategies, notably on the necessity to distinguish research and teaching from the feminist movement whilst acknowledging the permeability between the two (Fougeyrollas 1995: 121–30).

The first courses were organised by women who were both academics and feminist activists, many of whom were taking part in the demonstrations of the Women's Liberation Movement in the early 1970s, and the courses were, at first, for the most part, extra-curricular and attended almost exclusively by female students eager to learn about women. According to historian Michelle Perrot, it took great courage for male students to sit on these courses where patriarchy was attacked from all sides, and although male researchers were not and could not be excluded by law, very few ventured into the field, either because they felt they were unwelcome or most commonly because they thought the subject did not concern them (Perrot 2001: 13–21).

In their early stages, women's studies in France were thus the realm of women. But dissension within feminist ranks was rife. As underlined by Françoise Barret-Ducrocq, the debates surrounding research on women were heated ones. They opposed those who thought that feminist studies had their place within academic institutions (universities and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / CNRS[4]) to those who feared a dilution of feminism within a male-dominated and sexist environment: 'Many were of the opinion that carrying out research and discoursing on women in as phallocratic places as universities was bound to irrevocably compromise the cause of women' (Barret-Ducrocq 2001: 33). To a certain extent, both sides had a point, as the first female lecturers and professors teaching women's studies had to fight on two fronts. Claude Zaidman remembered how they had to struggle within academic institutions to try and convince the authorities as well as their peers of the legitimacy of theoretical work on women and feminism, and how, on the other hand, they had to deal with internal conflicts regarding the development of their field of research whilst at the same time having to face antagonistic feminist groups (Zaidman 2001: 78).

4 CNRS is the largest governmental research organisation in France.

As academics, they were confronted with the paradoxical difficulty of defending the scientific value and validity of their research and of feminist studies within institutions which they strongly criticised and condemned on account of their claims to objectivity.

Although, from their standpoint, these claims to objectivity were clearly biased and, despite working in rather hostile environments where they were accused of producing militant and therefore non-academic work, they were convinced that not only did they have their place in universities and research centres but that, on a political and pragmatic level, it was crucial that they fight the system from within. Françoise Picq recalls that they were discussing their roles in relation to institutions and that they would conclude: 'You cannot escape institutions, you fight and you debate within them!' (Picq 2001: 23).

During the 1970s several non-official research groups were established in universities throughout France. The first one was the Centre d'Etudes Féminines de l'Université de Provence / CEFUP at Aix-Marseille in 1972, which organised the first women's studies conference entitled 'Les femmes et les sciences humaines' in 1975. That same year, thanks to the pragmatic approach of Michelle Perrot and Françoise Basch, the Groupe d'Etudes Féministes / GEF was created at Paris 7. It was a research group which excluded men.[5] By the early 1980s there existed similar groups in most major French cities: Paris, Marseille, Lyon, Nantes, Toulouse, and Tours (Picq 2005: 4–5). The names given to the different groups testify to the diversity of the approaches and to their various standpoints. Some focussed on women and femininity, others on feminism; some adopted a pluridisciplinary approach, while others centred on a single discipline (women and history, women and anthropology, women and mathematics etc.)

The first feminist national conference, held at the University of Toulouse-Le Mirail in 1982 and entitled 'Femmes, féminisme et recherches' marked a turning point and is regarded as the first step towards the institutionalisation of women's studies in France. The conference benefitted from the support of the newly elected left-wing government. It was subsidised by the Minister of Research Jean-Pierre Chevènement and the Minister of

5 *Vingt-cinq ans* (2001), 191–96.

Women's Rights Yvette Roudy, and supported by the French anthropologist Maurice Godelier, then director of the first department of human and social sciences in the CNRS. The conference met with great success, as it gathered over 800 participants; 144 papers were presented and published in an 1100-page document (AFFER 2004). Yet, despite these achievements, the aftermath of the Toulouse conference did not meet the expectations of a number of feminist researchers, who were disappointed with the pace of development. It must be underlined that the French university system was, and still is, to a large extent, highly centralised and dependent on the Ministry of Higher Education, which means that it is extremely difficult for universities to implement new measures without the approval of the government. This includes the creation of new courses, which require the accreditation of the ministry, but also the establishment of new disciplines.

In the wake of the conference, the Ministry of Women's Rights and the CNRS financed an ATP (Action Thématique Programmée) dedicated to research on women and feminism for a four-year period. As underlined by Hélène Rouch, this ATP was a major step forward and testified to a strong theoretical stance in a context when most female academics had only been able to do feminist research by disguising the titles of their projects – the only way to be tolerated by their institutions – and when a great number of female researchers worked outside of universities and official research centres (Rouch 2001: 102). Maurice Godelier, the director of the department of human and social sciences declared:

> Such a programme signifies […] firstly, to acknowledge the scientific importance of this domain, secondly, to assert the legitimacy from a militant point of view, from a feminist point of view, from a point of view which does not simply consist of accumulating analyses of the reality for the sole sake of knowing it, but which stresses its refusal to accept this reality as it is in order to transform it.[6]

The scientific committee set up a call for projects along three axes: axis A was concerned with the 'Critical Analysis of the Conceptualisation of the Sexes'; axis B with 'Women, the State, Law and Society'; and axis C with the 'Women's Movement, Women's Practices'. Out of 130 proposals received, 68 projects were selected and all were completed with very few exceptions.

6 Godelier quoted in Picq 2005, transl. F. Binard. All translations from French in this chapter are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

The vast majority of the projects were carried out within the field of the humanities and social sciences – only two dealt with experimental science, one in anthropological physics and the other in biology. This paucity of French feminist production in the hard sciences as compared with that of the United States or other European countries could be explained, according to Hélène Rouch (herself a biologist), by the rampant misogyny in the field of hard sciences in France (Rouch 2001: 110). Another point of interest concerning this ATP was that although the aim of the scientific committee was to develop multidisciplinarity, only six projects comprised researchers working in clearly distinct disciplines. And when the programme came to an end, despite its enormous success, contrary to what had been hoped, no cross-disciplinary commission allowing the visibility of the field was set up, no feminist research post was created within the CNRS (Picq 2005: 10). In 1984, however, Yvette Roudy's Ministry of Women's Rights negotiated the creation of four university posts in feminist studies with the Ministry of National Education. Only three of the four posts were created: one in private law at the University of Rennes, one in sociology at the University Paris 7, and one in history at the University of Toulouse-Le Mirail. The fourth one in political science at the University of Nantes met with such opposition from the recruiting committee that it remained vacant (Picq 2005: 11). Claude Zaidman[7] remarked that the institutional decision to create posts in feminist studies within specific disciplines[8] led to the prioritisation of their research fields by feminist researchers. For instance, the Centre d'Enseignement, d'Etudes et de Recherches pour les Etudes Féministes / CEDREF at Paris-Diderot / Paris 7, headed by a professor of sociology was – and to some extent still is – composed of members whose main discipline varied and whose main research laboratory was not the CEDREF. As a consequence, they considered themselves as historians, linguists, philosophers etc., and only secondarily as specialists of women's / feminist /

7 Claude Zaidman (1943–2005) held the first chair of feminist studies in sociology at the University of Paris 7.

8 The French university system is organised along strong disciplinary lines. In order to apply for a job within a given university, researchers must first be qualified by one of the 87 sections of the Conseil National des Universités / CNU, which correspond to 87 disciplines (cp. CNU). Women's, feminist or gender studies are not on the list and therefore do not form a distinct discipline.

gender studies (Zaidman 1995: 131–37). As these researchers had not been recruited on account of their interest in feminism or gender studies, they were not replaced in the CEDREF when they retired. The recruitment of CEDREF members was – and still is – entirely dependent on the personal involvement of individual researchers. On the whole, because feminist or gender studies departments did not exist in French universities, these fields remained institutionally weak, even though they generated interest among students and researchers. According to Marie-Jo Bonnet,[9] the failure to develop women's studies departments in France largely lay with established female professors who were eager to safeguard the recognition of their peers and who, consequently, vetoed the creation of such departments on the grounds that they would result in a 'feminist ghetto' within French academia (Bonnet 2001: 51).

In September 1988, a resolution of the European Parliament on 'woman and research' stipulating that member States created chairs and developed women's studies gave a new impetus to the institutionalisation of this field of research in France. The resolution was an incentive for the development of European networks, which required national umbrella associations. In this perspective, several French regional feminist organisations founded in the wake of the Toulouse conference decided to join together organising a national co-ordinating body. The Association Nationale des Etudes Féministes / ANEF was thus created in 1989. 'Its aim is to develop and promote feminist studies in all the disciplines. It gathers together lecturers, researchers, students and anyone involved in feminist studies on women, gender and gender issues' (ANEF 2014: 14).

In the mid-1990s, once again spurred on by international pressure, in this instance by the Fourth World Conference on Women that took place in Beijing, the French Ministry of Women's Rights decided to subsidise a survey of research on 'women and relations between the sexes' in France. Thus, under the scientific leadership of Danièle Senotier and Nathalie Cattanéo,

9 Marie-Jo Bonnet is the author of over ten books, among which *Les relations amoureuses entre les femmes du XVIe au XXe siècle* (1995) and her latest, *Plus forte que la mort: l'amitié féminine dans les camps* (2015).

the GEDISST-CNRS[10] compiled the first directory of researchers employed in France and working on gender issues, on 'rapports sociaux de sexe' (Cattanéo 1996).[11] Three hundred and sixty-eight, mostly female, researchers were listed. They had defined their disciplines and fields of research themselves so that the index of disciplines and fields comprised as many as a hundred and five different entries. Unsurprisingly, all, bar a few exceptions (in biology, epidemiology or mathematics), belonged to the humanities, and mostly to three disciplines: in first position came sociology, closely followed by history, and in third position, somewhat behind the other two, was English studies. It is interesting to note that 'gender' as a discipline or research field did not appear at all in this index. It did appear in the index of keywords; however, in view of the extremely small number of entries, it is clear that French researchers rarely used the word 'gender' at that time.

In 2000, the Association Nationale des Etudes Féministes / ANEF published their first directory. To a large extent, the presentation of the members was similar to that of the GEDISST-CNRS directory except that instead of 'relations between the sexes', the research fields and courses were clearly labelled as feminist. Twenty-three disciplines were listed as well as twenty research fields[12] and, in sharp contrast with the previous census, the research field entitled 'Gender Issues' gathered the highest number of entries.

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10 GEDISST-CNRS / Groupe d'Études sur le Division Sociale et Sexuelle du Travail. Arising from the research team Division sexuelle et sociale du travail, created in 1978, the GEDISST became a research laboratory in 1982. It was transformed and re-named as GERS (Genre et rapports sociaux) and is now part of the GTM (Genre, Travail, Mobilités) team of the CRESPPA (Centre de Recherches Sociologiques et Politiques de Paris).

11 This directory was re-edited two years later by the Ministry of Work and Solidarity.

12 Disciplines: Anthropology, Biology, Demography, Law, Economy, English Studies, Spanish Studies, French Studies, German Studies, History, History of Arts, Linguistics, Literature, Comparative Literature, Mathematics, Philosophy, Photography, Psychoanalysis, Psychology, Social Psychology, Educational Sciences, Political Sciences, Sociology.
Fields of research: Art, Development, Law, Education / Training, Spaces, Ethnicity, Family, Women's History, Language / Writing / Literature, Women's Movements, Philosophy, Power and Politics, Psychology / Psychoanalysis, Gender Issues, Religion, Sciences and Technology, Sexuality, Societies, Feminist Theories, Work and Employment.

For scientific as well as strategic reasons, the 1990s marked a shift in the use of the term 'gender' in France. Women's and feminist studies were often stigmatised and regarded as incompatible with a scientific approach, when they were not accused of excluding men. As underlined in the ANEF *Livre blanc*, the term gender may be used as a pertinent conceptual tool; however, in most cases, it is used to conceal such words as 'feminist', 'women' or 'sexes'. In some instances it is even used in a way that is devoid of any feminist perspective. However, from an institutional point of view, the term gender had been adopted by European institutions and had become a 'buzzword' that was required to obtain, notably, European funding (ANEF 2014: 28–29). In addition, it must be noted that although the concept remained (and still is) incomprehensible to many outside the field, it had, nonetheless, become a category of analysis for a new generation of researchers. As a matter of fact, developments in gender theories led to a broadening of the field of women's and feminist issues. Thus, in 2000, the national inter-university and cross-disciplinary network on gender, Réseau Interuniversitaire et interdisciplinaire National sur le Genre / RING was created. This network brought together research groups around scientific exchange programmes and / or the organisation of conferences and workshops. The creation of this network marked a step forward in the institutionalisation of gender studies in France, all the more so as in 2009, on the advice of the Ministry for Higher Education and Research, it became a federation whose aim was to coordinate teaching, research teams, but also isolated teachers or researchers (ANEF 2014: 23).

In the same period, in 2004, Jean Paul Huchon, President of the Conseil Régional d'Île de France appointed Marc Lipinski as Vice-President in charge of higher education, research, scientific and technological innovation. Open to feminist concerns, Marc Lipinsky conferred upon literature professor Eliane Viennot the task of developing, at regional level, research on women, sex and gender. After several months of consultation with gender specialists from Île de France universities, this mission led to the creation of the first French institute on women, sex and gender, the Institut Emilie du Châtelet / IEC,[13] of which Françoise Barret-Ducrocq became the first

13 Emilie du Châtelet was a renowned physicist and philosopher of the Enlightenment. The site of the IEC can be found in the bibliography as can those of the following centres, organisations etc.

President. The inauguration took place at the Collège de France under the patronage of the anthropologist Françoise Héritier, the historian Michelle Perrot and the literature Nobel Prize winner Toni Morrison. Since then the IEC has been structured into a research federation that gathers together seventeen research institutions including all Parisian universities. Every year it awards doctoral and postdoctoral grants to young researchers, it organises monthly conferences as well as yearly international conferences, and it also funds the translations into French of major foreign writings on gender.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, there has been a sharp increase in the interest shown for women's and gender studies in France. Several censuses have been carried out by the ANEF (2002, 2008) and by the CNRS (2011). The latter served as a data basis for the creation in 2012 of a GIS (Groupement d'Intérêt Scientifique) Institut du genre, which brings together most French labs and research teams working on gender and sexualities and which organised the first French congress on gender studies in Lyon in September 2014.

The government acknowledges the social and political relevance of gender studies:

> The bulk of the work that has been produced in France since the 1960s in the field of feminist and gender studies has contributed to political awareness and public action by the Ministry of Higher Education and Research in matters of equality, deconstruction of stereotypes and fight against discriminations. (ANEF 2014: 10 / F.B.)

Under the 2013 law pertaining to higher education and research, universities are required to set up commissions to fight against gender stereotypes and to promote gender equality at all levels. Parity is required on electoral lists of candidates, and a gender-balanced distribution of nominations to governing bodies must be applied. But similar top-down political measures regarding the creation of gender posts and courses would confer stronger legitimacy to gender studies. Indeed, although courses and research on gender studies in France are increasingly numerous, they often rely on the academic choices of individual lecturers and researchers and they often remain ill-identified and ill-identifiable.

The recognition that the development of feminist and gender studies concerns not just academia but society at large is beyond doubt, but it does not mean that all approve. Opposition to gender studies by the advocates

of the so-called 'differences between the sexes' or 'complementarity of the sexes' is not negligible, as shown, for example, by the campaign – backed by many right-wing politicians – against the 'ABCD de l'égalité', a primary school program aimed at fighting sexism and gender stereotypes (ABCD). A greater institutionalisation of feminist and gender studies in France may therefore be crucial to their long-term survival. In order to do so, however, the tensions between a mainstream approach and a gender-specific, albeit cross-disciplinary one, remain to be addressed. The example of English studies in France is an illustration of this question.

2. English Women's and Gender Studies in France: Past and Present[14]

If sociology and history have, for obvious reasons, constituted by far the largest pool of researchers on women and gender in France since the 1970s, English studies have come in third position and French scholars of English have played a significant role in their development. This is due to two main factors. English as a discipline is by nature pluridisciplinary, as it encompasses the fields of literature, history / culture and linguistics, which allows academics a greater freedom of choice concerning their fields of research. Secondly, their knowledge of the English language has proven a great asset for accessing the wealth of feminist and gender literature produced by American, British and other Anglophone scholars and has facilitated international exchanges and collaborations.

Undoubtedly the internationally most renowned French scholar of English, Hélène Cixous, who is now emeritus professor of literature at the University of Paris 8, was instrumental in the development and institutionalisation of feminist / feminine studies in France. In 1974, she founded the Centre de recherches en études féminines at the University of Vincennes,

14 The following presentation is only an initial insight into the development of English women's and gender studies in France. Other teams, groups or even individual researchers, not mentioned in this chapter, (have) no doubt played a significant role in promoting the field. Therefore, the chapter does not pretend to cover the whole spectrum. In fact, most of the history of English women's and gender studies in France remains to be traced, and the present chapter will hopefully inspire further research into this component of English studies.

the first of its kind in Europe (EGS). Now called Centre d'études féminines et d'études de genre, it remains one of the very few places in France entitled to award postgraduate degrees in the field. It offers a master's degree in 'Gender(s), theories of sex differences, and relations between the sexes' and is the only doctoral programme in gender studies available in France.

In the same period, however, several other scholars of English also played an important part in fostering women's studies. As early as 1970 a group of French feminist scholars attended the first National Women's Liberation Conference, which took place at Ruskin College, Oxford, possibly the biggest landmark in the British Women's Lib Movement. For the French feminists and researchers, the conference was a wonderful eye-opener. For the first time, they were witnessing a massive mobilisation of women. They met there feminist researchers they had known since 1968 and consolidated friendships as well as working relationships, which have lasted up to the present. Among them was Françoise Barret-Ducrocq,[15] who seized this opportunity to lay the foundations for several decades of cross-Channel relations with British scholars. Together with Antoinette Fouque, who created the publishing house 'Les éditions des femmes' in 1972, she contributed to the introduction of major works on women and gender in France. Françoise Barret-Ducrocq has translated into French Juliet Mitchell's *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* (1974); *Madmen and Medusas: Reclaiming Hysteria and the Effects of Sibling Relations on the Human Condition* (2000); Sheila Rowbotham's *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World* (1974)[16] and on several occasions invited renowned British feminist academics such as Ann Oakley, Juliet Mitchell, Sheila Rowbotham or Pat Thane.

At the end of the 1970s, another English scholar, Françoise Basch[17] took an important step in establishing cross-Atlantic relations. Together with

15 Françoise Barret-Ducrocq is emeritus professor of British history and feminist studies at Paris 7. From 2006 to 2010, she was the first President of the Institut Émilie du Châtelet. She is the author of many books and articles, among which *Love in the Time of Victoria* (1991) and *Le mouvement féministe anglais d'hier à aujourd'hui* (2000).

16 *Psychanalyse et féminisme* (1975); *Frères et sœurs: sur la piste de l'hystérie masculine* (2008); *Conscience des femmes, monde de l'homme* (1976).

17 Françoise Basch (1930-) was professor of American civilisation and feminist studies at Paris 7 (now University Paris Diderot-Sorbonne Paris Cité). She was a

Carol Smith-Rosenberg and Claudia Koons, she launched a large feminist project subsidised by the Rockefeller Center Foundation, which enabled them to organise, between 1978 and 1982, three seminars, during which different workshops took place. Two were held in 1978 and 1979 at the Moulin d'Andé in Normandy and one, in 1982, at Shaker Mill Farm (New York). Many of the women present at these seminars were to become prominent women and gender academics in France and the United States.[18] The immediate outcome of these seminars was two books, *Stratégies des femmes* (1984) and *Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change* (1986). In 2001, in an article revisiting these events, Françoise Basch underlined both the scientific character of the event and its social aspect. She concluded that the experience had led to long-term collaborations regarding both research and teaching in feminist studies (Basch 2001: 37–40). The series of seminars entitled '40 ans de recherche sur les femmes, le sexe et le genre' and organised by the Institut Emilie du Châtelet / IEC since 2008 is testimony of these collaborations. Françoise Barret-Ducroq has invited such guest speakers as Carol Smith-Rosenberg, Yasmine Ergas and Catharine R. Stimpson.

The 1980s and 1990s saw the creation of other research groups on women and gender in which scholars of English played a significant role. For example, the Equipe de Recherche Créativité et Imaginaire des Femmes / ERCIF was founded at the University of Bordeaux 3 in 1984 by two Americanists, Elisabeth Béranger and Ginette Castro.[19] From the start, the ERCIF had a pluridisciplinary policy and welcomed members of other disciplines, mainly French literature, drama and art. In 1987–88, it was granted a CNRS ATP, in order to take an inventory of publications on women's

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co-founder of the Groupe d'Études Féministes / GEF at Paris 7. She is the author of *Femmes victoriennes, roman et société 1837–1867* (1979) and of *Rebelles américaines* (1990).

18 On the American side one must add to the names of Smith-Rosenberg and Koons, those of Judith Friedlander, Rayna Rapp, Gayle Rubin, Martha Vicinus, Alice Kessler-Harris, Catharine R. Stimpson, and Yasmine Ergas. On the French side one may mention in addition to Basch, Françoise Barret-Ducrocq, Marie-Claire Pasquier, Michelle Perrot, Liliane Kandel, Françoise Picq, Geneviève Fraisse, Christine Fauré, and Marie-Jo Bonnet.

19 Ginette Castro is emeritus professor of American and women's studies at Bordeaux 3. She is the author of *Radioscopie du féminisme américain* (1984) and *Les femmes dans l'histoire américaine* (1988).

literature as well as of forgotten works written by women. In the words of Elisabeth Béranger, this led to exchanges with other researchers in Europe and the United States. The ERCIF benefitted from a good reputation and, thanks to the support of two successive presidents at Bordeaux 3, it became a laboratory attached to the doctoral school. This meant that it enjoyed a large autonomy regarding its scientific choices and the recruitment of its members, but more importantly, it was allocated an annual budget to finance its research. Although the quality of its work had been recognised by the Ministry of Higher Education and despite its achievements, the team lost its laboratory status in 2004 and was invited to join forces with another bigger laboratory (Béranger 2003: 21). It is now one of the six centres that compose the laboratory entitled CLARE / Cultures, Littératures, Arts, Représentations, Esthétiques. Contrary to research groups such as the GEF at Paris 7, the ERCIF claimed a feminine rather than a feminist approach. In 2003 Nicole Ollier, who was then director of the Master's in Anglophone studies, declared that

> Passion, commitment and social awareness never meant vehemence for these calm, collected and courteous women. The aggressiveness, the excess and sometimes the paranoia that characterised the attitude of some feminists across the Atlantic did not in the least contaminate the researchers at Bordeaux 3 (Ollier 2003: 17 / F.B.).

She even argued that caution was required regarding the application of the ERCIF research at BA degree level where 'any kind of gender bias might seem tendentious' (Ollier 2003: 17 / F.B.).

At Paris 8, several members of the English department were involved in women's and gender studies and research. In 1989, Martine Spensky[20] and Alisa Del Re from the University of Padua (Italy) created a bi-national research group on the State and gender issues and, in 1991, Martine Spensky edited a special issue of *Les cahiers d'encrages*,[21] entitled 'Etat et

20 Martine Spensky is emeritus professor of British 'civilisation' and women's studies. She edited *Les femmes à la conquête du pouvoir politique: Royaume-Uni, Irlande, Inde* (2001).

21 *Les cahiers d'encrages* was a journal published by the Department of English at Paris 8 between 1988 and 1993. Its focus was the world of work in Anglophone countries.

rapports sociaux de sexe'. The following year, another *Cahiers d'encrages* issue on war and social changes was mainly dedicated to women and war. It contained three contributions by British and American feminist scholars – Penny Summerfield, Margaret Higonnet and Janet Thumin – testifying to close collaborations with Anglo-Saxon researchers on women and gender.

Still at Paris 8, on the initiative of female students of English and of feminine and gender studies, Claude Cohen-Safir[22] founded, in 1989, Résonances-femmes, an association whose main interest lies in the interactions between gender and art and which publishes its own review entitled *Résonances*. Until 2012 it was hosted and subsidised by Paris 8, but sadly, when Claude Cohen-Safir retired, it was no longer institutionally possible and Résonances-femmes had to migrate to a new site. This state of affairs is one of the many instances illustrating the weaknesses of women's and gender studies that are not institutionally grounded, but instead rely on individual researchers to exist; when these retire, it frequently happens that, for lack of successors within their laboratories, their research groups cease to exist.

In the early 2000s, other groups were created. Among them was Femmes Auteurs Anglo-AMéricaines / FAAAM, co-founded in 2001 by Claire Bazin and Marie-Claude Perrin-Chenour. Initially centred on Anglo-Saxon literature, the group has widened its scope of interests to Western literature:

> With a special focus on women's writing strategies within and without the dominant literary currents in their home countries, this research group examines the practices of rewriting the canon of Western literature. At the beginning of the 21st century, it throws a new light on the question of the elaboration of a literary tradition specific to women writers, as Elaine Showalter or Ellen Moers have done for the feminine literature of the 19th century. (FAAAM)

The group organises monthly seminars and an international conference in June every year. Master's and doctoral courses are also linked to their activities.

Another notable example is Voix et voies de femmes. In 2002, Guyonne Leduc, whose professorial thesis (Habilitation à Diriger des Recherches / HDR) dealt with women's education in eighteenth-century England, in

22 Claude Safir is professor emeritus of American literature and gender studies at Paris 8. She is the author of *Cartographie du féminin dans l'utopie: de l'Europe à l'Amérique* (2000).

particular in Henry Fielding's works, was invited by the scientific board of her university (Charles de Gaulle-Lille 3) and by the director of her laboratory to set up a research group on women and gender. The initial impetus had come from the Government, whose wish was to develop such groups within French universities, without imposing (on them) stringent measures. Indeed, this 'soft' top-down approach meant that the Ministry of Higher Education did not have to create posts that were not deemed a priority by most universities. Voix et voies de femmes was thus formed in 2002. In 2009, 'Etudes sur les femmes, le sexe et le genre' was added to the name of that research team. It is a very successful pluridisplinary group that gathers a dozen researchers, half of whom are scholars of English. Since its creation, it has organised numerous workshops, seminars, conferences on a variety of subjects dealing with women and gender. A fair number of these scientific events have resulted in publications in the Harmattan book series 'Des idées et des femmes'. This (i.e. 30 volumes to date) has been edited by Guyonne Leduc since 1979, when she was asked by L'Harmattan to create it as a complementary series to 'La bibliothèque du féminisme'. The first volume was dedicated to the acts of an interdisciplinary conference that took place at Lille 3 in 1996 about women's education in Europe and North America between the Renaissance and 1848. Courses and seminars (Master's degree) started at Lille 3 as early as 1994, when Guyonne Leduc was appointed professor. In 2009, the first post of 'Maître de conférences' of 'Etudes sur les femmes, le sexe et le genre' in French English studies was created at Lille 3.

Most French universities host pluridisciplinary research groups on women and gender in which there are scholars of English. In some cases these researchers are prominent members who are able to influence research directions; in other cases they constitute a very small minority whose voice is consequently limited. The visibility of these research groups varies greatly, but most are invisible to students, who, at the very best, know of the existing groups within their own universities.

The Société Anglophone sur le Genre et les Femmes / SAGEF has sought to improve this situation. Founded in 2011 at the initiative of Françoise Barret-Ducrocq, Florence Binard and Guyonne Leduc, the SAGEF is an official association affiliated to the Société des Anglicistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur / SAES, itself a member of the European Society for the Study of

English / ESSE. Its aims are to provide a platform for French researchers in English studies, to develop and promote their research within French academia, and to foster cooperation between women and gender specialists in France and abroad. Since its creation, the SAGEF has regularly organised seminars at the SAES and ESSE congresses and has also run workshops at Lille 3 and Paris Diderot. It publishes the proceedings of its SAES seminars in the collection 'Des idées et des femmes'.[23] The SAGEF has a blog and a mailing list, which allows members to keep updated of its activities as well as to exchange information. This is particularly useful in a context where not only research groups are barely visible but specialists of women's and gender studies too.

The Société des Anglicistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur / SAES is the largest association of English studies academics in France. In December 2013 it could boast a membership of 2,305 (SAES 2013: 3). Out of these, only about 20 members mentioned women and / or gender as one of their research fields. Interestingly, even researchers who were (in some instances, still are) directors of research groups mainly dealing with women or gender studies had not mentioned 'women's studies' as part of their research fields. Yet, SAES members can mention up to five specialities on their membership form: three out of a list of 66 specialities in which 'gender studies' is included, plus another two of their choice. A computer generated search showed that there was not a single entry for either 'feminism/s' or 'sexuality/ies' and that 'feminine poetry' was the only specific field regarding 'women's studies' that was actually mentioned. This invisibility of women's and gender studies is revealing of the status (or the understanding of the status) of this research field within English studies. In reply to the question why they did not include 'women's and / or gender studies' as part of their specialities, SAES members offered several answers. Some explained that they had completed their membership forms at a time when it had not been possible to enter as many specialities as is now the case, and that out of negligence they had not updated their forms. Others contended that it had been a deliberate choice because they

23 Three volumes have been published so far: *Comment l'égalité vient aux femmes* (2012); *Littérature anglo-saxonne au féminin: (Re)naissance(s) et horizons XVIIIe siècle – XXe siècle* (2012); *Genre(s) et transparence* (2014).

felt that presenting themselves as specialists of 'American literature' or 'history of ideas' carried more prestige than 'women and gender'. Among these, some acknowledged that they were aware of the reticence of some colleagues regarding gender studies and therefore deemed it safer not to 'flaunt' this side of their research. It is interesting to note that this echoes the standpoint of researchers in other disciplines, who tend to consider themselves as historians, linguists, philosophers etc. and only secondarily as specialists of women's / feminist / gender studies. Still others admitted they had not even thought of it, without explaining why, but expressed the wish to remedy this omission. Finally, some explained that although a part of their research was dedicated to women and gender, they did not feel entitled to advertise this aspect of their work.

On account of their pluridisciplinary nature, compared to other disciplines, English studies are a privileged field to study gender issues. However, because of the perception of gender studies amongst English studies researchers, including a fair number of those working on women and gender, those specialising solely in feminist, gender or sexuality studies may find this choice to be an obstacle to their promotion.

At the end of the 1980s an assistant lecturer in English at a French university applying to have her post transformed into a senior lecturer job saw her application rejected because her work was seen as too narrowly centred on women's issues. The first scientific expert appointed by the Ministry of Higher Education wrote: 'Mrs X attached to her dossier twelve articles dealing with women's relations to money, work, motherhood, the State. These publications are quite uniform and somewhat too exclusively focussed on the feminine condition'.[24] The author probably did not see the irony of his enumeration, nor did he realise, in his poor knowledge of gender studies, that the term 'feminine condition' was rather dated from a feminist studies point of view. The second expert was even more openly dismissive and denigrating of women's studies in his report: 'The published articles build upon and further develop what seems to be Mrs X's main preoccupation, that is to say the feminine condition and its

24 'Madame X joint à son dossier douze articles traitant des femmes à l'argent, au travail, à la maternité, à l'Etat, publications très uniformes et un peu trop exclusivement centrés sur la condition féminine.'

twists and turns'.[25] The candidate obtained her promotion on re-applying the following year, but a decade later she was confronted with similar opposition when applying for a chair in an English studies department. The referee praised her for her numerous publications and collaborations with various research groups, but asked the following questions: 'Does it suffice for audiences studying English to treat the history of Great Britain solely through the lens of single mothers, or to consider the relations between men and women only from the angle of power, or even to only regard women as victims of capitalism, patriarchy etc.?'[26] The reproaches levelled at Ms X are barely implicit. Because of her subjective feminist stance and the supposedly narrow specialisation attached to it, it was assumed that Ms X was not suited to supervise research nor to deliver courses on British history and institutions. Interestingly, in their appraisal of Ms X's work, a CNRS director, specialising in gender studies, was laudatory and they concluded their report by saying: 'Her work opens up a multiplicity of bridges and ladders between disciplines, between objects of research and between countries'.[27] Ms X got a professorship, has since successfully delivered courses on British history and cultural studies, including 'agrégation' courses, and supervised PhD students.

If English studies are truly pluridisciplinary in France, the Langue, Littérature, Civilisation Etrangère en anglais / LLCE stream – which trains students specialising in English studies – has nonetheless been 'corseted' by the national system of competitive exams put in place to recruit teachers. As a matter of fact, teachers are civil servants employed by the Ministry of Education and must pass the CAPES (Certificat d'aptitude au professorat du second degré) or the more prestigious 'agrégation' in order to become fully qualified teachers. Each year the Ministry of National Education determines

25 'Les articles publiés prolongent et approfondissent ce qui semble être la préoccupation dominante de Mrs X: la condition féminine et ses péripéties'.

26 'Est-il suffisant pour les publics anglicistes que nous avons de ne traiter de l'histoire de la Grande-Bretagne qu'à travers le prisme de la situation des femmes mères célibataires, ou de ne considérer même les rapports hommes / femmes que sous l'angle du pouvoir ou même de ne voir les femmes que comme victimes du capitalisme, du patriarcat etc.?'

27 '[…] c'est une multiplicité de ponts, de passerelles, que le travail de Ms X ouvre, entre les disciplines, entre les objets de recherche, entre les pays'.

the number of candidates who will be allowed to pass these exams and until recently,[28] the syllabus changed on a yearly / two-yearly basis. The subjects studied in the curriculum were the same for both exams, except that for the 'agrégation' there were more and the required level of expertise was higher. But, basically, whether they were CAPES or 'agrégation' candidates, the students were asked to demonstrate a broad knowledge of Anglophone literature, history and culture as well as an excellent mastery of the English language and grammar. This led to the division of English studies in France into three main domains: literature, 'civilisation' (history, culture and institutions) and linguistics; literature and 'civilisation' being each subdivided into two narrower specialities: American and British. Although these three main domains are theoretically equal, they may be rated in a conservative hierarchical manner. It is perceived as more erudite to teach British literature than British civilisation or linguistics, but also more distinguished to teach Shakespeare than contemporary sci-fi. Similarly, within British civilisation it can be considered more prestigious to teach about History than contemporary culture, just as working on corpus or applied linguistics can be regarded as less impressive than theoretical linguistics.

This is probably rooted in the fact that, historically, studying English in France was mainly synonymous with studying Anglophone literature. The English 'agrégation' has existed since 1948, but linguistics as a speciality was introduced in 1970, and it was only in the mid-1970s that, thanks to Monica Charlot, 'American and British civilisation studies' were developed and introduced into the syllabuses of the CAPES and 'agrégation' competitive exams (D'Hellencourt 2005: 255–56).

On the whole, the syllabuses for the 'agrégation' testify to a rather conservative approach to English studies. The vast majority of the works studied in the literature option come under the category of 'great classics'[29] and over three quarters of these have been written by male authors. The years 2014 and 2015 have been exceptional (and maybe a sign that things are changing?), since three female authors have been selected: Frances Burney, Edith Wharton and H.D. (Hilda Doolittle). The topics on the syllabuses

28 In 2009, under the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy, the type of syllabus for the CAPES changed.

29 All 'agrégation' syllabuses include a play by Shakespeare.

for the 'civilisation' option tend to focus on History with a capital H, but culture has its place, especially regarding American 'civilisation' with such questions as 'Organised Crime on the Screen (1929–1951)' or 'The American Counterculture in the 1960s'.[30] In this context, it is hardly surprising that subjects pertaining to women's and gender studies are rarely chosen for the 'agrégation' syllabuses. At best, questions on women and gender are introduced in a mainstreaming approach, for instance, in 2001, the topic for British 'civilisation' was 'Poverty and Inequalities in Great Britain from 1942 to 1990' and one of the six themes to be studied included the sociological variables of 'gender, race, age etc.'. Nevertheless, there have been a few notable exceptions with 'Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*' in 1987; 'Feminism in the United States from 1848 to 1875: the Debate within the Movement' in 1995.

If the LLCE stream with its focus on the CAPES and 'agrégation' exams is often regarded as the most prestigious among academics of English and the one which recruits the vast majority of professors, there exist two other channels delivering courses in English studies and employing lecturers, senior lecturers and sometimes professors in English: Langues Etrangères Appliquées / LEA (mainly in commercial and translation studies) and LANgues pour Spécialistes d'Autres Disciplines / LANSAD, i.e. teaching English to students whose main discipline is not English. These two streams, LANSAD even more so than LEA, provide an environment in which lecturers may carry out research that has no direct link to the content of the courses they teach. As a matter of fact, for example, a lecturer teaching English to hard science or law students rarely conducts his or her research in these domains. This situation presents the disadvantage of not being able to teach one's research subject, but the advantage of having the freedom to pursue research in a more marginal domain than would be the case in an LLCE setting. However, as professorships in LEA and LANSAD are far less numerous than in LLCE, LEA or LANSAD senior lecturers seeking promotion are often obliged to apply for chairs in LLCE, where their teaching experience and non-conventional research may prove to put them at a disadvantage. The following conclusion to a report on an application

30 The 'agrégation' syllabuses for 2001–2015 are available on the site of e-Anglais and the list of works studied between 1946 and 1997 with AnglaisFacile.

for a professorship in British 'civilisation' by a gender specialist is an illustration of this state of affairs:

> Remarkable research dossier in the field covered, highly specialised. Lecturing experience in LANSAD / LEA hardly prepares for the teaching of the general curriculum required for the 'agrégation' in a provincial university where there is only one professor of British 'civilisation'. Excellent profile for a university well-staffed with professors who supervise research in narrow domains, but unsuited for the English institute of the University of X. For these reasons, the vote is unfortunately unfavourable'.[31]

The adjectives 'remarkable' and 'excellent' are quite laudatory of the quality of the research, and the adverb 'unfortunately' indicates that the referee deplores this situation. However, they justify their unfavourable judgement by underlining the fact that the candidate's teaching experience has been in LANSAD and LEA and not in LLCE, implying that the candidate is ill-equipped to train students for the 'agrégation'. Even if this were true (which is highly questionable), claiming that the main teaching duty of a professor at a 'provincial' university is to prepare students for the 'agrégation' is an admission that the system is conservative and elitist. In 2013 there were 167 posts for a total of 1024 candidates at the 'agrégation'.[32] On average, 'provincial' universities can boast a dozen 'agrégation' students; the vast majority choose to study in metropolitan universities where, indeed, there are more professors and, consequently, where they are more likely to be taught by specialists of the syllabus questions. A focus on the 'agrégation' by 'provincial' universities means that they are willing to fit in with the syllabus requirements imposed at a national level and that these teaching needs dictate their recruitment strategy more than research. Interestingly, the report does not mention explicitly the field of research – this might be interpreted

31 'Dossier de recherche remarquable dans le champ couvert, extrêmement spécialisé. L'enseignement en LANSAD / LEA ne prépare guère à l'enseignement généraliste pour l'agrégation qu'on attend dans une université de province de la part d'un professeur de civilisation britannique, où il est le seul. Profil excellent pour une université riche en professeurs qui encadrent la recherche dans des domaines étroits, mais inadapté à l'institut d'anglais de l'Université de X'. Pour ces raisons, l'avis est malheureusement défavorable.'

32 Official 'agrégation' statistics on the web site of the Ministère de l'éducation nationale.

as a sign that things are improving, that it is no longer possible to openly reject a candidature on the grounds of research on women and gender – but the adjectives 'highly specialised' and 'narrow' are somewhat surprising at this level of expertise, where professors are meant to be specialists.

If prejudices against women's and gender studies are on the decline, the field continues to suffer from an unconscious bias regarding its scientific worth. Because women's studies were born from the Women's Liberation Movement, which was a social protest movement, they are often considered ideological in nature and therefore perceived as lacking objectivity. At the heart of the matter lies the question of the opposition between the 'doxa' defined by Pierre Bourdieu as 'a specific point of view, that of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as universal' (Bourdieu 1994: 129) and a 'minority' point of view. Critical feminist thinkers and scholars have shown that there is no such thing as objectivity in science. One always observes from a given standpoint and, indeed, some standpoints may offer better views than others, but the crux of the matter is to identify and acknowledge one's subjectivities. Pierre Nora may have been overoptimistic when he declared: 'No-one ignores that acknowledging one's personal involvement with one's research offers a better protection than vain protests about objectivity'.[33] The confusion between a scientific approach and objectivity has not yet completely disappeared when it comes to women's and gender studies.

Recent changes in the format of the CAPES are likely to modify the contents of degree courses in LLCE. Instead of a syllabus based on that of the 'agrégation', the new CAPES questions are now linked to the national curriculum of secondary schools and concern two 'notions' and two literary 'themes' rather than specific topics. For the 2015 session, the two 'notions' are 'Modernity and Tradition' and 'Spaces and Exchanges', and the two 'themes' are 'The I of the Writer and the Playing-Game of Writing' (Je de l'écrivain et jeu de l'écriture) and 'The Imaginary'. The fact that the format of the competitive exams for prospective teachers needed to be improved is undeniable, but whether the changes brought about in recent years are for the better is questionable. However, the main point is that

33 'Nul n'ignore plus qu'un intérêt avoué et élucidé offre un abri plus sûr que de vaines protestations d'objectivité.' (Nora 1987: 6).

these modifications will *de facto* generate new course contents and possibly make room for the inclusion of a women's and gender studies point of view within the study of the 'notions' and 'themes'.

3. Conclusion

To a large extent, women's and gender studies in French academia owe their existence to the constant struggle of feminists who, by their individual and collective will, (have) succeeded in making a place for themselves within the CNRS and within universities and (have) developed the type of research they (have) deemed necessary to the advance of thought and society. In their early stages women's and gender studies developed 'bottom-up', from the Women's Liberation Movement. The limitations met by the pioneers of this field soon made them realise that without the support of the institutions they would be unable to ensure its future and make it a permanent feature across the existing disciplines. However, the choice of 'gender chairs' in various disciplines as opposed to the creation of specific women's and gender studies departments in French universities has meant that, to this day, there are only a few token women's and gender studies professors across France. If it is obvious that the feminist bottom-up pressure has been crucial in convincing the government to act in favour of gender equality, it is also clear that further top-down measures that would institutionalise gender studies in the long term are needed. In matters of gender equality, feminist lobbies throughout the world have contributed to the promotion of international institutional guidance at European and United Nations levels. This has encouraged the French government to promote gender studies and take measures in favour of greater gender equality within academic decision-making bodies and institutions. But more needs to be achieved in order to strengthen the field. The ANEF *Livre blanc* published in 2014 has made the following recommendations:

1. Provide reliable and sustainable data collection on gender courses in France.
2. Develop gender studies by encouraging the creation of new courses and degrees; by including gender questions in the syllabuses of competitive exams, by making permanent the existing chairs in women's and gender studies whilst creating more. Finally, the ANEF advocates the idea of

> a debate on the creation of a CNU gender studies section (the creation of gender studies as a discipline on its own)[34] that would complement gender courses and research carried out within other disciplines (ANEF 2014: 86 / F.B.).

The fact that there is no CNU section for gender studies means that PhD students have to complete their research in another existing discipline, if they wish their research to be institutionally recognised at CNU level. As a matter of fact, this institutional qualification is required to apply for a post as a senior lecturer or professor at a French university.

The development of women's and gender studies in French English studies has benefitted from the latter's pluridisciplinary nature, but it has relied more on individual than on institutional goodwill. It therefore remains largely up to such scholars to find ways of promoting the long-term institutionalisation of women's and gender studies within English departments. A lot of work is being done in this field, but more work needs to be done to further its development and to make it more visible in order to demonstrate the validity and pertinence of gender research and teaching within the discipline of English, so that this field be assessed on scientific grounds rather than on (un)acknowledged or (un)conscious biases.

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Marysa Demoor

Women's Studies in Belgium: Through the Gate of English Literature

1. Introduction

As in other European countries Belgium (re-)discovered the urgent need to redress the balance between men and women in the last decades of the twentieth century, starting in the 1970s. This happened on two fronts: there were the ideologically motivated women who wanted to see societal and political changes and organised themselves as pressure groups (such as VOK, Vrouwen Overleg Komitee, since 1972), and alongside those there were vocal politicians who worked to have women's issues on the agenda (e.g. Miet Smet became Minister of Emancipation in 1985 and Minister of Equal Opportunities in 1991), and then there was academia where women researchers joined forces to ensure that women too could aim for some of the most coveted jobs available and where research started to explore new avenues uncovering the achievements of women in the past and the present. The present overview aims to focus on what happened in academia.

2. National Context

Belgium is not a particularly remarkable country in the history of feminism and women's studies. Even so, it did have its own exceptional women in the late nineteenth century when the woman's cause was happening elsewhere or had happened; it too had women who made a mark for themselves in the fight for equal rights.

2.1 General Situation and Glimpses from History

Marie Popelin (1846–1913), the first Belgian woman to obtain a Law degree, joined forces with Isabelle Gatti de Gamond (1839–1905) in a sustained and noted attempt to establish schools for girls and women. A third woman who is consistently named in this context is Isala Van Diest (1842–1916), the first female physician. Yet changes in the law that

gave women career opportunities were introduced very slowly. And Belgian women were only to obtain the vote in 1948.

Curiously enough it was within the traditional parties that women first began to make some leeway in their struggle for equal opportunities and of those parties it seems the Flemish Catholic Party (CVP now CD&V) was to give them most opportunities. This paradox is easy to explain if one understands the socialists' conviction that women were bound to vote for the Catholic Party since they were considered to be the more church-going of the two sexes. The result was that societal changes benefiting women were often developed among Catholic women's organisations: the well-developed child care and crèches, for instance, are a boon to working women for which the Catholic Women's Society (KAV, Katholieke Arbeidersvrouwen, now renamed as Femma) is responsible. Apart from the consolidation of political efforts in the form of a federal minister for equal opportunities there was the establishment in 2002 of a federal Institute for the equality of women and men.

2.2 The Women's and Gender Studies of Belgium in General – Stages and Forms of Institutionalisation

The academic centres for women's studies started to pop up in Belgium in the late 1980s. The first one was the centre at the Free University of Brussels founded by the politician and professor in art history Lydia De Pauw-de Veen in 1988. After that auspicious start a whole series of centres popped up at the Universities of Brussels (ULB, 1989), Ghent (UGent, 1990), Antwerp (1980s) and this continued until well into the 21st century. The more recent centres were usually better institutionalised and funded by the respective university. Also, the absence of a centre at a university does not mean that there was no individual research on the subject with strongly motivated supervisors and young students who believed they had for themselves discovered the subject they cared most about.

All of the ongoing academic research as well as the finished research is archived, informed and supported by the umbrella organisation called Sophia established in 1990. Sophia was founded by a group of Dutch (Flemish) and French speaking academics, it therefore sports a double label 'Bicommunautair coördinatienetwerk vrouwenstudies – Réseau bicommunautaire

de coordination des études-femmes'. The activities of Sophia were strengthened in 1995 by the establishment of a resource centre called Amazone, headed by Bieke van Nuland. This was a resource and documentation centre of women's studies with its own meeting rooms.

In the meantime female academics started meeting in the context of co-teaching and co-supervising research. The University of Antwerp started teaching modules on 'women and society' from 1987 onwards. From 1994 this was transformed into a full-blown postgraduate women's studies with the collaboration of the other Flemish universities (with the exception of the Free University of Brussels). The dynamic coordinators of this programme were Mieke Van Haegendoorn (Hasselt) and Magda Michielsens (Antwerp). The women's studies programme was a great success with many of its alumnae still working on gender right now.

In the mid-1990s women academics also joined forces to launch research projects funded by an impulse programme earmarked for the humanities. This was to initiate a four-year long collaboration between the Universities of Leuven (Lieve Vandemeulebroek and Agnes De Munter), Ghent (Frieda Saeys and Marysa Demoor), Antwerp (Magda Michielsens) and Hasselt (Mieke van Haegendoorn) leading to seminal research results and consolidating the partnership between universities. Unfortunately and ironically, these excellent and fruitful collaborative efforts were broken off with the launch of a new research programme set up expressly to stimulate collaboration but with a very political imprint. The expensive programme was divided over the universities in a more or less arbitrary fashion and for the axis of women's and diversity studies the subsidy went in its entirety to the University of Antwerp. This effectively ended the collaboration between the university centres. Only with the new and younger generation of academics did collaboration start again, in a different form.

3. Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies of Ghent University

At Ghent University, the initiative to improve the situation for women researchers and for research on women was taken by Myriam De Pauw, then a part-time assistant lecturer of pedagogy, who in 1990 invited all women colleagues to meet and talk about equality issues at the University and to

discuss their ongoing research. The meeting led to the organisation in 1991 of an international conference on women's studies, the success of which was such that it was decided to publish the proceedings and to organise an annual event of lectures presenting ongoing research focussing on gender at Ghent University. In the mid-1990s the name of the Centre of Women's Studies was changed into Centre of Gender Studies.

From the very start I was a member of the centre, a founding member if you will. I was then a young but tenured researcher in English literature specialised in nineteenth-century literature. After a PhD on a Victorian literary critic I had re-directed my research towards women novelists of the 1890s. Women and the role of gender in the literature of the late nineteenth century were to remain my main research interest in the course of the next thirty years. The academic context was very congenial to the kind of research I wanted to promote. My colleagues Gert Buelens and Bart Eeckhout were interested in similar subjects, though perhaps leaning a bit more towards queer studies. Under the umbrella of the Centre of Gender Studies I was given the opportunity to supervise a project on 'Gender and Insanity' in the Middle Ages (researcher Dr. Katrien Heene), followed by a large project on women journalists in Flanders at the turn of the nineteenth century (researchers Liselotte Vandenbussche and Geraldine Reymenants). These first projects were financed by the Ghent Research Council, since the National Science Foundation had indirectly expressed a bias against women's studies at the time. A few years later, however, I was granted the supervision of a project on the clash between feminism and Darwinism (researcher: Griet Vandermassen) and thus the Centre of Gender Studies got off on a flying start. In 2000 I published a monograph on women reviewers in the nineteenth century (Ashgate), in 2002 the first PhD with gender as its focus (Chia Longman) was defended with me as co-supervisor, and since then the production of PhDs has been continuous. There have been successful PhDs on women journalists in Flanders, on performativity in Edith Wharton and Djuna Barnes, on performativity and masculinity in Hemingway and Lawrence, on Gertrude Stein, Edith Sitwell and Amy Lowell, on women's periodicals in the nineteenth century and on gender in nineteenth-century sonnet cycles. And there are ongoing doctorates on the influence of the representation of Celtic women on the women's movement

in the nineteenth century, and a study of authorship and early modern scientific women writers.

There were similar developments in the literature departments at the Universities of Leuven and Antwerp. In Leuven, however, there were no women professors of English literature in the 1990s and the speciality in gender studies went to a young male colleague. Only recently and with a newly tenured female colleague, Prof. Elke D'hoker, did gender studies truly take off in the literature department of that ancient university. In Antwerp the appreciation of gender studies happened earlier. Classes on gender and literature were organised by the colleagues Dr Wim Neetens and Dr Vivian Liska in the 1980s. But this particular team was brought to a stop by the untimely death of Wim in 1996 and the fact that Vivian's tenure took a very long time to materialise. In Wallonia, the efforts to set up a gender studies avenue did not cross the language borders. With the start of the new millennium, however, it is known that new initiatives were launched at those Walloon universities with new courses on gender in Liège and the Université Catholique de Louvain.

Most members of the first generation of women fighting for equal opportunities have now left academia or have retired. As a result I sometimes feel a bit like a dinosaur, especially when one's young female colleagues proclaim that they've invented equal opportunities and ignore the work done by the older generations. Others seem to think gender studies are unnecessary and patronising to women. The work of a lifetime is not always appreciated as it should and without women to support it, it is doomed to die a certain death.

3.1 Institutionalisation (in Comparison with 2.2)

The successful development at Ghent University was moved forward with a leap under Vice-Chancellor Professor André De Leenheer when, in 2004, he decided to grant the money for a researcher who was to focus solely on the equality issues of the students and staff at the University. Statistics were compiled and a questionnaire was created and distributed amongst members of staff. The results of the statistics were baffling. The number of women academics was seen to be astronomically low and the lopsided distribution of responsibilities was shown to start at the level of the

students already. The questionnaire indicated that a majority of male and female faculty supported the implementation of a policy in favour of equal opportunities.

3.2 Main Lines of Development, Important Achievements

The results of the questionnaire and the overview of the statistics were presented to the board of directors of the University and to the faculty councils of every faculty at the University. Then a new team of vice-chancellor and deputy-vice-chancellor (Prof. P. Van Cauwenberghe and Prof. L. Moens) were elected and they decided that the University needed a team of policy officers who would make sure that the University's disgraceful record would be improved in the short term. With the financial help of Flemish community money the new centre was officially launched in October 2008. The centre set up several projects that were especially meant to lead a larger number of students of minority ethnic background to and through the University, to provide facilitating programmes to students with a handicap and to make sure more women reached top positions at the University.

I was appointed as the head of this team with the new title Advisor to the Rector on Gender and Diversity. Apart from myself, the team proper consisted of three tenured policy officers, two of which had to take on the gender issues and one who had to tackle diversity. Then four more officers were selected and appointed on a temporary basis. These had to take on specific issues related to students of minority ethnic backgrounds. The problems they addressed were language issues (academic Dutch), the low numbers of students from other ethnic background and their poor chances at passing the exams, as well as the adaptation problems of educated asylum seekers and refugees. Thus the centre's main interest was in diversity and not gender. But the policy centre did run a number of successful programmes that improved the situation of female academics. With the establishment of MENZA, for instance, a project was launched by which young academics were mentored by settled academics. Mentees were assigned a mentor of another faculty because the help to be provided was an attitude to the job rather than the specifics of their discipline. The mentees were taught the ropes, shown how to network, given advice as to how to combine work and family. The policy centre also created more crèches for children of

academics and an ironing service for all personnel of the University. In the summer of 2011 then, two of the tenured members declared their unwillingness to continue to organise the annual lectures on gender research (the Genderforum) and the annual publication it provided for. In that summer of discontent also the University chancellors appointed a male member of the board of directors to survey the implementation of the equality criteria among faculty. As a result of these actions which seemed very much counterproductive, I resigned as advisor to the Rector. I did remain the president of the centre for gender studies and as such coordinated the launch of a new scholarly journal entitled *DiGeSt* (*Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies*). This bi-annual journal is to start publication in 2014. The Centre of Gender Studies is reinforced through the appointment in 2013 of a Professor of Gender Studies (Dr Chia Longman) who is also the force behind a new inter-university Master in Gender Studies.

In the course of 2013 a new vice-chancellor was to be elected. To make sure that female faculty would stand an equal chance a woman politician, Fientje Moerman, actively lobbied for the law to be changed in such a way that either the deputy-vice-chancellor or the vice-chancellor had to be of the female sex. Prior to the elections I organised several meetings with the women full professors who could theoretically stand as candidates. These meetings served to set up a network of female full professors; they were a forum for debate and occasions at which the women could gather information about the opportunity now opening up for them. The meetings also created a real support group for whichever woman was to be in the head seat. Eventually we had two good candidates for the coming election in May 2013 and, better still, one of them, Prof. Ann De Paepe, a specialist in genetics was chosen to be the next vice-chancellor. In October 2013 the academic year will be opened by the first female vice-chancellor of the University. 2013 was a good year for women's equality.

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Renate Haas

Germany: Two Steps Forward and One Back, or Slow Snowball Effect?

1. Introduction

Gender questions have been dealt with for ages – with varying explicitness and depth, and in different fields. The crucial innovation of the last few decades, however, has been the proper academic establishment of Women's and Gender Studies: the recognition as a domain with its own theories and methods, and the founding of professorships and courses of study. In my survey, I will, therefore, lay particular emphasis on aspects of institutionalization. They also help to discern some basic structures, and Germany is a big country, German English Studies a vast discipline (at least by European standards). Furthermore, it was precisely during the decisive phase of the academic establishment of Women's and Gender Studies that East and West were brought together again in the country. Thus, to some degree, characteristic developments of Eastern and Western Europe in the area of Women's and Gender Studies might be analysed within one and the same state. But reunification has been a highly complex and controversial process whose critical appraisal is only beginning, and East Germany would need an essay of its own. I will consider its specificities as far as possible within the limits of the overall picture.

A terminological clarification: in Germany, *Anglistik*, *Englische Philologie*, *English Studies* and the adjective or noun *Anglicist* are very often used comprehensively, i.e., including (most of) American Studies. This corresponds to the prevalent joint institutionalization, from which only a few independent Institutes of American Studies diverge.[1] Accordingly, I will deal with American Studies in some detail, but, at the same time, try to give the other areas of English Studies special emphasis. For the sake of clarity, I will

1 The latter were founded soon after World War II in the US zone and West Berlin. The specific weight of American Studies is acknowledged in the label *Anglistik/Amerikanistik*, which is also very common.

use *English and American Studies* or indicate otherwise whether American Studies is included or not.

2. National Contexts

2.1 General Situation and Glimpses from History

Germany is not particularly women-friendly. Feminists often cast wishful glances at the United States and Scandinavia. But no country has been pro-woman or fair to GLBTQ people throughout. There is great danger of undue generalization neglecting differences of time, social strata and domains, nor must international interrelations be underestimated either.

Since Women's and Gender Studies has only recently attained full academic status, the prehistory is the longer and the more difficult to detach. Exclusive concentration on academic work and theoretical literature would certainly be too narrow and distorting. But even from the centuries before the First Women's Movement much might be cited, for instance, numerous women who showed admirable creativity or intellectual depth in their ways of living, their work or creations, on a par with their male contemporaries, also as concerned the academic standards of their times: great rulers and patrons, nuns and heretics, revolutionaries, *salonnières*, educators, etc. Among authors, we might start with Roswitha of Gandersheim and Hildegard of Bingen. Beside German female humanists, the Italian Olympia Fulvia Morata, who taught in Heidelberg, might be highlighted, on the other hand, also Katharina of Bora, Luther's wife. For the seventeenth century, three names must suffice here: Anna Maria van Schurmann, polymath, linguistic genius, and in her last period, sect leader; Maria Sybilla Merian, flower painter and entomologist; and Maria Winkelmann, astronomer. Several of these stars also wrote about the role of women and female education, as did the first of the following two who obtained a doctorate in the eighteenth century: Dorothea Christiane Leporin / Erxleben (medicine) and Dorothea Schlözer (Dr. phil.).

With Romanticism and the nineteenth century, the rivulet swelled into a mighty stream. With its various branches (middle-class, proletarian, denominational, anarchist), the Women's Movement became the largest movement of the century after the Labour Movement – and this although Germany lost many of its best minds during several phases of heightened

oppression. The so-called Forty-Eighters, for instance, also included women. (The term denotes the numerous exiles who after the failed revolution of 1848 escaped into other European countries and then the United States, where they made a special name for themselves, as never before had such a large group of intellectuals and professional people entered the land at one time.) The most famous female Forty-Eighter, Mathilde Franziska Anneke, had fought both with her pen and on horseback, and from 1852 onwards pioneered US feminist publishing by founding and managing the *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung*. Teachers, and in particular teachers of foreign languages, played an important role in the Women's Movement, because teaching was one of the few (semi-)professions open to women and because foreign languages were central to advanced female education, providing access to alternative sources of information while women were still excluded from the universities.

Also concerning theory, a high level was reached early on. In her book *Die wissenschaftliche Emancipation der Frau* of 1874, for instance, Hedwig Dohm examined a great variety of German and foreign publications and, anticipating Virginia Woolf's Judith Shakespeare, speculated about the fate of a Friederike Schiller. An impressive overview is provided by the *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung* ("Handbook of the Women's Movement"), edited by Helene Lange und Gertrud Bäumer in 1901–6, with its nearly two thousand pages in five volumes and many international contributors. Volume 1 surveys the history of the Women's Movement in Germany and seventeen further European countries as well as the United States. Volume 2 treats areas that were the vital concern of the Women's Movement, such as social work, law, abolitionism, peace and labour movements. Volume 3 surveys the development of female education in Germany and still more countries than in the first volume. Volume 4 is dedicated to woman and work. After sketching the past, its central part deals in detail with the various occupational fields, and it ends with hotly disputed questions, such as the compatibility of work and motherhood and the rivalry between the sexes. Volume 5 is a practical guide.

As early as 1895, the journalist Emma (Külz-)Trosse added a semi-anonymous female voice to the lively German discussions about sexual reform and sexology, which quickly spread to other countries. As far as we know, she was the first woman worldwide to publish a pamphlet on

homosexuality. The next year, the physician Magnus Hirschfeld pseudonymously published his first fundamental treatise, *Sappho und Sokrates*, and the year after, he founded the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee / WhK ("Scientific-Humanitarian Committee") to campaign for the social recognition of homosexual, bisexual and transgender men and women and, in particular, the repeal of Paragraph 175 of the Imperial Penal Code that criminalized (male) 'sodomy'. The WhK was the world's first organization of this kind and, in 1899, launched the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Homosexualität* ("Yearbook for Sexual Intergrades with Special Reference to Homosexuality"). Most women remained aloof, not least out of fear of jeopardizing their own aims. This was criticized by Anna Rü(h)ling (i.e., Theo Anna Sprüngli) in the 1904 meeting of the WhK. Printed in its *Jahrbuch* under the title 'Welches Interesse hat die Frauenbewegung an der Lösung des homosexuellen Problems?' ("What Interest Does the Women's Movement Have in the Solution of the Homosexual Problem?"), Rü(h)ling's speech is the first public statement of lesbian politics. (She subsequently also wrote lesbian stories with happy endings.)

In 1905, the Bund für Mutterschutz ("League for the Protection of Motherhood") was founded. It advocated the equality of illegitimate children, birth control, legalization of abortion, sex education, and legislation in the interest of mother and child. Its principal theoretical underpinning was Helene Stöcker's Neue Ethik ("New Ethics"), a feminist critique of values and norms, which she had developed by starting from Nietzsche and whose focal point was the sexual self-determination of women on the basis of economic independence and education. In 1911, the Bund expanded into an international association (Internationale Vereinigung für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform), which, however, did not outlast World War I.

The 1915 monograph *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia* by Katharine Anthony, a distant relative of Susan B. Anthony, who like many Americans then had studied in Germany, demonstrates the high level that had already been reached. Concerning the basic claim, Anthony states:

> The program of feminism is not the mere imitation of masculine gestures and motions. The program of feminism is the development of a new science of womanhood. (1915: 251)

In her eyes, the Anglo-Saxon Women's Movement concentrated on suffrage and the German and Scandinavian one on fundamental critique and its practical translation, as exemplified by the epoch-making Bund für Mutterschutz:

> The German women, as we should expect, are the metaphysicians of the woman movement. Their contribution to the philosophy of feminism is a significant chapter in the history of their efforts. Their belief in the power of ideas, their respect for clear thinking, and their appreciation of scientific leadership reflect their national background. The feminists' methods, like all other cultural methods and reform movements of the country, are dyed in the intellectualism of the most scientific civilization in the world.
> By practice and on principle, they are a highly articulate set. [...] The ability of the feminist leaders to formulate and clarify their ideas for translation into public opinion and public law is cultivated at the same time that the public mind is prepared for the next phase of woman's release. (1915: 234–35)

In the turbulences about the end of World War I, German women, did, indeed, attain suffrage and, among other things, the admission to the Habilitation, i.e. the qualification for professorship (after they had been allowed to enrol as regular students around the turn of the century). The first women even became government ministers. The big cities, in particular, offered opportunities both for moderates and radicals. By 1931, the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine, the umbrella organization of the bourgeois women's associations, reached a membership of over a million.

Although repeated campaigns for the repeal of § 175 failed, a full panoply of homosexual subculture unfolded in Berlin. In 1919, Hirschfeld opened the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft ("Institute for Sexual Science"), which anticipated other such centres by decades. Founded in 1923, the homosexual Bund für Menschenrechte ("League for Human Rights") soon exerted influence on other countries, e.g., the United States via Heinrich / Henry Gerber. Diverse separate associations and journals of gays and lesbians sprang up as well. According to the *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* (1990: 473), Germany was probably unique and unparalleled in the world in terms of governmental liberalism and of opportunities for homosexual life. There was a veritable profusion of gay and lesbian poetry, short stories and novels. While the original was banned at home, the German translation of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* quickly ran into eleven editions.

The film version of Christa Winsloe's *Mädchen in Uniform* ("Girls in Uniform") reached broad, international audiences.

The Third Reich, however, brought an extreme setback. As early as 1933, all women's associations that opposed *gleichschaltung* (enforced conformity) were banned. Women were ousted from studies and offices as far as possible. Like Jews, Sinti, Romanies and dissidents, gays and, to a lesser degree, lesbians were persecuted, driven into exile or murdered. In short: the most massive brain drain.

For the reconstruction work of the late 1940s, women played a decisive role in all four occupation zones, given the absence of the majority of men. But soon they were relegated to the background again. In the West, a highly conservative climate developed. Much of what had been crushed remained in oblivion. Andrea Weiland rightly observed that, before the rise of the Second Women's Movement, railway history was better known than the history of the female emancipation struggles (1983: 7). The more punitive Nazi version of § 175 at first remained and tolerance was slow to grow. After 1968 a gay and lesbian movement arose first in the FRG.

2.2 German Women's and Gender Studies in General

Focussing on institutional criteria, sociologists have distinguished the following four phases in the general development of Women's and Gender Studies in Germany:

a) 1968–1982: '1968', Second Women's Movement, Setting Out
b) 1982–1988: Pushing Through
c) 1989–1996: Professionalization
d) 1997–: 'Normalization'

Several formulations betray the primarily West German perspective, but I will try to consider GDR specificities, too.[2]

2 This general survey is centrally based on Heitzmann 2008, to which further information has been added; concerning the GDR primarily from Bomke 1999 and Nickel 2011.

a) 1968–1982: '1968', Second Women's Movement, Setting Out

In the West, women had their share in the new departures around 1968, and the lack of recognition of their contributions and interests on the part of the male rebels gave an important impetus to the rise of a movement of their own. Decisive impulses came from the United States and France. There was much openness and experimentation. Much appeared with small, new publishing houses and has already sunk into oblivion. The centre of gravitation was outside the universities and colleges. There, feminist endeavours met with massive opposition, as public opinion and student expectations had far less influence on them than in the United States and women's colleges were missing completely. In addition, most of the feminist demands came too late, because in 1977 the government decided to stop or even reverse the expansion of the education sector.

On account of their Socialist full integration into working life, the situation of women in the GDR differed considerably from that of their sisters in the West, and this difference was occasionally highlighted in the ideological controversies between the two German states. However, as in other Socialist countries, more than enough discrimination continued in the GDR, particularly at the top. A few, small groups of critical feminists formed in the late 1970s, stimulated by feminist GDR writers like Maxie Wander, Irmtraud Morgner and Christa Wolf.

b) 1982–1988: Pushing Through

In the FRG, the central achievement of this phase was the establishment of the first, isolated professorships with a Women's Studies specialization (either partial or exclusive). This became first possible with less prestigious positions: Social Work at a college of applied sciences and a university chair of History Didactics that had been transferred from a teacher training college. For the 'reputable' university disciplines, the Freie Universität Berlin ("Free University") pioneered in 1984–85 by creating two temporary, part-time professorships of German Studies (Marlies Gummert-Janz) and Politics (Carol Hagemann-White) respectively. In 1987, after thirteen years of feminist efforts, the first proper chair was created: Sociology at the University of Frankfurt, with a quite typical focus on women and work / women's movements.

Often decisive support came through politics. The 1985 amendment of the federal Framework Act on Higher Education, for the first time, obliged the institutions to work towards gender equality. In consequence, the post of equal opportunities officer was gradually introduced and first co-ordination centres were founded.

In 1982, the first interdisciplinary journal, *Feministische Studien*, was launched. For the philologies, *Frauen in der Literaturwissenschaft* ("Women in Literary Scholarship") followed, initiated by Sigrid Weigel and Inge Stephan at the German Department of the University of Hamburg (discontinued in 1997, after its founders had moved to other universities). In 1985, the Gesellschaft zur Förderung literaturwissenschaftlicher Homostudien ("Society for the Advancement of Literary Homosexual Studies") was constituted at the German Department of the University of Siegen, more than a decade after the parallel US association. From 1987 to 2008, it published the journal *FORUM Homosexualität und Literatur*.

In the GDR, the small feminist groups, thanks to a certain liberalization, gradually gained access to information about Western developments. In April 1989, i.e. several months before the fall of the Berlin Wall, a first conference organized by Weigel and Stephan brought together feminist literary scholars from both parts of Germany.

c) 1989–1996: Professionalization

In this phase, it became possible to speak of Women's Studies as a profession. There was a first 'wave' of new professorships: nine per year on average. Sociology, the Social Sciences in general, and Education profited most. Equal opportunity components were included in various political programs for higher education, and several female ministers or leading officials (in North Rhine-Westphalia, Hamburg and Berlin) pushed ahead, in co-operation with feminist academics. In 1992–93, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft ("German Research Foundation") provided funds for setting up the first two Graduiertenkollegs, i.e. postgraduate research training groups, in the field.

Professionalization and 'academicization' were not limited to the institutional level. Usually, they went hand in hand with a transition from Women's to Gender Studies. To some degree, this also signalled the rise of a

new generation, who, like in the USA and other countries, more or less aggressively distanced themselves from the pioneers (Third Wave Feminism).

Of the East German groups, only the one at the central Humboldt University Berlin survived the reforms after reunification. As early as 1989, the sociologists Irene Dölling and Hildegard Maria Nickel succeeded in founding a centre of interdisciplinary Women's Studies, which until 1993 managed to function as a decidedly East German project. It prepared the ground for the innovation that ushered in the next phase: the establishment of Germany's first Women's and Gender Studies major in 1997.

The general context of the third phase was characterized by increasing European reform pressure. Its aims were primarily economic, but women, homosexuals and Women's and Gender Studies also increasingly benefited from Europeanization and internationalization. Again and again national governments were obliged to amend backward national laws.

d) 1997-: 'Normalization'

'Normalization' here is understood as ambivalent: Women's and Gender Studies reaching the status of a normal academic discipline, which implies a certain degree of assimilation and harbours both advantages and disadvantages. In 2000, on the occasion of the World Exhibition in Hannover, the success was celebrated by the Internationale Frauenuniversität / ifu ("International Women's University"). The distinctive new features of this phase have been the introduction of separate Women's and Gender Studies programs at undergraduate level (not just single modules) and a 'wave' of new interdisciplinary Women's and Gender Studies research centres. As already mentioned, Humboldt University pioneered concerning Women's and Gender Studies majors. Apart from it, institutionalization and consolidation of Women's and Gender Studies was very slow in East Germany, despite the chances inherent in transformation processes. On the whole, however, positive EU influences gained more and more momentum, after equal opportunities for women in academia / science had become specifically focussed on under Commissioner for Research and Development Edith Cresson.

By 2012, the following female ratios were achieved in German higher education:

First year students	49.5 %
Graduates	51.0 %
Doctorates	45.4 %
Junior academic staff	40.6 %
Habilitations	27.0 %
Professorships (all grades)	20.4 %
Chairs	16.5 % (GWK 2014: Table 1.1)

Given the small female shares at professorial level, the situation concerning Women's and Gender Studies specializations is not surprising. In 2010, among the roughly 38,600 professorships only 147, or 0.38 %, had an official Women's and Gender Studies focus. Only 5 were held by men, none of them from English and American Studies. Of the 114 Women's and Gender Studies professorships located at universities 54, i.e. almost one half, had only been created in 2000–2010. At the same time, 32 older Women's and Gender Studies professorships had been discontinued at the universities. Ergo: here progress was even slower than 'two steps forward and one back' (Bock et al. 2011: 99 f.). The distribution between the sixteen Länder (states) varies from 0 (Saar, Saxony) to 37 / 32 (North Rhine-Westphalia / Berlin). The universities with the greatest number of Women's and Gender Studies professorships are the Freie Universität and Humboldt University in Berlin (13 / 12) and the University of Hamburg (9; ZEFG 2014: Table 1).

In 2008, about 30 of the 109 universities (and colleges with the right to award doctorates), i.e. between a quarter and one third, had Women's and Gender Studies centres of either organizational or research nature. 7 universities had Women's and Gender Studies Bachelor or Masters programs;[3] in 11, Women's and Gender Studies was a profile option;[4] and 2 had Women's and Gender Studies for further qualification[5] (Heitzmann 2008: 93, 130–33).

In sum: conditions are uneven and much depends on personal initiative. All in all, the situation of Women's and Gender Studies is still characterized

3 Humboldt University Berlin, Oldenburg, Göttingen, Charité Berlin, Bochum, Bielefeld and Bremen.

4 Osnabrück, Oldenburg, Hannover, Regensburg, Frankfurt/M., Trier, Marburg, Bremen, Siegen, Potsdam and Kiel.

5 Freie Universität Berlin and Bremen.

by great insecurity and discontinuity (which also explains the difficulty of getting detailed and reliable data).

The general and institutional conditions have had significant influence on the character of German Women's and Gender Studies. Since, after 1945, women and other marginalized groups remained excluded from the highest ranks in academia and the media, they had lesser opportunities for digging up and re-installing their earlier traditions. These still are comparatively little known. On the other hand, women and others had less interest in upholding the German mainstream. While the majority of German professors, for quite a while, stayed aloof of American and other foreign influences, the marginalized groups were much more open. Accordingly, distinct German schools of Women's and Gender Studies do not yet seem to have crystallized. Specific fusions with native traditions may perhaps be seen in the emphasis on phenomenology and in the use of systems theory (Hof 2006: 104).

3. German Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies

3.1 Survey of the Development

As mentioned above, women had their share in the West German fresh departures around 1968, and among the female rebels were quite a number of German-Americans (the most famous one Gretchen Dutschke-Klotz) or Germans who had studied in the USA. In English Studies, it was a female student, Margret Kukuck / Johannsen, who, in 1969, led the protest of students and junior staff against the fossilization of the discipline, forcing an entry into the gentleman's club of the annual meeting of the professors.

Not by chance was a prominent role played by various young women from the Freie Universität / FU Berlin, particularly the John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies / JFKI: the FU enjoyed a more liberal climate and excellent funding. It had been established in 1948 in protest against the Communist takeover of the older university founded by Wilhelm von Humboldt, which was located in the Soviet sector. The lion's share of the money came from the United States: governmental agencies, foundations, above all the Ford Foundation, and voluntary organizations. The building of the Berlin Wall heightened the FU function of bulwark of the West and show window to the East. Not astonishingly, it became a centre of the student protests. As early as 1963, the philosopher Margherita von

Brentano used the annual University Days for a fundamental critique of the sexism within the universities and in society at large. In 1972, she became Vice-President of the FU. The disciplines that for obvious reasons profited most from the Cold War role were American Studies, Politics and East European Studies. From 1963 onwards, a fully-fledged interdisciplinary American Studies institute was developed with professorships not only for American language, literature and culture, but also geography, history, politics, and economy. In 1964 it was named after the assassinated US President. While the holdings of the JFKI were increased into the largest American Studies library in Europe, Hanna-Beate Schöpp-Schilling and Dagmar Loytved built up a Women's Studies collection. As early as 1976 (i.e. midway through the first phase of 'setting out' mentioned above), they offered the listings of these holdings as two fundamental *Bibliographic Guide[s] to Women's Studies*: one (lviii + 128 pp.) for the social sciences in the broadest sense and the other (xxvii + 167 pp.) for American literary and cultural studies. In her introduction, Schöpp-Schilling presented Women's Studies as a section of American Studies for the following three reasons: as an American phenomenon, on account of the shared interdisciplinarity and of the US institutionalization within American Studies. Also in 1976, together with the JFKI colleagues Gisela Bock (History) and Dagmar Schultz (Sociology / Didactics) as well as the literary scholar Theresia Sauter-Bailliet from the Technological University of Aachen, Schöpp-Schilling conducted the first Women's Studies workshop at the annual conference of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien (DGfA) / German Association for American Studies. Thanks to the liberalism of the Association (which admitted even students), she also was the first non-habilitated person to be elected to the Advisory Board. The attempt, however, to make the Women's Studies workshop a regular feature of the annual conferences, after the example of the MLA, led to heated debates and failed (Harzig 2004: 60) – no wonder in a country where husbands still had the right to forbid their wives to work. But there were alternatives: in the same year, together with further colleagues from FU and the Technological University of Berlin, the workshop organizers ran the first summer university for women, focussing

on women's position in academia.[6] Further summer universities followed, and, in 1981, FU established the ZEFG (Zentraleinrichtung zur Förderung von Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung), pioneering in this organizational respect like the reform university Bielefeld. Thanks to the extraordinary funds of the JFKI, it was also possible to invite US feminists to lectures and as visiting professors: Florence Howe, Carol Smith-Rosenberg, Brenda Berrian and Audre Lorde.

The Deutscher Anglistenverband / German Association for English Studies, which represented the traditional discipline with its various subdivisions and therefore had incomparably more influence on career prospects than the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien, was highly exclusive, more exclusive also than the central associations in German or Romance Studies. Only professors and habilitated persons were eligible. Thus it was only in 1983 that a woman professor, Natascha Würzbach, was able to present feminist literary criticism at the annual conference of the Anglistenverband, and she had to complain that very little had been done in the field by German Anglicists (Würzbach 1984: 543). As late as 1988, when, immediately after admission, I dared to point out in the general meeting that a broadening of membership would also have a desirable equal opportunity effect, I was stigmatized as a horrible feminist, not only by the older generation. Finally, it was international cooperation in ESSE that forced the Anglistenverband into liberalization, but it delayed as long as ever feasible. Under such circumstances, the possibility of delivering papers, publishing, or climbing steps of the career ladder in the United States, later also in the UK or within European projects, was crucial for many German women.

In the final result, the opportunities for Women's Studies do not seem to have differed too greatly between FGR and GDR. For East German idealists of the post-war generation and their children with a Socialist education, feminism, for quite a while, held no attraction, but enough discrimination, especially concerning the top positions, remained. According to Hanna Behrend, an influential Anglicist from the central Humboldt University of Berlin, academic feminism was tolerated by the authorities as long as it

6 There Bock dealt with the politics of the project in general and with housework, Schultz with female socialization, Schöpp-Schilling with feminist literary criticism and Sauter-Bailliet with the Gretchen episode in Goethe's *Faust*.

abstained from explicit criticism of GDR politics, and according to Ingrid Kuczynski, the male scholars at the top of the small discipline of English Studies were considerably more tolerant than their counterparts in German Studies, which was much larger and much more in the service of ideology and propaganda (Bomke 1999: 57 f.).

The fact that around 1970, i.e. fifty years after women's admission to the Habilitation, both in the East and the West there were still hardly any women professors meant a serious impediment to Women's Studies. While in the West between 1945 and 1970 nearly one quarter of the male new university professors of English and American Studies lacked the Habilitation, not even this qualification could guarantee success for women. Then, at the climax of the expansion of the West German education system, in the years 1971–75, even almost one half of the university chairs was filled with unhabilitated candidates, but women profited very little. Instead, these less qualified young men blocked the top positions for decades to come.[7] From the next expansion, the proper establishment of English and American Studies in East Germany after reunification, women again profited far less than men, while, at the same time, considerably more East German female than male non-professorial staff seem to have lost their jobs (cp. Behrend 2008: 761).

Under such conditions, feminist and later gender research has long proved damaging to career prospects and may often prove so even today, although occasionally it may also be an advantage now. The pioneers were frequently ridiculed and viciously attacked.[8] Therefore it was not advisable to pursue feminist interests in PhD and Habilitation theses, but wiser to restrict them to one's teaching or minor projects and to seek interdisciplinary support. Interdisciplinarity, however, not so rarely had the consequence that feminist researchers fell between the institutional stools, as happened to the early importers of feminist linguistics, Senta Trömel-Plötz and Luise Pusch.

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7 For details see Haas 2005 and also the table at Finkenstaedt 1983: 223.

8 Cp., e.g., the condemnation of a very moderate essay by Schabert as a 'monstrous flowering of emancipation' in an angry letter to the journal editor (Schabert 2004: 73) or Finkenstaedt's demagogical insinuations against Johannsen (Finkenstaedt 1983: 178).

In addition, much of the energies of the first generations was absorbed by time-consuming equal opportunity committees.

But gradually, and despite repeated setbacks, progress has been made and has become more and more tangible, for instance, concerning influential positions. Since specific statistics for English and American Studies are not available, I will give the female ratios reached by 2012 in the arts in general:

First year students	74.0 %
Graduates	77.0 %
Doctorates	56.1 %
Junior academic staff	56.8 %
Habilitations	39.6 %
Professorships (all grades)	35.5 %
Chairs	29.7 % (GWK 2014: Table 1.2)

Compared with the overall percentages quoted above and with those of just some years before, the female ratios of the professorships in general and of chairs in particular look quite respectable, far less so, however, if compared with the extremely high shares at student level. The statistics may also level out differences between the various arts subjects and between their subdisciplines.

According to a first survey of the Vice-President of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien, Carmen Birkle, in recent professorial appointments a male-female balance has been reached. But this only holds for the small section of American Studies, for the rest of English Studies, the situation looks rather different. It would seem that the much greater advances in American Studies are owed above all to the following three factors: greater openness (tangible in the structures of the central association), quick adaptation of US models, and extraordinary commitment of a number of individuals (notably women). Several organizational features of the DGfA have already been detailed in connection with the initiatives of the JFKI pioneers. To these may be added: late 1980s, establishment of the Postgraduate Forum; 1990, official establishment of a Women's Caucus at the annual conferences; 1993, first woman vice-president: Maria Diedrich; 1999, first president: Anne Koenen; broad editorial board (including foreign colleagues) of the association's journal *Amerikastudien / American Studies (Amst)*; 2013, first Diversity Caucus. While in the Anglistenverband

an isolated champion, Natascha Würzbach, was merely able to officially introduce Women's Studies, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien already chose 'Women in Society and Culture of the USA' for the general topic of its 1984 convention. Eleven years later, its general topic 'Engendering American Studies' highlighted the next developments. Relatively early, and not without fights, a complete number of *Amerikastudien*, 33:2 (1988), was devoted to Women's Studies (ed. Renate Hof). Three years later, number 46:1 focused on 'Queering America' under the guest editors Catrin Gersdorf and Ralph J. Poole. The Anglistenverband, on the other hand, has lagged far behind, e.g. more than a decade concerning the top functions of (vice-)president (Silvia Mergenthal 2004).

In the interdisciplinary committees of the German Research Foundation, the current ratio between male and female professors is 6:4 in linguistics and 4:7 in literature, and both are chaired by female Anglicists, Rosemarie Tracy and Barbara Korte respectively. What has proved particularly helpful, producing a kind of slow snowball effect, were the Women's and Gender Studies Graduiertenkollegs, i.e. postgraduate research training groups, funded by the German Research Foundation. The interdisciplinary Graduiertenkolleg 'Gender difference and literature' (1992–2001) at the University of Munich enjoys the distinction of having been the very first of such research training groups, but was closely followed by one in sociology (Heitzmann 2008: 134). This lead may mirror the importance of literature and literary studies for the beginnings of the Second Women's Movement, when literature provided rich material for analysis and fictional alternatives, while, for instance, the available historical documents were still too few. In Munich, a crucial role was played by colleagues from English and American Studies: Renate Hof and Elisabeth Bronfen for the start before they moved to other universities (Humboldt / Zürich), Ina Schabert decisively for all stages. A number of current professors of English and American Studies in Germany and in neighbouring countries received their training there, but a drawback of such groups is that sooner or later they will be terminated. Later Women's and Gender Studies Graduiertenkollegs have been characterized by still broader inter- or transdisciplinarity, and Anglicist investment has varied. Currently Anglicists are involved with the following Women's and Gender Studies Graduiertenkollegs: 'Gender as a category of knowledge' with Eveline Kilian among its core members and, thanks

to the exceptional size of Humboldt University, an especially high number of associates from English and American Studies; 'Dynamics of space and gender: discovering – conquering – inventing – narrating' at the universities of Kassel and Göttingen, with Anglicist Brigitte Glaser; 'Cultures of madness: affective masculinities' again at Humboldt University, with Gabriele Dietze; and 'Gender and education' at the University of Hildesheim, with Stefani Brusberg-Kiermeier.

In several respects, it is quite astonishing that, according to the researches of Heitzmann and the ZEFG (Zentraleinrichtung zur Förderung von Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung) at the Freie Universität Berlin, so far English and American Studies has established just two professorships with an official, but only additional (not exclusive) Women's and Gender Studies focus. The first such extension was achieved for Modern English Literature at the University of Tübingen in 1996, i.e. only at the very end of the above-mentioned third stage, the phase of professionalization, and twelve years after the first in German Studies at the Freie Universität. The first incumbent in Tübingen was Verena Lobsien. (When she moved to Humboldt University, she was succeeded by Ingrid Hotz-Davies.) Not surprisingly the second Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies professorship was established at the Freie Universität: in British Cultural Studies in 2002, Sabine Schülting.[9] Two professorships among several hundred[10] mean an extremely weak institutional basis. It is, of course, possible to practise Women's and Gender Studies without an official specialization, but this is much more left to chance. The neglect is the more striking as over the past decades English and American Studies has considerably expanded and specialized beyond the usual professorial domains of Linguistics, English Literature, American Studies, Cultural Studies, and Didactics. New Literatures and Media Studies have frequently been added as a special focus. Beside the US, further countries officially receive particular attention, e.g. Canada, Ireland, or

9 In 1995, FU also created an award for Women's and Gender Studies and EO. Among its recipients have been Schöpp-Schilling and Schultz.

10 The latest semi-official list of professors and Privatdozenten of English and American Studies in the *Gelehrtenkürschner*, which also includes those in retirement and the not so numerous colleagues in Austria and German-speaking Switzerland, comprises 956 names.

Australia. Recently, Potsdam has even made Urban Studies pivotal to its British Cultural Studies. On the whole, the Languages have created substantially fewer Women's and Gender Studies professorships than Sociology (/Social Science) with its 28 university professorships, to which 8 in Politics may be added. The total for the Languages amounts to 15 in Literature and only 1 in Linguistics, and the lion's share is in German Studies (over two thirds in 2012; ZEFG 2012: Table III). This raises serious questions like the following. Does the predominantly inter- or transdisciplinary understanding of Women's and Gender Studies, together with mainstreaming policies, entail significant disadvantages for Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies both within the discipline and in the relations with others like Sociology? Are for English and American Studies and the other Languages Women's and Gender Studies more difficult to combine with the mainstream understanding of the subject than for Sociology or Education? Is it true, as not so few Anglicist feminists believe, that Women's and Gender Studies has decisively contributed to the better establishment of Cultural Studies, and has it, nevertheless, not profited proportionately? These problems require a more complex discussion than is possible here, but the question of the current weight of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies will be addressed in the next chapter.

3.2 Current State

To my knowledge, no comprehensive and detailed survey exists that would cover the development and present state of the fields, underlying theories, methods, approaches, and achievements of German Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies. The volume *English Studies Today* (2007), which more or less tried to parade the various subdivisions of German English Studies, does not provide it. What comes closest are older attempts, which are, however, limited to parts, e.g. only English literature without linguistics, or just a few sectors of American Studies (cp. Würzbach 2002; Schabert 2004; Koenen ed. 1999), and do not really extend to the phase of 'normalization'. For the most part, they remain very general and interdisciplinary, rely on Anglo-Saxon frameworks, and retrace the broad, internationally valid lines. What is clear is that scholars from German English and American Studies took up Women's Studies

quite early and went along with the further international developments, be the turns linguistic, cognitive, cultural, historical, anthropological, ethical, narrativist, pictorial, performative, ecological, posthumanist, or transnational.

The rare recent assessments of the weight of German Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies diverge significantly. In 2006, for instance, distinguished veteran Renate Hof complained that it was still possible to win academic prestige without taking the least notice of Women's and Gender Studies (in Müller / Schülting eds.: 105), and, in the same volume, a male colleague from German Studies stated that resentment towards Women's and Gender Studies was still running high. On the other hand, about the same time, Doris Feldmann emphasized the vastness of the field and shied away from giving a comprehensive survey for *English Studies Today*, concentrating instead on her specialty, the further elaboration of gender and postcolonial theory with the help of German hermeneutics. An analogous way out was taken in *English Studies Today* by Hubert Zapf concerning ecocriticism. Evidently, on account of the dimensions of German English Studies, a comprehensive survey of the scholarly achievements would require a big, well-funded research project.

A central question would seem to be whether the frequently observed low visibility of German Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies is due to the fact that there is little, or that it is of little importance, or whether the field is obscure because achievements are insufficiently registered, insufficiently documented and insufficiently accessible. In answering, it would certainly be necessary to differentiate between the various subdivisions, but the last-named group of causes will probably carry the greatest weight these days. Furthermore, 'insufficient visibility' can refer to different spheres:

a) impact on the broad public or
b) impact on other disciplines,
c) position within German English and American Studies or
d) position within international English and American Studies.

a) The enormous social potential of early Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies may be illustrated by pioneers mentioned above. Not by chance did they have a brilliant career in academic fields beyond English and

American Studies or in politics. Schöpp-Schilling, for instance, gained the most far-reaching influence at highest levels: in 1986, she became head of the newly established section 'Women' in the Federal Family Ministry. Then, from 1989 to 2008, she was a member of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, where she held the positions of rapporteur and vice-chair. Dagmar Schultz had well before the 1976 offensive in American Studies co-founded a women's press and Berlin's first, much imitated women's health centre. The former developed into Orlanda publishing, which she directed until 2001 and which still flourishes. Schultz did important research on sexism in German schools and universities. Early on, she put lesbianism and anti-racism on the feminist agenda, particularly in co-operation with Audre Lorde, whom, from 1984 onwards, she invited to visiting professorships and who gave a decisive impetus to the Afro-German movement in the country. From 1991 to 2004, Schultz was professor at the Alice Salomon College for Social Work. Recently, her film *Audre Lorde: The Berlin Years 1984–1992* (2012) has been shown at various festivals and won the audience award for the best documentary at the Barcelona Gay and Lesbian International Film Festival. Gisela Bock, for her part, made important contributions to the campaign 'Pay for housework' and, with great success, pioneered women's and gender history. Her first professorship was at the European University Institute in Florence. In Hamburg, Margret Kukuck / Johannsen, too, managed to establish herself prominently: as a peace researcher and educator (though not on professorial level). The topic of her 1994 dissertation, American nuclear weapons in Europe, is still highly relevant. She is now an expert on the Near East and terrorism, and since 2009, has co-edited the annual *Peace Report*.

Nowadays, the public impact of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies seems to be incomparably lower, and a crucial question, controversial not only in Germany, is in how far this is due to the changed climate and the general decrease of gender activism, in how far to the 'academicization' of Women's and Gender Studies. But it must also be taken into consideration that the discipline as a whole and specifically the Anglistenverband have for quite a while been complaining that English Studies gets hardly any public attention. On the other hand, there is, to my knowledge, no research concerning the influence the subject exerts via the vast number of

former students.[11] Their overwhelming majority – both teachers or others – have joint degrees, which in fortunate cases may heighten the impact of Gender Studies. Not so few of the second group have gone into the newly developing jobs with gender orientation and have helped to advance them and gender policies.

b) The question of the influence of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies on other disciplines is also difficult to answer, particularly as Women's and Gender Studies has practised greater interdisciplinarity than most other sectors of the Languages. An important aspect is whether Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies has fulfilled a special function of importing and translating new developments from the United States and further Anglophonia for other disciplines. In contrast to some countries that formerly were behind the Iron Curtain, the English competence of (West) German academics in the relevant decades seems to have been so high that there was no pronounced need for such service, even though Anglicists may lament that the linguistic self-confidence of colleagues in other disciplines may not so rarely lead to misunderstandings or dubious adaptations. See, for instance, the first stages of the German reception of Judith Butler, the consequences of the equation of English *queer* with German *quer*, or the tricky complications through the circumstance that French theory often reached Germany in English translation.

Together with the Women's and Gender Studies of the other humanities and the social sciences, Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies has, without doubt, significantly contributed to the Americanization of the German universities. For over fifteen years after the end of World War II, German universities had proved highly resistant to such influences, be they organizational or subject-specific (Paulus 2010: 30). 'Americanization' is, however, an ambiguous term. By now, it is frequently indistinguishable from internationalization, Europeanization, or globalization. Thanks to their intense contacts with native speakers of English and their easier access to publishing in English, Anglicist scholars may have played a prominent role already quantitatively and may thus have accelerated, if not pioneered, the process.

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11 For quite a while, enrolments in the more traditional programs, i.e. excluding ESP and mere language courses, have been well over eighty thousand. Cp. Haas 2008: 85.

A fair number of Anglicists have supported the various initiatives of the Women's and Gender Studies centres of their universities, whether of organizational or research character, and they continue to do so (while not so few heads and other members of the centres may have had English or American Studies as one of their subjects during their university education). Such Anglicist support may mean help in conceptualizing and implementing Women's and Gender Studies modules and whole study programs, contributing to lecture series, interdisciplinary conferences and their proceedings,[12] or monitoring school curricula. Thanks to the extraordinary size of Humboldt University, its large interdisciplinary Women's and Gender Studies centre boasts a veritable squad of Anglicists: Eva Boesenberg, Eveline Kilian, Verena Lobsien, Helga Schwalm and Gesa Stedmann. As members of further well-known centres at least the Americanists Carmen Birkle (Marburg) and Susanne Opfermann (Frankfurt) must be named. Several Anglicists are also on advisory boards of interdisciplinary Women's and Gender Studies journals or yearbooks, e.g., the veterans Anna Maria Stuby and Ingrid Kuczinsky with *Feministische Studien*, Beate Neumeier with *Gender* and Sabine Schülting with *Querelles*. In 2010, Kilian was among the founding members of a new Gender Studies association, Gender e.V. Finally, over the last decades, a variety of measures has been developed to help young academics in their career, and feminists / Gender Studies specialists have often shown great commitment: e.g., by mentoring, networking, and supporting student conferences, (post)graduate journals or blogs.

c) The insufficient visibility of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies within the larger discipline in Germany certainly has to do with the latter's vastness and the often poor communication between its various subdivisions, of which the tenuous rapport between English Studies (in the traditional narrow sense) and American Studies has the most serious consequences.[13] But these reasons cannot yet provide a full explanation, as

12 See, e.g., the series Dresdener Beiträge zur Geschlechterforschung in Geschichte, Kultur und Literatur (co-ed. Horlacher) and Regensburger Beiträge zur Gender-Forschung (co-ed. Emig).

13 As early as 1984 (i.e. before the East expansion), the annual output of the then roughly 300 West German professors of English and American Studies amounted to about sixty books and six hundred articles (Haas 2008: 86). DGfA is the second largest American Studies organization outside the US.

the degree of visibility of Women's and Gender Studies differs enormously between English Studies and American Studies. For English Studies, the following three facts would seem highly indicative:

- So far there has only been a single Women's and Gender Studies section at the annual conferences of the Anglistenverband, namely in 2004,[14] which means only one among the over 170 sections in the more than thirty years since the start of this program structure.
- In nearly three decades, i.e. since its establishment in the late 1980s, the Anglistenverband's award for the best Habilitation thesis has not even once gone to a woman.
- The only Habilitation thesis with a clear and central Women's or Gender Studies orientation that has so far won the award was by a man, Stefan Horlacher, and focussed on masculinities.

This, indeed, raises the question whether the dominant understanding of English Studies and the definitions of excellence continue to be overwhelmingly traditional and male. Even assuming that in these nearly thirty years the female candidates, among them the two later presidents of the association, first had to excavate lost foundations before they were able to rise to similar theoretical heights as their male rivals, the juries evidently did not take the possibility of different starting conditions into consideration and most probably overestimated pure abstraction.[15] Against such a backdrop, it may seem highly ironic that the *laudatores* of Horlacher's *Masculinities* state that much of its theory is familiar from deconstructivist feminism and that they praise its adaptation of elements of queer Men's Studies to more conventional use (Bode / Nünning 2005: 37).

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14 It was organized by Rainer Emig, Julika Griem, and Barbara Schaff. Papers were given by Russell West-Pavlov, Antje Kley, Eveline Kilian, Virginia Richter, Katharina Rennhak, Stefan Horlacher, and Ingrid Hotz-Davies. Cp. ed. Moessner 2005: 95–194.

15 Cp. also that in the more or less official self-presentation of German English Studies in *English Studies Today* (2007), just three out of twelve contributors are women and that, apart from Feldmann's chapter, only the one on Shakespeare research specifies work with a Women's or Gender Studies perspective. It was not until 2014, its 150th year, that the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft elected its first female president.

In general, it is striking how little notice Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies experts take of each other in this country (excepting perhaps their personal networks). *Gender Inn*, a data base started by Würzbach in 1987[16] and continued by her successor in the Cologne chair of English Literature, Neumeier, is very little known and, on the other hand, full of gaps. For example, my searches for this survey yielded hardly any hits for recent years, and titles I was aware of were missing, including the 2006 book version of a Habilitation thesis in American Literature containing the very word *Geschlechterfrage* ("gender question") in its title. Conversely, the author of the book had not even heard of *Gender Inn*. Little resonance has been troubling *Gender Forum. An Internet Journal for Gender Studies* as well, also edited by Neumeier and until recently the only Women's and Gender Studies journal based in German English Studies. The review *Feminist Europa*, which was interdisciplinary but heavily relied on Birkle and Tobe Levin, appears to have lost its struggle for survival in 2010.[17]

d) The international weight of German Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies is still more difficult to assess. As explained above, Women's and Gender Studies practises not only more interdisciplinarity than most other sectors but also more international cooperation. A fair number of colleagues with Women's and Gender Studies focus have meanwhile obtained professorships abroad, especially in neighbouring countries. German work appears with publishers in Britain, USA and other Anglophone countries as well as with international publishers elsewhere. Certain surveys, e.g. by Hof and Bock, have been translated into other languages (here Russian and Italian respectively). Several colleagues are on advisory boards of international Women's and Gender Studies journals or series. Of the co-initiators or co-editors the following should be named: Schülting and Russell West-Pavlov (still or formerly FU Berlin) as two of the three editors of the Rodopi series GENUS: Gender in Modern Culture, Heiko Motschenbacher as co-editor of the *Journal of Language and Sexuality* (together with a US anthropologist),

16 It developed from the special collection she had built up in the departmental library since attaining the chair in 1975.

17 A recent example of the neglect is the section 'Focus on the Feminization of Fiction' in *Anglistik* 24:1 (2013), 7–135, where hardly any German feminist or gender research is mentioned.

and Horlacher, who (together with Kevin Floyd from Kent State University) has the excellence project 'Towards Comparative Masculinities: A Transatlantic Analysis of Literary Production of National Masculinities in GB and the US from World War II to the Present'.

Various conditions and features described so far already suggest the conclusion that it may be rather difficult to distinguish specific German traditions or schools in German Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies. Although Europeanization and globalization have encouraged comparative analyses that pointedly refer to German phenomena, they have simultaneously boosted transnational and transcultural approaches. Comparing with the US model, Schabert has emphasized the consequences of the hostile surroundings. Since in Germany the mental horizon has much more strongly than in the USA remained that of male academic culture and since German women doing Women's Studies never had the exuberant experience of exploring a wild sphere, they have usually written with one eye on the possible reactions of the male establishment, which has led, so to speak, to a cross-eyed glance, to squinting (Schabert 2004: 74). To my knowledge, this is quite similar in most European countries. In German English Studies, it has combined with national traditions emphasizing understanding / communication / negotiation (Gadamer, Habermas), which made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to insist on a feminist partiality and establish Women's Studies as a project privileging female scholars. A consequence has been close co-operation of female scholars with open-minded male colleagues, which, in turn, has led to a conflation of women's, men's and gender studies. In it lie, according to Schabert (75), both an unfeminist weakness and a peculiar humanist strength. More specifically, the heuristic idea of a progressive, though never complete, mutual understanding has encouraged relational modes of Women's and Gender Studies, exploring, for instance, the rich varieties of creative interaction between the sexes. Two such foci have been the couple and the Western European line of male feminism represented by John Stuart Mill, Friedrich Engels, Johann Jakob Bachofen, Henrik Ibsen, George Bernard Shaw, Georg Simmel, and Klaus Theweleit (Schabert 2004: 72–77). A central contribution is Schabert's *Englische Literaturgeschichte aus der Sicht der Geschlechterforschung* ("A genderized history of English literature", 1997 and 2006), which systematically presents literary developments not as a monologue of male authors but as a

dialogue between men and women, in a variety of constellations as writers, patrons, readers and critics.

As Schabert's characterization of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies in Germany already suggests, the influence of native hermeneutical traditions has been strongest in the field of literature. Her own central work belongs to a genre that fulfills heightened functions in non-native speaker disciplines (e.g. due to a greater need for information), literary history, which has a strong tradition in this country. Another important tradition in German English Studies is narratology. It long retained a gender bias, but recently important contributions have been made, see, e.g., Kilian's *GeschlechtSverkehrt: Literarische und theoretische Perspektiven des gender-bending* (2004)

Let me name some further literary scholars who have not yet occurred above – a somewhat subjective selection despite my endeavours – in roughly chronological order. English Studies: Ingeborg Weber, Gisela Ecker, Walter Göbel, Reingard M. Nischik, Vera Nünning, Jana Gohrisch, Marion Gymnich, Ina Habermann, Andrea Gutenberg, and Indira Ghose. American Studies: Bettina Friedl, Evelyne Keitel, Brigitte Georgi-Findlay, Sabine Bröck, Sabine Sielke, Sabine Hark, Gesa Mackenthun, Heike Paul, Mita Banerjee, Catrin Gersdorf, Sylvia Mayer, Christa Grewe-Volpp, Ralph J. Poole, Stefan Brandt, and Alexandra Ganser.

In the field of linguistics, German Women's and Gender Studies, like in other European countries, attracted much attention and exerted great influence in the early stages by importing recent feminist developments from the US and by comparing with the national language, in particular concerning recommendations for fair language (Marlis Hellinger). Two names from recent years: Ingrid Piller and Heiko Motschenbacher. In addition to Motschenbacher's journal, mention must be made of his Habilitation thesis, *Language and European Identity Formation*, and *An Interdisciplinary Bibliography on Language, Gender and Sexuality (2000–2011)*.

Another domain that in Germany has been cultivated more than in most other European countries is the history of the discipline. This also includes gender and European aspects. The results have been used and further elaborated in other disciplines such as sociology and education.

Finally, literature didactics is another field of German English Studies where a distinctive tradition has evolved, again in close connection with

native hermeneutics. Although in focussing on understanding the other, scholars long ignored gender, this has changed meanwhile. Approaches from literary and cultural studies have been combined with pedagogical ones, e.g. by Helene Decke-Cornill. Beside international concepts of diversity education, Annedore Prengel's pedagogy of recognition has proved highly productive. In her system, Prengel has brought together the pedagogies dealing with the three main areas of discrimination – otherness, gender and handicap – in such a way that earlier deficit orientations were overcome. Surveys of recent research can be found in *Gender Studies and Foreign Language Teaching*, eds. Decke-Cornill / Volkmann (2007) and *Handbuch Geschlechterforschung und Fachdidaktik*, eds. Kampshoff / Wiepcke (2012).

To return in conclusion to the title of this chapter. There is reason for hope that the second diagnosis – slow snowball effect – is the more appropriate one. But much still remains to be done.

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Susanne Hamscha

Austria: The Long and Winding Road towards the Institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies

1. Introduction

Women's and Gender Studies as interdisciplinary academic fields of research grew out of second wave feminism at U.S.-American universities in the late 1960s. As feminism gained political influence through student and faculty activism, Women's Studies programs were modeled on American Studies and Ethnic Studies (particularly Chicano Studies and African American Studies) programs that had consolidated themselves shortly before. There has always been, in other words, a natural affinity between Women's Studies and American Studies, which is probably the main reason that also in most European countries, the development of Women's and Gender Studies has to a great extent been fostered by English and American Studies departments. Austria is certainly no exception to this rule, even though the history department at the University of Vienna was the trailblazer for the promotion of Women's and Gender Studies in the academia, and not the English and American Studies department. While one could observe a 'lack of attention toward Austrian women' in the field of history and across the humanities and social sciences until the 1990s, as Eve Nyaradi Dvorak has pointed out, the last decades have seen a steady growth and institutional acceptance of Women's and Gender Studies, which has also affected the teaching and research at Austrian English and American Studies departments (Dvorak 1996: xii). The significance of Women's and Gender Studies across the disciplines is worth stressing: gender analysis and feminist theory offer valuable insights into historical, social, political, and cultural processes.[1] The study of English

1 A short note on my usage of Women's Studies versus Gender Studies is due: As Lizbeth Goodman has noted in *Literature and Gender*, 'gender' is a 'social or cultural category influenced by stereotypes about "female" and "male"

and American literatures and cultures through the lens of Gender Studies thus generates not only new insights in English and American Studies, but also uncovers power mechanisms that structure gender relations in the Western world in general. Therefore, it also invites reflections on one's own cultural background and environment, and fulfills an important socio-political function.

This contribution will first provide a short historical survey of the situation of women at Austrian universities and an overview of the institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies in Austria, with an emphasis on the University of Vienna as Austria's oldest and largest university. Then, my contribution will pay closer attention to the inclusion of Women's and Gender Studies at English and American Studies departments in Austria. It wants to point out the ways in which Women's and Gender Studies have been employed and have developed within English and American Studies departments, and offer an outlook on the future of gender-related research at Austrian English and American Studies departments. Here, I will also focus particularly on the English and American Studies department of the University of Vienna, with which I am most familiar because I have studied and taught there.

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behavior that exist in our attitudes and beliefs', which are, however, culturally constructed and not biologically given (Goodman 1996: vii). The study of literature and gender, therefore, does not merely refer to the literary analysis of texts written by female authors but 'the wider study of literary texts as they are written, read, and interpreted within cultures, by women and men' (Goodman 1996: vii). Gender Studies have developed in the wake of Women's Studies, which are concerned with 'the representation, rights, and status of women' and have not undergone the post-structuralist turn that has significantly altered theories on sex, gender, and the body (Goodman 1996: x). Women's studies have emerged out of the second feminist movement and are, as such, a field devoted to consciousness-raising activism and to the documentation of social, political, or cultural achievements of women. In later sections of this contribution, I differentiate between research and teaching conducted in the area of Women's Studies versus research and teaching in the field of Gender Studies.

2. National Context

2.1 Women at Austrian Universities

Founded in 1365, the University of Vienna is the oldest university in German-speaking Europe and after the Charles University in Prague the second oldest university of the Holy Roman Empire. While the history of the university dates back to the Middle Ages, the history of women at the University of Vienna is comparatively short. The admission of women to higher education had been heatedly debated across Europe in the second half of the 19th century and had turned into a political issue.[2] The advantages and disadvantages of admitting women to the university were the subject of public discussion, as there seemed to be an acute awareness that the 'woman question' would define the future of Austria's social structure. Only towards the close of the century did the arguments *for* the admission of women grow louder and stronger, after the universities of most other European countries had already opened their doors to female students. Next to Prussia, Austria was the last European country to admit women to higher education, after a long and persistent fight on part of the women's movement (cf. Heindl 1990: 17). Marianne Hainisch, Rosa Mayreder, Auguste Fickert, Marie Lang, and Maria Schwarz are notable figures of the first women's movement and founding members of the 'Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein' ('General Women's Association in Austria', 1893), who vehemently demanded the civic equality of women, including equal access to education and to the job market. Although a non-party movement, the Women's Association collaborated with the social democrats for the publication of their monthly leaflet 'Rechte der Frauen' ('The Rights of Woman', 1894–1900) and the journal *Dokumente der Frauen* (*Women's Documents*), which was first published in 1899 and in which both women and men discussed politics, education, and gender equality.

Because of the pressure coming from the first women's movement and the general trend in Europe to allow women access to a university education, women were finally admitted to the University of Vienna, to the University

2 For a historical survey on the resistance against the admission of women to higher education, see Marina Tichy's essay 'Die geschlechtliche Un-Ordnung' (1990).

of Graz (founded in 1585), and to the University of Innsbruck (founded in 1669) as regular students in 1897.[3] However, their studies were limited to Philosophy until 1900, when the faculty of Medicine followed suit. With considerable delay, women were admitted to the Faculty of Law in 1919, Protestant Theology in 1923, and Roman Catholic Theology in 1946.[4] One of the three women who enrolled as regular students at the University of Vienna in 1897 was Elise Richter, the first woman to receive the *Habilitation* in Romance Languages and the first woman to become a 'Docent' (assistant professor) in 1907. In 1921, she was appointed 'Extra-Ordinary Professor' (associate professor, at first without remuneration), but was dismissed from that post after the 'Anschluss'. Richter was already 31 years old when she was awarded her high school diploma, as it only became possible for girls and women to obtain a high school degree in 1896 – and only at selected schools – which explains the very slow increase in regular female university students up until after the first world war (cf. Heindl 1990: 23). In the winter semester 1913/14, that is, 16 years after the university had opened its doors to female students, 314 women enrolled as regular students in Vienna. In other words, admission in theory did not necessarily lead to admission in practice, too many were the obstacles for women in fulfilling the basic requirements to enter university.

After the world war, however, the number of female students at Austrian universities exploded by comparison: as Andrea Griesebner notes, in the winter semester 1918/19, 2000 women entered the university, which accounts for 9% of all students who enrolled in that semester. By 1932/33, the number of female students had increased to 4468, which means that almost 20% of all Austrian students that winter semester were female (cf. Griesebner 2005: 45). This process of catching up in terms of education was quickly stopped by Austro-fascism and National Socialism, which propagated woman's most important role to be that of a devoted mother

3 In exceptional cases and under special circumstances, auditing courses had been possible for women since the winter semester 1878/79, but women were not allowed to sit in exams or obtain a university degree (cf. Griesebner 2005: 44).

4 Women remained excluded from technological universities, veterinary universities, and universities of natural resources and applied sciences until after the first world war (cf. Heindl 1990: 18).

and wife. Additionally, quite a significant number of female students and scholars were of Jewish bourgeois background, as traditionally, Jewish families attributed higher value to the education of their daughters than Christian families. The emigration and deportation of Jewish families and fascist ideology led to the stagnation in the number of female students during the second world war and a decline in the number of female professors.[5] Elise Richter, for instance, was banned from the University of Vienna in 1938 and died together with her sister Helene in the concentration camp Theresienstadt in 1943. The physicist Lise Meitner, who completed her doctorate in Vienna in 1906, emigrated from Berlin to Sweden and died in British exile in 1968. Similarly, Anna Freud, Sigmund Freud's daughter, fled to Britain in 1938 and stayed there until her death in 1982. Austrian universities suffered tremendously from this brain drain during the Nazi regime, even though the number of female students increased again towards the end of the war, with women making up over 40% of all students who enrolled in the winter semester 1944/45.[6]

While the presence of women at Austrian universities gradually increased after the second world war, it was only with the second feminist movement that gender-related research and feminist theory tentatively entered course syllabi in selected fields of study. However, these were individual courses generally taught by researchers who identified with the feminist movement; Austrian universities lacked a systematic feminist intervention and a common effort to institutionalize Women's Studies as an interdisciplinary academic program. In her survey of feminist history at the University of Vienna, Griesebner notes that an undergraduate seminar on the history of the suffrage movement taught by Edith Saurer in 1975 marked the first course that focused solely on women (cf. Griesebner 2005: 17). Broad-based

5 On this point, see also Gabriella Hauch, who speculates that fascism and National Socialism effectively exiled entire generations of female researchers and scholars from university premises, which inevitably affected the second women's movement in Austria, as female scholars identifying with feminism knew hardly any female professors that could serve as positive role-models (cf. Hauch 2003: 28).

6 For a detailed account of the history of women during the second world war, see Johanna Gehmacher's book *Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte im Nationalsozialismus* (2007).

research activities and university courses dealing with women have only been underway since the 1980s though. The edited volume *Das ewige Klischee* (*The Eternal Cliché*) published by the 'Autorinnengruppe Uni Wien' in 1981 and including contributions by scholars from the fields of history, education, law, philosophy, linguistics, and German Studies is one of the first interdisciplinary collaborations that tried to unearth the traces of women and to investigate the living conditions of women in Austrian history and culture. In 1982, faculty members of the history department founded the working group women's history, whose goal it was to encourage courses and lectures on the history of women. Edith Saurer, one of the founding members, noted in an article she wrote in 1994 that quite frequently, the initiatives of the working group were dismissed as propaganda and as unscientific, and their demand for gender equality often remained unheard (cf. Saurer 1994: 171). Nevertheless, the history department started to continually offer courses on women's history in the early 1980s, which led to a notable rise in women-centered teaching and research at the University of Vienna. A groundbreaking achievement of the history department was the launching of the first German-language journal in feminist historical studies, *L'HOMME Z.F.G.*, in 1990, which publishes contributions on women's and gender history with a special focus on the period from the end of the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the history department has hosted the research platform Repositioning of Women's and Gender History since 2006, which was headed by the late Edith Saurer until 2011. The platform not only offers the opportunity of building on existing structures, instruments, and institutions, but also increases international visibility and simplifies networking among Gender Studies scholars.

2.2 Women's and Gender Studies in Austria

Edith Saurer is not only an important figure in the field of women's history, but her name is also closely tied to the institutionalization process of Women's and Gender Studies at Austrian universities in general. In 1994, Saurer applied together with Irmgard Eisenbach-Stangl, Andre Gingrich, Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, Friederike Hassauer, Cornelia Klinger, Helga Nowotny, Edith Specht, and Ruth Wodak for financial funding to establish the 'Graduierten Kolleg Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung' ('Center for

Advanced Gender Studies'). The Austrian Research Fund initially rejected the application for financial reasons but encouraged a re-application two years later – a call which Saurer, Wodak, and Gingrich followed together with their new co-applicants Ulrike Felt, Gabriella Hauch, and Alice Pechriggl. In 1999, they submitted their re-application, which was evaluated positively by the six external reviewers but was ultimately again rejected by the Research Fund, which seemed to indicate a disinterest in supporting gender-related research. An international conference on the cooperation of European Post-Graduate Programs for Gender Studies in 2002 initiated collaborations and the establishment of networks between the Center for Advanced Gender Studies in Vienna and other European Gender Studies research programs, which instigated a broader range of gender-related teaching and research at the University of Vienna.

The Center for Advanced Gender Studies was conceived as an inter- and transdisciplinary institution that wanted to contribute to the development of an M.A. and Ph.D. program in Gender Studies. Initiatives and efforts for the institutionalization of an M.A. program had been underway since 1993, when the Austrian ministry of science and research approved the development of coordination centers in Vienna, Graz, and Linz, which followed the model of a similar center at the Free University Berlin (Zentraleinrichtung zur Förderung von Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung). The coordination center in Vienna connected scholars from five Viennese universities, thus strengthening 'gender' as an important category and subject of academic research. Furthermore, the center organized conferences, lecture series, and workshops, and fostered the inclusion of gender-related courses in the curricula of various disciplines. In 2000, the center was renamed 'Zentrum für Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung' ('Center for Women and Gender Research') and later 'Referat Genderforschung' ('Unit for Gender Research'), which it is still called today. In the winter semester 2006/07, the Unit finally introduced the interdisciplinary M.A. program Gender Studies, the curriculum combining courses in gender and feminist theory with internships and field work. The individual courses were taught by scholars from various disciplines, ranging from literary studies to law and biology. Since its introduction in 2006, the curriculum has kept its inter- and transdisciplinary orientation but has broadened its course offerings and developed a standard set of lectures and seminars ('Introduction

to interdisciplinary Gender Studies', 'Theories and Methods'). The Unit for Gender Research at the University of Vienna is also involved in a program that supports scholars in the Post-Doc stage who want to teach a gender-focused course at a specific department.[7] These scholars must submit a proposal to the head of studies of the department at which they wish to teach, and a committee then selects the courses that will be funded through the program. At the University of Vienna, the applications of scholars from the English and American Studies department have been very successful, to the effect that the department was able to offer undergraduate seminars with a gender focus on a fairly regular basis. Last but not least, the Unit for Gender Research contributes to the heightened visibility of Gender Studies at the University of Vienna through the publication of the proceedings of its interdisciplinary lecture series under the title *Gendered Subjects*, and it has recently launched a new book series, entitled *challenge GENDER*, for the publication of conference proceedings.

The University of Graz, the University of Salzburg, the University of Klagenfurt, the University of Innsbruck, the Vienna University of Technology, and other academic institutions followed suit and established their own M.A. programs and research centers.[8] The University of Graz introduced their M.A. program in Gender Studies in 2007/08, which is coordinated by the 'Koordinationsstelle für Geschlechterstudien, Frauenforschung und Frauenförderung' ('Center for Women's Studies, Gender Research, and Equal Opportunities for Women'). At the University of Salzburg, Gender Studies can be studied as an elective subject with the aim to heighten students' sensibility towards gender-related issues within their 'home disciplines' and in their cultural environment, which is coordinated by 'gendup',

7 In 1983, Hertha Firnberg, then federal minister for science and research, first introduced an initiative to support gender-focused teaching at Austrian universities. This initiative was terminated in 1993, but the ministry recommended the continuation of the program by establishing a 'women's fund' that should serve as an equivalent substitution. The University of Vienna, the University of Graz, the University of Salzburg, the University of Innsbruck, and the University of Klagenfurt still support the special funding of gender-focused teaching, as far as the budget allows.

8 For links to the research centers and academic programs see http://www.genderplattform.at.

the 'Zentrum für Gender Studies und Frauenförderung' ('Center for Gender Studies and Equal Opportunities for Women'). The University of Klagenfurt's 'Zentrum für Frauen- und Geschlechterstudien' ('Center for Women's and Gender Studies') also offers courses in Gender Studies as an elective subject, with students having the opportunity to obtain a certificate in 'Gender Knowledge'. The University of Innsbruck has offered an inter-faculty M.A. program in Gender Studies since 2010/11 and also hosts an inter-faculty research platform which provides information on recent research projects, conferences, publications, and research collaborations in the field of Gender Studies. Especially noteworthy is also the Department of Women's and Gender Studies at Johannes-Kepler-University Linz, which was established in 2001 and is to date the only university department in Gender Studies. The department's first chair was Gabriella Hauch, one of the initiators of the Center for Advanced Gender Studies, who is currently full professor of Women's and Gender History at the University of Vienna.

All Austrian Women's and Gender Studies research centers, research units, and academic programs are connected through the network *Gender-Plattform*, which also provides links and information to equal opportunities offices and support programs for women in the academia. The institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies is, furthermore, reflected in the growing number of full professorships that are fully or partly assigned to the field and to the foundation of associations which contribute to the international visibility of Austrian Women's and Gender Studies. As of December 2013, sixteen professorships were fully or partly designated Women's and Gender Studies professorships, and a seventeenth professorship will be installed in 2014. In November 2012, the 'Österreichische Gesellschaft für Genderforschung', the first Gender Studies Association in Austria was founded as an interdisciplinary network whose aim is the further establishment, development, and support of Gender Studies within and outside of the academia. The current board consists of members from a variety of disciplines working at different institutions in Austria to ensure that the inter- and transdisciplinary orientation of the association is not only preached but also practiced. Andrea B. Braidt, Vice-Rector at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and American Studies scholar by training, is the current president of the association; her substitute is Sigrid Schmitz, a biologist and full professor of Gender Studies at the University of Vienna.

Other board members come, for instance, from the political science department in Innsbruck, American Studies in Salzburg, the Center for Women's and Gender Studies in Klagenfurt, and the department of Women's and Gender Studies in Linz. The first annual conference of the Gender Studies Association will be held at the Academy of Fine Arts in December 2013, in which the Association wants to reflect on the achievements, challenges, and perspectives of Gender Studies in Austria.

3. Women's and Gender Studies meet English and American Studies

3.1 The Institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies within English and American Studies

Considering that Women's and Gender Studies consolidated themselves as academic fields of research in the U.S. and are akin to, or very often even seen as a sub-field of, Cultural Studies,[9] which have a long Anglo-American tradition, the institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies within English and American Studies departments at Austrian universities is at first glance disappointing. Seen within the context outlined in the previous section, that is, the slow acceptance of Women's and Gender Studies in the Austrian academia and the difficulties scholars of all disciplines were met with as regards the establishment of Gender Studies research centers, one has to revise this first impression. In Austria 'Women's and Gender Studies gained significant ground in universities and other scholarly institutions […] even later than elsewhere', as Erika Thurner has observed and, consequently, they only gained significant ground within Austrian English and American Studies in the 1990s (Thurner 1998: 1). Especially in the mid-90s, when Women's and Gender Studies were recognized institutionally through the founding of the coordination centers, scholars at English and American Studies departments counted among the first to include courses

9 For a first foray into the intersection of Cultural Studies and Gender Studies by an Austrian feminist scholar, see Elisabeth Katschnig-Fasch's essay 'Frauenforschung in der Kulturwissenschaft – Ein marginales Problem?', which was originally part of an interdisciplinary Gender Studies lecture series at the University of Graz in 1985, and published in the lecture series proceedings two years later.

with a gender-related focus in their syllabi and to design research projects that applied feminist or gender theoretical frameworks. However, the degree to which Women's and Gender Studies were considered in the course offerings was not regulated and determined by the curriculum – in which Women's and Gender Studies were generally not even mentioned – but was completely up to the individual scholars. It is perhaps little surprising that since the 1970s, the number of women- and gender-focused courses and the regularity in which such courses were offered at English and American Studies departments has crucially depended on the number of women teaching at the respective department and on the position these women occupied.[10] The institutionalization of Gender Studies in the curricula of Austrian English and American Studies was only expedited after the turn of the millennium and has unfortunately regressed again in recent years.

At the University of Vienna, Gender Studies became a fixture in the curriculum in the winter semester 2002/03. That semester saw the introduction of a reformed curriculum, which included an interdisciplinary course with the code 501 for undergraduate studies and two interdisciplinary courses with the codes 526 and 528 for graduate studies, which were conceptualized as literary or Cultural Studies courses with a gender focus. The interdisciplinary courses were mandatory for all students studying towards a master degree and not towards a teaching diploma, which means that a vast number of students became exposed to feminist and gender theory, and were encouraged to reflect on British and American literature through the lens of Gender Studies. In addition, the introductory lectures and undergraduate seminars in Cultural Studies devoted a number of sessions to feminist and gender theory and their application in Cultural Studies analyses of literature, film, television, and other cultural texts. From 2005 to 2008, the English and American Studies curriculum contained a section entitled 'Cultural Studies – Gender Studies – Interdisciplinary Courses', which demonstrates that Gender Studies and Cultural Studies were perceived as sharing similar attributes and agendas that were set apart from traditional literary studies. The next reform of the curriculum as a consequence of the Bologna process in 2008 rendered Gender Studies less visible:

10 The next section will provide an overview of the individual departments' achievements in women- and gender-focused research and teaching.

The module 'Topics in Cultural and Media Studies' includes various courses that bear a focus on gender, sex, and sexuality, but evidently Gender Studies are understood as a sub-discipline of Cultural Studies and not as a field in its own right. On a regular basis, the department also offers seminars in British and American literature that concentrate on women writers, the representation of sex and gender in literature, or the challenging of gender norms and traditional stereotypes through literature, but Gender Studies are not officially inscribed into the curriculum of the B.A. and the M.A. in English and American Studies.[11]

At the University of Graz, the University of Salzburg, and the University of Klagenfurt, the situation of Gender Studies within English and American Studies is similar to the one in Vienna. Since 2008, the English and American Studies curriculum in Graz has contained a module entitled 'Module J: Cultural Studies II', which includes courses with a gender focus; similarly, part of the curriculum in Salzburg is a module called 'CULT2: Aspects of Cultural Studies', which consists of courses that deal with questions concerning gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity. In the curriculum at the University of Klagenfurt, then, the presence of Gender Studies is reduced to a minimum: a simple sentence that the department regularly offers courses with an emphasis on gender and thus complies with university regulations to support gender-focused teaching, has to suffice. The curriculum of English and American Studies at the University of Innsbruck, by contrast, features a mandatory module on Gender Studies, which introduces students to gender theory and current discourses on gender and sexuality. Additionally, several Cultural Studies modules are concerned with gender as an identity category and aim at heightening students' sensibility towards gender issues.

3.2 Gender-Focused Research and Teaching in English and American Studies

Given the inconsistency in the degree of the institutionalization Women's and Gender Studies have been subject to at Austrian English and American

11 The only brief mention of gender in the M.A. curriculum talks about the analysis of social hierarchies and power structures regarding sex/gender, class, and race/ethnicity as part of the Cultural and Media Studies module.

Studies departments, a look at research and teaching activities may shed more light on the commitment of the curricula to Women's and Gender Studies. Additionally, it is noteworthy to point out the dedication of individual scholars to the support of women in the academia and to the implementation of equal opportunity programs.

3.2.1 University of Vienna

In 1998, Margarete Rubik was the first woman to be appointed chair of English Literature at the English and American Studies department of the University of Vienna, 126 years after the department had been founded. Not only her appointment to an evidently quite androcentric department can be considered remarkable – also in her research and teaching Rubik walked untrodden paths, already before she became full professor. The publication of her book *The Novels of Mrs. Oliphant: A Subversive View of Traditional Themes* (1994) is undoubtedly a first milestone in Anglicist Women's Studies at the University of Vienna. The study is doubly remarkable, as it provides a thorough analysis of a female writer, who had fallen out of scholarly interest until the mid-1980s probably because of her unusual treatment of Victorian ideas of marriage and family life; moreover, it is the published version of Rubik's *Habilitation*, and can thus be regarded a very open commitment on Rubik's part to the research on English women writers – both famous and obscure – and to a reading of English literature through the lens of feminism and women's studies – both in her research and in her teaching. To be sure, her book *Early Women Dramatists. Women Playwrights in England 1550–1800* (1998) and the edited volume *Eighteenth-Century Women Playwrights. Vol. 1: Delarivier Manley and Eliza Haywood* (2001, together with Eva Müller-Zettelmann), as well as numerous publications on Aphra Behn and Charlotte Brontë testify to that commitment.

Her teaching record shows that Rubik has offered courses located at the intersection of English and Women's Studies since the mid-1990s, when she first taught the seminar 'Women's Studies: A Feminist Perspective', which had previously been taught by Susan Gunter-Freeman, and a seminar on 'Early Women Dramatists'. Since then, she has offered courses on, for instance, Victorian women writers, gender stereotypes in Restoration Drama, re-writings of Jane Eyre, fictional heroines in British literature, and gender

and race in short stories, to name but a few. Additionally, Rubik is an active member of the university's mentoring program for gender equality, a cross-disciplinary mentoring initiative that has been a central achievement of feminist academics in the late 1990s.

Julia Lajta-Novak's postdoc-project 'Portrait of the Woman Artist: Gender and Genre in Biofiction', supported by the Austrian Research Fund (FWF), continues the tradition of Anglicist Gender Studies at the University of Vienna of reading English literature through the lens of feminist and gender-theoretically informed approaches, in order to analyze the (de-) construction of gender roles and power structures, the gendered representation of public and private sphere, or gender-political agendas expressed by women writers as a response to their respective cultural and historical contexts. Melanie Feratova-Loidolt's research and teaching, by contrast, is highly influenced by French feminism and a Cultural Studies inflected Gender Studies and thus exemplary of the breadth of the field. Feratova-Loidolt defended her dissertation 'Dancing with Death: Women's Painful, Feverish, and Fatal Encounters with Life and Love' in 2005, and has since taught Gender Studies undergraduate seminars (some of them through the funds of the Unit Gender Research) on feminist negotiations of the divine and dogmatic iconographies of the female body, re-imaginings of the female fall and male recreation, cultural configurations of the female scapegoat, and female artistic selves. Applying psychoanalytic theory, poststructuralist theory, film and media theory, and feminist theory to English literature from the 17th to the 21st century, to film, and to other visual material, Feratova-Loidolt's research and teaching reflects on cultural structures, themes, and myths by pointing out, for instance, the continuities and systematics behind the affirmation of power hierarchies, male hegemony, and the othering of the female and feminine.

Americanist Gender Studies at the University of Vienna had been significantly shaped and defined by Astrid M. Fellner from the late 1990s until 2009, when she became full professor of American Studies at Saarland University in Saarbruecken in Germany. Since the winter semester 1998/99, when she taught the undergraduate seminar 'A Literature of Their Own: American Feminist Texts', Fellner had regularly offered courses and lectures with a clear focus on women's writing, questions of gender and sexuality, and on the intersection of gender, sex, and the body. From 'Wayward

Girls and Wicked Women' in British and American literature, 'Daughters of Decadence' in Modernism, to cross-dressing in American literature and culture from the 18th to the 21st century, and desire and domesticity in nineteenth-century American literature, Fellner's courses shed light on gender discourses, power structures, and subversive femininities from colonial America until present-day popular culture. Fellner also offered the first undergraduate course on queer theory at the department of English and American Studies, entitled 'In a Different Light', in the summer semester 2006. This course was concerned with the intersection of gender and masculinity, focusing on the representation of both 'deviant' masculinities and femininities in cultural texts ranging from the film *Brokeback Mountain* to Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera*. The final papers produced in this class were published in the format of an internet anthology, which demonstrates the wide variety of topics and issues covered in class and further developed by the course participants.

Aside from the intersection of gender and sexuality, Fellner's research has also focused on the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity, and gender and the body, as her publications in the field of American Studies evince. While ethnic women's writing stands at the center of her dissertation, *Articulating Selves: Contemporary Chicana Self-Representation* (2002), her *Habilitation*, *Bodily Sensations* (forthcoming), focuses on the female body in late-eighteenth-century American culture. The edited volumes *Body Signs: The Body in Latino/a Cultural Production* (2012) and *Making National Bodies: Cultural Identity and the Politics of the Body in (Post-) Revolutionary America* (2010) further emphasize Fellner's commitment to the investigation of the role and function of the sexed and gendered body in American culture. Her recent research engages performance studies, transnational studies, and queer theory as methodological tools and critical paradigms that open up a new perspective on the complexities of power mechanisms and the sexed, gendered, and racialized body.

Dedicated to the implementation of measures aiming at gender equality and the promotion of women in the academia, Astrid M. Fellner also served as an equal opportunity officer at the faculty of the humanities at the University of Vienna from 2007 until 2009. Since Astrid M. Fellner's transition to Saarland University in 2009, the number and variety of Americanist Gender Studies courses at the University of Vienna has decreased significantly.

Visiting professors Jutta Ernst, Ina Bergmann, and Stefan Brandt all offered at least one course that had a focus on women's writing or gender theory during their limited employments in Vienna.

3.2.2 University of Graz

Stefan Brandt has recently been appointed full professor of American Studies at the University of Graz and transitioned to Graz immediately after his visiting professorship in Vienna ended in early 2013. Brandt's appointment to Graz suggests that the American Studies department there will probably develop into the center of Gender Studies in Austrian English and American Studies in the years to come. In his teaching and research, Brandt has focused extensively on the body and masculinity, as his monographs *The Culture of Corporeality: Aesthetic Experience and the Embodiment of America* (2007) and *Inszenierte Männlichkeit: Körperkult und 'Krise der Maskulinität' im spätviktorianischen Amerika* (*Staged Masculinity: The Obsession with the Body and the 'Crisis of Masculinity' in Late-Victorian America,* 2007) demonstrate. Brandt has taught seminars with a focus on Men's Studies, Gender Studies, and Queer Theory during his employment at the University of Vienna, and since his appointment to the University of Graz, he has already offered a seminar on the literature of Ernest Hemingway and a seminar on the films of Arnold Schwarzenegger, both of which dealt with representations of masculinity and the body, among other things.

Next to Stefan Brandt, Roberta Maierhofer and Klaus Rieser, both professors of American Studies, and Silvia Schultermandl, tenured assistant professor of American Studies, count Gender Studies among their main research interests. Roberta Maierhofer, who served as Vice Rector for International Relations and Affirmative Action for Women from 2003 to 2007, has been director of the Center for Inter-American Studies at the University of Graz since 2007. In her research and teaching, Maierhofer focuses on the interrelation of Gender Studies and Age Studies: In her 2009 publication *Salty Old Women*, she developed a theoretical approach to gender and age, and she has written several essays on the cultural and social perception of aging women and the stigmatization of aging in contemporary culture.

Klaus Rieser, whose wife Susanne was the first director of the Viennese Unit for Gender Research, has published on father-daughter relationships

and on the representation of masculinity in American film, from the Western to the slasher film and road movies. He has repeatedly taught seminars on film and gender and has offered courses within the university's 'Gender Studies' program. As the series editor of *Transnational Feminism*, Silvia Schultermandl is particularly interested in the intersectionality of gender and race/ethnicity in a transnational and transcultural context. Her dissertation was published as *Transnational Matrilineage: Mother-Daughter Conflicts in Asian American Literature* in 2009, and she has taught several courses on (ethnic) women's literature and contemporary women of color feminism in the U.S. At the University of Graz, Gender Studies are the domain of American Studies; unfortunately there is currently no one in English Studies with a particular research interest in Women's and Gender Studies, and, consequently, there are also no courses offered in this area.

3.2.3 University of Salzburg

The situation of Gender Studies in English and American Studies at the University of Salzburg is similar to that of the University of Graz and yet different. Since the appointment of Ralph J. Poole as chair of American Studies, Gender Studies – with a focus on Queer Studies and Masculinity Studies – have become a fixture in the department's course offerings. Prior to Poole's appointment, Dorothea Steiner engaged in Women's Studies as part of American Literary Studies with her publications on the poetry of Emily Dickinson, Anne Bradstreet, and other female poets. Concerned with the definition and self-definition of women in American poetry, Steiner also taught and lectured widely on the female tradition, the female voice, and feminist criticism in American poetry. Poole, by contrast, has taught seminars on 'Wild Men / Wild West', camp and kitsch, or migration and gender relations. Focusing on gender, and especially masculinity, in a transcultural context and through the lens of queer theory, his teaching and writing is inflected by the recent turn to transnationality and performance as theoretical tools and paradigms. Poole's publications in the field of Americanist Gender Studies include the monographs *Gefährliche Maskulinitäten: Männlichkeit und Subversion am Rande der Kulturen* (*Dangerous Masculinities: Masculinity and Subversion at the Fringes of Culture*, 2011) and *Performing Bodies. Überschreitungen der Geschlechtergrenzen im Theater der Avantgarde*

(*Performing Bodies: Transgressions of Gender Boundaries in the Theater of the Avant-Garde*, 1996), the edited volume *Hard Bodies* (together with Florian Sedlmeier and Susanne Wegener, 2011), the special issue *Gender and Humour* (together with Annette Keck, 2011) of the journal *Gender Forum*, the special issue *Queering America* (together with Catrin Gersdorf, 2001) of the journal *Amerikastudien / American Studies*, as well as several essays and online publications. Moreover, Poole currently serves as a board member for the Austrian Gender Studies Association.

Anglicist Gender Studies in Salzburg are represented by Sabine Coelsch-Foisner, who has published a monograph entitled *Revolution in Poetic Consciousness: An Existential Reading of Mid-Twentieth-Century British Women's Poetry* (2002), and the edited volumes *The Human Body in Contemporary Literatures in English* (together with Marta Fernández Morales, 2009) and *Daughters of Restlessness: Women's Literature at the End of the Millenium* (together with Hanna Wallinger, 1998). Coelsch-Foisner counts women's poetry, aesthetics, and the representation of the body among her research interests, which is also reflected in her teaching. Apart from introductory lectures to literary and cultural studies, in which she exposes students to gender theory, among other things, she has taught seminars on body transformations in English literature, the construction of beauty and bestiality, and romantic literature, in which feminist and gender theory occupied a central role as analytical tools.

3.2.4 University of Klagenfurt

At the University of Klagenfurt, Women's and Gender Studies are currently not a main interest in the research and teaching at the English and American Studies department. In the 1990s and 2000s, Maureen Devine, who is now retired, published and taught extensively on Ecofeminism and American feminist writing of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1992, she published *Woman and Nature: Literary Reconceptualizations* and together with Gudrun Grabher she edited a volume on *Women in Search of Literary Space* (1991). Simone Puff, former assistant in American Studies, and René Schallegger, currently post-doc assistant at the English and American Studies department, have both lectured within the Gender Studies lecture series 'Visual Cultures: Gender Images – Gender Imaginaries'

in the winter semester 2012/13. Puff has also offered courses on (black) women's writing, the intersectionality of race, class, and gender in (black) America, and on the intersectionality of whiteness, gender, and power in American culture. Currently, she is external lecturer at the University of Klagenfurt and is working on her *Habilitation* at Saarland University, where she is supervised by Astrid M. Fellner.

3.2.5 University of Innsbruck

The University of Innsbruck was the first Austrian university to appoint a woman chair of American Studies. Brigitte Scheer-Schäzler completed her Ph.D. at the University of Vienna in 1964, her *Habilitation* at the University of Salzburg in 1972, and became full professor at the University of Innsbruck in 1973. As founding member of the Austrian Association for American Studies, Dean of the faculty of the humanities, chairperson of the Fulbright commission, and member of the Austrian UNESCO-commission, Scheer-Schäzler is one of the few women who were able to assert themselves in the academia in the 1970s and to hold a number of important offices during their career. Counting Women's Studies among her main research interests, Scheer-Schäzler has published two edited volumes on short stories by women writers (*Her Own Story. Short Stories by Women from Different Cultures*, 1991, and *Women's Fantastic Adventures. Stories by Contemporary Women Writers,* 1992), as well as a volume entitled *Immigrant Stories: New Fiction by New Women* (1996) and numerous essays on women's writing.

Americanist Women's Studies was further promoted in Innsbruck through Gudrun M. Grabher, who received tenure in 1989 and has since established herself as an internationally renowned scholar on the poetry of Emily Dickinson. Grabher has published and taught widely on Dickinson and American poetry, but also received critical acclaim for her edited volume *Women in Search of Literary Space* (1990). In 1997, Grabher supervised Andrea B. Braidt's diploma thesis on lesbian romance and independent film, which Braidt completed with distinction. Braidt studied English and American Studies combined with Media Studies and Gender Studies, and has since taught Gender Studies, feminist film theory, and gender in film in Vienna, Graz, and Budapest. She has also published widely on gender

and film, most recently the monograph *Film-Genus: Gender und Genre in der Filmwahrnehmung* (2008). As briefly mentioned earlier, Braidt is currently president of the Gender Studies Association in Austria, which testifies to her continuing commitment to Gender Studies in the Austrian academia. Furthermore, Mario Klarer, who succeeded Scheer-Schäzler as full professor of American Studies in 2010, published several essays on feminist literary theory, the function of gender in literary utopias, the role orality and literacy play in the constitution of gender, and the significance of gender on early images of America. His publications on the work of Ursula K. Le Guin and Margaret Atwood have received international attention and contributed substantially to the visibility of gender research at the University of Innsbruck.

In English Studies in Innsbruck, there has been relatively little preoccupation with Women's and Gender Studies. The Linguist Ulrike Jessner-Schmid focuses on the development of gender related speech characteristics in her research and teaching, and Helga Ramsey-Kurz has published several essays on female friendship and female (in)articulateness in British literature. Assistant professor Elahe Haschemi Yekani, who joined the department in 2012, counts queer theory, masculinity studies, feminist theory, and Body Studies among her research interests. She is the author of *Privilege of Crisis: Narratives of Masculinities in Colonial and Postcolonial Literature, Photography and Film* (2011), and co-editor of the volume *Queer Futures: Reconsidering Ethics, Activism, and the Political* (together with Eveline Kilian and Beatrice Michaelis, 2013) and the special issue *The Queerness of Things Not Queer* (with Gabriele Dietze and Beatrice Michaelis, 2012), as well as the volume *Quer durch die Geisteswissenschaften* (*Across the Humanities,* with Beatrice Michaelis, 2005). Yekani has also published several essays in the fields of Gender Studies and Body Studies, and teaches courses on, for instance, queer cinema, colonial masculinities, and gender and ethnicity in contemporary British literature.

4. Conclusion and Outlook

As this brief survey has shown, the process of institutionalizing Women's and Gender Studies in Austria was not a smooth and easy ride. Even though the University of Vienna has always been one of the largest universities

in Europe, it offered little space for female *and* male faculty and students to develop and discuss a feminist positionality in the academia until the late 1980s and early 1990s. Motivated by the achievements of the feminist movement in the U.S., feminist historians, most notably Edith Saurer, started to design a systematic and well-structured agenda for women in the academia by challenging well-established patterns of behavior, thought, and perception and thus changing the academic landscape at the University of Vienna (cf. Griesebner 2005: 65).

Anglicist and Americanist Women's and Gender Studies emerged out of these feminist interventions in Austria and were, of course, significantly shaped by the achievements of Women's and Gender Studies in the U.K. and in the U.S. Up until the new millennium, the institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies in Austria and at English and American Studies departments, in particular, was a slow and tedious process that depended on the commitment of a few dedicated scholars and funds provided by the institutions and the federal minister of science and research. Often subsumed under the rubric of 'Cultural Studies', Women's and Gender Studies had been a fixture in English and American syllabi since the 1990s, but they were only officially included as a field of study and research with the reform of the curriculum in 2002. The turn of the millennium also saw a greater and more wide-reaching promotion of Gender Studies research centers, Gender Studies programs, and institutional initiatives directed especially at female researchers and scholars. Moreover, it is noteworthy that, as a consequence of the institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies at Austrian institutions, international collaborations and intellectual exchange, especially between Austria and Germany, have been thriving. Joint collaborations date back to the 1980s, when, for instance, Katharina Bachinger (Salzburg) co-organized the annual conference of the German Association for American Studies on women in U.S.-American culture and society in 1984, and they have naturally developed with the appointments of German scholars to Austrian universities and vice versa.

The current situation of Anglicist and Americanist Gender Studies in Austria is neither particularly bleak nor particularly bright. At all main English and American Studies departments, gender-focused courses are offered, albeit in very varying degrees. While the American Studies sections at the University of Graz and the University of Salzburg have recently

developed a strong focus on Masculinity Studies and Queer Studies with the appointments of Stefan Brandt and Ralph J. Poole, English and American Studies at the University of Klagenfurt devotes less attention to Gender Studies and offers considerably less courses focused on gender-related issues. The current research of post-doc scholars in English Studies at the University of Vienna and the University of Innsbruck testifies to the breadth of Women's and Gender Studies as academic fields and to the wide variety of gender-related issues that English and American Studies in Austria has not yet tackled and dealt with. Furthermore, a quick look at Ph.D. and diploma theses currently in progress across Austrian English and American Studies departments shows the unfaltering interest of students and young researchers in Gender Studies. There is, in other words, enough work left to be done to keep generations of Austrian English and American Studies scholars busy.

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Věra Eliášová / Simona Fojtová / Martina Horáková

Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies in the Czech Republic: An Uncertain Discipline

1. Introduction

The present chapter reflects on the role which English and American studies taught at Czech universities have played in the dissemination of feminist theory and the growth of women's and gender studies. To refer to the cross-fertilization of these two disciplines (English and American studies and women's and gender studies), we employ a specific term 'Anglicist women's and gender studies', where the term 'Anglicist' is understood as stemming from a strong philological orientation of English and American studies in the Czech Republic.[1] This conception somewhat differs from the Anglo-American context and as such it reveals an interesting divergence in the perception of Anglicist women's and gender studies that will be reflected upon in our discussion. We will argue that the influence of English and American studies on the study of women's issues, gender and feminist perspectives (and vice versa) is perhaps not visible and leading, yet it has resulted in creating autonomous curricular structures that might potentially lead to a deeper institutional recognition and integration of Anglicist women's and gender studies in Czech academic and public life. As we demonstrate in the article, the English departments provided an impetus for a variety of pioneering and cross-fertilizing endeavors that included such things as creating

1 'Women's and gender studies' is used as an umbrella term to include what might, at some institutions, be called only 'women's studies', and only 'gender studies' at others. When discussing the situation in the Czech Republic, however, we need to distinguish between the elements of both women's and gender studies that are, for example, integrated in the English and American studies programs, and only 'gender studies' programs (not women's studies) integrated in the sociology departments. This distinction is due to the fact that in the post-communist period in the early 1990s the founders of gender studies opted for this term as more 'user-friendly', or less ideologically charged than women's studies or feminism, which, for various reasons, did not acquire positive connotations among the Czech public.

feminist libraries, publishing a feminist magazine, establishing a publishing house, and incorporating women's and gender studies into their research and curricula. While it was the discipline of sociology and the newly established gender studies centres that carried out the crucial steps of institutionalizing the educational curricula and research in women's and gender studies, the departments of English and American studies were instrumental in introducing key texts in (mainly Anglo-American) feminist theory to a Czech readership throughout the 1990s. The earlier, preparatory stage was characterized by positive energy dedicated to mediating English-language feminist texts, translating them into Czech, and collecting books and other materials to support feminist libraries. Since the new millennium, English departments have played an important role in mapping and shaping the field of women's and gender studies through scholarly research and teaching practice in which newly designed courses strive to acquaint students with more advanced feminist theories and issues in women's and gender studies. Therefore, feminism, women's and gender studies, as well as more recent scholarly fields, such as queer studies or men's studies, have become a stable component in the educational curricula of English and American studies. However, despite the earlier dynamism and the increasing integration of these study fields, Anglicist women's and gender studies remains a tenuous intellectual formation that is not supported by any faculty lines or other forms of institutional commitment and is mostly propelled by personal initiatives of individual faculty in the departments of English and American studies.

2. General Background and National Context

When tracing the development of Anglicist women's and gender studies in the Czech Republic, it may be useful to look back to the nineteenth century, before the Czech Republic (1993), and its precursor, Czechoslovakia (1918), were established as sovereign states. It is especially illuminating to examine the role of Anglophone influences on the women's movement during the struggle for Czech national sovereignty in the nineteenth century as well as during the democratic process with its emphasis on egalitarianism in the so-called First Republic (1918–1938).

Until 1918, the territory of what is now the Czech Republic, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, was part of the multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire. The majority of its elites were German-speaking while Czech national revivalists fought for the emancipation of the Czech language and its literature. Although Anglophone influences played a much lesser role in Czech cultural life, they were important especially for issues concerning women. In 1865, a group of progressively thinking intellectuals, led by the Czech traveler and philanthropist Vojtěch Náprstek (1826–94), established the so-called American Ladies' Club (Secká 2012: 21). This Club was devoted to promoting women's rights, women's education, and all things progressive (at that time synonymous with American), such as introducing the first sewing machine, seen as a revolutionary device liberating women from the drudgery of domestic labor. Among the Czech elites belonging to the Club, many women writers, such as Karolina Světlá (1830–99) and Sofie Podlipská (1833–97), were instrumental in its conception and leadership. Interestingly, even before the Club's establishment, Czech women writers – one of them being perhaps the most significant woman writer in Czech literature, Božena Němcová (1820–62) – were key figures in advocating the betterment of women's status, emphasizing education in particular. The Club successfully continued its activities for several decades.[2] In 1890, the Club gave rise to the first *gymnázium* for girls called Minerva (Malínská 2005: 105). Toward the end of the 19th century, women were finally admitted to Czech universities, first to the Faculty of Arts in 1897, and shortly thereafter to the Faculty of Medicine in 1900 (Horská 1999: 82–3).

Another notable American influence during that time period relates to the first Czechoslovak president, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937), who was influenced by American ideals of democracy, and was deeply devoted to the agenda of women's rights that he saw as part of a larger social rights issue, an idea elaborated in his famous 1898 treatise, *Otázka sociální* [The Social Question]. His wife, Charlotte Garrigue-Masaryková (1850–1923), who was American by birth, was also an active member in

2 With several modifications, the Club lasted until 1948, i.e. the beginning of the communist totalitarian era. After the Velvet Revolution in 1989, the Club was resurrected, namely by Milena Secká, and it continues its activities till today (Secká 2012: 243).

the American Ladies' Club. For example, she translated into Czech John Stuart (and Harriet Taylor) Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869; *Poddanství žen*, 1890). Their daughter, Alice Masaryková (1879–1966), one of the first Czech women to earn a university degree, was even more active in the suffrage movement. Together with politician and journalist Františka Plamínková (1875–1942), one of the most prominent Czech leaders of the suffrage movement, she strongly drew on international cooperation in their struggle and Czechoslovak women finally gained the right to vote in 1920. Some scholars claim that through the convergence of feminism and nationalism, Czech feminists managed to acquire certain rights – such as gaining legal parity as part of a larger state formation – with less struggle than women in other countries (e.g., the United States) had to endure (Feinberg 2006: 11; Bausum 2004: 8).

This short (and inevitably selective) overview indicates the strength of the early Czech feminist movement, on the one hand, and its links to the nationalist agenda, on the other. Some scholars argue that the interconnectedness of women's and national issues constituted a specific aspect of the Czech situation. For example, Czech historian Jitka Malečková, who has examined the women's movement in the Czech lands in the nineteenth century, points out that the movement, which she characterizes as the struggle of middle-class women for full equality in education and access to professions previously restricted to men, had the surprisingly vocal support of men. Together with the moderate character of the movement, Malečková argues, it was the 'prevailing subordination (or better connection) of women's aims to the interests of the whole nation, and the role of men in the women's movement, namely their active support of women, and women's deliberate collaboration with them' which meant that the movement did not encounter openly violent opposition to its mission (Malečková 2004: 187). Finally, Malečková adds another argument that may be interesting for our discussion of Anglicist women's and gender studies: one of the many reasons the Czech women's movement aligned with the national movement was because they shared 'a common enemy – Austrian rule and authorities, and Germanization' (Malečková 2004: 187). We can speculate whether this historical context helped prepare the ground for the strong influence of American ideals of democracy in the First Republic which brought national

independence to Czechs and Slovaks by establishing the sovereign state of Czechoslovakia.

Indeed, the First Republic's democratic ideals and emphasis on egalitarian values, which were extended to include equality for women, managed to secure a high degree of political influence and intellectual authority for Czech feminists in the first decades of the 20th century. Historian Melissa Feinberg relates the exceptional position of Czech feminists directly to their vision of egalitarianism, arguing that '[f]or them, democracy was not simply a government that substituted elected leaders for the Habsburg imperial system, nor was it purely a synonym for a Czech national state. It was a society with a strict code of egalitarian ethics' (Feinberg 2006: 10). Investigating the early women's movement as related to the nationalist agenda (which culminated in the First Republic) is significant for yet another reason: as Malečková shows, exposing and drawing attention to the origins of the early women's movement legitimized the contemporary women's movement as it demonstrated that feminism 'was neither a Western import, nor could it be identified with the official women's organizations under communism' (Malečková 2009: 264). In other words, the women's movement in post-communist countries has grown, to a large extent, out of a local historical context and as such should not be perceived as automatically identifying with Western feminist activism – an argument that will resonate later in the 1990s in the debates on the character of so-called Eastern European feminism.[3]

2.1 Post-Communist Development of Czech Gender Studies

After WWII, Czechoslovakia fell under Soviet influence. This radical turn in politics was mirrored by equally radical shifts in Czechoslovak social life, and likewise meant radical changes for the women's movement. The new, Marxist-style (or, perhaps, more appropriately, Leninist-style) feminism promoted the image of the working-class woman fully devoted to the ideals of a communist society. Women's emancipation was seen solely as part of the communist doctrine that sought the victory of the proletariat.

3 Some of these debates were recorded, for example, in Šmejkalová-Strickland 1993; Busheikin 1993; Argent 2003.

Different perspectives on emancipation were rejected as capitalist and bourgeois and thus dangerous to the Communist regime. This development was exemplified by the tragic case of Milada Horáková (1901–1950), a Czech lawyer and political and social activist who became involved in the Women's National Council, founded in 1923 and led by Františka Plamínková (Kolářová 2006: 127). In the Council, Horáková worked on networking and collaborating with similar organizations abroad and on drafting important legislation concerning women (Doležalová n.pag.). After Plamínková was executed during WWII for her anti-fascist activism, Horáková led the Council of Czechoslovak Women, established in 1945. In 1950, she was accused of being a Western spy in an exemplary, Soviet-staged show trial, and executed, despite appeals from the members of world intellectual elites, such as Albert Einstein and Eleanor Roosevelt.[4]

The brutality of the 1950s Communist regime improved somewhat during the Prague Spring, a reformist movement of the 1960s, but this development was suppressed by the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army in August 1968. During the 1970s-80s, propaganda-style feminism was the official doctrine. Czech sociologist Hana Hašková aptly summarizes the situation in which restrictions on freedom of speech as well as on freedom to collaborate internationally seriously limited research in the social sciences and humanities: 'The issue of "the position of women in socialist society" was publicly discussed and was even on the research agenda, but it was impossible to develop a critical analysis of gender relations' (Hašková 2011: 132). This propaganda-laden discourse on women's emancipation unfortunately continues, although to a lesser extent, to haunt contemporary debates on feminism, which is still rejected wholesale by many as a suspicious ideology and remains a source of the

4 Because of her anti-fascist and anti-communist struggle, Horáková's contribution to women's rights activism is often overlooked. Thus Doležalová states: 'Unfortunately, her determined and wide-ranging work for the Czech women's movement has remained overshadowed by her post-War political activities, and it is necessary to add that current Czech policies regarding women have failed to successfully carry on this part of Milada Horáková's legacy' (Doležalová n.pag.).

still prevalent 'anti-feminist' sentiment permeating most spheres of Czech public life.[5]

Because there were very few possibilities of international support and intellectual exchange under communism, the group of women activists that formed an important basis for future critical debates on feminism were the women of the Czech dissident movement – for example, Olga Havlová (1933–1996), wife of Václav Havel, the Czech writer, dissident, and finally president of Czechoslovakia and later the Czech Republic. In spite of not being a published author herself, Havlová was an important female influence in both private and public capacities (as the wife of a well-known, politically active intellectual, but also monitoring activities of the dissident movement).[6] Today, her legacy continues in the Olga Havlová Foundation, which she established in 1990 and which focuses on helping people with disabilities. Another figure tightly linked to the dissident movement, Jiřina Šiklová (who will be referred to later), is perhaps the most important figure in the process of institutionalization of gender studies in the recent history of the Czech Republic. After the Velvet Revolution in 1989, which marked the end of the totalitarian Communist regime, women's issues again became a matter for critical debate, this time within a democratic and Western-oriented social and cultural framework. The women active in the dissident movement were joined by women writers who also became involved in the slowly emerging debate on the position of women in post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe. This involvement, it may be argued, stemmed from the active participation of women writers in advocating women's advancement during the early 19th century. The contemporary generation

5 The reasons for this 'anti-feminist' sentiment are various and complex, ranging from the legacy of the Communist regime to the relevance (or rather irrelevance) of applying Western feminist approaches to the Central and Eastern European post-socialist situation. Both Czech and international scholars have addressed this issue in a number of publications, among them Jiřina Šiklová, Hana Havelková, Jiřina Šmejkalová-Strickland, Laura Busheikin, Rebecca Nash, Kristen Ghodsee, Laura Occhipinti, and Melissa Feinberg.

6 After Václav Havel was imprisoned for his political activities, Havlová continued the work on his samizdat edition Expedice [Expedition] and also created a video documentary mapping activities of Czechoslovak dissidents ('Výbor dobré vůle – Nadace Olgy Havlové', www.vdv.cz).

of women writers such as Eva Hauserová (1954-) and Alexandra Berková (1949–2008) were among the first, most active, and vocal initiators of the new debates.

In the post-1989 period, the 'Western' influences (i.e. the democratic, economically developed Western European countries and the USA) began to play an important role in the transition of Czechoslovakia to democracy. As it was suggested, these democratic processes also meant new discussions about women's issues and feminism. Besides the above mentioned rejection of feminism as an ideology (i.e., as simply yet another 'ism'), these discussions also revealed a rather idealistic understanding of democracy as a flawless system in which all human rights, including those of women, are automatically guaranteed. This idealization may have contributed to the later disappointment among Czech intellectuals sensitive to women's issues and eager to witness the opening of new critical debates.

In spite of the general perception of women's issues as a rather senseless concern in a properly functioning democratic society, public debate on feminism and gender was carried on via the country's general openness in the early 1990s toward the English-speaking world and its cultural and intellectual milieu. Women's issues became a subject of interest especially for women writers and university-educated intellectuals who started advocating the necessity of studying feminism and gender. It was especially the aforementioned Jiřina Šiklová, a sociologist by profession (but banned from academia under communism for her political views[7]), who became a key figure in establishing the first Gender Studies Centre, which was located in Prague. Šiklová soon emerged as one of the most critical voices of Western feminism and has since become 'the most frequently translated and esteemed "Czech Feminist" in the popular Western imagination' (Argent 2003: 38). Her English-language texts are the most anthologized and discussed works of any Czech gender scholar in Western feminist scholarship on Czech women. Frequently featured in Czech mainstream media, Šiklová has also become the media authority on feminism and gender issues in post-socialist Czech society.

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7 This was a fate that befell most of those who expressed their discontent with the political status quo and those who protested against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army in 1968.

The grassroots beginnings of gender studies in the Czech Republic relied especially on book donations by friends and fellow academics from abroad, in particular from the United States – most prominently by Ann Snitow, a member of Network of East-West Women. The Gender Studies Centre in Prague (which was later re-named simply 'Gender Studies') was funded by various foundations supporting activism in Central and Eastern Europe (such as proFem with Sasa M Lienau, then Frauenstiftung, later Heinrich Boell Stiftung). The activities of the Prague Gender Studies Centre, especially the lectures it organized at universities across the country, were indispensable in institutionalizing gender studies as a discipline.[8]

One of the first publications of the Prague Gender Studies Centre, one that mapped the territory of feminism and gender studies, was *Bodies of Bread and Butter: Reconfiguring Women's Lives in the Post-Communist Czech Republic*, published in 1993 and edited by Susanna Trnka (a Czech American) and Laura Busheikin (a Canadian working at that time in the Gender Studies Centre in Prague). Trnka and Busheikin were both foreigners who offered a new perspective on the situation of women in the Czech Republic after the Velvet Revolution. Their conceptual approach was truly groundbreaking. It tried to combine both the 'Western' and the post-communist perspectives in order to stake out a new territory as a synthesis of these intellectual localities, a ground from which new discussions could emerge and thrive with the goal of finding the specific voice of Czech women. In the introduction, entitled 'Bread, Velvet and Revolution', the editors highlight the fundamental transformation of everything in Czech society: from common routines of everyday life to a large, once-in-a-lifetime historical change such as the Velvet Revolution (Trnka / Busheikin 1993: 5). Describing the changes in Czech women's lives, Trnka and Busheikin characterize the new situation of the early 1990s as one that resembles a rather strange, seemingly disparate mixture: 'In 1993, Czech women are in the grocery store, buying bread, butter, and milk, both frightened and angry that in the last three years the prices of basic food items have tripled. Women are changing diapers and learning English. Women are farming, typing in

8 For discussions about the new gender classes and reflections on the emerging discipline of gender studies in the 1990s, see Hradilková 1993, Šmejkalová-Strickland 1995, Malečková 1996.

offices, starting businesses. Women are teaching feminism at Charles University, planting trees to combat environmental degradation, and publishing lesbian poetry' (5). Indeed, articles included in the volume were equally disparate and heterogeneous, reflecting the outburst of new topics as well as new perspectives: the body, and the related issues of food, prostitution and pornography. Another topic, perhaps more to be expected in a post-communist society, was 'Czech women's struggle to free themselves from ideology' (5). The most important point on the agenda, however, seemed to be the desire to 'generate further questions, research and interest in women's issues in the Czech Republic' (Trnka / Busheikin 1993: 6).

3. The Formation of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies in the Czech Republic

Under the Communist regime, English departments in Czechoslovakia were, for obvious reasons, ostracized, mainly because they were suspected of potentially promoting Western European and American 'imperialist' ideology. If, generally, only students and teachers who were approved by the regime could study and work there, it is hardly conceivable that English studies could flourish as a discipline. Therefore, it was only after the change of political regime in 1989 that English departments could renew their vitality, initiate international cooperation, and participate fully in mediating Anglophone discourses to Czech students, scholars and a wider public.

It needs to be emphasized that during communism, the discipline of women's and/or gender studies did not exist in Czechoslovakia and no classes were offered at any Czech university. Given the gap, both theoretical and practical, between the development of a Western European/American and Czechoslovak (later Czech) women's movement, especially in the second wave starting in the 1960s, English departments can be assumed to have played the role of mediator in introducing English-written texts that were considered groundbreaking in Western feminist theory and women's and gender studies. As we noted, the common procedure was, in the first stage, to collect books, films and other materials in order to establish smaller or larger libraries, which at the beginning were mostly personal. Then, discussion groups – both formal/academic and informal/extracurricular – were formed to discuss the materials and open up a larger debate. In the second

stage, the texts were translated into Czech with the hope of familiarizing a Czech readership with the Anglo-American feminist and women's and gender studies discourse, including texts that reached audiences via Anglo-American cultural space (e.g. French feminism). Finally, English departments played – and still play – a role in the institutionalization of the field through scholarly research and teaching practice in which newly designed courses try to acquaint students with more advanced feminist theories and women's and gender studies in English-speaking countries. Whether the extent of this role is sufficient or not will be discussed in the following sections.

3.1 The Beginnings: Medúza, A Case Study

In the 1990s, the academic environment enabled access to previously unavailable sources. These sources – books and journals on women's issues – were written in foreign languages, and thus it can be said that departments of foreign languages and literatures formed a bridge between so-called 'Western' feminism and the Czech-speaking public. The history of the Brno gender studies circle named Medúza may serve as an interesting case study, in particular because it originated from within the academic environment of English and American studies.

Medúza was established in 1995 mainly by a group of students of the Department of English and American Studies at Masaryk University in Brno.[9] Its main activities included especially a reading group. The group read texts dealing with gender, feminism, and feminist literary criticism – that is, precisely those texts unavailable during the previous forty years of the totalitarian regime. In these activities, Medúza drew heavily on the personal libraries of teachers and scholars from abroad, in particular from English-speaking countries. Members of Medúza collected these resources with the aim of establishing a library for teachers and students who intended to address gender and feminist criticism as themes in their master's theses, their doctoral dissertations, or their teaching. In addition to collecting and exchanging books (which mirrored the earliest activities of the Gender Studies Centre in Prague), members of Medúza discussed the ideas therein

9 Eliášová and Fojtová, co-authors of this article, were among the founding members of this group.

mainly in a university setting, which included seminars, extra-curricular activities, and informal meetings.

Importantly, however, Medúza's members were also seeking to make these ideas known to a wider audience. Besides organizing discussion groups that were available only to those who could read the texts in English, there was another activity that resulted from these concerns: the publication of a feminist magazine. In these efforts, it was Pavla Buchtová, the chair of Medúza, who was instrumental in publishing the first issue of *Potměchuť* (translated as Woody Nightshade) in 1995. *Potměchuť*s articles ranged from translations of texts by canonical women writers, such as Adrienne Rich, to original pieces of creative writing, especially poetry. After roughly five issues of *Potměchuť*, Medúza's activities developed into establishing a publishing house (also named Medúza) that focused on women writers, both Czech and international. During its short duration of about five years, Medúza published, for example, a collection of short prose poems, entitled *Krajiny* [Landscapes, 1997], by the Brno writer Eva Talpová, a poetry collection *Seabook* (2000) by the American scholar and writer Rebekah Bloyd, and a translation of Jane Bowles's novel *Two Serious Ladies* (1997). Collecting important books in the field has been an ongoing process from Medúza's beginnings until today. More recently, Medúza has become part of a larger gender studies non-governmental organization in Brno, NORA, whose projects are primarily funded by the European Union, and its activities consist mainly of providing gender audits, addressing the lack of equal employment opportunities for women, monitoring gender discrimination, and organizing educational seminars for women. After its interim stay at Vesna, a local institution with a rich history of promoting women's education, Medúza's library is now housed on the premises of Nesehnutí, an NGO focusing on a wide range of social activism. Interestingly, although Medúza stemmed originally from an academic environment and was very much tied to a specific group of people related to the English department, it was later incorporated into the NGO and social activism sector.

Another important event in the process of raising awareness in the fields of feminism and gender studies took place during the foundational 1990s. In June 1996, Medúza organized an international conference, entitled *Feminism in Central and East European Countries*, which was attended by about forty participants from ten countries. Its main purpose was to stir a debate

on feminism and gender studies – not only in the Czech Republic, but also in a wider context of the transforming Central and Eastern European countries that were seeking to establish appropriate critical vocabulary in the field. Further aims were to map the territory – the current state of the debates, its challenges and issues, and potential networks of cooperation. Last, but not least, the most important goal was to establish a new tradition of feminist interaction in Central and Eastern Europe. The conference presented a variety of contributions reflecting the multiplicity of emerging agendas. The following contributions were published in the subsequent conference volume: 'Women, Mental Health and the State' by Darja Zaviršek (Slovenia); 'Violence Against Women and Children' by Corey Levine (Canada); 'Women and Politics in the Czech Republic' by Hana Havelková (Czech Republic); 'Some Notes on Lesbian Existence as Cultural Alternative' by Anna Daučíková (Slovakia); and 'Development of a Network of Women's and Gender Studies Libraries in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern and Central Europe' by Larisa Flint. In the Foreword to the *Conference Papers*, Buchtová states:

> Western versions of feminism have been developing for dozens of years and are therefore in many ways ahead of feminist thinking in post-communist countries. However, we cannot accept western feminist theories uncritically and apply them to situations in societies with completely different cultures and histories. We can make use of their knowledge, for in starting to some extent afresh and not taking advantage of other people's experience would waste time in going over ground that has already been covered. However, it remains necessary to create a tradition of Central and Eastern European feminist thinking which would respond to specific problems in the community as well as to some general phenomena in its own characteristic way. (Buchtová 1997: 5)

The activities of Medúza after the 1996 conference somehow dissolved: most of its members left the Czech Republic in order to pursue their doctoral studies abroad. This phenomenon, however, turned out to be beneficial as it produced the first, post-1989 generation of young scholars who studied at and/or graduated from Western European and American universities, often in fields related to both English and American studies and women's and gender studies. After some of them returned to the country, they naturally employed their knowledge and skills in their research and teaching. Some of the original members of Medúza also continued to focus their activities on expanding the library and started collecting books across languages and

genres. Today the library is available for reference to both students and general public interested in feminism and gender-related issues.

A good example of the cross-fertilizing tendencies and the ways of not only translating Western discourse for local audience but also creating important links to national and regional contexts are the collaborations the groups such as Medúza were able to initiate. In the 1990s, Medúza cooperated not only with the Gender Studies Centre in Prague, but also with Aspekt, the first feminist women's organization in Slovakia (established in 1992) whose activities involved raising awareness by organizing seminars, lectures, and other events related to feminism, including creating a library. One of the most remarkable achievements of Aspekt was issuing an eponymous journal (much larger in scope than *Potměchut*). In twenty-one issues published in the period of 1993–2001, *Aspekt* collected original texts by Slovak female authors, alongside providing translations of major texts of Western feminism into Slovak, thus catching up with the forced hiatus caused by the isolation of Central and Eastern Europe during the totalitarian era. Because Czechs can read Slovak easily, no translations were necessary, which helped make the intellectual exchange effective. Not only has the journal *Aspekt* become an invaluable source of knowledge of the key texts of feminist writing from abroad, but Aspekt has also been turned into a successful publishing house focused on books by women authors. As stated on its website, the main agenda of Aspekt was – and perhaps still is – to create a feminist and gender studies vocabulary. This goal was similar, it might be argued, to the agenda of Czech women's organizations throughout the 1990s.

Apart from the scholarly publications and research done since the early 1990s, translations into Czech were crucial for familiarizing the Czech readership with the key texts in feminist and gender studies discourse. The history of these translations goes back a long way: curiously, but quite exceptionally, the Czech philosopher Jan Patočka translated (from French) selections from Simone de Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe* (1949) that were published in Czech as early as 1966 by an official publishing house, which was clearly a consequence of the cautious political changes resulting from the Prague Spring (Hašková 2011: 133). But most of the translations that contributed to the process of familiarization with women's and gender studies were published in the post-1989 period and from English. Libora

Oates-Indruchová, a Czech literary scholar focusing on feminist literary theory, was instrumental in translating important texts from Anglo-American feminist theory for the Czech audience. Oates-Indruchová edited two anthologies of translated feminist texts, *Dívčí válka s ideologií* [The Girls' War With Ideology] (1998), and *Ženská literární tradice a hledání identit* [Women's Literary Tradition and the Search for Identities] (2007). Two other scholars, acknowledged by Oates-Indruchová herself, also expanded the knowledge of Anglo-American feminist thought. The art historian Martina Pachmanová is another of the pioneering scholars who have consistently promoted Anglo-American feminist discourse in the Czech academic environment and, importantly, related it to art history and the emerging field of visual studies – for example, in her anthology *Neviditelná žena: Antologie současného amerického myšlení o feminismu, dějinách a vizualitě* [The Invisible Woman: Anthology of Contemporary Texts on Feminism, History, and Visual Culture in the U.S.] published in 2002. The other scholar, Jana Valdrová, is a specialist in German linguistics who published *Gender a společnost* [Gender and Society] in 2006. Although these projects were deeply rooted in an academic environment, Oates-Indruchová claims that their aim was to reach not only scholars and students of gender and literature, but also a wider public (Oates-Indruchová 2007: 12).

A discussion of Czech translations of Anglo-American feminist texts cannot omit mentioning the only independent feminist publisher in the Czech Republic, One Woman Press, founded by Marie Chřibková in 1997, which has significantly contributed to shaping Czech feminist discourse through a number of ground-breaking publications. For example, in 1999 One Woman Press published a collection of essays entitled *Nové čtení světa: Feminismus devadesátých let českýma očima* [New Reading of the World: Feminism of the Nineties Through Czech Eyes]. One Woman Press has also published Czech translations of texts by such notable feminists as Germaine Greer, Julia Kristeva, Virginia Woolf, and Lillian Faderman, in addition to anthologies of women writers' fiction from various national literatures (e.g., Irish, Welsh, Scottish, Greek, Swedish, and Latvian). The press has also been significant for publishing fiction by young, emerging Czech women writers and recently for its focus on publications in the areas of women's health and spirituality.

3.2 Cross-Fertilization of English and American Studies and Women's and Gender Studies in English Departments

The Czech Republic has three main, traditional universities: the two oldest, Charles University in Prague (founded in 1348) and Palacký University in Olomouc (1573), are complemented by Masaryk University in Brno (1919). There are a number of other universities ranging from larger public ones to regional and private educational institutions, as well as English departments at Pedagogical Faculties (as opposed to Faculties of Arts), but for the purposes of this chapter, the English departments taken into consideration here are the Department of English and American Studies at Charles (originally founded in the 1880s, today known as the Department of Anglophone Literatures and Cultures), the Department of English and American Studies at Masaryk (founded in 1919), and the Department of English and American Studies at Palacký (founded in 1946).

In one way or another, all three departments have helped cultivate the knowledge of Anglo-American feminist theories and gender-related issues, most obviously in two main activities for which the departments are responsible – scholarly research and teaching. Scholarly publications, written both in Czech and English, range from literary criticism focused on women authors from English-speaking countries to critical analyses of literature and culture through the lens of feminist theories and gender-based approaches. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, several Czech authors wrote monographs introducing contemporary British women authors to a Czech audience; for example, Professor Milada Franková (Brno) published *Britské spisovatelky na konci tisíciletí* [British Women Writers at the End of the Millennium, 1999] and *Britské spisovatelky na přelomu tisíciletí* [British Women Writers at the Turn of the Millennium, 2003]. However, it could be argued that in spite of these efforts, so far no one (with the exception of Oates-Indruchová's and Pachmanová's anthologies) has systematically mapped Anglo-American feminist and gender-based literary criticism for a Czech-speaking readership. Nevertheless, other Czech scholarly publications, mostly written in English in order to reach an international audience, have examined topics and employed strategies found in many Western European and American departments of English and American studies: attention has been paid to the diversity of women's experiences; literary

canon transformation; fiction and non-fiction by minority women writers who identify as African American, Indigenous, Chicana, Caribbean, and British but of Indian origin; feminist approaches to environment and geography; women's life writing and travel writing; and a gender-based analysis of language. In this respect, the Czech departments have mirrored comparable trends in other countries.

In terms of teaching practice, similar observations can be made. Since the early 1990s, both undergraduate and graduate courses have been offered in the fields of gender studies, feminist theories, and gender-based literary criticism, of course mirroring the popularity and the degree of familiarity of the discourse. The courses include specialized advanced courses in linguistics, critical theory, and cultural studies where feminism and gender studies are taught in the form of theoretical lectures as part of advanced courses covering main theoretical schools (this is the practice in Prague and Brno). Other courses offer gender-based and feminist analyses of language, literature, and culture. Random examples from the current academic year include: Women in English Literature 1660–1800, Contemporary British Women Writers, and Narrating Gender (all at Charles U. in Prague); Virginia Woolf: Woman, Writer; Women in Fiction and Theory; Women in the City; Postcolonial and Feminist Rewritings of Master Narratives (all at Masaryk in Brno). Apart from these specialized courses, several Czech academics teaching gender and feminism have acknowledged in their responses to our inquiry that they regularly integrate feminist literary criticism and gender-based approaches in their other classes, including literary survey courses. In addition, a number of master's theses and doctoral dissertations in the area of Anglicist women's and gender studies have been supervised over the past ten years.

Apart from the regular teaching and research activities in the English departments at Charles, Masaryk, and Palacký, occasionally some interesting crossover projects take place. A good example of a fruitful interdisciplinary collaboration is a lecture series titled 'Gender and Literary Criticism', co-organized by women scholars representing the English Department, the Institute of Czech Literature, and the Gender Studies Program at Charles University in Prague. In several consecutive courses lasting one semester, the series has presented lectures and seminars offered by various scholars and teachers who cover a different topic every year. Past topics have included

Gender and Modernism, The Metaphor of a Woman, Women and Nationalism, and Gender and Narration. Several collections of essays have been inspired by these lectures, including *Ponořena do Léthé: sborník věnovaný cyklu přednášek Metafora ženy 2000–2001* [Bathed in Lethe: A Collection of Essays Dedicated to the Lecture Series The Metaphor of a Woman 2000–2001] published in 2003.

An attempt to map the mutual influences of English and American studies and women's and gender studies in the Czech Republic reveals that rather than a systematic tendency toward establishing the study of Anglicist women's and gender studies and ensuring its continuation via research and practice, the field is kept alive and carried on not by institutions and their curricula as such but by individual people, mostly by women scholars, teachers, translators, and literary critics, for whom it has become, it seems, a mission to inform and familiarize their students with the given discourse. While the professional life of these scholars is generally based in English and American studies, there are a few who migrate between disciplines and we will mention two examples. The first is Associate Professor Libora Oates-Indruchová, one of the interdisciplinary scholars, trained in Anglo-American literary criticism, but based, for a substantial time, in the gender studies program in the Department of Sociology in the Faculty of Social Sciences in Brno, before transferring to the Department of Sociology and Andragogy at Palacký in Olomouc. The other scholar is Pavla Jonssonová who, among other things, translated into Czech Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* (One Woman Press, 2001). From 1990 until 1999, she worked in the English department in the Pedagogical Faculty in Prague, where in 1993 she taught one of the first gender studies courses. Later she went on to teach courses on gender at Charles University and the Anglo-American University in Prague. Her other activities include collaborating with and serving as a board member until 1998 for Jiřina Šiklová's Gender Studies Centre in Prague, and contributing to the Czech discourse on women and art, namely rock music.

Perhaps the biggest institutional difference between the (Anglicist) women's and gender studies programs in Western European countries and North America and those same programs in the Czech Republic is the fact that in the Czech Republic there are no full professors nor chairs established in either Anglicist women's and gender studies or gender studies as part

of sociology departments. The 'founding mothers' of gender studies in the Czech Republic – Prof. Jiřina Šiklová and Prof. Gerlinda Šmausová – are both professors in the discipline of sociology. In terms of English and American studies, the Czech Republic gained the first female professor of English literature – Prof. Milada Franková in Brno – only in 2008. Thus, this is one area that still remains to be addressed on the institutional level.

3.3 Post-2000 Developments

Recent developments can be characterized by the further institutionalization of women's and gender studies, but, rather than in the departments of English, they have mostly occurred in the departments of sociology. In the 1990s, when the three main universities introduced lectures on gender studies and feminist theory, Hašková argues that these lectures were 'not integrated in the internal structure of either university' and were 'entirely organized and financed by the Gender Studies Foundation' (2011: 138). Conversely, the beginning of the 21st century has seen gender studies programs become fully established as legitimate academic programs within the given universities. The Gender Studies Department at the Faculty of Humanities in Prague has been offering a Master's degree since 2003, while the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences in Brno has been offering so far the only BA program in gender studies in the Czech Republic since 2004.[10]

The Gender and Sociology Department at the Czech Academy of Science[11] has been most active in promoting research on gender issues and feminist theory and efficient in obtaining financial support from abroad, especially from EU-funded research grants. In her exploration of the post-2000 development of gender studies in the Czech Republic, Hašková emphasizes the role of the Gender and Sociology Department in publishing the journal *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum* [Gender, Equal Opportunities, Research], but simultaneously warns that the existence of the journal, which is 'entirely dependent on grant support' (Hašková 2011: 141), is seriously

10 For a detailed account of the establishment and development of gender studies at Czech Universities, see Hašková 2011, pp. 138–140.

11 The Czech Academy of Science is the most important research institution in the country.

jeopardized. Further, Hašková highlights the establishment of the National Contact Centre for Women in Science, funded by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, and argues that the Centre's research and focus on gender equality significantly contributes to meeting the EU requirements placed on national governments (142). Indeed, one could argue that after the Czech Republic joined the EU in 2004, it has been the EU regulations, more than Czech national interests themselves, that have driven some of the most progressive steps regarding gender equality adopted by Czech legislation. Hašková confirms this view: 'Without the EU requirements, the activities in support of women and gender equality in science would not have achieved the results they already have in the Czech Republic' (142).

When contemplating the process of formation of Anglicist women's and gender studies and their influence on Czech discourse, the role of foreign educational institutions and various international collaborations is hard to overestimate. A relatively high number of future academics have gone to study abroad, often to British and American universities, some graduating from English departments in those countries. Even if these persons graduated from other disciplines at Anglo-American universities, such as history, sociology, or art history, it may be assumed that they have implicitly integrated the Anglo-American history of women's and gender studies in their careers. This is the case, for example, with the Department of Gender Studies at the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague, where some of the key staff are either graduates of English departments (e.g. Kateřina Kolářová) and/or have studied and worked for a substantial time in the United States helping to found gender studies programs after returning to the country (e.g. Věra Sokolová). So we might conclude that the impact of Anglicist women's and gender studies is rather implicit and, perhaps, little acknowledged, but, nevertheless, discernible.

Another strong influence from abroad, this time coming not from Western Europe or the United States but from Central Europe itself, is Central European University in Budapest, Hungary, founded in 1991. This graduate-level institution, accredited both in the US and Hungary, offers so far the only doctoral program in gender studies in the region. Several Czech scholars doing research in and teaching feminism and gender studies have established close links with Budapest, having studied there, lectured later on, and/or participated in collaborative projects. Thus Budapest's

Department of Gender Studies remains an important source of knowledge, inspiration, and support for Anglicist women's and gender studies in the Czech Republic.

4. Conclusion

From the above overview of the current situation, we may conclude that in the English departments in the Czech Republic, feminist theory, women's and gender studies, as well as more recent scholarly fields such as queer studies or men's studies, have become a stable component in the educational curricula. However, it has to be added that the situation is far from stabilized and cannot be taken for granted, since a lot of the knowledge and teaching practice comes from individuals whose personal initiative it is to ensure the continuance of the field through passing on the knowledge to the next generation of students and younger colleagues. The area of feminist criticism, for example, may still be considered a niche in both teaching practice and research at some institutions. Feminist theory may be taught in general courses on literary and cultural theory and women's and gender studies within individual courses, but there does not seem to be any systematic tendency to ensure that feminist and gender-based analyses are an integral part of English and American studies. New debates and reflections of the most recent developments have certainly, at this stage, shifted from Anglo-American literature and feminist criticism toward social sciences, gender studies programs, and/or social activism. In other words, discussions focus less on feminism as a theoretical field and more on pragmatic, gender-related issues (e.g. gender education at secondary schools) and current issues of equality in economic and legal contexts (e.g. unequal pay, work/life balance, maternity leave, gender discrimination, and human rights).

Nevertheless, the situation that we have outlined in this chapter can be viewed in a more optimistic light once we take into account that it usually takes generations to establish and institutionalize an academic discipline. Since the Czech university environment has only been enjoying renewed full academic freedom for the past twenty-five years, it may be suggested that what has been mapped here are the results only of the first generation of scholars whose transformation from students to teachers and academics

has enriched the establishment and growth of gender studies programs on the one hand, and Anglicist women's and gender studies on the other.

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Ljiljana Ina Gjurgjan †

Croatia: The Social Symbolic in a Transitional Society and Women's Studies[1]

Women's studies in Croatia, in my view, are paradigmatic of the development of women's studies in post-communist, transitional societies. Croatia provides an interesting example, because it was open to the West and not sealed off by the Iron Curtain, but was nonetheless a Communist or, as was the official designation, Socialist country with a one-party system. Ideologically it was defined as working-class and proletarian, rural in tradition, but with private ownership of small businesses and a kolkhoz-type of agriculture. The structures of control depended on the state-dependent economy and the anti-bourgeois rhetoric, which equated the West with decadence. This also marked the rhetoric on the women's liberation movement, which was seen as an import from the decadent West. However, the official regulations of the female social position were praiseworthy. Equality of women was guaranteed in regard to job opportunities and wages, legal and voting rights, health care and abortion; there was a one-year maternity leave and single mothers were socially protected. The bourgeois hierarchy privileging a marital status was annulled, as the official form of address was *comrade* for all women. On the other hand, as the communist version of feminism was defined by anti-bourgeois ideology, the ideal image of a woman with a

1 As explained in the Introduction to the volume, death prevented Ina Gjurgjan from elaborating the Anglicist aspects. Her outline is, nevertheless, illuminating. A member of the older generation with broad international experience, she makes her contribution to ongoing attempts at coming to terms with the recent Croatian / Yugoslav past and to the historiography of feminism in Socialist / Postsocialist countries. In her emails to me, she repeatedly expressed her conviction that she had crucial things to say in these respects and that despite its brevity the paper already contained important correctives. The difficulties of further documenting her statements, indeed, show how much the atrocities of the nineties have, at home and abroad, obliterated the memory of Yugoslavia's important role as mediator between East and West during the Cold War. All notes mine, RH.

scarf, driving a tractor, or armed with a rifle, totally unfeminine, did not appeal to many (both men and women alike) and was a case of ridicule rather than role model on the level of the socio-symbolic. An excellent example of the ambivalence in the perception of femininity is the celebration of the 8th of March. Women's Day was marked as a festive occasion: the offices would not close but men would bring their female colleagues red carnations and often they would stay in the office or factory far into the night dancing and singing. Food, however, and the subsequent cleaning-up were taken care of by women. At school, children were encouraged to draw pictures or pick flowers for their mothers in the tradition of Mother's Day. This dichotomy is symbolic of the situation of women from the 1950s to the 1970s. Their legal rights did not work out in practice – women were still 'the keepers of the three corners in the house' fulfilling all the traditional role expectations. At work they were legally equal, though statistically they were paid less, as the jobs they were holding were devaluated (such as being a teacher or a nurse). Moreover, feminism was seen as a part of the communist value system with which the rising middle class did not identify. The way in which women were addressed in the private and public spheres shows this clearly: whereas the official address was *comrade*, in private contexts the equivalents of Miss / Mrs. prevailed and *comrade* would only be used as a joke.

Within this dichotomy of the socio-symbolic, the position of women's studies has to be understood. It was already in the 1950s that women's studies were formed. They were mainly based in academic institutions, such as the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement, and were in accord with the official ideology. Primarily they were devoted to the history of international feminist movements and to the role of women in the communist and partisan resistance in Croatia. Such feminism, however, was widely seen as a part of the shallow communist propaganda. Even the engaging personal life-narratives of courage and suffering of women and children were dismissed as propaganda of the political Other that ordinary women from the rising middle class did not identify with. Therefore, those first attempts at a history of women's movements had little impact on academic and social life.

However, the academic Marxists were semi-integrated within the system of higher education (notably the members of the Korčula School of

Philosophy,[2] in whose summer schools scholars from all over the world participated, Gayatry Spivak among them), and a move towards more liberal and internationalized women's studies began to appear. There are three landmarks in the 1980s. First, Lydia Sklewicky organized a section for women's studies under the auspices of sociology at the Filozofski Fakultet in Zagreb. Held at the Academic Club of Zagreb University, it became the centre for the dissemination of contemporary feminist theories, and these found their way not only into scientific and cultural research and periodicals, but even influenced more popular media.[3] A climax was reached in 1984 with the publication of a special issue of the literary journal *Republika* (Zagreb) devoted exclusively to women's writing and dealing with leading feminists such as Virginia Woolf, Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray as well as with the feminist re-evaluation of Croatian female authors. Another important academic factor were two international conferences on feminist theory and women's writing held in the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik.[4] As one of the disseminating points of new disciplines, the Centre was at that time

2 Also known as Praxis School, after its journal. They stressed the significance of the early humanist writings of Marx and pleaded for a creative adaptation of Marxism in the context of Yugoslav self-management. This brought them continuous criticism and serious attacks by party officials, but heightened their appeal to Western intellectuals. The famous summer schools took place on the Croatian island of Korčula from 1964 to 1974. To name a few further attendees: Ernst Bloch, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Jürgen Habermas, Agnes Heller, Henri Lefebvre, and Lucien Goldmann. Milan Kangrga, 'Korčulanska ljetna škola', in *Izvan povijesnog događanja: dokumenti jednog vremena* (Split: Feral Tribune, 1997), pp. 278–94.

3 For further information on Sklewicky see the entry on her in Francisca de Haan / Krassimira Daskalova / Anna Loutfi, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries* (Budapest / New York: Central European UP, 2006), pp. 517–20.

4 1986: Poetics and Politics of Women's Writing / Éthique et poétique de l'écriture féminine; 1988: Writing and Language – The Politics of Feminist Critical Practice and Theory / Écriture et langage – Éthique et poétique d'une pratique et d'une théorie féministe critique. Gjurgjan was a co-organizer of both. The conference of 1988 attracted over one hundred international scholars and led to the following important publication: Alice A. Parker / Elizabeth A. Meese, eds., *Feminist Critical Negotiations* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992).

a very special place, since to non-aligned Yugoslavia scholars could come both from the East and the West. Thus, the IUC in Dubrovnik, together with the Korčula School of Philosophy, enabled the dissemination of knowledge otherwise prevented by the Iron Curtain.[5] The two feminist conferences were extremely well attended, with significant participation of French and American scholars. They received extensive coverage even by the popular press (something hard to imagine nowadays). Thirdly, in the eighties, an ongoing polemics started between Slavenka Drakulić, a prominent Croatian feminist author, and Igor Mandić, a male *enfant terrible*. It prompted a more popular discussion about the condition of women, in particular addressing their sexual choices. All these events influenced the modes of discoursing about women and gradually impregnated not only the critical idiom but the everyday socio-symbolic. As a result, the generation born after the late fifties produced a number of young intellectual women who started to think, behave and act differently. Though courses on women's writing were not introduced to the universities, the young intellectuals began to apply feminist theories in their writing and teaching.

All this changed drastically in the 1990s. The war brought national homogenization and nationalistic values to the fore, and women were once again seen as national heroines, mothers and nurturers. Even women's rights were limited in regard to birth control (in particular in regard to abortion, as doctors were given the right to be conscientious objectors). Also a great deal of Catholic propaganda and pro-life activism was given voice in the media and in politics. The after-war period brought a number of changes. The liberal economy created a more competitive market, which has been especially merciless to middle-aged women. The rise of a new class that emerged after the war, its wealth based on war profits, produced a new set of values and new power constellations. Women entered this display of vanity sometimes as rootless male equals, more often as the scopophilic objects of desire. Female writing started to dominate the literary scene, but

5 As part of an exchange program with the State Department, international seminars in Dubrovnik also paved the way for the setting up of the unique multidisciplinary American Studies graduate program in Zagreb in 1986. The number of universities formally associated with the IUC grew to more than 250 before the outbreak of the Balkan wars.

more as an exhibitionist or pornographic manifestation. The top novelists of the eighties, such as Dubravka Ugrešić, Slavenka Drakulić and Irena Vrkljan, were given less attention than the pornographic biography of a football-star's wife, who even received a prize for the best-selling novel a few years ago. However, as Croatian society has been deeply scarred by the collective as well as very private and personal memories of war atrocities, separation and violence, and almost equally troubled by the ruthlessness of the primary accumulation of capital in the liberal economy, people have developed a strong need not only for the yellow press, soap operas and football games to comfort them, but also for all forms of psychological reassurance and support offered by self-help books, psychological counselling and life-narratives. It is for this reason, I believe, that women's studies (which should by no means be equated with feminism, although they do echo some feminist ideas) have started flourishing in the academic institutions as well as in popular media. As a result, certain changes in the awareness of human rights have occurred with regard to family violence, sexual orientation, etc. However, a phallogocentric view has still been dominant not only in the cultural symbolic and the media presentation of women but also in the self-fashioning of popular singers and soap-opera divas. But this is not peculiar to Croatia. If we look at the ideological postulate underwriting the most popular emancipatory works concerning female sexuality, such as *Sex and the City*, or woman's position in society (*The Devil Wears Prada*), we detect the same phenomenon: the traditional phallocentrism in portraying woman as male-dependent in her self-definition (Carrie) or as monstrous, if strong and enterprising like a man (Miranda).

Northern Europe

Mia Liinason*

A Semi-Outsider's Point of View: The Institutionalization of Gender Research in Sweden**

The institutionalization of gender research in Sweden is often described as a success (HSV 2007). Today undergraduate education in autonomous gender studies units is offered at ten institutions of higher education, and many institutions also offer PhD education in gender studies. The development of integrated gender research has been explosive since its initiation (HSV 2007; Olsson 2007): almost 1,100 dissertations with a gender perspective have been written, mainly at different departments with so-called integrated gender research (Niskanen/Florin 2010: 16).

In this chapter, I highlight key points and feminist strategies used in the process of institutionalizing gender research in the academy in Sweden. It is indeed a successful process, but there have also been setbacks, and the successes have generated paradoxical effects. At present, there is great variation in the pace and form of institutionalization among different subject areas, and while in this chapter I am going to focus on the strategies developed by feminist scholars for institutionalizing the subject area, I also intend to discuss the situation in some subject areas, including English, in detail. Before that, though, I'll start by locating my own point of departure.

There is a widespread description of Sweden as unique because of its successful institutionalization of gender equality, which has led to a presence of gender awareness in a wide variety of societal arenas, ranging from

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* [Though English was one of Mia Liinason's subjects, her main focus is sociological. She is one of the leading experts on the development of gender studies in Sweden. RH]

** In writing this chapter, I have been grateful for the support of Professor Inger Lövkrona, with whom I had the pleasure of working together within the framework of a project during 2010. The project examined the existence and scale of Swedish gender research at national level, and the empirical material we gathered forms significant parts of the data presented here.

NGOs and educational institutions to governmental sectors (Flink/Lundkvist 2010; Hemmings 2006). The strong political discourse around gender equality has also led to the designation of Sweden as 'women-friendly' (Hernes 1987). However, emancipatory projects always run the risk of appropriating the other through assimilation, as Spivak (1988) reminds us, and the articulations of successes for women's equal rights and social justice in Sweden have at the same time failed to acknowledge the continuous ignorance and exclusion of inequalities, as well as of differences, between women, underprivileged groups and people from non-western cultures in the country. Instead, these narratives – of Sweden as 'women-friendly' and (gender) equal – take the shape of a dominant discourse used to market Sweden internationally as a just and equal country and to strengthen the nation-building forces of inclusion and exclusion.

This discursive production of Sweden as a (gender) equal and women-friendly country interacts with a more general production of western modernity as democratic, liberal and equal, which is contrasted against societies in the non-west (the east, the south), described as old-fashioned, traditional and unequal. As stressed by Inderpal Grewal (2005), this implies that the cultural manifestations of imperialism still structure the division between the so-called free and the unfree world. This discourse of Sweden as women-friendly and (gender) equal, however, is powerful. I often notice, to use my own experience as an example, when I present my work both in international and national contexts that (self-)critical analyses must struggle to get legitimacy, and that ambitions to initiate discussions about the gap between the narratives of successful equal rights policies and the increasing unequal social conditions in Sweden often encounter hard resistance. As feminist sociologists Zenia Hellgren and Barbara Hobson write: 'An open dialogue around issues of cultural conflict in Sweden has been closed because it defies Sweden's self-image as a good society, an international defender of human rights, a paragon of gender equality' – and this despite the deep structures of inequality and forms of discrimination in the Swedish society of today (Hellgren/Hobson 2008: 398; Yang 2010).

Recently, however, earlier ambitions in feminism to focus on unity in the feminist movement have been questioned by feminist scholars in Sweden who argue for the importance of acknowledging tensions, contradictions and conflicts between feminist groups, in an understanding of feminism

as a heterogeneous field of research and practice, mirroring differences in women's lives and experiences (Carbin 2010; Liinason 2011). Feminists who want to distance themselves from heterosexist, ethnocentric and capitalist models, identify the relationship between feminism and gender equality in discourse and practice as paradoxical and problematic, and the strong tensions that exist between a Swedish gender-equality discourse and the situation for e.g. immigrant women is understood as a result of how knowledge about femininity, gender equality and culture in the country has been shaped through a dominant understanding of femininity as white and homogeneous (de los Reyes et al. 2006; Mulinari/Nergaard 2004).

I locate this chapter in such a tradition of scholarship where the multifaceted relationship between the creation of the so-called women-friendly society and the exclusionary practices in Swedish society is critically investigated, and I agree with postcolonial feminist and critical feminist scholars who find it necessary to intervene in the production of a story of feminist success in Sweden (Carbin 2010; Eduards 2007; Hellgren/Hobson 2008; Siim/Skjeie 2008; Yang 2010). While I do acknowledge the institutionalization of gender research in Sweden as a successful enterprise, my interventionist position implies that I also want to reflect critically about the knowledge that is produced from these sites and analyze the emergence and stabilization of dominant discourses and practices around gender in theory and policy (Liinason 2012). I return to this discussion at the end of the chapter. In the following sections, I give a presentation of the ambitions and strategies accompanying the process of institutionalizing the subject area, I describe successes and setbacks and briefly discuss present and future challenges.

1. Why Institutionalization? And How?

The first women's studies courses in Sweden were held in the early 1970s within the humanities and social sciences and in the subject areas literature, history and sociology. By then, early generations of gender scholars demanded a rethinking within all spheres of knowledge production – empirically, theoretically, methodically and methodologically – to overcome the oppression of women in the academy and the production of academic knowledge from strictly male premises. In the introduction to the first issue

of *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift/Kvt* ('Journal of Women's Studies') in 1980, the editors describe the points of departure for women's studies[1] as transformative, i.e. explicitly emancipatory and socialist (Davies et al. 1980: 5; Manns 2009). Since then, gender scholars have struggled to establish an oppositional space in the academy *and* a secure institutional platform.

An institutional platform, gender scholars argue, offers stability to the feminist knowledge and equality project (Göransson 1989; Lykke 2004; Witt-Brattström, 1995). Further, the institutional platform offers security in the development of a new generation of gender studies scholars, not only because of the availability of financial resources, but also because institutionalization provides sustainability for gender scholars' knowledge and experiences (Holm 2001; Thurén 2003). Accordingly, gender scholars claim that institutionalization of the subject preserves, manages and further develops the knowledge that is produced, and that institutional security makes long-term projects possible (Dahlberg 1992). Yet others accentuate the importance for a knowledge and education area of having an institutional belonging in the hierarchic university system (Holm 2001). That is because it is not until the environments have been acknowledged as departments that they can consolidate and expand their activities, through, for example, the approval of professorships and other positions, which often is a requirement for the establishment of PhD exams. Nevertheless, among gender scholars the ambitions to reach a secure institutional anchorage in the academy have also met with scepticism towards the same hierarchical university structures and with suspicion towards the close relationship between gender scholars and the government (Norlander 1997), which is a discussion I will return to later.

Inspired by the organization of the women's movement, gender scholars in Sweden chose a double strategy in their efforts to institutionalize the field, and worked for the subject to become *both* integrated in established disciplines *and* organized in autonomous units through the founding of

1 By then, the scholars were using the term women's studies to denominate the field, while the area at a policy level (and thus also positions and courses etc.) was denominated 'equal opportunities research'. Today, the official denomination of the area is gender research or gender studies, used by both scholars and politicians.

so-called Centra/Fora for women's studies and women researchers (Davies et al. 1980; Göransson 1989; Manns 2009). In the 1983 conference proceedings *Rapport från Kvinnouniversitetet* ('Report from Women's University'), the editors describe the working method in the following words:

> Women's studies need a double strategy to reach the goals – both separation and integration. Separation refers to the development of a competence, a knowledge base. A suitable form for this is, among other things, women's studies seminars of a different kind. At the same time, the new knowledge must be transferred and integrated into the regular university, within all research areas and on all levels, for example through course literature and interdisciplinary modes of procedure. (Aniansson 1983: 14)

The metaphor used by the gender scholars for this strategy was 'de två benen' ('the two legs'; Göransson 1989; Manns 2009: 111). As described by among others Nina Lykke, the question of which of the two modes was to be preferred has also given rise to heated discussions. Participants in these discussions have claimed that, on the one hand, the development of autonomous units/departments of gender studies would risk leading to an increasing disciplinarization of gender studies and a marginalization in the academy, while, on the other hand, an integration into already existing disciplines would risk weakening, or even subordinating, the feminist perspective (Göransson 1989; Lykke 2004, 2009). Hence, Lykke suggests that we need 'new theoretical ways of framing the debate', and sets out to further explore how to challenge the discipline/interdiscipline divide through analyses of multi-, inter- and transdisciplinary modes of working, as well as of a postdisciplinary organization of gender studies/research (Lykke 2004, 2011).

Irrespective of which position one takes in this discussion, since the first organization of undergraduate classes in the mid-1970s, gender researchers have regarded the creation of a safe institutional anchorage in the academy an important goal. In the 1970s, the courses were denominated sex-roles courses (könsrollskurser) and were mainly given within the frames of sociology with teachers from sociology, literature and history. In 1975, these courses received funding for the first time (Holm 2001).[2] Three years later,

2 In a report published within the framework of the European gender studies network Athena, Ulla Holm documents the impressive supply of courses in the

in 1978, UHÄ (Universitets- och Högskoleämbetet, the National Agency for Universities and University Colleges) allotted funding for five Centra/Fora-units for women researchers and women's studies, with the double aim of supporting women's studies and developing an organization to support gender equality in the academy. With this, a space in the academy was established for scholars engaged in the efforts to transform academic research and study, where gender scholars from all disciplines could meet and hold discussions (Göransson 1989; Holm 2001: 182; Manns 2009).[3] These initiatives in the mid- and late 1970s were the first steps towards an institutionalization both of integrated and autonomous gender research.

In the Centra/Fora-units, the positions were organized by the scholars themselves and were funded through different forms of state subsidies (Göransson 1989: 7). During the 1980s, the Centra/Fora-units were given a more secure position within the structure of the university and, from the mid-1980s, they became independent working units, organizationally located directly under the vice-chancellor and directed by an interdisciplinary board. Depending on what kind of positions and research was prioritized, the different working units developed different profiles at different universities (Göransson 1989). Today, most of these units are regular departments. The earmarked state grant to the Centra/Fora-units that was distributed over the years has discontinued, and most of the units are funded like other departments, i.e. through faculty grants and external research funds.

In the report 'Paradoxical Conditions for Women's Studies in Sweden' (2001), Ulla M. Holm frames the institutionalization of gender studies as a subject in its own right as a development in four steps:

1. The state-funding of the Centra/Fora for women's research and women researchers at the end of 1970s

late 1970s: 'A national mapping of courses in *Sex Role Issues, Gender Equality Research or Women's Studies* in different disciplines in 1979 counts 37 courses (5–40 points), many of them in history, literature or sociology. The history department in Göteborg lists an impressive amount (13) of (interdisciplinary oriented) reading courses in women's history on both under- and postgraduate level'. (Alnebratt 2009: 139).

3 Lund, Göteborg, Stockholm, Umeå, Uppsala. The year after, Linköping and Örebro were allotted a grant (Holm 2001: 181, n. 244).

2. The establishment of undergraduate courses at the so-called women's studies working units in the 1980s
3. The establishment of the first department of women's studies in 1993 (Gothenburg)
4. The hiring of the first full professor in 1998 (Umeå) (Holm 2001: 182–84).

2. Progress – and Obstacles

Over the years, gender research has become integrated in a great variety of subject areas. Subjects and research areas with a gender professor or a strong gender researcher have opened new fields of research and are at present often described as 'cutting edge' (Lövkrona 2010). Today, gender research is quite or very well institutionalized within the humanities, social sciences, medicine and technology. There are examples of *sustainable* gender research environments within subjects such as sociology, cultural geography, political science, medicine (public health), social work, work science, literature, history and technoscience. With 'sustainable gender research environments' I refer to a) the presence of researchers at different stages of their career; b) the presence of research seminars, trans-institutional or interdisciplinary collaborations; and c) the amount of externally funded research projects in relation to the size of the unit. The existence of these sustainable gender research environments also mirrors a good or very good integration of gender research in the respective subject at national level (Liinason/Lövkrona 2010).

The single factor most important for the *emergence* of a sustainable integrated gender environment is the existence of a strong research leader with an explicit ambition to develop precisely a gender research environment (Liinason/Lövkrona 2010). To become sustainable, the environment needs to be based on a research profile, a particular seminar series and/or a collaborative research program, which attracts students, PhD students and researchers at different stages of their career and from different subjects. The research leader also needs to watch the decision-making process, so that resources and positions continue to be allotted to the gender profile. A popular undergraduate education and externally funded research projects increase the legitimacy for gender research, which in turn gives the gender environment a better position for negotiations at the institution. Finally, it

is impossible to overestimate the importance of support from the strategic organs, such as university or faculty boards and research councils. Therefore, established gender scholars have to continue their struggle to get into these strategic organs, at university level or at the level of research funding – a struggle that often is hampered by the reproduction of sameness in the academia (Essed, 2002), which makes it a hard, but nevertheless important, battle for women/gender/feminist scholars.

In contrast to this bright picture, other subjects have difficulties developing and consolidating gender research. Within, for instance, psychology, language sciences,[4] national economy, jurisprudence, philosophy, archeology and theology, the development and emergence of gender research is very limited (Lövkrona 2010). In the natural sciences as a whole, there is an extremely low presence of gender research – which most likely derives from the epistemological foundations/traditions in this subject area (empiricism, objectivism, positivism…) that do not combine smoothly with social constructivism, which is the predominant point of departure for gender researchers. Scholars from subject areas with a weaker integration of gender research also tend to use less complex theoretical models and to employ analytical concepts in a more descriptive way. (Gender, for example, is more often used as a plain descriptive concept designating 'women' and 'men' in subject areas with a weak institutionalization; Liinason/Lövkrona 2010).

The fact that within the language sciences gender research has had difficulties consolidating its activities is somewhat surprising, as students and researchers of the humanities were among the first to express an interest in gender issues. Gender research in the language sciences was established during the 1970s, and in the early 2000s it was characterized as strong, popular, vibrant and independent (Nordenstam 2003). However, the picture presenting itself around the end of the 2000s is not as bright. Now the gender research in the languages is small in size and limited as to the choice of objects of study and theoretical complexity (Lövkrona 2010). When it comes to numbers: in the language sciences of today – which consist of many different and often big subject areas, represented at approximately 35

4 By 'language sciences', I centrally refer to the modern languages.

Swedish institutions of higher education – only 28 researchers are working with a clear gender perspective, 2 of them professors and 5 PhD students. Distributed over these different subject areas, only 7 externally funded research projects have a clear gender perspective. 12 dissertations have been written since 2005.[5] In the modern languages, gender research is mainly performed as literary studies (Liinason/Lövkrona 2010).

A survey of the relevant webpages of the four largest Swedish universities during spring 2013 illuminates the following:

Gothenburg University
English: The department states at their website that they carry out gender research: 'gender studies based on feminist theory and masculinity studies'. But they list hardly any relevant research projects or PhD projects. There is one research project about language, representation and identity in popular culture that 'examines social variables such as sex and ethnicity…' One associate professor explains that her ongoing research focuses on 'sex differences in language'.
French: One associate professor writes that she is interested in women's literature.

Lund University
English: They have one ongoing research project about 19th century Britain and how the debate in England had an impact on, among other things, the Swedish women's movement. Four researchers work on this project.

Stockholm University
English: No gender research.
German: One researcher writes that her profile includes gender and masculinity research.

5 There are at present approximately 50 institutions of higher education in Sweden. Of these, 13 state universities have the right to award doctoral degrees. There are 16 state and 6 private university colleges. Then there are 1 state and 2 private university colleges for health science. Finally, there are 7 university colleges of art and 2 private art schools. All university colleges have research links with the universities, via special government grants. The language sciences are fully institutionalized in the academy, and the larger sub-subject areas, i.e. Nordic/Swedish and Modern Languages, are represented at approximately 35 of these institutions.

Uppsala University
English: One PhD student works on a project about Virginia Woolf, based on Judith Butler, Julia Kristeva and Luce Irigaray.
French: One PhD student writes about female authors using feminist literary theory.
Romance Languages: Research about 'women's literature'.

Compared with a similar survey performed two years ago, it seems as if many researchers that were formerly engaged in gender research by now have left the departments or changed to other forms of research. The shifts from a strong presence in the early 2000s to today's weaker presence would seem to illuminate a downsizing, or stagnation, of gender research in the languages during the 2000s. Without a safe institutional base (stable positions, mandatory courses etc.), a flourishing environment can encounter difficulties with regrowth and expansion when influential researchers move or retire, and face diminution or extinction as a result (Olsson 2007).

Moreover, the picture at national level – despite the successful integration of gender research in a lot of subject areas within the humanities, social sciences, medicine and technology – shows, regrettably, that gender research has not managed to affect the ordinary, or dominant, canon within any subject area (apart from few exceptions in some areas). There is still an ordinary canon without gender awareness, while a gender perspective exists only if someone is struggling for its presence in courses, the research profile etc. When it comes to the choice of object of study, and in some cases theoretical problematizations, gender research has had a slight impact – despite the fact that gender in most cases continues to be added as one aspect of the mainstream theory/the ordinary canon (Liinason/Lövkrona 2010).

One implication of this lack of integration is that gender research still is dependent on particular individuals, who need to struggle to keep up the presence of gender research, to be allowed to give courses and seminars, and to create stable positions (Liinason/Lövkrona 2010). This is especially worth noticing within large subjects in the humanities and social sciences where there has been a tradition of gender research of more than three decades. One professor, who has been struggling for the presence of gender research in political science since the 1970s, explained in an interview

in 2010 that she still needs to fight hard battles for the establishment and continuation of appropriate positions in her department.

The autonomous gender studies departments have succeeded better than integrated gender research in expanding and consolidating their activities. The risk with successful autonomous departments, however, continues to be the risk of isolation – a presence in the periphery – which may function as a token for universities that pay lip-service to the demands (from students, from the government) for establishing gender research. The expansion of autonomous gender studies departments might furthermore risk draining integrated gender research of gender competence: when gender scholars' knowledge is not demanded at their 'home' departments, they turn to the autonomous gender studies departments to teach and apply for positions which, in effect, results in the diminishing of the gender qualifications and the presence of gender research and education at their 'home' departments.

3. Challenges: The Neoliberal Shift

As Beverley Skeggs points out in a paper on the changing conditions for women's studies in the UK in the 1990s, the neo-liberal shift in the academy has produced a range of paradoxes for this field of research and education; for instance, the 'traditional feminist demands for access to education have been deployed in right-wing consumerist rhetoric to expand places but to also implement cutbacks and competition within higher education' (Skeggs 1995: 475). Through recent changes in higher education policies, this rhetoric is also a fact in Sweden. The government's aim of increased competition between the HE institutions is present, for example, in new policies for the allocation of state subsidies to the universities, which to a large extent involves the assessment of achieved results (measured through number and quality of publications and the amount of external research funds). It is also present in the most recent bill on research policies, which expands the autonomy of HE institutions by giving them more autonomy in the recruitment of staff, education, internal organization and finances (Utbildningsministeriet 2008).[6] These changes generate, in Skegg's words,

6 It is worth noticing that Swedish policies have adopted forms of market-led higher education, like in the UK, visible through the closing down of subject

'many paradoxes' for gender studies (Skeggs 1995: 475), where the successful institutionalization (in terms of the establishment of departments/units, the number of students, level of education and the occurrence of positions at all levels) has not been accompanied by a similarly successful growth in the number of stable positions. This has led to a situation where too few permanent staff are keeping up a popular, top-rated education (HSV, 2007). The survey I conducted in 2010 analysing the infrastructural situation of autonomous gender studies in Sweden, shows that five of the ten autonomous departments only have one or two persons permanently employed, who are responsible for the planning and organization of the whole undergraduate education, while a large number of people on short-term contracts carry out the teaching and examinations. This suggests that, among other things, any long-term planning is impossible, not to mention the challenge of engaging in any activities not directly related to education, such as the important feminist aim of offering research seminars on gender across the disciplinary boundaries. The lack of a shared forum at the universities has negative implications for the conditions of gender research all along the line, and the activities carried out by the autonomous departments/units are marginalized in university policies (they have few or no representatives in crucial decision-making posts in the university structure, the subject area has low academic legitimacy, and they are not given the right to examine PhD students despite high-quality undergraduate education and a continuously growing number of students interested in doing a PhD). The lack of stable teaching positions is a pressing issue, and in their responses to my survey in 2010, representatives from these departments/units describe the situation as acute. However, the other half of the departments/units of gender studies has a good number of permanent staff at all levels, under- and postgraduate education, and has the funds and resources needed to engage in many international and national networks.[7]

areas with few students, as for example the closing down of the education in German, French, Spanish, Russian and Polish at Södertörn University College in 2006, http://www.sulf.se/templates/CopyrightPage.aspx?id=2602).

7 It also needs to be stressed that three centres for gender research received a large grant from the Swedish Research Council to develop excellent environments, with a particular focus on international and national collaboration (no funding being allocated for the management or planning of education). http://www.vr.se/

The differences between the various departments can partly be explained by differences in the amount of externally funded projects and the presence of a research leader who has the ambition and possibility to develop a strong environment (Liinason/Lövkrona 2010). However, it is the local support that is the most important single condition for the possibilities of *developing* a strong institutional anchorage: if the institution (the faculty and/or the central organization at the university or university college) has a positive attitude towards gender research, this is reflected in infrastructural stability and an increase of positions in gender studies departments – a situation in which it is important to note the tendency that younger universities/university colleges have a more positive attitude to gender research, while older universities are more negative.[8] With the increased autonomy for universities, these differences will most likely have an even greater impact on the future institutionalization of gender research/gender studies at the different universities and university colleges in Sweden.

4. Progress with Paradoxes

Alongside the great efforts of individual scholars and students, the incorporation of gender research in the academy has to a large extent depended on subsidies from the Swedish state, motivated by the urge to increase gender equality. In her dissertation on the regulation of gender research in educational policies and the interaction between gender research and educational politics, Kerstin Alnebratt shows that the 'general feature in the […] propositions by the ministry of education is [to increase] gender equality in and outside of the academy. Gender research […] shall generate

forskningvistodjer/forskningsmiljoer/centersofgenderexcellence.4.5d7d40fd1154283906d80005451.html.

8 It is not a clear picture, though: the good conditions in the centre for gender studies at Lund University (which is the second-oldest university in Sweden) and the less happy situation of the centre for gender studies at Karlstad University (which was established in 1999) contradict the 'rule', which nonetheless suggests the conclusion that part of the problem is connected with the more rigid structures and conservative policies of older institutions.

knowledge which shall form the basis for the change of state policies' (Alnebratt 2009: 139).

On the one hand, the relation between the state and gender research has been described as mutually profitable, aptly illustrated by the phrase: 'The funding comes from above but the power comes from below' (Eduards 2007: 213). On the other hand, the relation between feminist scholars and the state has met with serious criticism (Norlander 1997; Rönnblom 2003). In the mid-1990s, feminist scholar Kerstin Norlander brought to the fore the 'unholy alliance' between the state and feminist scholars and criticized academic feminism for mixing claims on equal opportunities in the universities with the content and organization of gender research. She shows how the intensified work of state feminists did coincide with the professionalization of gender studies, which followed the emergent institutionalization during the 1980s and 1990s, and how this closely tied feminist scholars to the state-feminist project where, as she writes, they became stuck in the hierarchical structures of the university and in the policies for gender equality (Norlander 1997).

Birgitta Jordansson, too, describes the emphasis on gender equality as significant for the state support to the field. This was regarded as unique to Sweden because, as Jordansson writes, it was not the 'women's/gender perspective as a theoretical field that was in the centre but the political ambition to promote gender equality between the sexes' (Jordansson 2003: 4). The connection between gender research and gender equality continued to be strong throughout the 1990s, even though theoretical debates in the field also criticized and attempted to transgress the emphasis on gender equality. Through the ministerial support, focused on the promotion of gender equality in state policies and in the funding of research, Sweden became known as a 'women-friendly' country (Alnebratt 2009; Eduards 1995; Hernes 1987). During this period, though, critical or alternative branches of gender and feminist research, such as queer studies, postcolonial and anti-racist feminist research, were marginalized or ignored in the field, and to this day critical interventions in the dominant (universal, homogeneous, ethnocentric) understanding of women as white and heterosexual continue to create tensions and heated debates among Swedish gender researchers (Axelsson 2011; de los Reyes et al. 2006; Liinason 2012; Witt-Brattström 2011). The successful integration of gender research into the academia, consequently, has

not only resulted in the production of oppositional knowledge, but also in knowledge that feeds into dominant discourses around sex, sexuality and gender (Liinason 2011).

Therefore, I would like to describe the feminist project of integrating gender research into the academy as a success, but as a success that generates paradoxes. Recently, several feminist studies have called attention to the precarious situation if a political discourse on 'gender and gender equality' becomes constructed as a universal marker of Western modernity, related to notions of democracy, liberalism and capitalism (Carbin 2010; Scott 2007; Tuori 2004), and they emphasize the urgent need to challenge the meanings that occur in the stabilization or institutionalization of this gender discourse (Hemmings 2011), which I earlier described as a continuation of the cultural manifestations of imperialism (Grewal 2005). The relationship between such notions as gender and gender equality is complex, characterized as it is by knowledge exchange but also by tensions, contradictions and disagreements. Yet, interactions between feminist knowledge production and a regulative political discourse on gender equality are often rejected by feminists who point to state co-optation and de-radicalization of feminist agendas (Liinason 2011). I believe, however, that such polarized understandings of the relationship between feminist knowledge production and political discourses might have the effect of obstructing critical analyses of the interactions between feminist knowledge production and the political, historical and cultural context. Instead, I want to argue for an understanding of the feminist knowledge project in Sweden as composed of multi-faceted, complex and contradictory narratives, where some narratives have become more centred and used by state actors (or by feminists who have themselves been state actors), while other narratives have been pushed to the margins. This standpoint suggests that feminism is not a uniform movement, and that it is possible to mark out different feminist discourses and different feminist histories, of which some take shape as dominant, dichotomous, heterosexist and ethnocentric ideas of sex, sexuality and gender, whereas others stay in the margins, such as critical understandings of 'race'/ethnicity and studies of non-reproductive sexual practices (Liinason 2012).

In my view, plain references to the institutionalization of a gender awareness in Sweden as a 'success' feed into these dominant feminist discourses and do, in effect, reproduce the marginalization of critical and alternative

voices, experiences and histories, which is problematic for a feminist emancipatory project. The theoretical, historical and political tensions around sex, sexuality and gender in Sweden can be understood as power struggles over how feminism responds to the situated complexities in women's lives. In closing I therefore want to encourage a critical engagement with the implications of this successful institutionalization, its history, policy and theory, for the further development of transformative knowledge.

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Elina Valovirta / Joel Kuortti

Moderate Finnish Feminism: From a Struggle for Equality in the Welfare State to Diverse and Established Gender Studies

1. Introduction: English Studies in Finland

There are eight departments of English in the Finnish universities, with a variety of designations and organizational structures. These are in the University of Eastern Finland (Joensuu campus), University of Helsinki, University of Jyväskylä, University of Oulu, University of Tampere, University of Turku, University of Vaasa, and the Swedish language Åbo Akademi University in Turku. In this article, the units are referred to as departments, except when they are introduced.

Apart from universities, there used to be language institutes – in Kouvola, Savonlinna, Tampere and Turku – that trained translators and interpreters. In 1981 their functions were transferred to the state and subsequently incorporated into universities – Kouvola to Helsinki, Savonlinna to Joensuu, and Tampere and Turku to the respective universities. This coincides with the worldwide expansion of Translation Studies since the 1980s. There are, however, rather few Gender Studies topics in Translation Studies so far which show in the outline. On top of this, one could point out that related matters have been researched, for example, in the departments of Comparative Literature (or equivalent), but these will not be discussed here. The same goes for the various institutions for advanced studies where English Studies may be represented: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, Tampere Institute for Advanced Social Research (IASR), and Turku Institute for Advanced Studies.

In the following, we present first a general outline of Gender Studies in Finland, and then the various strands of Gender Studies within English Studies. While the scholars are mentioned in relation to one particular university, there has been considerable mobility and their individual research may have been conducted under some other institution.

We would like to thank several colleagues for providing vital information on their respective departments: Jopi Nyman (UEF), Anna Solin (Helsinki), Sirpa Leppänen (Jyväskylä), Tiina Keisanen (Oulu), Jukka Tyrkkö (Tampere), Tiina Mäntymäki (Vaasa), Brita Wårvik (Åbo), and finally Marianne Liljeström (Gender Studies in Finland).

2. Gender Studies in Finland

Gender Studies in Finland is a highly institutionalized field of academic inquiry, with departments in eight of the fourteen Finnish universities: Eastern Finland, Helsinki, Jyväskylä, Lapland, Oulu, Tampere, Turku and Åbo Akademi. (As it happens seven of these also host English Studies, with the exception of the University of Lapland.) Academic feminism in Finland has its early historical roots in the Nordic branch of equality feminism, whose main objective was to create a welfare state by legislative reforms seen as the ideal route to emancipation and equality. The historical procession to this can be seen in the relatively unsegregated division of labour in the rural agricultural society, and early granting of universal suffrage to women as the first country in Europe in 1906, resulting in the first female Members of Parliament (altogether nineteen) in the world in the 1907 parliamentary elections. Women's and Gender Studies began to establish itself on the level of tertiary education in the 1980s and the 1990s, when most universities with a Gender Studies programme today began to offer a modest syllabus of courses in what was then called Women's Studies. Eventually, in the 2000s, the status of a major subject was granted, resulting in a number of degree programmes in Finnish universities. In the past few years, Women's Studies departments have changed their names to Gender Studies, which is the term now in use for the field in Finland. Within the field of English Studies, however, Gender Studies topics are the sole effort of certain individual scholars, who attempt to incorporate the two fields in their teaching and research praxes.

2.1 General Situation and Glimpses from History

There is a long-persisting national fantasy of Finland as a 'woman-friendly' welfare state (Kuusipalo 2011: 52), with a high level of equality and an equal distribution of power between the sexes. The primary historical

narrative of Finnish gender relations is that of companionship and a shared process of survival between men and women as a result of first, the Swedish and Russian rules (approximately 1200s to 1809 and 1809–1917, respectively) resulting in Finnish independence in 1917. Second, the independence-preserving wars in the 1940s played a similar role in reproducing the idea of men and women's shared national struggle, resulting in an essentialized view of equality as sameness and gender-neutrality, thus glossing over and ignoring gender differences, a condition known as gender blindness (Liljeström 2011). In Finnish equality discussions, a specific woman-centred culture or way of thinking has never been a priority, but, rather, women's success and capabilities together with men have been emphasized (Lempiäinen / Leppänen / Paasonen 2012: 14).

Women were highly involved in founding the Finnish civic society at the end of the 19th century, be it as members of religious revivalism, the temperance movement, youth associations, or the labour movement (Juvonen 2010: 258). The family unit followed the 'natural' division of labour with man-headed families and gender roles as complementary and the interest of the family as a shared task (ibid.). The main question regarding gender at the turn of the century was women's right to participate in political life (ibid.), which, as mentioned above, reached a resolution with universal suffrage and first female members of parliament elected in 1906. The first female minister, Miina Sillanpää, became the Minister of Social Affairs in 1926, a watershed mark at a time when, despite their participation in politics, women's parliamentary initiatives were often sidelined and discarded (ibid.).

Traditionally, in Finland the public sector, particularly in the form of welfare services, has played a large role in ameliorating women's social status, particularly from two related perspectives; on the one hand, by offering women employment in the fields of social and health services as well as education, and, on the other, by enabling women's employment by offering services such as childcare, schooling, and care for the elderly previously taken for granted to be women's responsibility (Eräsaari 2014: 32). Due to the strong faith placed on legislation as a means to emancipation, Finnish welfare feminism has often been characterized as reformist in its preoccupation with questions of work and social welfare with a distinct lack of activist movement or radical feminist activity. For

example, there was never a large-scale feminist movement in Finland as opposed to the rest of the Nordic countries, let alone the United States or the English-speaking world.

It was only in the 1960s that gender became politicized in Finland but only through a focus on gender roles in sociological research (Koivunen 2012: 198). An association for men and women, named Yhdistys 9, was founded in 1965, the objective of which was to change rigid gender roles in the family and social life by emphasizing that men and women are essentially similar as human beings capable of active social, political, and family lives (Juvonen 2010: 264–65). Typical of Finnish equality thinking, then, Yhdistys 9 did not advocate gender difference as the basis for equality or women's rights. The main attention garnered by the group's activity in women's magazines, in particular, dealt with men and women in relationships and how to make the division of labour at home more equal (Koivunen 2012: 199).

The 1970s was a relatively inactive period in the Finnish women's movement, relying mostly on some feminist groups by Swedish-speaking Finnish women (Taavetti 2012: 30), the small but significant language minority in Finland (around 6% of the population at the time). Finnish-speaking women in the 1970s generally organized around leftist radicalism (particularly a branch named 'taistolaisuus' after politician Taisto Sinisalo's oppositional politics within the Finnish Communist Party) or political parties' women's divisions (Koivunen 2012: 187 & 194). The Finnish Council for Gender Equality was founded in 1972 'to promote gender equality in societal matters' (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health website), and is an advisory governmental agency. In the 1980s, women began to organize together *for women*, no longer only for the family or together with men, and this served to expand the public image of women and gave women more space to self-define their goals – an example of which is that in 1981, lesbian women were for the first time welcomed to join the International Women's Day march (Juvonen 2010: 271). Partially thanks to this widening view of women and womanhood, academic feminism also began to develop in Finland in the 1980s, which is the topic of the following section.

2.2 Women's and Gender Studies in Finland in General

Academic feminism in Finland began to institutionalize in the latter half of the 1980s, when the discipline of Women's Studies was established in the Finnish academia. Since then, the field has changed both as a discipline and as an academic subject of tertiary education: the range of studies on gender and sexuality has widened considerably, and teaching programmes have developed from the modest Basic Studies level (approximately 25 ECTS) to Master's and Doctoral degree programmes starting from the mid-2000s (Liljeström 2014: 62).

Importantly, the early impetus for Women's Studies related activity in Finland at the beginning of the 1980s came from students and scholars alike, hence resulting in the parallel development of Women's Studies' teaching and research (Lempiäinen 2010: 274). The first seminars and lecture series in the country were organized at the request of student activists, for example in Tampere, Turku, Helsinki and Jyväskylä, who pressured university administration to grant resources for Women's Studies teaching (ibid.). Similarly, women scholars in the humanities and social sciences were pushing, from a feminist standpoint, for the inclusion of women as an object and subject of academic inquiry. Furthermore, the research division founded already in 1981 by TANE (The Council for Gender Equality), under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, offered governmental support for promoting and developing Finnish Women's Studies (TANE website).

In the mid-1980s, a group of active researchers and students, led by Päivi Setälä, succeeded in creating a module of Women's Studies as a part of the then mandatory general education portion of the Faculty of Humanities teaching at the University of Helsinki. This module then became the basis for a separate Women's Studies study option, and towards the 1990s at least a few credits' worth of studies were offered in several universities throughout the country (Lempiäinen 2010: 274). A turn towards a larger degree of institutionalization occurred in 1988, when The Association for Women's Studies in Finland was founded. The scholarly journal published by the Association, *Naistutkimus – Kvinnoforskning,* was founded a year later. Departments of Women's Studies, likewise, were formed on both sides of the decade: for example, at Åbo Akademi University as early as

1986, University of Tampere in 1990, University of Helsinki in 1991, and University of Turku in 1995.

Together with the establishment of the National Graduate Programme in Women's Studies in 1996 (the fruits of whose labour were picked by mainstream subject departments in the absence of the status of major subject), another crucial institutional catalyst in 1995 was the Ministry of Education and Culture's decision to grant eight five-year professorships to Women's Studies departments in Finland. Thanks to this contribution, many of the professorships were eventually made permanent by universities themselves, creating the possibility for long-term development of degree programmes. The turn of the millennium then saw the continued success of the institutionalization of Women's Studies, tangible in the acquisition of the status of major subject and Master's and Doctoral programmes. Furthermore, the Finnish University Network of Women's Studies (Hilma) was established in 2004, and Finland has participated in Europe-wide co-operation (ATHENA) already since 1996 (Lempiäinen 2010: 276).

Currently, the main development affecting the field of Women's Studies in Finland is the shift in terminology from Women's to Gender Studies throughout the country in the past few years. The change began with the University of Helsinki in 2009, the rest following suit until 2014, when the newly named Association for Gender Studies in Finland changed the name of its journal to *Sukupuolentutkimus – Genusforskning* (Gender Studies Journal), aptly publishing the first issue under the new name as a special issue on Gender and History (1/2014).

The main directions of Gender Studies in Finland can be first characterized with an early focus in the 1980s on women in history and historical research (Aalto / Leskelä-Kärki 2014: 4), perhaps thanks to the early involvement of women in politics and public life. This focus has since shifted to a wide and varied panorama of interest difficult to capture in brief other than in general terms; from equality studies to queer theory and studies on men and masculinities. An example of the surge of interest in queer topics in the past fifteen years or so, is the journal *SQS: Journal of Queer Studies in Finland*, which is a 'trilingual publication welcoming articles, commentaries, and reviews written in Finnish, Swedish, and English', published by The Society for Queer Studies in Finland (SQS) founded in 2004 (SQS website). Furthermore, the study of equality, particularly between men

and women in the workforce and as members of the welfare state, had an almost hegemonic status in Finland in the 1990s (see Eräsaari 2014: 32). Understandably, equality work is a large field of research, thanks to the majority of women in full-time employment in Finland compared to the rest of Europe, and women's late retirement compared to men in Finland (Korvajärvi 2010: 185). The segregation of labour (ibid.) and unequal pay, coupled with a general Finnish reluctance to acknowledge the existence of inequality in a society which is largely seen as already having achieved equality as a status quo (Ylöstalo 2006: 17), makes the field ever-topical for research and activism.

Institutionally speaking, the varied Gender Studies departments in Finland have developed their own research profiles largely as a result of the research interests of the scholars and activists involved in establishing and developing the individual departments. Naturally, the senior positions such as professorships and senior lecturerships, have a considerable role in the profiling of research. Despite the research foci, Gender Studies departments in Finland have traditionally been very welcoming towards scholars from various mainstream departments offering *pro bono* research guidance, seminars, work space, and unofficial support for those scholars working on feminist or Gender Studies topics not feeling at home in their respective departments (which nevertheless collected the institutional benefits of the feminist scholars' publications and achievements).

Despite there not perhaps being firmly established national schools or branches of feminist thought identifiable by location, it is worth mentioning just some of the departments' individual research profiles as an example. In Helsinki, the former Christina Institute for Women's Studies (now simply Gender Studies) became known for its focus on Philosophy, Cultural Studies, and Art History, nowadays amalgamating into a Multidisciplinary research focus (Nyqvist 2009: 14). The Unit for Gender Studies at the University of Lapland in Rovaniemi, in turn, is situated in the Faculty of Education, reflecting the focus on issues of gender and education (ULapland website). In Tampere University, Gender Studies became situated at its inception within the Faculty of Social Sciences, highlighting the strong focus of Tampere as a University specializing in the study of society, health and welfare (UTampere website). In Turku, the former Centre for Women's Studies (now simply Gender Studies) was situated in its early days in the

School of Arts because of the strong focus on feminist literary studies and the arts in general, but the School later expanded into the larger constellation of the School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, and all of the fields mentioned are now represented in the Turku department's research. The country's oldest Gender Studies establishment, the one at the Swedish-speaking Åbo Akademi University, has in recent years specialized in questions of sexual violence, aging women in the workplace, whiteness, ethnicity, and girls' studies (Nyqvist 2009: 16).

A more comprehensive scholarly review and overview of Women's and Gender Studies in Finland is to be expected as a result of the Academy of Finland funded research project, *Timelines of Academic Feminism in Finland* (TAFF) 2012–2016, led by Professor Marianne Liljeström (Gender Studies, University of Turku), who generously offered her unpublished materials including a very useful timeline, drafts, and notes, as well as general support. Liljeström's project 'will produce a history of Finnish academic feminism' from a multidisciplinary perspective consisting of 'the contextualization and historicizing of Finnish academic feminism, men's and masculinity studies, queer studies and conceptual politics of the institutionalization of Women's Studies in Finland' (project website).

3. Gender Studies in the English Departments

Finnish departments of English have not featured high in Finnish Gender Studies. While the national networks, teaching programmes and research activities of Gender Studies are prolific, this has not been the case within English Studies. There are, however, numerous researchers across the universities who have conducted research that focusses on, or combines, Gender Studies. In the curricula, then, there have been courses or modules that have either used Gender Studies methodologies, or have otherwise engaged with its themes and interests.

To sum it up, as it is not possible to offer a national outline, in the following we present examples from the Gender Studies related research from individual departments in alphabetical order. This is by necessity a sketch and does not aim at comprehensive coverage, as such information is not available – at least in a manageable form. This is particularly so when one looks at the MA theses written in English Studies. However, using the

sources available, the theses are a useful way to evaluate interests in Gender Studies over the years.

3.1 English and Gender Studies at the University of Eastern Finland (UEF)

Organization: **English Language – includes English Language and Culture & English Language and Translation** in the Philosophical Faculty / School of Humanities – Joensuu campus

*Previously: University of Joensuu / School of Humanities / Foreign Languages and Translation Studies – English;
*Previously: University of Joensuu / Faculty of Humanities / Department of Foreign Languages – English, and Savonlinna School of Translation – English

In the English Studies at the University of Eastern Finland, a few people have worked in Gender Studies, especially within literary research. The main contribution is by Jopi Nyman, who in his doctoral dissertation *Men Alone: Masculinity, Individualism, and Hard-Boiled Fiction* (Nyman 1997) studies the genre as a representation of the ideologies of masculinity and individualism. It is the first full-length study of gender in hard-boiled fiction. Later on, Nyman has applied Gender Studies in his research project *Reconstructing 'America': Racial, Gendered and Diasporic Identities* (Academy of Finland 2004–2007) (see e.g. Nyman 2009). More recently, he has worked on gender in his Academy of Finland project *Companion Animals and the Affective Turn: Reconstructing the Human-Horse Relationship in Modern Culture (CONIMAL)* (2011–2015), expanding the concept of the affective turn in feminist theory towards affect in human-animal relations (see Nyman 2014, also Nyman 2001). Together with Marianne Roivas, Nyman has also written on gender in literary studies in general (Nyman / Roivas 2003).

Other scholars with interest in gender include John A. Stotesbury, who in his articles on South-African and Muslim women's romantic literature discusses such topics as masculinity, religion and ethics (Stotesbury 2001, 2004, 2009). Pekka Kilpeläinen has worked on 'race' and sexuality in James Baldwin's works (Kilpeläinen 2010), Hanna Reinikainen has published on the body and sexuality in Toni Morrison's works (Reinikainen 2005, 2006), and Sirpa Salenius (2013) has written on female emancipation and suffrage in the travel writing of Fredrika Bremer and Alexandra Gripenberg and on

Rose Cleveland (Salenius 2014). In linguistics, Greg Watson has cooperated on two articles on gender difference, in speech representation (Riissanen / Watson 2014), and in speech form use (Miettinen / Watson 2013).

In literature teaching the gender perspective has been most pertinent in courses on popular literature, especially crime writing, on American ethnic literature, and on post-colonial literature. The interests of supervisors are reflected in the Gender Studies topics of MA theses, and here, too the emphasis is on literary subjects. Probably the first gender approach in an MA thesis is from 1989 – a study of female characters in Charlotte Brontë's novels – and the study of characterization remains the focus in the 1990s, with some interest in feminism and female perspective, as well as gender roles and stereotypes. After 2000, while character analyses stay along, the feminist aspect becomes more pronounced in relation to patriarchy, hardboiled detective fiction, or romantic, Victorian and Gothic literature. Discussions include Kristevan readings, gendered voice and gaze, gender performance, body, and desire. Also masculinity becomes of interest. Furthermore, the last five years have witnessed the arrival of queer studies, intersectionality and postfeminism. Within linguistics, the gender perspective has also featured in theses in the past ten years. Of special interest have been textbooks, gender differences in speech, gendered language in advertising, or sexism in language use.

3.2 English and Gender Studies at the University of Helsinki

Organization: **English Philology** in the Faculty of Arts / Department of Modern Languages

*Previously: Department of English

English Studies began in Helsinki in 1831 with the appointment of the lecturer, John Wellmer. The university was the only one in Finland until 1918 when Åbo Akademi was founded, followed by the establishing of the University of Turku in 1920. The first professor of English Philology was the language historian and dialectologist Uno Lindelöf, who functioned as a professor extraordinary in English from 1907 until he was appointed to the new chair in 1921. In 1901, the first woman, Hanna Maria Eugenie Lindberg (1870–1909), obtained a PhD in English Studies. Her thesis dealt

with the concept of the shrew in English literature up to Shakespeare (Pahta 2008: 21).

Tauno Mustanoja's critical edition of the 14th century conduct poems *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage*, and *The Thewis of Gud Women* (Mustanoja 1948) – although not as such a Gender Studies topic – is of interest because it is a rare Middle English work targeted noticeably at women, and even more exceptionally at non-aristocratic women. Furthermore, Mustanoja's own interpretation of the author as male on the basis of assertion of female subservience merits notice here.

Helsinki's emphasis on philological research shows also in the interests in Gender Studies. There are remarkably fewer literary subjects and noticeably more linguistic topics. One of the literary scholars in Helsinki with an interest in Gender Studies is Nely Keinänen. She has worked on Early Modern English documents (Keinänen 2004) but her major interest is in Shakespeare, whether female code-switching (Keinänen 2013) or discourses of jealousy and marital violence (Keinänen / Pakkala-Weckström 2009). Other literature people include Mark Shackleton with an interest especially in the intersection of postcoloniality and gender (Shackleton 2011) and Laurel Bush in fictional representations of academic women (Bush 1992). Päivi Kuivalainen's (2005) study on linguistic markers of subjectivity in women writers, then, is a cross-over of linguistics and literary study.

On the linguistics side, Terttu Nevalainen has studied the development of English and gender differences (Nevalainen 2000), gender stereotypes in Late Modern English (Nevalainen 2006), and co-edited a book on gender in grammar and cognition (Unterbeck et. al. 2000). Irma Taavitsainen has published on gendered compliments with Andreas H. Jucker (Taavitsainen / Jucker 2008), and historical gender-based variation has been studied by Anneli Meurman-Solin (2005) and Turo Vartiainen, Tanja Säily and Mikko Hakala (2013). Yet another historical gender aspect is provided by Alaric Hall in his studies on elves in Anglo-Saxon England (Hall 2007). Elizabeth Peterson's interests, then, are in discourse pragmatics and she teaches the Language and Gender course. Her focus is on variation and especially politeness (Peterson 2004, 2008).

The information here on MA theses in Helsinki is quite partial but it shows similar tendencies as in other departments: gender topics relate to the

interests of the staff and the variety increases over time: from pragmatics to gendered conversation, from gender and dialectal variation to gender in travel brochures, from classroom proficiency to EFL teaching, from discourse to forms of address. What is peculiar on the basis of material available: there seems to be markedly more literary interest in Gender Studies in theses than in research publications. Sexuality, characterization, gender roles, intersectionality, cross-dressing, Shakespeare studies, children's and adolescent literature, and gender performance feature in students' works.

3.3 English and Gender Studies at the University of Jyväskylä

Organization: **English section** in the Faculty of Humanities / Department of Languages

*Previously: Department of English

Jyväskylä is strong on applied linguistics but Gender Studies have not been in the focus there, with a handful of scholars working on gender. With intersectionality, gender is currently emerging more broadly in Jyväskylä. One of the researchers in the field is Sirpa Leppänen, whose interests are especially in identification and disidentification, particularly focussing on intersections of gender, sexuality, ethnicity and class on superdiverse social media (Leppänen, forthcoming). Earlier, she has analysed fan fiction from the perspective of gender and sexuality (Leppänen 2008). She also collaborates with Mia Halonen on gendered, sexualized and class-based performance in social media (Halonen / Leppänen, in preparation).

Furthermore, a few notable doctoral dissertations have been completed in recent years. Saara Jäntti studied women's writing on madness (2012), Sanna Lehtonen discussed gender in children's fantasy literature (2010) and Piia Varis considered the interplay between national and gender identity (2009). Jäntti has continued on home blogs with Suvi Järvinen (Jäntti / Järvinen 2014), and is currently involved in ethnographic study of drama therapy in the rehabilitation of mental health patients (see Jäntti 2006). Lehtonen (2012, 2013) has further developed her ideas about invisibility and transformation, and is currently working on masculinities and gender transgression in fan culture. While Samu Kytölä excludes the gender (and age) dimension from his doctoral dissertation (Kytölä 2013: 61–67), in his current interests he moves towards language and sexuality.

Considering the past brevity of research output in Gender Studies in English Studies, Jyväskylä has produced a considerable number of gender-related MA theses. This might be a swayed perception – which does not diminish the achievement – as it is based on a very clear list of theses until 2012, categorized by their topic, gender included. Had other units comparable lists, their output might look different. Be it as it may, there are 94 such theses from 1972 to 2014 – 62 under literature and 32 in linguistics. From the 1970s to the early 1990s the focus in the literary topics is on characterization and the social roles and experiences, and in linguistic topics on gender representation and differences. From the mid-1990s the variety of interests increases to include feminist analysis, identity construction, masculinity, intersectionality, and agency. It is worth noting that only in five of the theses was there a male author (some had two authors, either male or female). Gender Studies itself is often thus gendered.

3.4 English and Gender Studies at the University of Oulu

Organization: **English Philology** in the Faculty of Humanities

*Previously: Department of English

At the moment there is no-one in Oulu working on gender-related topics. Of the former faculty, for example Paul McIlvenny – since 1998 in Aalborg – worked on themes of masculinity and disability (1997), and later on gender and sexuality (2003).

Even if gender research has not been strong in Oulu, students have been interested in gender themes. The twenty-five theses in the field – evenly spread between literary and linguistic approaches – were first on questions of women's liberation, gender differences in speech and language learning, and in the 1990s feminist literary interests emerged. Special emphasis was on masculinity and sexism, on which there were several works. In the following years, questions of representation were raised, followed by hegemonic masculinity and gender performativity, and the issue of power. It is positively surprising that one out of four of the theses have male authors. This is extraordinary among English departments where male students are a minority, and their interest is not directed towards gender issues.

3.5 English and Gender Studies at the University of Tampere

Organization: **Degree Programme in English Language, Literature and Translation** in the School of Language, Translation and Literary Studies

*Previously: English Philology, Multilingual Communication and Translation Studies / Translation Studies (English) in the School of Modern Languages and Translation Studies
*Previously: Department of English, and Department of Translation Studies in the Department of Philology I

Gender Studies is represented in the department of English in Tampere especially through a couple of relevant doctoral dissertations. Maarit Piipponen (2000) has studied gender in the context of Patricia Cornwell's serial murder fiction, although currently she works on American detective fiction and the question of the Chinese. Mervi Miettinen, then, whose doctoral work was on American geopolitics of superhero comics (2012b), has moved into Gender Studies in her analyses of Alan Moore's work, whether love, sexuality, death and power (2012a) or deconstructed masculinity (2014). Pirjo Koivuvaara (2012) has analysed gender and class in relation to hunger and consumption. Furthermore, Merja Kaipiainen (2001) has looked at feminine modernity and Virginia Woolf in her licentiate thesis, Matti Savolainen (2005) has written on gender performance, and Yvonne Hyrynen (1996) has edited conference proceedings on gender and voice.

Even if research on gender has not been very intense in Tampere, there has been an interest in feminist analysis, women's writing and gender at least since the mid-1970s, which shows in the number and variety of MA theses. About ten percent of the theses are on linguistic topics, the rest deal with literature. Linguistic concerns have been on differences between male and female language – linguistic sexism, gender strategies, language and power, conversational dominance – and representation of gender in textbooks, advertisements, school, or dictionaries.

In the literary field, studies on women's writing – language, style, characterization – and representation of women are the most popular issues until the early 1990s, with few works on feminism or sexuality. After that, identity and masculinity emerge as common themes, diversified with female experience, gender roles, pornography, social subversion, androgyny, and gender and the body. In the 2000s, on top of the earlier subjects the

variation widens to include topics such as gender and the colonial experience, intersectionality, representation of gender in popular music, queer studies, voice, third wave feminism, and Womanism.

3.6 English and Gender Studies at the University of Turku

Organization: **Department of English** in the Faculty of Humanities / School of Languages and Translation Studies

*Previously: School of English – Department of English, and Department of English Translation and Interpreting

In Turku, teaching of English began as early as 1926, and English has had full status of major subject since 1946. The data available on MA theses dates the early interest in women's writing in the Department of English to the mid-1950s. In research, then, John Skinner has written about illusions of romance in Anita Brookner (1992), Tobias Smollett's constructions of femininity (1996), and in his analysis of eighteenth-century fiction, he considers at length the discursive practices of genre and gender (2001). Focussing especially on sexuality, Gerald Doherty has written on the erotics of D. H. Lawrence (1999), sex and Buddhism in Lawrence (2001), and on desire and masturbation in James Joyce (2008). Furthermore, Lydia Kokkola, currently in Luleå University of Technology, has worked on gender and sexuality in contemporary adolescent literature (2011).

However, the more intensive Gender Studies approach was introduced through Elina Valovirta, who since her MA thesis on postcolonial écriture féminine (2001) has consistently worked on gender. Beside Valovirta's doctoral dissertation in 2010 on a reader-theoretical model for approaching Anglophone Caribbean women's writing through affects, emotions, and feelings related to sexuality (Valovirta 2014), her interests have been postcolonial feminist reader theory (2004), affective feminist reader theory (2006), reparative practice and the hyper-sexual and the asexual woman (2008), ethics of empathy and reading (2010a), cross-border politics of difference (2010b), shame and intimacy (2013c), healing men (2013a) and masculinity (2013b).

Another researcher with focus on gender is Joel Kuortti. Kuortti's main research interest is in Indian English writing, within which he has considered feminism in the Indian context, published a historical bibliography on

women's writing (2002), a book of interviews (2003) and an anthology on Indian women's short fiction (Kuortti / Mittapalli 2007). He has also published articles in the field, for example on Arundhati Roy (Kuortti 2008). Kuortti has further analysed diasporic Indian literature (2005b), especially how the diaspora reshapes the host culture (2007), and the multicultural feminist detective fiction (2005a). Moreover, Minna Niemi has written on transnational feminism (2003) and the intersectionality of 'race', class and gender (2005).

With regard to the MA theses, until the end of the 1960s, the focus was on characterization and characteristics of such classic authors as Virginia Woolf, Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, Emily Dickinson, Kathrine Mansfield, and George Eliot. The 1970s saw the emergence of emotions, social issues such as marriage and women's status, and representation of women – and also first studies on contemporary women writers such as Agatha Christie, Muriel Spark and Sylvia Plath. From 1980 onward, there are studies on gendered language and sexuality, as well as the first study on representations of men. Also first linguistic theses on women-related vocabulary and gendered language appear in the late 1980s. The first theses on identity and feminism, then, are from the 1990s. Since 2000, body, transgression and corporeality surface as topical issues, just like the intersectional questions of gender and ethnicity or gender and nationality, and queer studies.

In linguistics, gender was only a marginal topic until 2003 but it has since become quite popular with theses on topics like gender in newspapers, magazines, advertising, textbooks, Finnish schlagers, television, and language learning. It is noteworthy that also within Translation Studies there has been interest in gender since 1990. The topics range from sex-role stereotyping to representations of gender and from gendered language to feminist translation.

3.7 English and Gender Studies at the University of Vaasa

Organization: **Unit of English Studies** in the Faculty of Philosophy / Languages and Communication

*Previously: Faculty of Humanities / Department of English

English in Vaasa was originally in a supporting role to other subjects, but it developed into an independent unit when the institution received the status of University in 1991. The English unit has some people with an interest in gender, and the focus is strengthening with current projects. Especially Tiina Mäntymäki has worked on gender with issues such as resistance (2009), agency (2013), and violent women (2014). Furthermore, she directed an international book project on female deviancy with several researchers (e.g. Marinella Rodi-Risberg, Wang Lei and Gerald Porter) (Mäntymäki / Rodi-Risberg / Foka 2014).

In their doctoral dissertations, Galina Dubova and Wang Lei discuss gender, whether the stereotype of Russia as feminine (Dubova 2010) or the trauma of slavery in terms of slavery (Wang 2011). Marianna Rodi-Risberg (2010), then, considered trauma as a gendered experience. Gerald Porter's (1992) doctoral dissertation on *The English Occupational Song* discusses the travesty ballads from the point of view of gender construction and transgressing racial, class and gender boundaries. Furthermore, Deborah Ruuskanen (1998) and Sirkku Aaltonen (2010) have discussed the problem of gender in translation and Maj-Britt Höglund (2007) has confronted the 'Cosmo girl' phenomenon and how the focus on individualism may undermine solidarity between women – there is an awareness of earlier feminist struggles but current understanding of feminism is individual choice.

There are also doctoral candidates who work on topics such as Critical Studies on men and masculinities (Harri Salovaara), feminist theory in the representation of contemporary female folk singers (Noora Karjalainen), queer theory in relation to the Riot Grrrls movement (Susanna Rönn), and feminist appropriations of the Little Red Riding Hood stories (Carola Wide). In MA theses gender features only in the late 1990s with topics like feminist analysis, queer studies, representation of women, gender differences, female subjectivity, gender performance, gendered violence, and intersectionality.

3.8 English and Gender Studies at the Åbo Akademi University

Organization: **Department of English Language and Literature** in the Division for Arts, Education and Theology / Faculty of Arts

Despite its relatively small size, the Department of English at Åbo Akademi University has supported Gender Studies at all levels from undergraduate assignments to doctoral research over a substantial period of time. Among literary researchers, Maria Olaussen has written on subjectivity in Bessie Head (1997) and on feminist criticism (1992), Iris Lindahl-Raittila has worked on images of Sylvia Plath (2002), Katja Brandt has ventured a feminist recontextualization of Christina Rossetti's poetry (2006) and Maria Lassén-Seger has studied gender transformation and transgression in children's literature (2006). In linguistics, Oana Varga has applied systemic functional grammar, critical discourse analysis, organizational discourse analysis and development studies to analyse the conceptualization of 'gender' in development economics (2010).

Students' interest in feminist studies and gender in Åbo goes back to the 1960s and begins with women's history, characterization and social roles. Gender is mostly discussed in literary theses but there are some linguistic analyses of sex difference and sexism in the use of adjectives, gender stereotyping in advertisements, gender and language learning, and identity construction in narratives. Literary topics vary from father-daughter and mother-daughter relationships to gender construction and from African womanhood to aspects of manhood.

4. Conclusion

As the present survey indicates, Gender Studies has a strong institutional presence in Finland, but not so much in the English departments of Finnish universities. However, there is a varyingly long history of gender-related research within the field, and the variety of concerns has expanded considerably especially during the past ten years. The classical Feminist Analysis has evolved into Gender Studies with its current interest in intersectionality, Critical Studies on men and masculinities, Queer Studies, and the posthuman.

We anticipate on the one hand that more research will contribute to Gender Studies in the near future, and that more students will take on an interest in gender. On the other hand, this development will remain somewhat arbitrary unless some institutionalization of Gender Studies takes place within English departments. In the current economic situation this will

constitute a major obstacle were such an objective targeted. Nevertheless, the resilience and vigour of critical theory in general and Gender Studies in particular is significant and would warrant that Gender Studies continue to be a vital part of English Studies in Finland.

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Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė[1]

Lithuania: Pioneering Women's and Gender Studies in the Post-Soviet Baltic Republics

1. Introduction

Gender equality is one of the key elements of European Union policy. Lithuanian citizens as members of the European Union should perceive gender equality as an important stimulus to social change and progress. However, too many Lithuanian women still lack feminist thinking, courage and active involvement in implementing equal opportunities, changing dogmatic and stereotype-based thinking concerning genders, and expanding the concept of women's rights as human rights.

As a result of the dissemination of gender ideology over the twenty-three years of independence, Lithuania has become more democratic and more tolerant towards those who think differently and live differently. Lithuanian women are pleased to know that the President of Lithuania is a woman, just as 34 MPs are women. However, it is necessary to continue to raise women's self-awareness and self-confidence, to encourage women to engage in politics, to struggle for equal rights and opportunities, on a par with men, in building a modern society, to assert their voice in politics and to take the decisions important for the State.

This article first presents a historical overview of Lithuanian women's struggle for equal rights, identifying the main stages, and reviews the emergence of gender studies at Lithuanian universities. Next, it discusses the contribution of English and American studies to the development of a modern open society in Lithuania.

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2. National Contexts

2.1 Beginning of the 20th Century – 1940: The First Women's Organisations

The Lithuanian women's movement began at the close of the 19th century along with the national movement and was an integral part of the women's movement in Central and Eastern Europe. An organised women's movement in Lithuania is considered to have started in 1905, when the first women's organisation – the Lithuanian Women's Association – was founded in Vilnius.

The first Lithuanian women's organisations not only engaged in patronage and charitable activities, but also devoted considerable attention to women's education, raising their awareness and promoting social activism. Moreover, the organisations addressed the political issue of equality between men and women seeking to achieve women's suffrage, opportunities for women to participate in the legislative process and in administration, and demanding a change in the social position of women.

At that time, the Catholic clergy noticed the rising women's movement and undertook a major action to steer it towards the Church and entrench its own influence. In 1907, the first Women's Congress, which was of great importance for the women's movement, was held, but due to the active intervention of the clergy and the resulting political controversy it failed to unite women in co-operation concerning their civil and political rights. In 1908, the Lithuanian women's movement broke into two branches – the Catholic and the social-liberal.

During the years 1908–1914, the activities of the Catholic and liberal branches were most prominent, whereas the social democratic one was unable to manifest itself due to czarist repressions; but in 1918, the social democratic women's movement started its activities. Women gained suffrage on 2 December 1919. In 1937, the second Women's Congress was held. The first organised stage of the women's movement ended in 1940, when the USSR occupied Lithuania.

2.2 1940–1990: Soviet Rule

The second wave of feminism, which in the United States and other Western countries emerged around the end of the 1960s, bypassed Lithuania,

which had lost its status of an independent state and had been incorporated into the USSR. The Soviet sociology of that period, aiming at showing the process of the emancipation of women, focussed on the analysis of socio-demographic statistics and studies of the situation of women in the family, because the status of a married woman was treated as the prescriptive model. The Women's Council, led by the Communist Party, operated in Lithuania for 50 years. In Soviet society, women were represented in government by profession and allegiance to the ideals of the Communist Party.

2.3 Situation after the Re-establishment of Independence until the Present Day

The restoration of independence in 1990 became a powerful impetus to the struggle for women's rights in Lithuania. The women's movement emerging at that time can be viewed as the second wave of feminism in Lithuania, which in a very short period of time developed into the third phase of feminism characterised by neo-liberalism. The revived Lithuanian women's movement relied primarily on the experience and achievements of the USA, West European and Scandinavian countries. Approximately 100 women's associations, clubs and centres were set up to develop the activities of women and encourage women's self-expression.

In order to join, at the earliest possible date, that community of democratic nations, the European Union, Lithuania adopted the main laws and conventions regulating women's and gender equality: in 1993, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was ratified; in March 1999, the Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men was implemented (the first of its kind in Central and Eastern Europe); in 1999, the Office of Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson was established and the Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson was appointed; on 7 June 2003, the National Programme on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men 2003–2004 was adopted. Society, however, was not ready for such rapid and fundamental changes. In this situation, a significant role was played by the Lithuanian Association of University Women, restored in 1991, and the Women's Studies Centre established at Vilnius University in 1992, which became the major resources for public information and education, bringing together female researchers, public figures and politicians.

Yet the gap between the theoretical declaration of gender equality and the actual gender inequality, which is particularly supported by the Lithuanian Catholic Church and right-wing political forces drawing upon centuries-old patriarchal traditions and gender role stereotypes, persists up to the present day. Facts and statistical data show that there is no real gender equality in Lithuania and that sexism and hidden discrimination of women still exist.

In 2012, females in Lithuania accounted for 53.6 % of the population; nevertheless only a very small percentage of them participated in state government. In 2012, 34 women were elected to the Parliament (24 %); in 2009, three women were elected from Lithuania to the European Parliament (25 %); the Sixteenth Government has only one female minister (7 %). In 2011, 342 women were elected to Lithuanian municipal councils (22 %); in the same year, women accounted for as little as 39 % of all managers (legislators, senior officials, heads of companies or organisations, and other top executives).

According to data of 2010, the gap between wages of females and males amounted to 14 % in the public sector and 19 % in the private sector. The largest wage gaps were in the financial and insurance (44 %) as well as manufacturing sectors (30 %). The average gross hourly earnings of females were lower than those of males in all major occupational groups, for example, the gap between wages of female and male service workers and sales assistants was 29 %, machine operators and assembly-line workers 7 %. Moreover, according to data of 2012, the average amount of old-age pension for females was less by one fifth than among males.

Within the European Union, Lithuania is among the leading countries as far as the sheer ratio of female to male researchers is concerned, but according to the indicators reflecting the situation of female researchers in senior scientific and management positions, it is at the bottom of the list. In 2009, in Lithuania women accounted for 19.1 % among persons holding a habilitation (post-doctoral degree), and among professors for 16 %. Of the 91 members of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences only four are women, and its Presidium consists exclusively of men. A better gender balance may be noted with regard to the Board of the National Research Council (RCL): four women out of its nine members, but the President again is male. There are 22 universities and 35 research institutes in Lithuania; however in 2010, as few as three women held the position of an institute director, nine college

directors out of 38 were female, and no woman has yet become rector of a university.

In the 2011–2012 academic year, 313,200 females studied at the country's educational institutions, which accounted for 51 % of all students. At higher education institutions, 59 % of the students were female, but they primarily concentrated in the humanities, medicine, pedagogy and social sciences. In 2011, 43,000 higher education professionals graduated from the higher education institutions, with women making up 65 %. The vast majority, or 87 %, of general education school teachers were women. At colleges and vocational training institutions, females accounted for respectively 70 % and 68 % of teachers, at universities for 50 %. The females engaged in R&D (public and higher education sectors) and holding a degree made up 1,600, which accounted for 45 % of all researchers with a scientific degree. Female postgraduate students reached the highest percentages in the humanities, biomedical and social sciences (59/ 58/ 57 %). A slow growth in the number of female professors can be observed, from 10.4 % in 2000 up to nearly 17 % in 2010 (*Moterys ir vyrai*: 2012).

3. Lithuanian Women's and Gender Studies in General

3.1 Stages and Forms of Institutionalisation

In Lithuania, university women were among the first to begin thinking about common and purposeful activities expressing the interests of women. They urged women to develop self-awareness and self-expression, an active social life, with a romantic belief that in a free Lithuania, it would not be difficult to achieve gender equality and mutual respect. In autumn 1991, the Graduate Women's Union, which had functioned from 1928 until 1940, was re-established at Vilnius University. The new organisation was named the Lithuanian Association of University Women (LAUW). In 1992, the LAUW once again became a member of the International Federation of University Women.

One of the main goals of the LAUW was educational work: women's participation in radio and television programmes, writing articles for the press, organisation of debates and conferences on the issues of gender equality, violence against women, children issues, and feminism issues. A group providing psychological assistance to girls was formed, and the Women's

Crisis Centre was founded in Vilnius. In 1992, the LAUW founded the Women's Studies Centre at Vilnius University; the first of its kind in Lithuania and the post-Soviet Baltic republics. In Estonia, such a centre was only established in 1997, in Latvia in 1998. The following year, in 1993, thanks to the LAUW's effort, the Women's Studies Centre was established at Kaunas University of Technology; later women's studies centres were set up at the universities of Šiauliai (1997) and Klaipėda (1998).

In developing international cooperation, members of the LAUW participated in and themselves organised various international events. In 1993, the LAUW and the Women's Studies Centre at Vilnius University organised the first international conference 'The Paths of Women: East and West', which adopted an Appeal to the President of the Republic of Lithuania, the Seimas and the Government drawing attention to and emphasising the most topical women's issues. It proposed to ratify, in the shortest possible time, the international conventions and acts abolishing all forms of discrimination against women, to enact laws designed to protect women against violence, to immediately consider and adopt health-care reform legislation, to set up, under the Government, a special body to help solve women's work and domestic problems and monitor the observance of laws in this area. The activities of Lithuanian women and the LAUW encouraged the Seimas to ratify in 1993 the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

In 1994, members of the Association attended the Nordic Forum in Turku, Finland; in 1993 and 1994, seminars 'Women and Democracy' in Vilnius; in 1993, the Warsaw seminar 'Real Women's Rights'; in 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Together with the International Federation of University Women, a seminar of leaders of women's organisations of the three Baltic countries was held in 1992 to discuss the organisations' activities, experience and cooperation prospects. In 1993, members of the Vilnius LAUW translated and published Theodora Carroll-Foster's book *Successful Development of Women's International Projects*; in 1994, the Association received a delegation of the British Federation of University Women, shared experience in activities and provided for opportunities for cooperation. The LAUW developed international relations in Scandinavian countries and established contacts with women's organisations from Poland and Germany.

The first years of functioning of the University Women's Association were a period of creation and search, a period of hope, believing that a woman's position in Lithuania could be quite easily changed. Then came the awareness of reality and the revelation that in Lithuania, both women and men lived in the constraints of traditions and that feminist ideas were viewed with irony and unwillingness to understand. The dreaming period ended upon Lithuania's accession to the European Union in 2004, and patient and persistent work for the rights of women, children and sexual minorities began.

3.2 Main Directions, Major National Schools

Vilnius University Women's Studies Centre

As mentioned above, in March 1992, the Lithuanian Association of University Women founded the Women's Studies Centre at Vilnius University, which was the first interdisciplinary academic and research-oriented department of this kind in the countries of the eastern Baltic Sea Region. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė became the head of the Centre.

As regards the preparation of new disciplines of women's studies, the Centre was growing slowly. In the 1992–1993 academic year, students and the public were offered two courses delivered by different lecturers, namely Women and Culture, and Women and Society, and two seminars, namely, Concept of Woman in Western Culture (lecturer Karla Gruodis) and Letter as a Woman's Way of Speaking (Prof. Viktorija Daujotytė).

In 1993, as already mentioned, the first international conference, 'The Paths of Women: East and West', was organised. This conference was the first scientific event in Lithuania on the topic of gender, sexuality and women. Scandinavian researchers Suzanne Lie and Berit As (University of Oslo), Hildur Ve (University of Bergen), Inger Lövkrona (Lund University) and Aili Nenola (University of Helsinki), also Elżbieta Pakszys (Institute of Philosophy, Poznan), Isabel Marcus (University at Buffalo, USA) and Bruce Nordstrom-Loeb (University of Minnesota, USA) contributed to the development of the curriculum of the Women's Studies Centre.

In 1993–1994, when new researchers and teachers joined the Centre, a two-year curriculum was created, and effort was made each year to enrich it with an increasingly varied range of topics. This curriculum discussed

the history and evolution of the gender hierarchy in patriarchal society, the legitimisation of gender inequality in law, the traditional concepts of male and female, femininity and masculinity. At the same time, it revealed the biological, philosophical, social, and psychological grounds for gender inequality, discrimination against women and sexual minorities. It also examined gender and sexuality in culture: the male tradition in Lithuanian and Western literature, which was juxtaposed with the female culture and literary and musical tradition.

The lecturers came not only from Vilnius University: Associate Professors Aurelija Vaitkuvienė, Irena Valikonytė, Vida Kanopienė, Giedrė Purvaneckienė, Leonarda Jekentaitė, and Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė, Assistants Audinga Pelurytė-Tikuišienė and Elena Ževžikova. They also came from other Lithuanian higher education institutions: Assistants Rima Pociūtė from Vytautas Magnus University and Virginija Apanavičienė from the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, as well as the doctoral student Saulė Vidrinskaitė from the Academy of Law. Others were visiting lecturers at Vilnius University, such as Associate Professors Gerda Baltrup and Maurice Hartmark.

The Centre's academic activities were combined with research. In 1995, the second international conference 'Gender and Literature' was organised and served as the basis for publication, in 1996, of a collection of articles entitled *Feminizmas ir literatūra* (Feminism and Literature). The book was designed for humanitarians, teachers and all those thinking about what it meant to be a man or a woman in that day's society, why there was a gender gap in the world, and what was the origin of the gender hierarchy in Western society. An analysis of West European, North American and African literary and some philosophical texts vividly revealed the historical and literary evolution of the concept of women's role and the development of gender stereotypes, which convincingly justified the idea that femininity and masculinity were not merely a biological human characteristic, but a variable value formed by cultures of different centuries, a symbolic meaning of the public expression of male and female in a certain nation's culture. The book was significant in that it was the first publication to unite the efforts of established female scholars, young feminist researchers and foreign literary critics to look at a text from a woman's perspective through feminist theories.

In 1997, the nation-wide conference 'Feminizmas, visuomenė, kultūra' (Feminism, Society, Culture) was held, with reports subsequently compiled into a collection of articles under the same title. This collection continued the project of the Vilnius University Women's Studies Centre, and, like the first selection *Feminizmas ir literatūra*, introduced Lithuanian society, in particular the academic community, to feminist theories and various feminist social and cultural interpretations, gender and family issues. The authors of the articles were full or associate professors and doctoral students of Lithuanian universities, as well as staff of other research institutions. The articles by young scholars showed that the traditional way of thinking and the concepts of gender, family and personality were changing in Lithuania.

The Women's Studies Centre published, for the first time in the country, significant research results: concerning violence against women and children in Lithuania (1997), project manager Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė; occupational and social mobility of women (1995) and discrimination against women in the labour market (1998), project manager Vida Kanopienė.

Such books as *Feminizmo ekskursai* (Excursions into Feminism; 1995) by Karla Gruodis, *Įžymios Lietuvos moterys: XIX a. – XX a. pradžia* (Famous Lithuanian Women in the Second Half of the 19th – First Half of the 20th Century; 1997) ed. Dalia Marcinkevičienė, and *Lyčių drama* (Drama of Sexes; 1998) by Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė were published.

Thanks to efforts of the staff of the Centre, the traditional way of people's thinking in respect to gender policy was changing. Lithuanian women began to more actively oppose the ideology of gender hierarchy and discrimination against women. The teachers working at various faculties of Vilnius University began to pay attention to the gender and sexuality aspect of their professional areas and encouraged students to write interdisciplinary research papers focussing on feminist theories.

Vilnius University Gender Studies Centre

In 2002, the Women's Studies Centre changed its name to Gender Studies Centre, and on 16 December 2003 the Vilnius University Senate granted to the GSC the status of a core academic department. Dalia Marcinkevičienė / Leinartė was and is till now the head of the Centre. Today the Vilnius University Gender Studies Centre operates as an interdisciplinary centre for gender studies and research.

The GSC is also involved in the formation of gender policy in Lithuania. One of its main objectives is the integration of gender studies into the mainstream curriculum of Vilnius University. Every semester, the GSC offers undergraduate and graduate elective courses that are open to all students of Vilnius University. The courses cover several academic subjects: feminist philosophy, gender sociology, visual culture, feminist literary criticism, feminist theology, personal law, women's history, gender and information technology, masculinity studies and women's health. These courses are not merely an introduction to gender studies, but provide an opportunity to incorporate the gender aspect and gender issues into the main curriculum. Every year, the GSC elective courses are chosen by approximately 400 students from various departments of Vilnius University. Lecturers specialising in different academic fields both from Vilnius University and other research institutions are invited to give courses at the GSC. It is fully financed from the Vilnius University budget.

Currently, the GSC courses at Vilnius University are as follows: Gender Studies; Women, the Family and the State since 1800; Family History in Western Europe and North America in the 17th–20th Centuries; Family Policy; Gender Sociology; Introduction to Gender Studies; Literature and Gender; Gender in Western Culture; Gender and Communication; Feminist Film Theory; Gothic (Horror) Literature and Arts; Classical Hollywood Cinema: Constructing and Subverting Gender Stereotypes; Contemporary Art and Mass Culture: Feminist Perspective; Queer Images in Art and Popular Culture; Introduction to Masculinity Studies; Sociological Aspects of Contraceptive Practices.

Every year the Centre arranges national and international seminars on different topics, like, for example, 'Lithuanian Women Parliamentarians: What Happens and How, When Traditions and Organisational Structures of Political Representation Undergo Big Changes' (Prof. Irmina Matonytė, ISM University of Management and Economics, Kaunas-Vilnius, 2010), 'The History of Feminism in the Academy and Future Gender Studies' (Prof. Sidonie Smith, University of Michigan, USA, 2010).

The GSC has also organised various international and national conferences: 'Family Policy in the European Union' (2004), 'Gender and Identity' (2005), 'Film Identities' (2009), 'Women's Entrepreneurship in the OSCE

Region: Trends and Good Practices' (2011), 'The Soviet Past in the Post-Soviet Present: Ethics of Oral History and Memory Studies' (2012).

Finally, the GSC has contributed as partner to several international projects: 'International Sexuality Description Project' (proposed by David P. Schmitt, Department of Psychology, Bradley University, USA, 2001), 'Nordic Research School in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies' (proposed by University of Linkoping, Sweden and Nordic Institute of Women's Studies and Gender Research, 2003), 'Children and Youth Experiencing Sexual and Gender Violence' (DAPHNE II 2004 project, coordinated by the University of Oulu, Finland), 'ATGENDER' (Advanced Thematic Network of Activities in Women's Studies in Europe, coordinated by Utrecht University, Netherlands, 2008).

Gender Studies Centre at Kaunas University of Technology

The Gender Studies Centre in Kaunas was established in 1993. Its first director was Assoc. Prof. Dr. Irena Leliūgienė, her successors Dr. Nijolė Čiučiulkienė and Dr. Aistė Urbonienė. The Gender Studies Centre sought to encourage dialogue between the sexes; to stimulate critical thinking among students and the academic community by viewing one's academic education from the gender perspective; to become a champion of equal rights and opportunities for women and men by drawing attention to gender discrimination in society and enhancing public awareness. It carried out educational and academic activities, but has now discontinued them.

Šiauliai University Centre for Gender Studies

The Šiauliai University Women's Studies Centre (WSC) was established in 1997 by a decision of the Senate of the University. In 2005, the Women's Studies Centre was reorganised into the Gender Studies Institute (GSI). In 2008, the Gender Studies Institute, by another decision of the Senate, was changed to the Centre for Gender Studies (CGS). Previously led by Associate Professors Ivanauskienė, Dr. Čepaitienė, Dr. Akimova, and Dr. Karavajeva, the Centre's current director is Senior Researcher, Doctor of Social Sciences, Assoc. Prof. Virginia Šidlauskienė.

The Centre has a strong research emphasis. These activities are focussed on the following topics: the impact of the gender factor on the development of personality in the Lithuanian education system; the cultural, educational, social and economic situation of women and genders in the transitional

period; empirical studies of the social exclusion of women and genders; the gender factor in speech and communication.

The Centre actively participates in the projects funded by the European Union. During the period 2004–2008, it implemented the project 'Family Universe: Family-Friendly Organisation under the EU EQUAL Initiative', during which international experience was tapped to develop and test innovative methodologies and tools for university students and employees to combine work and family life and promote a change in stereotypical gender roles at home and at work.

During the period 2005–2007, together with foreign partners (University of Klagenfurt, Austria; University of Helsinki, Finland; Federation of Schools of Engineers and Executives / FESIC; National Institute of Applied Sciences of Lyon, France; University of Wuppertal, Germany; Technical University of Košice, Slovakia; the Centre for the Study of Women and Society, Spain; University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom) the Centre was engaged in the PROMETEA project 'Empowering Women Engineers in Industrial and Academic Research'. Its aim was to enhance the understanding of gender problems in engineering and technological research in order to propose effective measures that will enable women to pursue engineering careers in the area of European higher education and industrial research.

During the period 2006–2008, the Centre carried out the project 'Implementation of Equal Opportunities in the Area of Employment: Measures, Practices, Changes', seeking to achieve effective implementation of equal rights for women and men in employment at the municipal level.

During the period 2011–2012, the Centre implemented the national project 'Promotion of Gender Equality in Sciences' (LYMOS) under the measure VP1–3.2-ŠMM-02-V 'Improvement and dissemination of knowledge about science and technology among pupils and young people and promotion of gender equality in science'.

In addition, the Šiauliai University Centre for Gender Studies coordinates at the national level the implementation of the research projects 'Institutional Transformation for Effecting Gender Equality in Research (INTEGER)' 2011–2015; 'Immersion in the Science Worlds through the Arts (ISWA)' 2011–2013 under the Seventh Framework Programme of the European Community for research, technological development and demonstration activities. Before, during the period 2009–2011, the Centre

coordinated the implementation of the research project 'Higher Education Leading to Engineering and Scientific Careers (HELENA)' also under the Seventh Framework Programme.

In 2005, Šiauliai University launched the interdisciplinary scientific journal *Lyčių studijos ir tyrimai* (Gender Studies and Research). The series *Feminizmas, visuomenė, kultūra* (Feminism, Society, Culture), published by the Vilnius University Women's Studies Centre in 1997–2002, can be considered as its predecessor. A publication like *Lyčių studijos ir tyrimai* is not new on a global scale, but in Lithuania it is one of the few attempts to link feminism, gender theories and practices with a specific analysis of cultural and social phenomena and to dig deeper into the gender system discourse in the context of globalisation, internationalisation, citizenship, technology development, quality of life and development.

The goal and purpose of the publication is to promote and develop original gender research and methodological innovation in Lithuania and the European Union. By improving the quality of its articles, the focus is on attaining the international scientific level and attracting papers of high-level foreign researchers. There have already appeared some articles which continue the topic of others, then even joint articles of Lithuanian and foreign researchers. *Lyčių studijos ir tyrimai* presents the activities of knowledge creation and applied research that analyses the structural and cultural causes of social gender inequality and provides political and strategic proposals for the reduction of social inequality and exclusion in contemporary society in the post-communist transformation, in national and geopolitical contexts. The journal publishes (in)equality and discrimination monitoring results, examples of good practice and social innovations in the area of gender mainstreaming.

The Šiauliai University Centre for Gender Studies also provides expertise at the international and national levels. It participates in the Experts' Forums of the European Institute for Gender Equality and the Working Group for Monitoring the Implementation of Horizontal Priorities at the Ministry of Finance.

As far as teaching is concerned, the Centre for Gender Studies has developed elective modules on the gender topic that are offered to students of Šiauliai University: Women's Professional Career, Image Studies, Feminism Studies, Psychological Aspects of the Coordination of Family and Career

Roles, Comparison of Gender Images in Western Culture and in Lithuania, Psychological Aspects of Gender Identity, Gender Dilemmas in Social Work.

Klaipėda University Women's Studies Centre

The Klaipėda University Women's Studies Centre was established in 1997. It was a public organisation uniting researchers, entrepreneurs, artists, educators, agricultural professionals, students, and other committed women who pursued activities and engaged in creative work in various areas of socio-cultural life.

The goals of the Women's Studies Centre were identified as an attempt to harmonise relationships between people, foster tolerance, national culture and traditions, and improve communication and conduct culture. The Centre's activities mainly relied on the traditional Christian culture. Until the spring of 2005, scientific and practical conferences 'Woman and Traditions' were held each year to survey, from various perspectives, the socio-economic role of women, women's vision and mission in the third millennium. The papers of the conferences held during 2000–2005 were published in the series 'Woman and Traditions'. In 2005, the Centre ceased its activities. After Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aušrinė Zulumskytė assumed management of the Women's Studies Centre at the Faculty of Pedagogy in 2009, an attempt was made to revive its activities by holding, in 2010, the traditional scientific and practical conference 'Woman and Traditions'. The proceedings of this conference were also published. Nothing else has followed.

4. Creation of New Traditions

This part of the chapter discusses literary studies, which from the last years of Soviet rule onwards played an important part in introducing new ideas, images, and expressive forms.[2]

After the country regained political independence, activists of the women's movement and women academics engaged in interdisciplinary gender

2 The series 'Library of World Literature', for instance, issued by the Vaga publishing house from 1987 to 2009, proved very popular and mind-opening. The translations – many of them of US or British authors – were accompanied by research articles, written as a rule by university lecturers.

research with a view to enlightening the liberated Lithuanian society about women's history, women's discrimination and exploitation. Lithuanian academic feminism was shaped by different scholars who structured it out of the fragments referring to West European, Scandinavian and American feminist theories.

Literature was that fertile soil in which feminist ideas could be easily traced, revealed and explained. The Rector of Vilnius University, Rolandas Pavilionis, was among the first university authorities to acknowledge the significance of feminist theories for Lithuanian society, which had to implement democratic principles in a traditional country. The feminist theories were introduced to VU faculties and departments by enthusiasts of the women's movement.

Men and women in postmodern society, a psychologically complicated individual search for inner freedom and self-realisation, as well as new forms of literary expression were presented in a collection of articles under the title *XX amžiaus visuotinė literatūra* (20th Century World Literature; 1992), a manual composed by researchers of the World Literature Department of Vilnius University, which after teaching Soviet ideological disciplines opened to students new horizons of the freedom of thinking and the area of literary experiments and original self-expression. Works of John Fowles, Iris Murdoch, Muriel Spark, Doris Lessing, Angela Carter, Emma Tennant, Kazuo Ishiguro, Joyce Carol Oates were analysed by Regina Rudaitytė; new American dramatists (Murray Schisgal, Paddy Chayefsky, Arthur Lee Kopit, Sam Shepard) by Undinė Uogintaitė; the Beatnik movement and Jack Kerouac's works, the novels of John Updike, Saul Bellow, and William Styron by Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė; the Southern School of American Literature and Carson McCullers' novels by Kornelija Jurgaitienė.

New attempts to go deep into works of literary classics, modernists and postmodernists were disclosed in two manuals published by the same department, *XX a. Vakarų literatūra 1900–1945* (20th Century Western Literature 1900–1945; 1994–1995), in which psychological novels by James Joyce and William Faulkner, intellectual novels by Herbert George Wells and Aldous Huxley, literature of the Lost Generation (Richard Aldington, Ernest Hemingway), poetry of William Butler Yeats, Thomas Stearns Eliot, Robert Frost, Carl Sandburg, also intellectual (George Bernard Shaw), social (Arthur Miller), absurd (Edward Albee), and psychological (Eugene

O'Neill, Tennessee Williams) dramas were discussed by Galina Baužytė, Elena Kuosaitė, Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė, and Irena Varnaitė. Post-war English plays (John Osborne, Harold Pinter, Edward Bond) were examined by Loreta Višomirskytė. Much attention was devoted to the complex presentation of women in William Faulkner's novels and in G. B. Shaw's dramas, with a critical evaluation of 'man's world order' and focus on spiritually strong female characters (Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė).

The collection *Feminizmas ir literatūra* (Feminism and Literature; 1996) showed that the foundations were laid for feminist Lithuanian research on English and American literature. Typical feminist themes, women's images, stylistic peculiarities of women's literature, new traits of women's portraits in 'men's literature' were underlined in works of Jane Austen, George Gordon Byron, Virginia Woolf, Gertrude Stein, in lesbian poetry and drama (Danytė, Bartnikaitė, Rudaitytė, Dadurkevičienė, Žindžiuvienė, Pavilionienė).

The monograph *Lyčių drama* (Drama of Sexes; 1998), by Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė, was one of the first works of interdisciplinary research on Western literature in Lithuania, presenting the traditional and feminist understanding of sex, gender, family, marriage and personality. The use of the biographical approach helped to disclose the lives of three playwrights, namely, August Strindberg, Henrik Ibsen, Eugene O'Neill, and their stereotypical gender understanding, together with the attempts to reveal a woman's complicated interior world and her revolt against the patriarchal order.

The book stresses the idea that dramas of the sexes are not conditioned by the biological differences of individuals alone. Differences in the intellectual, spiritual maturity of partners, their belief in 'eternal' gender, and legal, religious, moral norms of patriarchal society are the real causes of gender conflicts and opposition of masculine and feminine.

Strindberg can be considered as the first feminist who introduced feminist issues into men's literature. His analysis of family life and gender conflicts shows that the drama of sexes leads partners to spiritual or physical death. Although the writer believes in the superiority of the masculine sex, his prose and plays reveal an alienated and helpless man who dreams of a woman's understanding and care. The feminist reading of Strindbergian texts discloses the aggressiveness put by the author into female characters.

However, this aggressiveness can be interpreted as women's revolt against legal norms of the patriarchal world, which limits their existence, their rights and humiliates them.

Revealing his views on marriage, Strindberg underlines the reciprocal influence of partners, shows how marital obligations clash with an individual's freedom, how sexual harmony contrasts with the spiritual antagonism of partners. Having gone through three marriages and divorces and having experienced psychological tensions of gender conflicts and the pain of loneliness, Strindberg in his plays begins to assert the tolerance and harmony of sexes.

Ibsen's works inspired and continue to inspire women to rise against patriarchal social rules. His plays stimulate the individual quest for freedom, women's self-confidence and self-expression. They destroy myths of masculinity and reveal the discrepancy between gender roles and the inner personality. Although the writer speaks ironically about sex hierarchy, criticises marriage-related transactions, one can find a misogynistic attitude in his works. Ibsen considers man to be woman's life guide and educator; therefore he makes it clear in his works that women should sacrifice their lives for men.

Ibsen never acknowledged his conscious support of the women's emancipation movement, though at the end of the 19th century women viewed him as their liberator. In his private life, he was a man of compromises, protected his image of a famous writer and drama reformer, but in reality was a lonely person, who embodied his spiritual and sexual longings in the characters of his plays.

The majority of O'Neill's works are based on biographical data of his family and his own personal experience. In his early plays, the female protagonists are biological beings driven by instincts, who have no personal identity and depend upon men's authoritative ambitions. In later dramas, they are depicted as decisive and active individuals, who exert considerable influence on other people. The spiritual quest, interior contradictions, the analysis of extrovert and introvert types of an individual are linked with the image of a man, who is an autobiographical personage.

All in all, *Lyčių drama* aimed at diminishing the fear of feminism in Lithuania. It stressed the necessity of re-evaluating women's history and of introducing a new point of view on gender communication, which would

underline the value of both men and women as personalities, not only as biologically determined creatures.

The research journal of the Faculty of Philology of Vilnius University *Literatūra* also played an important role in spreading feminist ideas and methodology in the academic community. Doctoral students (Milda Špėlytė, Eglė Kačkutė, Audronė Uzelienė) widened feminist research and published their articles on Angela Carter's works, American multiculturalism and the formation of Afro-American literary tradition. Professors of the World Literature Department published results of their own research on Afro-American drama, Black Americans' right of self-determination, race and gender in Toni Morrison's works (Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė); narrator, character and story in John Berger's novels (Regina Rudaitytė).

A special role in instilling feminist research into English and American studies was played by the journal *Feminizmas, visuomenė, kultūra* (Feminism, Society and Culture), published by the Vilnius University Women's Studies Centre. It is a pity that after the death of Rolandas Pavilionis, new university heads cut its financing, thus demonstrating a lack of understanding of the historical role that the journal played in developing a new worldview in post-Soviet Lithuania, because at that time it was the only publication popularising feminist criticism.

In these volumes, researchers from various universities and different high schools of the country, at different study levels, published their work on feminist theory, women's studies as an academic discipline, on feminist values, gender stereotypes, on women's conception of space in contemporary art studies, on the social construction of sexuality and on studies of violence against women in the family, on sex and gender in the English language (Česlovas Kalenda, Patricija Droblytė, Lijana Stundžienė, Leonarda Jekentaitė, Margarita Jankauskaitė, Aušra Maslauskaitė, Jolanta Reingardienė, Brigita Palavinskienė, Saulė Vidrinskaitė, Dalia Masaitienė, Nijolė Bražėnienė). Researchers discussed authors that were little known in Lithuania, such as Sylvia Plath (Irena Ragaišienė), Zora Neale Hurston, gay drama – William Hoffman, Tony Kushner, American feminist drama (Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė), Margaret Atwood, Lorna Sage (Regina Rudaitytė), and Jeanette Winterson (Eglė Kačkutė).

The monograph entitled *Gyvenimo ir teatro vaidinimai: XX amžiaus Vakarų drama* (The Plays of Life and Theatre: Twentieth-Century Western

Drama; 2004), by Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė, holds a special place in Lithuanian studies of English and American literature on account of the scope and variety of writers covered, and the depth of analysis. It introduced to Lithuanian modern society the theme of human life as a kind of drama, in which one plays different social roles, changes individual and social masks in order to hide one's facelessness, covers inner fears or psychological complexes and attempts to adapt to new situations. Life as a theatre also discloses the revolt and protest of an individual or representatives of different races, ethnic groups, sexes, and sexual minorities against stereotypes of the patriarchal order, against aggression and domination of one nation, race, and sex over another.

The book consists of European and American theatre theories and analyses of specific plays, which illustrate the above mentioned topics. Here I will name only the research which belongs to English and American studies: Edward Bond's Theatre of the Event; Harold Pinter's Theatre of the Absurd; the Native American Theatre (Lisa Mayo, Gloria and Muriel Miguel, Gerald Vizenor, Hanay Geiogamah); El Teatro Campesino of Mexican Americans (Luis Valdez); Afro-American drama, seen from the race and gender perspectives (LeRoi Jones, Bernard Jackson); Afro-American women's drama (Alice Childress, Lorraine Hansberry, Glenda Dickerson, Breena Clarke, Ntozake Shange); Amerasian drama – Japanese American and Chinese American plays (Velina Hasu Houston, Lane Nishikawa, Victor Talmadge, David Henry Hwang).

The book also discusses European and American gay and lesbian dramas associated with the historical background of the development of the LGBT social movement; stand-up plays of William Hoffman, Tony Kushner, the works of Lillian Hellman, Jill Posener, Claire Dowie, Cheryl Moch, and the plays of Euro-American women playwrights with the focus on feminist drama (Megan Terry, Tina Howe).

Gyvenimo ir teatro vaidinimai reminds the reader that in postmodern society, drama and theatre continue their mission, wake up human minds and feelings, thus destroying the culture of simulation and tearing off the mask of human hypocrisy. It helps to understand the ideas of democracy and equality of people and social groups.

5. Continuation of the New Traditions

The younger generation of English and American literature scholars of Vilnius University successfully continues the teaching of women's writing. Laura Petkutė teaches two courses: Women's Literature of the 19th Century and Women's Literature of the 20th–21st Centuries. The first course covers the historical and cultural background of women's writing, the characteristics of Victorian society and women's position in it; Victorian Gothic literature and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*; Jane Austen's aesthetics, the analysis of the patriarchal structure of a British household (*Mansfield Park*); Bildungsroman and the Brontë family; the place of a governess (Brontë's *Jane Eyre*); pre-Raphaelite aesthetics and the poetry of Christina Rossetti; awakening of a woman as a personality in American literature (Emily Dickinson, Kate Chopin).

Using feminist, post-colonial, psycho-analytical methods and queer theory against the general background of modern and postmodern literature, Laura Petkutė examines the works of Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Doris Lessing, Jeanette Winterson, Sylvia Plath, Margaret Atwood and Alice Walker.

Young researchers find provocative and unexpected aspects of literary analysis combining classical English literature (18th and 19th centuries) with socio-historical, cultural, philosophical, and religious contexts or zooming in on a very specific theme. Linara Bartkuvienė, for instance, pays special attention to madness and gender, looking for this correlation in Shakespeare's tragedies, Woolf's novels, Ginsberg's and Plath's poetry, Williams' plays, and Kesey's novels.

Rūta Šlapkauskaitė innovatively combines in her teaching the analysis of multiculturalism and literature, the past and present-day relationship between art, politics and culture while concentrating on American and Canadian literature. She selects different literary genres: novel (Joy Kogawa), short story (Thomas King), poetry (David Dabydeen) and drama (David Henry Hwang). In her course History of North American Literature, she pays much attention to American modernist poetry (Ezra Pound, William Carlos Williams, E. E. Cummings, Amy Lowell), novelist experimentalists such as Gertrude Stein and William Faulkner, postmodern writers like John Barth, Susan Sontag and female innovators, such as Toni Morrison,

Margaret Atwood, and Linda Hutcheon, for whom a woman's personal identity is an important theme.

6. Concluding Remarks

It is pleasant to state that much has been done in Lithuania in the spheres of gender studies and research, English and American literary studies. The new trends and traditions started by scholars who introduced them at Vilnius and other Lithuanian universities, are alive. They reveal the potential of Lithuanian researchers and women's NGOs, their wide interests and close links with the latest world gender studies and investigations in literature. The present contradictory political life in Lithuania – still existing gender inequality, lack of laws which defend women's rights, reproductive rights, children's rights – remind us how important gender studies and research are in a changing society, how the embodiment of ideas of gender theories into various fields of studies and science brings a new quality of social life. Therefore gender studies should be constantly renewed and the results of gender studies and research spread to society: to politicians, to mass media, to educators; gender studies and research help to form a progressive mentality of people.

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South-Eastern and Eastern Europe

Aleksandra Izgarjan / Dubravka Djurić

The Role of Anglicist Women in the Development of Gender Studies in Serbia: From NGO to Academia

1. Introduction

Like in other European countries, three particularly prominent phases or perhaps 'waves' can be distinguished in the development of feminism in Serbia. The first was at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries in the Kingdom of Serbia and later Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes / Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The second came in the 1970s, in the period of late, liberal Yugoslav socialism, when Yugoslavia opened up to the Western world. The third major phase followed at the beginning of the 1990s as a part of the post-socialist process in East European countries. After the fall of communism, they were transformed politically, economically, and culturally into capitalist, neoliberal states. The difference between the Serbian feminism of this period and most other post-socialist countries derives from the fact that it appeared at the moment of the decomposition of the multiethnic / multicultural Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the civil wars; it therefore became a part of the broader political antiwar movement. But before focusing on the third phase, we will deal briefly with the period of socialism.

2. The Development of Feminism in Yugoslavia from the Second World War to the 1990s

Women in Yugoslavia obtained civil rights, including the right to vote, after the end of the Second World War, since gender equality was considered an undeniable component of the communist ideology. Due to this stance, women had been members of the Communist Party before the Second World War and immediately after its outbreak joined the ranks of the partisan movement. It is estimated that one million women took an active part in the resistance movement, and approximately one hundred thousand

were soldiers in the Yugoslav army (Milić 2011: 54). During the war, these women founded the Antifascist Women's Front (AWF), whose main objective was the improvement of the position of women. Thanks to the activities of AWF, in 1942 two acts stipulated the rights of women to vote and be members of the bodies of the revolutionary government. In the same year women started to exercise their rights working as delegates in various bodies of the government in the territories liberated by the Yugoslav army (Pantelić 2011: 37). AWF was also crucial in building a network of women throughout the freed territories and their emancipation. After the war, the participation of women in the Yugoslav army, their bravery, but also their work in founding and managing the AWF, ensured their involvement in bodies at all governmental levels. AWF continued to be influential in female emancipation, particularly in rural areas, where its members organized literacy courses and food drives and founded schools and hospitals. Women became members of the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and each of the seven republics had some female ministers. More women were employed on lower levels of the government departments and became judges in courts at all levels. The number of women studying at universities doubled, and they joined the ranks of university professors. As a curiosity, we want to mention that one of the women who had a leading role in AWF, particularly its international cooperation with the United Nations and Women's International Democratic Federation, was Olga Humo (Pantelić 2011: 90). During the war, she was Josip Broz Tito's translator and secretary of the army headquarters. She had studied at the English Department in Belgrade before the war, and after obtaining her PhD she became a professor in the same institution. Her involvement in AWF and position at the English Department may be considered an early example of the connection between English studies and women's organizations in Yugoslavia. With regard to links between English studies and the struggle for women's rights and careers Mary Stansfield Popović may also be pointed out: at the side of her husband Vladeta Popović she was co-founder of the English Department at the University of Belgrade, and after his death in 1951, she became professor, serving as the head of the Department until 1961.

As mentioned, the participation of women both in the war effort and the provisional government set up in the freed territories was crucial for their gaining civil rights and starting to fully participate at all levels of the

political and economic structures. Their major contribution pertains to building an organizational network which comprised hundreds of thousands of women, work on family care (including the founding of numerous kindergartens) and the protection of women and children. According to Slapšak, female participation in the war led to 'a nation of women'. Aware of their newly found power, they never went back to their subjugated position of before the war. 'The success of the Yugoslav partisan movement was multifaceted: it ensured the existence of women's labor force in the rear, female war force at the front, female labor force in re-building the country after the war, and female political force, which supported the victorious ideology.' (Slapšak in Pantelić 2011: 42).[1] As Lokar states, it was thanks to this legacy that the socialist countries in South East Europe 'did not have any trouble with de jure equality for men and women. They all had prohibition of gender discrimination in their constitutions, special articles on women workers' rights, health care, social welfare (single mothers), pension and child care legislation' (Lokar 2003: 9).

The next stage in the development of women's movements in the country leading up to the foundation of women's studies coincides with the second wave of feminism in Europe. In Blagojević's opinion, 'Yugoslavia was not only receptive to new theoretical developments coming from the 'West', but was also quite advanced in its promotion of gender equality, both within the country and internationally' (Blagojević 2010: 186). Growing interest in gender theory resulted primarily in a concentrated effort at translation of articles or books and the first master's or doctoral theses based on the growing volume of research in the field of women's studies. On the other hand, feminist activism was evident in the organization of various forms of help for women who suffered domestic abuse and women's groups for therapy or consciousness-raising. This period was also characterized by better cooperation among women in the Yugoslav republics. Unfortunately, this cooperation would end with the advent of the civil war, which led to the secession of the Yugoslav republics. The period which followed next, i.e. from 1990 to 2000, 'represents the most intensive breakthrough of

1 All translations in the text are provided by Aleksandra Izgarjan unless otherwise specified.

feminism in all its forms in the social life of Serbia' according to Milić (2011: 58).

3. The Work of the Centers for Women's Studies as NGOs

During the 1990s, feminist organizations were founded first in the two most important central cities, Belgrade and Novi Sad, and soon multiplied in the whole of Serbia (and Montenegro, which were at the time one state). They belonged to the NGO sector and were mainly financed by Western feminist foundations.[2] The number of these organizations proliferated as a result of the inside dynamics in the feminist groups, in which many different concepts and interests were confronted, and because of the politics of financing, which stressed the need to decentralize the feminist scene outside of Belgrade and Novi Sad. Initially the feminist organizations were the product of feminist activism, and we would like to accentuate three overlapping aspects in their functioning: 1) activist projects targeted at the economic empowerment of women and the prevention of violence against them; 2) alternative and informal educational programs, organized as women's studies; and 3) literary and artistic projects (Djurić 2013: 51). The two major tracks of women's studies in Serbia, one dedicated to theory and the other to activism, often overlapped in the remarkable effort of women in Serbia to condemn war and the dictatorial regime of Slobodan Milošević.

> The major ideological and practical challenges for feminist scholars from Serbia were related to the wars and Serbian nationalism: how to translate 'Western' feminist knowledge – which had a prevailing influence at the time but had been articulated in different contexts and was based on different experiences – into the local women's and anti-war movements? From an epistemic point of view one could say that it was relatively easy to 'translate' that part of 'Western' feminist knowledge that corresponded to the 'normal' former development of Yugoslavia as a medium-level developed industrial European country, out of 'the bloc'. Women in Yugoslavia were faced with a 'double burden', similar to that of 'Western' women, of discrimination at work, segregation in education and on the labour market and violence. (Blagojević 2010: 187–188)

2 The most notable Western sponsors include: the Soros Foundation (later renamed Fund for an Open Society), Kvinna till Kvinna, Rosa Luxemburg, Heinrich Böll, Mama Cash, ProHelvetia, Global Fund for Women and KulturKontakt.

The idea behind founding the centers for women's studies was for women of different social background, age and education to get feminist and gender-sensitive knowledge through alternative education. Other motives for the establishment of these centers can be found in the growing need to provide space outside of the universities, which were under rigid government control as sites of rebellion against Milošević's regime. The centers for women's studies created a community of women who deconstructed and criticized the regime through gender studies. Lokar sees the following general features in the former Yugoslav republics which coincided with the social, political and economic transition in the region:

> We could see the turn of electorates to the very conservative, patriarchal, nationalistic and aggressive mainstream politics. There was a strong renewal of the influence of the churches in political life. Everywhere we witnessed the weakening of the rule of law, explosion of massive unemployment, shrinking or collapse of the welfare state, feminization of poverty, growing violence against all weaker members in the society – women, children, elderly and minorities of all sorts. Everywhere gender inequalities started to grow – the main indicator was the tragic fall in the political representation of women in the parliaments. From an average close to 30%, it dived below 11% and in all the countries where it fell below 5%, wars and armed conflicts started to develop. […] In war tormented countries of former socialist Yugoslavia, negative trends towards gender equality got dramatic dimensions – women not only de facto lost all their gains from the socialist times, but were additionally exposed to tremendous ideological and armed pressure of conservative, nationalistic and extremist religious forces. (Lokar 2003: 10)

In Serbia, the centers for women's studies particularly tackled a number of issues closely connected to the oppression of women as a result of civil war and poverty (throughout the 1990s Serbia was under severe economic sanctions). Consequently, they were focused on building a network to support women through safe houses, shelters and helplines while special attention had to be paid to refugees from Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and later internally displaced persons from Kosovo.[3] The leading role in helping refugees with social reintegration was assumed by *The Women's Center*

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3 Serbia has the highest number of refugees in Europe and is one of the five countries in the world with a so-called protracted refugee situation. It received 618,000 refugees from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and 210,148 internally displaced persons from Kosovo. Cp. <http://www.kirs.gov.rs/articles/navigate.php?type1=3&lang= ENG&id=1928&date=0>.

for Helping the Victims of War and *The Center for Antiwar Action*, with predominantly women members.

Lesbians and gay men took part in all antiwar and feminist peace organizations. Despite homophobia, which became particularly blatant in the war time, the gay and lesbian group *Arkadija* was formed in 1990 and the lesbian group *Labris* in 1995. It is important to mention that women's studies centers had lesbian studies as an obligatory part of their program. 'It also meant that throughout the war, at every international meeting of the women's peace group from Belgrade, Women in Black Against War, there was a workshop about lesbians. Making space for lesbian desire and politics was a must at least among some feminist peace activists.' (Mladjenović 2001: 386). The journal *Feminističke sveske* [Feminist notebooks] was the first to publish Anglo-American lesbian poetry, prose, and essays (Adrienne Rich and Audre Lorde among the authors), which inspired local production. The first lesbian organization in Vojvodina was founded in 2004 (*Lesbian Organization Action Novi Sad*) and today there are about ten LGBTQ organizations in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš and Kragujevac.

Women's organizations were also instigators of political changes since they became the generators of several political parties (*Women's Parliament*, *Women's Party*), which supported the rights of women and their place in Serbian political life. Together with these and other organizations such as *Women in Black*, the centers for women's studies were actively involved in antiwar efforts. The period from 1991 to 1995 was characterized by massive resistance to forced mobilization, antiwar demonstrations, and legal support to the deserters. One of the first massive antiwar demonstrations was organized by three women's organizations (*Women's Parliament*, *Women's Party* and *Women's Lobby*) in front of the Serbian Parliament. In the face of the strong media campaign supporting the war and the growing oppression of those who challenged the regime, these actions were important as a proof that there was a civil society which was very different from the radically nationalist, war-supporting Serbia presented in the media, which were all heavily controlled by the regime. The nationalist rhetoric contained a significant patriarchal aspect as well. Women were required to stay at home and take care of their families. The emancipation of women, their confrontation with the regime and support of antiwar activities was perceived and portrayed in the media as a betrayal of Serbia. The considerable

number of women participating in two major waves of demonstrations in 1991/92 and 1996/97 (49% of all demonstrators according to Blagojević) make the gender perspective an unavoidable aspect when it comes to the analysis of 'the depth and complexity of the social transformation on the road to civil society' in Serbia (Blagojević 1997: 20).

> Whether it is in the form of a pacifist movement, which was predominantly a women's movement (as far as the number of women involved is concerned), as massive protests of mothers against the war, as participation of women in protests, as organization in autonomous women's groups or as part of student and citizen's demonstrations, the continuity of women's activism is indisputable. [...] It was precisely in this continual resistance against the institutions of the regime that not only the political consciousness of women became stronger but civil society too. However, we can also conclude that this activism happened predominantly outside institutions and that it was reactive and protective in nature. That is, it appeared as a reaction to a drastic measure of the regime to abolish civil rights or out of the need to protect an oppressed group of women (for example refugees or victims of violence) (Blagojević 1997: 31–32).

Given the fact that during and after the war Serbia went through a period of extreme financial crisis (with one of the highest inflation rates ever recorded) and in view of the destabilization of the basic social values, this solidarity and ability of the women's organizations to mobilize women and young people gains importance. Another significant contribution of the centers for women's studies was the creation of a network of women's organizations in Serbia. This enabled more women to benefit from the centers for women's studies and become involved in the political and economic sphere. While many of these women's organizations included workshops and lectures on feminist theory, more were focused primarily on empowering women. Accordingly, women's organizations offered courses and workshops in entrepreneurship, applied for projects and funding and thus helped other women to find their vocation and start their own businesses (Milić 2011: 61). The economic crises in the 1990s left many families impoverished, and since women were more heavily hit with hardships, these workshops and projects were of immense value to them. In addition, thanks to this network of women's organizations, women were better connected and became interested in taking a more active role in local and county governments. Mladjenović aptly states that during the 1990s, women's NGOs did an enormous amount of work on winning more rights for women, which

was actually something that should have been done by the state and local administration. There still are numerous women's organizations in Serbia and all of them are doing service work not just for women, but also for the young, the poor, refugees, the victims of violence, and people suffering from PSTD due to war trauma. Equally important is their work on monitoring state and local governments and agencies, making sure that the laws protecting women's rights and gender equality are being implemented and that women are represented in the different spheres, from the economy to culture. They have been actively engaged in helping state institutions to assume their role in gender mainstreaming (Mladjenović 2002: 20). On the other hand, after the establishment of the first democratic government in 2000, with Zoran Djindjić as the first democratic prime minister, the foundations which financed the activities of women's organizations gradually started withdrawing from Serbia, and as a result, these organizations slowly disappeared, with some still struggling to survive. The best position is maintained by those which managed to connect themselves to an institution of higher education, like the Belgrade and Novi Sad centers for women's studies. In that sense, the histories of these two centers, as the most important and developed ones in Serbia, trace the arch of the transition of women's studies from NGOs to the academic sphere and reflect the complex situation on the political scene, which inevitably influenced the processes.

4. Belgrade *Women's Studies Center*

The Belgrade based feminist group *Women and Society* initiated the establishment of the *Women's Studies Center* in 1991. It was organized as an interdisciplinary educational project with several segments: teaching, research and publishing. The issues of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and class were of central concern. Apart from the teaching program, the center developed other important activities: publishing books on women's and gender studies as well as the journal *Ženske studije* [Women's studies], founded in 1995, later renamed *Genero*, which often featured translations of relevant articles by Anglo-American authors. In 1994, the center formed a library, which was of crucial importance due to the long lack of recent theoretical literature in Serbia. Research activities were also important with such projects as 'Women's Movement in Belgrade in

1990' (1997–98), 'A Dictionary of Misogyny' (1999–2000), 'The Representation of the Female Body in Visual Art in Serbia 1990–1998' (1998), 'Domestic Violence and Women's Criminality' (1997), 'Women's Literature in Serbia' (2002–2004), etc. Diverse art projects and temporary or permanent workshops were organized, including poetry, performance and visual arts. Among the various courses at the center, literature was at times dominant regarding the number of courses and lecturers (Dojčinović-Nešić 1998: 216–21). It is important to note that a significant number of the lecturers were in several ways connected to English studies and the comparative study of Anglo-American and Serbian literature, whether by educational background or by vocation, as some of them were graduates of the department of general and comparative literature, while others taught the subject at universities.

The *Women's Studies Center* was characterized by the fact that among the lecturers were university professors but also non-academics who had the ambition to enter the academic sphere. Their engagement at the center encouraged them to complete their master's and PhD theses, and eventually most of them managed to become professors at state or private universities in Serbia. The number of lecturers in the *Women's Studies Center* was five at the beginning and increased to thirty in the late 1990s. In Blagojević's opinion (which reflects the point of view of the center's university staff):

> The double strategy – of 'going through' the academic institutions while at the same time putting pressure on them to change by creating 'alternative' projects – has proven time and again to be most efficient and effective. Often the same women academics were circulating on both sides, thus on the one hand increasing the status of the Women's Study Centre, while on the other, through their public presence, political engagement and media presentation, making gender studies more attractive by comparison with old fashioned academic courses; they also pressed for the introduction of gender studies courses or gender components in existing curricula. (2010: 191)

For a while, during the 1990s, two fractions co-existed within the center, one of which supported activism, whereas the other favored the integration of women's studies in the Serbian educational system. They parted in 1998, and two separate NGOs were established, the *Women's Studies Center* (now focused exclusively on the student population) and the activist *Association for Women's Initiative* (Djurić 2010: 89–99).

Apart from the *Women's Studies Center*, the journal *ProFemina*, established in 1994 and published by the Belgrade independent oppositional radio station B92, played an important role in the transmission of Anglo-American feminist and gender studies. Their dominance in the journal is evident in a significant volume of translations from English and articles by many lecturers from the Belgrade and Novi Sad centers, but also from other parts of the country as well as from the newly established countries of former Yugoslavia. This published material was crucial for the efforts of feminist formal or informal scholars to apply gender theory to women's writing in Serbia. *ProFemina* has made a valuable contribution in constructing the nonsystematic canon of Serbian women writers from the end of the 19th century till now.

5. *Women's Studies* in Novi Sad

The NGO *Women's Studies Mileva Marić Ajnštajn* [Einstein] was founded in Novi Sad in 1997. Similarly to Belgrade, there was a need for an educational institution which would offer women information about gender studies, since they were not part of the formal education at state institutions, which supported the patriarchal, hierarchical system. As an alternative educational program, it immediately received support from women who were engaged in the nongovernmental sector and were the first to enroll. Most of the lecturers came from state universities, and working for *Women's Studies* gave them an opportunity to teach classes and subjects which they were not able to teach and include in the curriculum, but also to connect with a wider network of women and activists. Importantly, a number of lecturers came from the civil and business sectors and took an active role in the economic reforms related to gender equality. The educational program and the theoretical approach were interdisciplinary with focus on the implementation of gender studies in practice.

Women's Studies soon expanded and was divided into four programs: educational, research, publishing and documentary. Since it became obvious that women's studies required empirical data on gender inequality in Serbia in various fields, the research enabled the deconstruction of gender inequalities. Therefore the results of various research projects were published in books dealing with gender inequality in the media, feminist theology, social

needs of elderly women, and women in the political sphere. A special segment of research was dedicated to the recording of women's oral histories in Vojvodina. Since Vojvodina is a highly diverse setting with twenty-seven ethnic communities, the project encompassed women from all major ethnic groups and focused particularly on renowned women in these communities. The researchers also made sure to first record oral histories of the oldest generations and then moved to younger ones. Seven volumes, in which transcribed oral histories were collected, were published as a result of this endeavor. Oral histories were perceived as sources of a new understanding of women's lives and their invisibility in the sense that their stories were not included in mainstream history. In similar projects the histories of renowned women from Novi Sad were gathered and published. As part of this documentary activity, *Women's Studies* created a library and data base with books, audio and video material on gender studies and women's history in Serbia. *Women's Studies* also helped the creation of the centers for women's studies in other parts of the country, initiated the building of a network of women's studies in Serbia and joined similar networks in South East Europe. Moreover, *Women's Studies* played an important role in founding the School for Romani Studies, which offered the first university courses in Romani studies in Serbia.

Another important contribution of *Women's Studies* in Novi Sad was the organization of monthly round tables and discussions. It was especially relevant in Serbia during the 1990s to raise questions about the deconstruction of the patriarchal society which rested on the nationalist paradigm and to turn public attention to the status of women, who were frequently objectified. The discussions centered on burning issues and featured as speakers not only lecturers and activists from *Women's Studies* and further NGOs in Novi Sad, but also women from other parts of former Yugoslavia, thus creating an open space for the confrontation of different perspectives and the creation of a network of women who opposed the language of war in countries embroiled in ethnic conflicts. In 1995, a group of local activists and scholars established the feminist organization *MultiMedeja* with the goal to make women more visible in Novi Sad. The lecturers came primarily from Belgrade and Novi Sad. They were concerned with feminist philosophy, feminist literature, women and law, women and art, feminism and visual art, sociology and anthropology, and promoted books by various

women writers and critics. Such lectures and discussions made a contrast to the dominant discourse by creating a dialogue and raising the public visibility of women (intellectuals, professionals, activists) who were different from those supported by the regime and who were willing to oppose it. The economic crisis was another impetus for women to leave the private sphere and enter the public arena, demanding their rights and institutional mechanisms guaranteeing their implementation. This also meant building a society which would be willing to support such changes.

Equally significant was the engagement of the members of *Women's Studies* in all forms of antiwar protest and their support of other groups and women's networks which organized and participated in them. They took an active part in organizations that challenged Milošević's regime (such as the *Center for Free Elections and Democracy*, which was instrumental in election monitoring and exposed the voting theft that kept Milošević's party in power). Behind most of the actions of *Women's Studies* was the criticism of the regime, and the members often endured various forms of pressure from the police and pro-regime groups. The confrontation became most obvious before the elections in 2000, when *Women's Studies* openly supported the female candidates of the Democratic Party, which, together with other opposition parties, won the elections and toppled Milošević. In cooperation with other NGOs, *Women's Studies* managed to ensure the passing of the law guaranteeing 30% women in parliaments on all government levels. The Province of Vojvodina, with Novi Sad as its capital, founded the first Secretariat for Labor, Employment and Gender Equality with Jelica Rajačić Čapaković, a member of *Women's Studies*, as its first secretary. It was the first such secretariat not only in Serbia, but in the whole region. During the 2000s, Serbia has had women in the positions of state president, speaker of parliament, chief justice and justice of the supreme court, ambassador, governor of the National Bank of Serbia, minister etc. *Women's Studies* has kept working on gender mainstreaming, making sure women are included at all levels of decision-making processes. First in Vojvodina, and then on the whole territory of Serbia, the function of an ombudswoman for female rights was installed. In addition, due to their former antiwar activities, women have continued to play a leading role in peace initiatives among the ex-Yugoslav countries.

6. Women's Studies in Academia[4]

The next important phase in the development of women's studies in Serbia had to do with the long-term aim of institutionalizing the curriculum of women's studies at the universities. Comparison of the arduous process of establishing feminist and gender theories at Serbian universities (which is still in progress) with Western counterparts that had women's studies from the end of the 1970s, highlights the fact that, in the West, feminism has frequently been absorbed into mainstream elite culture. However, the processes connected with the status of feminism in contemporary societies are contradictory. In Western universities, feminism and gender studies became part of their curricula in the 1980s, despite continuous negativity inside various academic contexts. But in the 1990s, often labeled as postfeminist, the negative reaction to feminism became again more prominent, as is particularly visible in Western popular culture. Postfeminism incorporated some emancipatory aspects of first and second wave feminism, at the same time heavily rejecting the need for feminism in contemporary society. In Serbia, like in many other post-socialist societies, these phases started considerably later and were shorter.

In 2002, the network of women's studies in former Yugoslav republics organized a conference dedicated to the issue of institutionalization. The aim was to make educational programs of women's studies as NGOs part of university programs. The working group formed in Novi Sad lobbied with the university, women's organizations, and the governments of Vojvodina and Serbia and presented a study arguing for the need to introduce gender studies at the university. There was additional pressure from women's networks, and particularly significant was the support of the provincial Secretariat for Gender Equality. The moment was fortunate in the sense that for the first time the University of Novi Sad had a woman chancellor, Fuada Stanković, and the Faculty of Philosophy (where most of the lecturers of *Women's Studies* worked) had a female dean, Marija Kleut, who was in favor of the project. At the first round table dedicated to the

4 We decided to concentrate on the University of Belgrade and the University of Novi Sad as the oldest and largest in the country and the first to introduce gender studies into the curriculum.

topic in Novi Sad in 2002, the issue was how to organize women's studies: whether as elective or obligatory courses offered to all students at undergraduate or graduate level, or as a separate department at the Faculty of Philosophy. The participants in the discussion came from the countries of South East Europe and faced similar dilemmas. Models at various European and American universities were analyzed as well. The idea of introducing women's studies at university also encountered some opposition, primarily by traditional, conservative professors. After a number of round tables and a conference dedicated to the issue, the University Senate discussed matters and a consensus was reached.

The *Center for Gender Studies* was founded in 2003 as part of the University's Association of Centers for Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies, which offers master's, specialist and doctoral courses. It was the first university center for gender studies in the country. From the beginning, the intention was to ensure the multicultural aspect of education, and the courses were taught in Serbian, English and languages of the ethnic minorities. In the first phase, the *Center for Gender Studies* offered an accredited master's program; in the second, from 2012, a doctoral program has been added.[5] The teaching staff came primarily from the local ranks of professors, but also from the University of Belgrade and the University of Niš, most of them belonging to the core of the educators of the *Women's Studies* NGO. The curriculum was based on gender theory and included components of activist research in various fields. Great weight was attached to student input. Since they had graduated from different departments, the objective was always to link their previous knowledge with gender studies. The goals of the *Center for Gender Studies* were to broaden the curriculum and make the studies more interdisciplinary, in order to encourage scholars from various departments at the University to incorporate a gender aspect in their work. The assumption was that gender equality at university does not stop at the integration of gender studies into the curriculum and the inclusion of more women in the higher academic ranks; rather it implies the creation of new paradigms and the replacement of patriarchal models. Such an aim is especially relevant in view of the surveys showing that 'university

5 The master's studies comprise 10 and the doctoral studies 15 courses. Cp. <http://www.uns.ac.rs/en/>.

programs in Serbia are not gender-sensitive but promote gender role stereotypes, and that educational materials are anachronistic and discriminatory. Stereotypes concerning gender roles are still prevalent among university staff and students, and they are more noticeable among younger than older generations' (Petrušić/Konstantinović Vilić 2012: 25).

This year the *Center for Gender Studies* celebrates ten years of its work. While upon its founding the fact of its existence was remarkable in itself, after a decade it is hard to maintain such a complacent attitude. Although the center is valuable as one of the two gender studies institutions in Serbian higher education, it also falls short of the objectives set at the beginning. One major problem is the relatively low number of students; on average six to ten students enroll per year.[6] More importantly, the center did not achieve its main goal of integrating gender studies into university programs. Despite the initial plans to offer courses in gender studies to all students, only the students of the center have been allowed to take them. This has significantly alienated the center and prevented it from creating networks with other departments. As a result, gender studies are perceived as exclusive, and not inclusive. Another, equally significant drawback is the circumstance that the center's graduates cannot use their degree when seeking employment. The degree in gender studies is not on the list of occupations of the Ministry of Education; thus the students cannot employ it to their advantage and have to limit themselves to the degree they received in undergraduate studies. This, of course, means that enrollment at the center suffers and depends on the students' enthusiasm for the subject. Lacking opportunities to use their degree also means that the students have difficulties putting their knowledge into service, which leaves them frustrated and disappointed. As Dascăl aptly points out, this inevitably casts doubt on gender studies as 'legitimate knowledge' within and without the academic sphere (Dascăl 2012).

The courses and mentorships at the *Center for Gender Studies* are not part of the regular teaching load of the professors and do not count for tenure. There is not a single professorship in gender studies in Serbia. No

6 Approximately 100 students have attended courses at the *Center for Gender Studies*. The individual sectors show the following enrolments and degrees: specialist studies 10 / 2, *magister* studies (before the Bologna reform) 20 / 7, master's 45 / 12, and doctoral program 21 / 6. Cp. <http://www.uns.ac.rs/sr>.

wonder that the number of professors and the courses offered fluctuates considerably. The engagement of professors from abroad was financed primarily through international foundations and was consequently sporadic. As for the transfer of knowledge and expertise of the professors at the center to other departments, the success is again partial. Such interaction mostly happens with the departments at the Faculty of Philosophy. However, it must also be said that given the small number of courses, the inclusion of the gender aspect depends on the individual effort of professors and is not part of any official policy to make this practice more universal.

The English Department has the highest number of courses integrating various aspects of women's studies, both within the Faculty of Philosophy and the whole University. This can be explained by the fact that these courses are taught by professors who first lectured at *Women's Studies* and then have continued at the *Center for Gender Studies*. Furthermore, women's studies in Western countries had a significant impact on literary theory and literature in general, and most of the texts on gender theory used in Serbia were originally published in English, so the connection between English and gender studies is to be expected. A particularly strong link between literary and women's studies is obvious in the American literary canon with its growing number of renowned female authors.

Like in other countries in South East Europe, new courses at the English Department in Novi Sad were created in connection with the Bologna process. Previously, the department, founded in 1954, had only one track in English studies, which seriously limited the number of courses offered, and the focus was on linguistics and ELT. However, in 2000 the complete revision of the curriculum allowed the introduction of four tracks (literature, linguistics, translation studies, EFL), which also increased the number of courses and fostered interdisciplinary studies. There were four courses at the undergraduate and one at the graduate level intersecting literary theory and women's studies. These new courses combined elements of literature, sociology, anthropology, history, women's and translation studies. The primary focus was on the narrative strategies of contemporary writers and the ways they examine the categories of race, class, ethnicity and gender. However, with the new cycles of accreditation, the department had to reduce the four tracks to two (literature and linguistics), which also meant abolishing some of the interdisciplinary courses (including those with the elements of gender

studies). This only proves the point that the effort to interrelate gender studies and English studies was not a part of the mainstreaming policy. Thus, it can be said that institutionalization of gender studies had limited effect on the English curriculum. On the other hand, it should also be pointed out that the integration of the elements of women's studies in the courses at the English Department has indeed broadened the students' interests, as they have become acquainted with gender studies for the first time in their education and have been able to apply their knowledge to other fields of study. Some have decided to pursue master's degrees at the *Center for Gender Studies*, and some have done master's theses that combine English literature and gender theory. Since the English Department is one of the largest of the Faculty of Philosophy, this impact is considerable. It is also important to note that the English Department in Novi Sad has played a crucial role for research, since it was the first in Serbia to officially initiate master's and PhD theses explicitly related to gender and women's studies.

The University of Belgrade has faced similar challenges in the introduction of women's studies into the curricula. The first course 'Gender and Society' was created in 1993 at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy. In 1997, another course, 'Women's Studies', was established at the Faculty of Political Sciences.[7] The *Women's Studies Center*, as an NGO, rented space in the building of the Faculty of Political Sciences in 2002. The idea that the *Women's Studies Center* would help the faculty to develop courses in women's studies was directly linked with the plan of the democratic block to connect political parties of the center to the NGO sector. The goal was to arrange a partnership between the state educational system and NGOs (which were during the 1990s engaged in building alternative educational systems). However, due to constant political shifts in society as well as in the Faculty of Political Sciences, the Faculty soon stopped this program of cooperation with the NGO sector. The resistance against the *Women's Studies Center* was the result of the negative perception of NGOs by the conservative forces in Serbia, since they were identified with political opposition to Milošević. As such, they became a political option constantly

7 Here, as in general, it is difficult to provide a complete survey due to the lack of databases and the unavailability of the curricula on the internet sites of some of the faculties and universities.

attacked by the nationalist block, which increasingly gained power. A solution to the problem was found in the establishment of the *Center for Gender Studies and Politics* at the Faculty of Political Sciences in 2006. The center is predominantly focused on research and, from the perspective of gender studies, examines women's position in society, the issues of identity, the relations of politics and political practice, human rights, power relations, the ideological matrix, etc. So, at the moment, two parallel centers exist at the Faculty of Political Sciences. One (the *Women's Studies Center*) is an NGO, which is still active and as an alternative program offers interdisciplinary courses in gender studies, and the other (the *Center for Gender Studies and Politics*) is structurally part of the Faculty of Political Sciences. The *Center for Gender Studies and Politics* has a master's program in gender studies, and in every generation 10 to 15 students enroll. It offers an elective course at undergraduate level, which can have up to 70 students (depending on the Faculty politics, it is either available to all departments or not). The course 'Theories of Gender and Politics' is an elective in the doctoral program. All students get the diploma from the Faculty of Political Sciences; later they usually work in state institutions or the NGO sector, dealing with gender equality and human rights. Implicit and explicit collaboration between the two centers still exists.

According to Daša Duhaček,[8] one problem of the center at the Faculty of Political Sciences is that it originated from the *Women's Studies Center* and still relies heavily on it for additional human and other kinds of resources. A further major obstacle for the successful integration of the *Women's Studies Center* and its outreach to students is that it does not have enough academic credibility and some faculty members believe that gender studies are not a relevant academic field which should be part of a state university (Duhaček 2013). It can be concluded, as Duhaček argues, that the problems of the centers at the universities in Novi Sad and Belgrade are the same (particularly isolation, financial difficulties, small number of students and limited outreach, as mentioned above), but the strategies are different given the circumstances in the specific local political and cultural contexts. One major difference certainly is that the focus of the *Center for Gender*

8 Duhaček was a co-founder of the *Women's Studies Center* and is now a professor at the *Center for Gender Studies and Politics*.

Studies at the University of Novi Sad is on education, while the *Center for Gender Studies and Politics* at the University of Belgrade is more focused on research. While the Novi Sad *Center for Gender Studies* predominantly collaborates with the departments at the Faculty of Philosophy, including the English Department, the *Center for Gender Studies and Politics*, as a part of the Faculty of Political Sciences, is primarily oriented towards political sciences.

At the English Department in Belgrade,[9] the elements of women's studies are included in two graduate courses and one doctoral course. Similarly to the English Department in Novi Sad, the curriculum was reorganized as a result of the implementation of the Bologna process. The graduate courses on American postmodern writers and postcolonial literature incorporate the works of Anglo-American women writers. Additionally, a course on gender theories is offered within the doctoral program at the Faculty of Philology.

To look further afield for the sake of comparison: the English department at the University of Niš, which was founded in 1971, offers a course on Canadian women writers as part of its own undergraduate program and the doctoral program at the Department of Literature and Serbian Language. The University's Law School has offered an elective course in gender studies since 2008. Among the many private universities founded in Serbia after 2000, the University of Singidunum (Belgrade), established in 2006, deserves special mention with its Faculty for Media and Communication. The FMC employs three lecturers from the *Women's Studies Center* as professors. Due to this fact and the support of its Dean, Nada Popović Perišić, gender studies have been an important part of the curriculum from the start. The courses offered at undergraduate and master's level relate to popular culture and gender, gender and culture, reading the city from a gender perspective, queer theories and film, etc. This university is the only private university which offers so many courses in gender studies.[10]

9 The English Department in Belgrade is the oldest in the country and was founded in 1929.

10 There is also a course in gender studies at the private Faculty for European Law and Political Studies in Novi Sad.

7. Conclusion

The antiwar and anti-regime activities shaped women's studies in Serbia, but reciprocally, women's activism and women's studies also shaped the Serbian political scene and continue to do so. The centers for women's studies and other activist groups have had a significant impact on legislation, political parties, and the current composition of the Parliament (with 30% female representatives from each party). Most importantly, without them we would not have a democratic society. Just as women had contributed to building the country – its political, economic and social aspects – after the Second World War, so they contributed during and after the civil war and Milošević's regime. In this sense, they are inseparable from the civil sector. However, at the beginning of the 2000s, with the advent of democracy, there was no longer any need for the anti-regime activity of the centers for women's studies. Their focus was once again on education, but also on the growing demand to make gender studies part of the universities and their curricula. After a decade of work of the *Center for Gender Studies* at the University of Novi Sad and four years of the *Center for Gender Studies and Politics* in Belgrade, it is evident that they have only partially fulfilled their objectives. While they have indeed provided research and education in women's studies to the students enrolled, they have not managed to ensure a complete implementation of gender mainstreaming in the educational institutions in Serbia, which has been partially due to an unsupportive environment. Courses integrating aspects of women's studies are offered only sporadically. There is no professorship in the field, and the involvement of professors at the centers rests upon their enthusiasm and is in no way part of systemic support. The centers cannot offer courses at the departmental or university level to all students, which isolates them from the wider academic community. Another major problem is the fact that the degree in gender / women's studies is not recognized by the Ministry of Education, making it hard for the students to find employment. With the constant drop in the number of students who enrol and the inability of the centers to prove themselves an indispensable part of university education, their future remains uncertain. From what we can see in the region, this is not a local problem, but rather a global trend.

One solution to the problem might be a continuous and joint effort of the university departments to offer courses that would combine women's studies with other disciplines, educating students about various ways of their application. A good example of this practice was the English Department in Novi Sad, which offered five courses integrating gender studies with literature, postcolonial and translation studies. Another solution might be to change the professorships to make them more interdisciplinary. As it is now, there is only an undifferentiated professorship in English studies. The introduction of an official focus on women's studies within the field of English studies would make both disciplines more visible and attract more scholars to multidisciplinary approaches.

Notable scholars who have combined elements of English and women's studies in their publications are Dubravka Djurić, Biljana Dojčinović-Nešić, Vladislava Gordić Petković, Aleksandra Izgarjan, Aleksandra Jovanović, Dubravka Popović Srdanović and Adriana Zaharijević. Dojčinović-Nešić's *Ginokritika: rod i proučavanje književnosti koju su pisale žene* [Gynocriticism: gender and the study of women's literature] was a seminal text on gynocriticism and as such a significant impetus for feminist research in Serbia in the 1990s. In 2011 she published a book on Virginia Woolf *Susreti u tami: uvod u čitanje Vidžinije Vulf* [Encounters in the dark: introduction to reading Virginia Woolf]. Djurić explored the works of modern and postmodern experimental women poets from a feminist post-structuralism and cultural studies perspective in *Poezija, teorija, rod: moderne i postmoderne američke pesnikinje* [Poetry, theory, gender: modern and postmodern American women poets]. In *Korespondencija: tokovi i likovi postmoderne proze* [Correspondences: movements and characters of postmodern prose], Gordić Petković analyzed Anglo-American and Serbian women writers from a woman-centered approach. In *Ugalj i mesec: eseji o američkoj poeziji XX veka* [Coal and the moon: essays on 20th century American poetry], Dubravka Popović Srdanović wrote on American poets of the 20th century with special focus on the formation of a canon of multicultural women's poetry and lesbianism. Izgarjan's *Neprekinuta crna priča* [Uninterrupted black story] and *Maksin Hong Kingston i Ejmi Ten: ratnica i šamanka* [Maxine Hong Kingston and Amy Tan: woman warrior and shaman] were the first monographs in Serbia to analyze the works of African American and Asian American women writers, respectively. *Savremene američke književnice*

[Contemporary American women writers], edited and translated by Izgarjan, was the first anthology of contemporary American women writers in Serbia. Half of the twenty-one writers featured had never before been presented to the Serbian audience. Jovanović's *Glasovi i tišine* [Voices and silences] contains a chapter on British feminism, while Zaharijević's book *Postajanje ženom* [Becoming a woman] charts the histories of British and American feminisms. In 2011 Ivana Milojević and Slobodanka Markov edited the first comprehensive collection on gender theories, *Uvod u rodne teorije* [Introduction to gender theories], written by twenty-nine Serbian female scholars (many of them Anglicists) and covering the time span from first to third wave feminism. In all of these works, we see how women's and gender studies can successfully be combined with English studies. Hopefully, these books will inspire many other Serbian scholars to engage along such lines of study.

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Ana-Karina Schneider with Corina Selejan

Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies in Romania: Between Persistence and Resistance

1. Introduction

They say we now live in a post-feminist world (Hawkesworth: online). Many women throughout the world, however, wonder when it was ever feminist, to begin with (see Miroiu in 2010a: 163). Though it may be tempting to think of gender as one of those categories whose theorisation has achieved its purpose, or has played itself out, and has now entered a 'post-' age, in fact it emerges with every new investigation that it remains contested on several levels. Much progress has been made in the western world in the direction of equality of chances and the abolition of gender discrimination, and much of it has to be retraced with every new generation. It has become customary to speak of feminist waves and backlashes, and by now we are said to be traversing a fourth wave (Cochrane: online), whereas in the 1980s Audre Lorde saw an early backlash in the fact that young women would choose to wear short skirts and high heels, only to rediscover how much they resented being objectified and snubbed for it, rather than accept the previous generation's acquired wisdom (2003: 632). Conversely, in the mid-2000s, Susan Faludi noted with regret that there were no more backlashes (2006: ix). As with all fields of cultural criticism, the discourse of crisis is inherent in women's and gender studies, and the reason is perhaps not quite as radical as a backlash. Rather, it resides in the constant and necessary redefinition and renegotiation of the aspects and markers of gender that are challenged at any given time, in any given place.

In Romania, the general opinion is that there is not a strong feminist movement,[1] nor any need for one. The reasons are complex and they range

1 This is perhaps the most significant result that emerges from the responses to a questionnaire we have devised for this project and which will be discussed in some detail in subchapter 3.

from the deeply engrained patriarchal organisation of society and a sense that competition on the job market only adds to the many occupations and responsibilities in a woman's life, to the language which allows for both gender-neutral and gendered expression at all the right points, and the legislation which provides for but does not enforce equality of opportunity for men and women. There is moreover an unshakeable sense that feminism is an alien importation, largely of Anglo-American extraction, one of the many empty foreign forms for which Romanian society has neither a solid cultural foundation nor any real socio-economic need. A women's movement, however, has existed in the Romanian territories since the nineteenth century, and while much of the impetus came from women who had travelled or indeed were born abroad, it also blazed trails in directions that were virtually unknown in more advanced countries. The promoters of these movements were generally regarded with suspicion, their character questioned, their achievements diminished and ridiculed as mere caprice. Their work, nonetheless, continues unimpaired. Thus, in Romania it is not in terms of waves and backlashes that feminism and gender studies can be described, but rather of persistence and resistance.

2. The National Context

The Romanian historical context of women's movements has been widely studied after 1990 and a wealth of information and documentary evidence has been made available through the efforts of historians such as Ştefania Mihăilescu and Maria Bucur, the philosopher Mihaela Miroiu, sociologist Laura Grünberg, anthropologist Enikö Magyari-Vincze, Anglicists Mădălina Nicolaescu, Reghina Dascăl, Mihaela Mudure and many others. My survey in what follows is heavily reliant on their insights. In turn, theirs have been shaped by the discovery, after the fall of communism, of western – particularly American – feminist theories. Current scholarship on women's movements in Romania therefore grapples with a number of difficulties resulting from this disjunction between an imported theoretical scaffolding and national historical circumstances that diverge very sharply from western evolutions. Miroiu foregrounds two such historical circumstances: Romania did not have an industrial revolution in the 19th century, and it did not have a second-wave feminist movement in the 1960s (2010b:

576–77). These two events – or rather, the lack thereof – determine the present state of things to such an extent as to render certain types of enquiry problematical. A further historical source of difficulty has to do with the fact that before 1918 Transylvania was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and therefore had a very different historical trajectory. Accounts of Romanian feminism tend to tiptoe around this aspect, including that province into the discussion only after the Unification of 1918, while studies of Transylvania are seldom comparative.

2.1 Glimpses from History

Modern historians tend to follow Nicolae Iorga in tracing the origins of women's movements in Romania all the way back to the Middle Ages, when princesses repeatedly found themselves in a position to ensure their sons' accession to the throne. This is of course a rhetorical device, a ploy for claiming legitimacy for the modern militants of women's cause. Medieval women's role in politics was at best ancillary, whether they were supporting their husbands and sons or being traded off to ensure alliances. Moreover, the political participation of women, such as it was, was limited strictly to the daughters and wives of princes, whereas the vast majority of Romanian women, regardless of social class, remained secluded in their gynaecea, ignorant, illiterate and superstitious, well into the 19th century. Transylvania was in this respect ahead of the other Romanian provinces: the first school for girls was established by the humanist Johannes Honterus in Braşov in 1544, and by the late 18th century co-ed schooling was promoted (Balica et al. 2004: 6). The earliest printed laws in Moldavia (1646) and Wallachia (1640, 1652) evince the legislators' preoccupation with what constitutes the appropriate education for boys and girls and recommend that girls be educated at home by female teachers, chiefly in the foreign languages, grammar, rhetoric, literature and the domestic arts (Păun 2012: 58–60). Schools remained largely segregated throughout Romania's early modernity: although Sunday schools and primary schools organised by the church often admitted boys and girls together, grammar schools, secondary and higher education were reserved for boys until the late 19th century. Two aspects of the early education systems in the three provinces are noteworthy for their longevity: the constant exchanges of teachers and pupils across the borders

separating the Principalities, whether it was for the purpose of studying or teaching in Latin, Romanian or German; and the fact that, despite women's generally limited access to education, noblewomen regularly contributed to funding schools (Păun 2012: 57–88).

As Romanian society remained largely untouched by industrialisation and urbanisation, women continued without legal rights well into the twentieth century. Although after the Russian occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia (1806–12) upper-class women became socially visible after the French fashion, their sphere remained the domestic, their rights and responsibilities strictly associated with that sphere. Nonetheless, as they were becoming educated, they were in a better position to plead for the education of middle- and lower-class girls as well. The first Romanian women's association, established in Buda in 1815, was formed specifically in order to raise money for Christian Orthodox schools in Transylvania. By the mid-19th century, primary education was available for girls as well as boys even in rural areas throughout the Romanian territories, although it was much resisted by the parents.

Parental prejudice against education for girls persisted in rural communities well into the last century, long after primary education had become compulsory and free by law (1864 in the newly united Romania). The aristocracy, on the other hand, started sending their daughters to finishing schools abroad, particularly in France, whence they returned with reformative notions that contributed to modernising Romania at a time when national identity was gaining ground in the public consciousness. Their involvement usually took the form of charity work, which included providing education and employment for women of the lower classes – and in this Queen Elisabeth set a highly influential example towards the end of the 19th century – but also raising funds for field hospitals and caring for the wounded and the orphaned during the Balkan War of 1877–78. Particularly during the revolutionary period around 1848 and in its aftermath, women also participated by organising salons, writing correspondence, and generally becoming involved with – and opinionated on – Romania's foreign relations and national policies. Nevertheless, even at its most liberal, the dominant discourse concerning women's condition in Romanian society remained one that relegated them to the hearth and to maternity, though couched in a rhetoric that foregrounded the nobility of their role

as moral educators (Miroiu 2010b: 577), as illustrated by public speeches given by King Carol I and Queen Elisabeth (qtd. in 'Feminismul românesc' n.d.: online), but also by many influential thinkers and politicians (qtd. in Miroiu 2010b: 577).

By the turn of the century women's cause was gaining momentum and several publications were devoted to it. Although contributors to these publications belonged to the upper classes and were not exclusively women, the positions they voiced and the policies they recommended addressed the situation of women belonging to all social strata. As these titles suggest, women were quickly becoming aware of the distinctiveness of their experiences and of their rights, so that metaphorical titles such as *Rândunica* (The Swallow, a symbol of femininity) or *Dochia* (the name of the mythical sister or daughter of the Dacian king Decebalus, symbol of independence and virgin mother of the nation) were swiftly discarded in favour of the uncompromising *Uniunea Femeilor Române* (The Romanian Women's Union), *Viitorul Românceior* (The Romanian Women's Future), *Drepturile Femeii* (Women's Rights). Mihaela Miroiu follows historian Maria Bucur in ascribing this shift in feminist discourse, from the 'paternalistic view, stressing responsibility' to more 'radical demands that were frequently shaped in the language of rights', to the more widely spread atrophy of nationalist discourse after 1890 (2010b: 578–79). In Transylvania, on the contrary, around the turn of the century Romanian feminist discourse sidelined social and political emancipation in favour of nationalist ideals (Stiger qtd. in Macavei 2011–12: 118–19).

The rise of women's movements in the Romanian Provinces thus coincides with the emergence of national identity. The significance of that early association of the Romanian women in Buda resides not merely in their proposed charity work, but in their declared purpose of supporting education for Romanian Orthodox children at a time when both the Romanian language and the Orthodox religion were actively discouraged by the Habsburg Empire under whose administration the Transylvanian Principality was. This preoccupation with education remained a constant of women's organisations throughout the 19th century, as indicated by the stipulation of equal rights to education in the 1848 revolutionary manifesto of Wallachia. Although women's associations remained local, their programmes transcended state borders: women throughout the provinces inhabited by

Romanians pleaded for the unification of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, raised funds for the war effort in 1877–78, and voted for the unification of Transylvania with Romania in 1918. By the 1890s they were militating openly for universal suffrage and equal pay for equal work. In 1894 the first efforts were made to unify women's organisations: the Liga Femeilor Române was established in Iaşi, and two years later it joined the International Women's Union based in London. Miroiu explains that this new international dimension to women's movements contributed to sidelining the nationalist agenda and foregrounding women's rights (2010b: 579).

After the turn of the century, as well-to-do women discarded their corsets, they were abandoning more than the symbols of their leisurely lives: a measure of autonomy was becoming available to them through employment, and they used it to promote their rights. Serious public debate concerning enfranchisement of women in Romania began in 1918, as the Constituent Assemblies of the Romanians in Transylvania, the Banate, Bukovina and Bessarabia stipulated, in their Union resolutions, the equal right to universal, direct and secret vote for men and women. However, these provisions were opposed by Parliament. The ensuing public debates were often organised and supported by the Asociația pentru Emanciparea Civilă şi Politică a Femeilor Române set up in Iaşi in the summer of 1918 (Mihăilescu 2002b: 6, Dimitriu 2013: online). The Asociația made a point of including refugee women from Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia among its members, and after the Unification of 1 December 1918, it also established branches in several Transylvanian cities (Dimitriu 2013: online). This integrative tendency, also evinced by other women's associations, gradually translated from the organisational to the discursive level. Thus, the Uniunea Femeilor Române, originally established in Transylvania but acquiring a national character after 1918, gradually subsumed its moderate discourse and charity work to a more clearly political programme; after 1929 it supplied the first female members of the Liberal and the National Peasant Parties, and proposed the introduction of the quota system of representation at party level in the 1930s (Petrescu 2007: 25). More radical in its discourse, the Consiliul Național al Femeilor Române, founded in Bucharest in 1921, became a party in its own right in 1929, thus aiming to represent the national female citizenry in Parliament (Petrescu 2007: 25).

The 1920s are widely regarded as the pinnacle of Romanian feminism, a decade when not only did feminism reach new heights in visibility and efficiency, but when women began to refer to themselves openly as feminists (Cărtărescu-Ilinca 2000: 44, Dimitriu 2013: online, Popescu n.d.: online). A number of reforms ensued, which permitted women to participate more actively in society and pursue occupations in public institutions, even at decision-making level. In 1929 women were allowed to vote in local elections, and the voting act of 1939 granted women over thirty the right to vote in Parliamentary elections. However, under the ensuing fascist dictatorship (1939–44), this right was not exercised. It was not until 1946 that the Romanian Constitution stipulated the equal right to vote for all individuals over eighteen, but under the communist dictatorship (1948–89) this was strictly a nominal right. Thus, Romanian women were not to vote in free elections until 1990 (Miroiu 2010b: 580).

Although still disenfranchised and dependent on male political support, interwar women became increasingly vocal and visible internationally, what with Queen Marie contributing to the negotiations of the Trianon Treaty (1919); Elena Văcărescu acting as substitute delegate and permanent delegate to the League of Nations (between 1922 and 1938) and later as a member of the Romanian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference at the end of World War II; and Alexandrina Cantacuzino playing a central role in organising the Mica Antantă a Femeilor (Little Entente of Women from East-Central Europe; 1923) and becoming vice-chairwoman of the International Council of Women (1925). The latter in particular, having contributed to setting up the Consiliul Național al Femeilor Române, later a division of the ICW, organised a conference of women's associations belonging to the various minorities in 1925 (Mihăilescu 2002b: 9–10). She then presented its conclusions at the 1925 ICW congress in Washington, where she was hailed as 'the first woman in Europe to be concerned with the minority's [sic] question' (qtd. in Mihăilescu 2002b: 12). Additionally, a number of literary and professional women, capitalising on their recently acquired social prestige, pleaded for full political participation (Miroiu 2010b: 579–80).

Just as their voices were beginning to be heard, however, Romania was effectively entering the darkest period in its history with the advent of the Second World War. The communist regime that subsequently seized power

claimed to ensure equality of rights and opportunities for everyone but in effect it drastically limited political and civil rights. Women's organisations were subsumed to the party's Organizația Națională de Femei, which neither represented nor served women's interests, but enforced party policies top-down instead (Pasca-Harsanyi 1994: 46). Even a cursory investigation of Romanian communism will reveal that this is part of a pattern, whereby in theory the party promoted measures intended to improve women's condition, whereas in practice it reinforced paternalist notions of women's productive and reproductive function in society and increased state control over their bodies and minds. Thus, while the 1948 Constitution explicitly forbade gender discrimination, it did not criminalise it; while it also promised equal pay for equal work, it did nothing to encourage women to pursue careers in the fields traditionally associated with male labour and thus also with prestige and higher wages (Miroiu 2010b: 581–82). Moreover, although by the end of the regime 50% of primary and secondary school students and 47% of university students were female, as were over 47% of the workforce, they could seldom accede to the upper echelons of the professions (Miroiu 2010b: 582–83); to exemplify, the percentage of women preschool and primary school teachers was 100%, whereas at university level it was only 36% (Pasca-Harsanyi 1994: 43). Miroiu and others assign this discrepancy to the deep incompatibility between feminism and the 'state patriarchy' of communism (2010b: 580–81). It is for this reason that, although the party enforced a quota system that enabled women's participation in party leadership to increase to almost 40%, neither did they accede to the top levels of decision-making – with only a few and subsequently demonised exceptions, such as Ana Pauker and Elena Ceauşescu – nor were they perceived as models of desirable professional or political success (Miroiu 2010b: 582, Pasca-Harsanyi 1994: 38, 45–46).

2.2 Women's and Gender Studies in Romania

The history of institutionalised Women's and Gender Studies in Romania is a very short one, beginning in the 1990s, after the downfall of communism. Before that time, not only did the regime seek to contain any demand for civil rights by subsuming it to its own allegedly egalitarian programme, but it also instilled suspicion of 'bourgeois' notions such as women's rights as

distinct from the proletariat's rights. The achievements of the early feminists were effectively obliterated and current western influences were obstructed. Moreover, the disciplines that might have incorporated women's studies, such as sociology and psychology, disappeared from the curriculum after 1977 and philosophy was reduced to logic, epistemology and the history of philosophy; needless to add, political science did not exist as an independent discipline, being studied only selectively at the special party schools (Miroiu 2009: 233). All this was consistent with the party's educational ideal, according to which the 'new human' was genderless (Miroiu 2010b: 583).

Political science specialist Mihaela Miroiu, the founder of the first gender studies programme in Romania, recalls the sense of revelation she had upon discovering feminism during her research stints at universities in the United States of America and Great Britain in the early 1990s (2009: 234). Indeed, as scholars proceeded to embark on a thorough recuperative project, it was particularly Anglo-American feminism that they drew on. Miroiu notes that almost all the historians writing on women's rights and gender issues had either studied abroad, chiefly in the U.S., or had become part of the Romanian diaspora – with the notable exception of Ştefania Mihăilescu (2010b: 586). She further acknowledges the 'major support of our British and American colleagues' in introducing the first classes on feminism in Romanian academia (1994–98) (2010b: 587). This affinity for Anglo-American feminism is culturally determined in ways that are no doubt more complex than the Romanian philosophy students' preference for the analytical rather than the speculative traditions that Miroiu mentions (2009: 234); to a large extent, it confirms a compensatory tendency in the wake of the communist suspicion of all things capitalist (read, American). Additionally, Miroiu does not discount the importance of the very practical circumstance of the Soros Foundation's generosity with its funds in the region, which enabled scholars to do research in the U.S. (2009: 234).

On the other hand, Miroiu confesses that, had her first contact been with gender studies rather than feminism, she would not have been equally enthusiastic about this field (2009: 236). Her explanation is again inflected by her professional training, foregrounding the lessons in critical thinking and in creatively embracing one's womanhood, 'constructed as it is', that she derived from the '"grand maestras" of feminist theories' (2009: 236–37). She also confesses elsewhere to the suspicion that gender studies

has made women's plight appear less serious, their demands less justified and even more tame by comparison with those of other sexual minorities (2010a: 158). Miroiu's name remains associated with feminist philosophy, a discipline in which she was the first Romanian to pursue a doctoral degree (1994) and which she taught at the University of Bucharest between 1994 and 1998.

Nonetheless, the first study programme dedicated to gender studies in Romania was an MA at the Şcoala Naţională de Studii Politice şi Administrative (SNSPA) in Bucharest, set up by Miroiu in 1998. It was swiftly followed by one in Cluj-Napoca, coordinated by Enikö Magyari-Vincze at the Institute for Cultural Anthropology of Babeş-Bolyai University, in 2000, and another at the West University of Timişoara, set up by Reghina Dascăl in 2004. Miroiu notes with regret, however, that there was 'too little collaboration between the universities' (2010a: 160). Additionally, the Centre for Curricular Development and Gender Studies FILIA was set up by SNSPA graduates in Bucharest in 2000 'as an offspring of our Gender Studies programme', as Miroiu puts it (2010a: 162). Its main activity was the production of curricula, syllabi and textbooks targeting 'the advancement of gender studies, supporting the use of gender analyses in the study of society and culture, the integration of a gender dimension in public policies, militating for women's rights and the enhancement of women's participation in public life, for the elimination of women's discrimination in the family, community or workplace' (Dascăl 2012: 198).

Although feminist NGOs had been founded by academics in the 1990s – AnA in 1993, Gender in 1995 (both in Bucharest), and the Centre for Feminist Studies (Timişoara) in 1999, etc. – and although AnA had started publishing its bilingual journal of feminist studies, *AnALize*, in 1997, these study programmes had to contend with the lack of a culture of gender equality. For one thing, in the aftermath of communism there were no feminist texts translated into Romanian, and most of the local theoreticians and historians of feminism did not start publishing their research until after 2001 (Miroiu 2010b: 586). The study of feminism in Romania has thus been significantly inflected by this inherently asymmetric cultural transfer of ideas mostly from the Anglo-American thinking in the field to a very limited segment of the Romanian public. Furthermore, whatever discourse of the woman as fellow citizen had existed during the communist

regime and in its immediate aftermath had in the meanwhile disappeared as Romania was rediscovering and embracing its pre-communist traditions and values. An unexamined mixture of nostalgia and conservatism, coupled with a revisionist fury to expunge and cleanse the smallest trace of communism from scholarship, public discourse and the very fabric of society, lead to reversing the little progress that had been made during the previous regime – such as for instance discontinuing state-subsidised day care for children – and reinstating interwar mentalities and attitudes that relegated women once again to the hearth, discouraging their participation in politics and their ambitions for independence.

Pioneer militants for the feminist cause such as Grünberg and Miroiu began to question their own work as early as 2000. Sociologist Laura Grünberg is keenly aware of the social context in which the feminism of the 1990s was received with much anti-feminist bias and suspicion, rather as an elitist fad or the result of the pre-adherence pressure of the E.U. than the answer to a deeply felt domestic need (Grünberg 2000b: 18). Miroiu, on the other hand, tends to conceptualise the reception of feminism in terms of cultural paradigms. By 2010 she was ready to admit that her generation of feminists, who had been so keen to immerse themselves in the postmodernism and philosophy of second-wave western feminism, had failed to grasp the obstacles raised by the divergent circumstances of a country which was still far from being a liberal democracy (2010b: 587). Like many other feminists, Grünberg and Miroiu have come to regret their early choice of an academic and civic agenda rather than a political one, in view of pre- and post-EU accession, recognising the widening gap between passing good laws and failing to enforce them. Their apprehensions are compounded by the fact that of the three interdisciplinary MA programmes in gender studies, only one has survived: the one coordinated by Miroiu, whose focus is chiefly on the relationship between gender studies and politics. They are further dispirited by the massive brain drain that has sent a large proportion of their graduates in search of brighter prospects, predictably, in the United States, Great Britain and other western countries (Miroiu 2009: 236).

Conversely, new classes in women's and gender studies have been offered in BA and MA programmes in fields as diverse as history, art, political science, sociology, journalism, English and French (Văcărescu in Grünberg 2011: 170), in Bucharest and elsewhere. The research centres and institutes

are still very much in place and continuing their invaluable work, often putting European funding to good use, as are the women's organisations. Doctoral degrees are pursued in the field, particularly under Miroiu's supervision, but by no means exclusively so. Their topics range from the history of Romanian feminism to feminist and gender theory, and from gender politics to empirical studies of the condition of women and minorities in Romania. Furthermore, new publications, both periodical and monographic, interrogate similar issues. It is worth mentioning, in this respect, that *Gender Studies*, the journal of the Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies in Timişoara, has been published without interruption since 2002, and *AnALize* resumed publication last year. Moreover, two publishing houses, Desire in Cluj and Polirom in Iaşi, have devoted book series to women's and gender studies (Miroiu 2010a: 161). Miroiu notes that 'other publishing houses do publish translations, but few Romanian original works, perpetuating the idea that feminism and gender topics are imports without internal grounding' (2010a: 167, n20). Nevertheless, such original works are written and they are becoming increasingly visible, both nationally and internationally; they are, moreover, developing a much-needed comparative dimension (Grünberg 2010: 7). Significant institutional progress has thus been made, albeit without much institutional support (Văcărescu in Grünberg 2011: 169).

3. Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies in Romania

While the evolution of feminism in Romania is by now well documented, that of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies is not. That is not to say that the field does not exist: research projects, monographs, studies and doctoral dissertations testify to the contrary. Moreover, some of the most active feminists already mentioned, particularly Mădălina Nicolaescu and Reghina Dascăl, are Anglicists. However, there do not seem to be many study programmes or lecture courses offered by English Studies departments which focus specifically on this field. In order to get a sense of the extent to which women's and gender studies are taught and internalised in BA- and MA-level ES programmes, we have devised a brief questionnaire, in which we have encouraged MA students from four Romanian Universities (Bucharest, Constanța, Sibiu, Timişoara) to share their knowledge

of the field. 36 students responded (34 women, 2 men), some of whom had obtained their BA degrees at other universities than the ones where they were pursuing their MAs. The responses thus cover a broader range of universities than is suggested by the current affiliation of the respondents. Although 41.7% of them answered 'Yes' to the question whether they had taken women's or gender studies classes at BA level, there does not seem to be a perfect correspondence between the university where they obtained their degree and their answer. This may suggest either that those classes were electives, or that not all students thought of them as such at the time they were taking them (e.g., a lecture course may have been offered as a survey of the English novel, and although the approach was feminist, the students may not have thought of it in such terms). At MA level the situation seems to be rather more straightforward, with students from Sibiu, Constanța and Timişoara almost invariably checking 'Yes' and totalling 63.9% of responses, and with students from Bucharest giving particularly articulate, cogent answers. To the question, 'Do you think there should be such separate modules?', 80.6% of respondents replied 'Yes', and to 'Do you think Women's Studies can yield relevant knowledge?', 97.2% said 'Yes'. We take these responses to be relevant and representative of the student population enrolled in English and American Studies programmes in Romania and we will refer to further findings of our study in what follows.

3.1 Institutionalisation

As has been seen, it is impossible to dissociate the Anglo-American feminist tradition from women's and gender studies in post-communist Romania: it might be said that women's and gender studies programmes and lecture courses in various fields have shared the task of popularising and acclimatising the theories and empirical findings of Anglo-American feminist and gender studies. It is significant in this respect that of the three early MA programmes in gender studies, one was offered by an English Department, the one in Timişoara, and that the two main feminist scholarly journals, *AnALize* and *Gender Studies*, are published in English. Although there is relatively little collaboration between Anglicists and feminists belonging to other fields in terms of common teaching and research projects, the two

disciplines have developed in parallel, sharing the same theoretical resources and sources of inspiration.

As is the case in most East-European countries, English Studies in Romania is a relatively new discipline, emerging during the first half of the 20th century. Interest in British culture had existed in Romania since the 19th century, as witnessed by writers (see Dorobăţ in Gupta / Schneider 2010: 12, Gavriliu et al. in Engler / Haas 2000: 236–41) and scholars such as Nicolae Iorga, Bogdan Petriceicu-Haşdeu and George Călinescu (Irimia in Gupta / Schneider: 33–34), and was no doubt fostered by the fact that at the turn of the century Romania had a Crown Princess of English extraction: the future Queen Marie, born Princess Marie of Edinburgh, was the granddaughter of Queen Victoria. Translations from English literature into Greek, French and German circulated throughout the 19th century and were gradually rendered into Romanian in turn. Translations from the original however were not made on a regular basis until the 20th century, and even then they were often the work of erudite amateurs with a vast knowledge of foreign languages, such as Henriette Yvonne Stahl, or, sometimes, of established Romanian writers with scant knowledge of English who worked in tandem with Anglicists providing cribs. These translations included the works of women writers, particularly the Brontës, Jane Austen, Virginia Woolf, Pearl Buck, and later on Edith Wharton, Agatha Christie, Iris Murdoch etc. Interest in American culture was to flourish after the First World War but its literature was already read and discussed in the literary press by then. However, the criticism that accompanied these translations during the first half of the 20th century, typically written by male critics, tended to be either condescending or openly dismissive, often focusing on the authors' biographies and foregrounding the sensational aspects, or describing the novels as productions of a minor female sensibility and ascribing them either to the genre of domestic realism or to romance. There is, nonetheless, an awareness permeating this criticism that the fiction of these women novelists is highly representative of both Victorian and post-Victorian England (Sebastian 1935: 174, Constantinescu 1945: 706), and of the American high life (Holban 1908: 259–62). This inquisitiveness concerning correlations between literature and culture fuelled the creation of English departments in Romania.

The first English departments were set up by pioneering scholars Ion Botez, Dumitru Chițoran, Petre Grimm, Dragoş Protopopescu, Ana Cartianu, John Burbank and a few others, at the universities of Iaşi (1917), Cluj-Napoca (1921) and Bucharest (1936). Previously, English had been mostly a language to be taught at university level to diplomatic aspirants, although it had been sporadically taught in secondary schools since the late 18th century (Gavriliu et al. in Engler / Haas 2000: 244–45). The English departments however did not cater primarily to diplomats; rather, from the beginning they trained teachers and translators. With the advent of communism the departments in Iaşi and Cluj were closed down in 1948 and 1950, respectively, only to be reopened a few years later (Cluj in 1956, Iaşi in 1963) and accompanied by others (Timişoara in 1964, Sibiu in 1969 etc.), as the Ministry of Education was forced by international circumstances to admit the usefulness of the study of foreign languages and the need for teachers (Gavriliu et al. in Engler / Haas 2000: 247–48). By the late 1960s, doctoral programmes were set up in the fields of Anglo-American literature and linguistics, and by the early 1970s, English became one of the foreign languages offered in primary schools and non-philological academic programmes (Gavriliu et al. in Engler / Haas 2000: 249).

In the early decades both the professors and the students were predominantly male, but that changed after the Second World War; by now women represent more than 70%[2] of the students and almost as much of the professorial body. However, to this day the 'golden generation' of Anglicists is considered to be that of Mihail Bogdan, Leon Levițchi, Dan Duțescu, Virgiliu Ştefănescu-Drăgăneşti, Ioan Aurel Preda, Andrei Bantaş etc. (Irimia in Gupta / Schneider 2010: 35–36, Gavriliu et al. in Engler / Haas 2000: 249) – an all-male constellation that in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s brought about the full professionalisation of the discipline as well as of literary translation. Although some were literature specialists, their contribution to the field of applied linguistics was invaluable: they wrote textbooks, handbooks and bilingual dictionaries which are still in use. Many of them

2 No statistical data is available for English Studies in this respect. This percentage has been arrived at by comparing the percentage of women students enrolled in the English Philology programme in Sibiu with the available data for private higher education programmes over the past decade or so.

were also prolific and brilliant translators, and Levițchi's 1974 handbook has influenced all subsequent generations of translators. Their achievement was the more significant for continuing at a time when the regime was cutting and discouraging English programmes throughout the country as part of its policy of training the 'new man'.

Little has been said about the women who have contributed to the prestige of English studies. Early on, Ana Cartianu, one of the founders of the English Department at the University of Bucharest in 1936 and a much loved, highly respected professor of Anglo-American literature, spent her long career consolidating that department. Additionally, she worked as a translator and an author of groundbreaking course books and anthologies for didactic use. Another pioneer was Alice Bădescu, whose 1935 English grammar, revised and expanded throughout her career, is still in use. Edith Iarovici, an outstanding linguist, wrote on the history of the English language and contrastive linguistics in the 1960s and early 1970s. Ileana Galea of Cluj University left her imprint on literary studies, writing prolifically on Victorian and 20th-century English literature in the literary press of the 1980s, alongside her collaborative writing of textbooks and exercise books. She was moreover one of the earliest Romanian Anglicists to write on feminism in one of the prestigious literary journals in Cluj in 1994. The first Romanian handbook on English teaching methodology was also the collaborative work of a woman, Semlyen Eva, with David Filimon (1973), and was not followed by another until 1995, when the Cluj linguist Ecaterina Popa put together a handbook and engaged on a collaborative national study of the teaching of foreign languages in Romania (1997). What must be understood about these early professors, as about their male counterparts, is that they perceived their profession and their vocation to be teaching, rather than research or writing. This explains the overwhelming proportion of textbooks in their published output, and perhaps also their lack of visibility outside the Romanian borders. Their indelible contribution to English Studies consisted not only in setting very high professional standards for their followers, but also in that, although rarely attaining to decision-making positions, they instilled in their students great respect for the profession and for the life-enhancing knowledge it produces.

Meanwhile, as literary translation became professionalised in the 1960s, an ever wider diversity of fiction was published, including new translations

from the novelists already mentioned, but also the novels of contemporary women writers such as Margaret Drabble, Margaret Atwood and Doris Lessing, as well as the late 18th-century gothics and romances of Frances Burney, Maria Edgeworth and Ann Radcliffe. A few female translators contributed crucially in this respect, particularly Frida Papadache, Antoaneta Ralian and Felicia Antip. Literary criticism, too, had a far more professional feel to it after the 1960s, appropriating much of the methodology and terminology of various formalisms, though not of feminism. These were outcomes of a general ideological thaw (1964–71), which allowed many Anglicists to study or do research in the United States, for instance. The thaw however was short-lived, and by 1977 it was followed by a period of almost impermeable political isolationism, when Romanian culture, paradoxically, went through what is widely recognised as the most effervescent and original period in its history, the postmodern 1980s. Interest shifted almost exclusively to contemporary American poetry and fiction, mostly by male authors, from whom our young writers took inspiration. Thus, much-loved British women novelists whose works had been regularly re-issued and even re-translated before, such as Jane Austen and Charlotte Brontë, were sidelined during the 1980s, although Woolf, Murdoch and Wharton seem to have kept their hold on the readers' and the critics' imagination.

3.2 Main Lines of Development in Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies

Although by 1990 women Anglicists had gained recognition as established and highly respected scholars, and it had become clear that the literature of women writers such as Iris Murdoch could hardly be looked down upon as sentimental effusion or romance, feminism was as alien to English Studies as it was to any other discipline. As in the case of sociologists and philosophers, feminism was a discovery of the early 1990s, when Anglicists could travel to western libraries and universities and gain access to works that had been banned during the communist regime. Additionally, it was an importation of institutions such as the Soros Foundation, the Fulbright Commission and the British Council, as well as of western – chiefly American – universities which organised seminars for English teachers and endowed

university libraries with the latest studies in culture and civilisation. Once this discovery was made, Anglicists could easily include feminist ideas and even modules in their teaching, relying on their students' proficiency in English and thus not having to wait for translations and original work in Romanian. As Dascăl points out, they had the additional advantage of being called upon to modernise the curriculum, repeatedly in the 1990s and then again with the implementation of the Bologna Process (2004), so they could easily make room for such classes (2012: 199). More recently, the prospect of EU accession, and then the integration itself, have contributed to creating a propitious socio-political context for such additions to the curriculum.

Against this background, lecture courses in feminism and gender studies began to be offered by the English departments of several universities: Bucharest, Cluj, Timişoara, Târgu Mureş, Constanța, Galați, Sibiu, i.e. 7 out of 30 universities offering philology study programmes. As has been seen, the bravest of these departments, the one in Timişoara, set up one of the three MA programmes in the country through its Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies (2004). However, with the exception of the SNSPA one, MA programmes in gender studies have so far not fared well in Romania, and moreover Romanian universities have been reluctant to join in the transnational European programmes MATILDA, the European MA programme in Gender and Women's History, and ATHENA: the European Network for Gender Studies, although they have profited from their experience, participated in their conferences and contributed to their databases.

Outside the institutional confines of dedicated study programmes, women's and gender studies flourish in Romania. To illustrate, of 52 doctoral dissertations in English and American Studies defended at Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu between 1995 and 2011, 44 of the candidates were women and 9 dissertations were devoted exclusively to female writers between 2003 and 2011. Incidentally, and laudably, the doctoral supervisor of the women's studies theses was a man. The dissertations focused on the works of 20th-century women writers, three of them dealing with Iris Murdoch's novels and another three approaching two novelists comparatively, of whom in two cases one was Romanian. These dissertations frequently included chapters on feminism or women's condition as portrayed in the novels they dealt with, evincing not only a thorough understanding of the writers' preoccupation with the distinct experiences of women of various

classes and ethnic backgrounds, but also of recent critical theory and methodology. I have no doubt that many of these scholars have since found ways of working their expertise into their teaching and further research.

There is evidence, both in such doctoral studies and in recent publications, that the earlier tendency of applying Anglo-American feminist theory to Anglo-American texts is gradually giving way to comparative analyses and to the more inclusive women's and gender studies approaches. This shift is opening up new directions, both critical and theoretical, for Romanian Anglicists and prevents their work from being derivative and ultimately redundant. At the same time, scholars have been quick to incorporate into their work the latest western dimensions of the study of gender, such as the by-now customary postcolonial and post-communist theories and cultural studies, but also the more recent ecocriticism, age studies, trauma studies, an interest in life writing, and so on. Furthermore, the very definition of literature has become diversified under the impact of poststructuralist theory. This diversification is best instantiated by the fact that, after 1989, while staples of our publishing houses' literature in translation, such as Austen, Brontë, Woolf et al., made a strong comeback, they were joined by unlikely companions such as Sandra Brown (with 52 titles published in Romanian translation between 1993–2007) and Barbara Cartland (with 31 titles between 1994–96), to name only the two most striking instances of the popularity of romance, alongside a wide range of previously untranslated award-winning women novelists, from Nadine Gordimer, Flannery O'Connor, Carson McCullers and Angela Carter, to the more recent Amy Tan, Kiran Desai, Jhumpa Lahiri, Zadie Smith or Monica Ali, to name but a few (UNESCO: online). As a result, critical attention has been given to genre literature as well as texts in other media, most frequently film and television.

More practically, the specialists at the Interdisciplinary Centre in Timişoara have produced anthologies for the classroom, in addition to continuing to publish its scholarly journal, *Gender Studies*, and organising conferences and events. Anglicists have also set hard to work on translating the most seminal texts of Anglo-American feminist and gender studies theory, thus contributing crucially to widening access to these texts. Romanian publishing houses are currently making a very laudable effort to keep up with the latest western publications, in fiction in particular, although

they are slower to commission what remains niche fare, such as theory and criticism in the field of women's and gender studies. Significant work is thus being done, and its impact is evidenced by the fact that students are becoming increasingly cognisant of feminist and gender theories, versatile with their terminologies, and suspicious of stereotypes,[3] as revealed by our questionnaire.

Within English departments, the main proponents of such studies, in print and institutionally, have become household names: Mădălina Nicolaescu, Reghina Dascăl, Adina Ciugureanu, Michaela Praisler, Mihaela Mudure, Smaranda Ştefanovici, to name only those who have conducted internationally funded and internationally visible research. It is by no means a coincidence that these are well-respected Anglicists, whose merits have received institutional recognition, whether by attaining to full professorship or by chairing departments, research centres or schools. They are also part of a generation of high-power female academics who have risen through the ranks by helping subjects such as Shakespeare studies, postmodernism, imagology, translation studies, American studies, etc., out of the textbook and into the public domain. The particular appeal of women's and gender studies in the context of English and cultural studies has resided in the recognition 'of the many seminal intersection points of feminist, postcolonial and postmodern discourses, as all these share in common the problem of speaking *as* Other, of representing the self *as* Other to various dominant discourses' (Dascăl 2012: 199). In other words, feminism and gender studies participate in and shed light on broader concerns – cultural identity being not the least among them – that women everywhere are faced with and which the English Studies specialist is particularly aware of. These intersections have indicated to Anglicists, as well as to women's and gender studies specialists in other fields, that the integrated, mainstreaming approach may be the necessary next step – and in acknowledging the political, ethical, sociological and epistemological pros and cons of suggesting this,

3 When asked to account for the fact that the humanities were dominated by women, 38.9% of respondents mentioned the constructedness of labour division, and when asked to comment on the stereotypical statement according to which Romanian women were beautiful, 57.6% of respondents were critical of the stereotype.

Dascăl (2012: 200) follows Miroiu and Grünberg (Miroiu in Grünberg 2011: 229–38).

4. Conclusions and New Perspectives

Miroiu concludes one of her recent articles by ironically pointing out that we are currently in lockstep with western countries, in that, in Eastern European countries, too, there is a strong backlash against feminism. However, she warns:

> the crucial difference lies in the context: many of the acquisitions of political feminisms have become generally accepted in the world of consolidated democracies. They are facts of life. In Eastern Europe, however, this is still something to be hoped for in the distant future. One lesson that must be learned is that neither liberalism, nor social democracy, nor (even less) communism provide sufficient conditions for gender justice. The depoliticization of the feminist agenda, which is now an insidious phenomenon in advanced democracies as well, is dangerous: it lets women get carried away by the mainstream agenda without also being able to determine policy in accordance with their ideas and interests; it encourages new democracies to deal with gender problems as footnotes to the political agenda; it releases conservative governments from pressures especially because gender fairness remains, to these governments, the unacceptable change. (2010b: 589)

It would be hard to see why Miroiu, or Dascăl (2012: 205), should think about the current situation in Romania as a backlash against feminism. A backlash, according to Faludi, is an exacerbation of the 'fear and loathing of feminism [that] is a sort of perpetual viral condition'; it is thus distinct from the 'bedrock of misogyny' still characterising most western societies. It flares up when feminism is perceived to have made long strides, as an insidious attempt 'to retract the handful of small and hard-won victories that the feminist movement did manage to win for women', and it acts by 'stir[ring] women's private anxieties and break[ing] their political wills' (Faludi 2006: 9–11). A backlash would imply that there was a time when feminist values were accepted and when feminism itself was held in some public regard. There has never been such a time in Romania: the cause of women and sexual minorities has always been marginalised and disparaged, its supporters openly reviled. That it has survived this treatment is the merit of small groups of devoted women who have persisted in speaking and writing about the need for feminism and gender studies in spite of the circumstances.

Nonetheless, Miroiu's point is well taken: there are clear and considerable dangers to depoliticising the feminist agenda, and Romanian experience bears testimony to them. The fact that the academic activity of NGOs and MA programmes was not quite as influential as had been expected has taught Romanian feminists a few useful lessons, which moreover seem to be confirmed by national and international empirical studies (Balica et al. 2004, Dascal et al. 2013, EACEA 2010, Sedghi 2013, etc.). Like most EU countries, Romanian legislation includes gender equality policies;[4] however, it does not include channels for the external monitoring of their implementation. In many cases, gender mainstreaming therefore remains present only at the level of policy rhetoric, where indeed it stipulates 'the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, to ensure that a gender equality perspective is incorporated at all levels and stages of all policies by those normally involved in policy making', as prescribed by the Council of Europe in 2007 (qtd. in EACEA 2010: 53). Consequently, as the EACEA pointed out in 2010, although 'the goal of enhancing the representation of women in decision-making bodies or of obtaining a gender balance in education management is part of [Romania's] national strateg[y]', concrete measures are yet to be implemented (52).

Moreover, 'while education acts aim to ensure equal access to and equal treatment within education for all pupils [irrespective of gender], they do not include specific provisions on the role of education in counteracting existing inequalities in wider society' (EACEA 2010: 47). Indeed, according to EACEA, Romanian girls score higher in international surveys such as PISA and TIMSS, even in subjects which in many countries are dominated by boys, such as mathematics and science (2010: 36–37); furthermore, the proportion of women enrolled in tertiary education has been steadily increasing since 1998, so that by 2010 it was over 60%, and the percentage of women pursuing a doctoral degree now is 50% or higher (2010: 102). Moreover, according to the latest Eurostat data, the percentages of women

4 As an example, the 2011 Law of Education stipulates that no form of discrimination is acceptable in the Romanian education system, except affirmative action within the limits of the law. Few of the statutory documents of Romanian universities echo this proviso for affirmative action (LBUS does).

in the Government Sector and research, women academics, and even women academics in grade A positions in Romania are higher than the European averages, and typically higher in the humanities and the health sector than in other fields (European Commission 2013). However, empirical surveys also indicate that it is easier for a woman to lose a job and harder to find another than it is for a man, and that even women with higher education degrees find it difficult to convince employers to allow them to be creative or innovative in the workplace or to promote them to senior positions, and no less so in the state sector than the private one (Dascăl et al. 2013).

To conclude, although in Romania '[p]edagogical supervision focusing on the production of gender-sensitive teaching material is currently the subject of national action plans' and 'guidelines on gender awareness for school book authors' have been elaborated (2010: 66), 'addressing gender issues is not an explicit aim of the curriculum', EACEA finds (2010: 58). In other words, Romania's figures and laws look good, by and large; yet Romania is not one of the 'women friendly' countries, nor is its culture amenable to gender issues. Education is only one of the areas in which gender issues are still inadequately addressed, but as the feminists of the 19th century rightly intuited, it is fundamental. Mentalities are beginning to change, as evidenced by the responses to our questionnaire, and they are changing faster in the more cosmopolitan major cities than in the comparatively conservative 'provincial' towns and rural areas. They are also changing faster in the places where young people have been exposed to gender studies than in the ones where more traditional approaches to literature and culture are still in place. Yet anti-feminist sentiment is still so widespread in Romanian society that any attempt to eradicate it must start with grass-roots activities such as creating gender-sensitive textbooks for all levels of education and promoting gender awareness and a 'politics of difference' as part of Romania's legislation (Miroiu in Grünberg 2011: 238). Ever attuned to current socio-political realities, Romanian feminists and gender studies specialists have already set to work on gender mainstreaming and developing gender-inclusive curricula for higher education (Grünberg 2011) as well as primary and secondary education (Miroiu 2010a: 162–63). Furthermore, their recuperative studies have rendered visible the work of 19th- and 20th-century women writers and activists, Romanian and Anglo-American, thus enabling young women to derive a sense of belonging to a

like-minded global community. Where gender studies has failed, it is hoped that 'gender IN studies' – as Grünberg puts it in the title to one of the books she has edited recently – will succeed.

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Milena Katsarska

The Other Frontier: Anglicist Gender Studies in Bulgaria

1. Signposting the Bulgarian Context

Historically, there are several features of the Bulgarian context which have a bearing on a discussion of the development of Women's and Gender Studies locally. These features frame the context in its particularity given specific stages of development, but also – and at the same time – impinge on chartering connections across the territorial 'anchoring' of the issue to this particular geopolitical location by projecting relations and similarities across nation-state borders to historically, politically and culturally constructed spaces such as the Balkans, South East Europe, Europe and beyond. At this junction, I am simply signposting them to return to each in more detail in the subsequent sections of the chapter.

In the second half of the 19th century, when the 'women's question' with regard to education was posed, the present territory of Bulgaria was within the borders of the Ottoman Empire and en route to its Liberation in 1878 with subsequent Unification between the Principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia in 1885. Therefore, both 'education' and 'women' were tightly linked to the ideology of the local national Revival and the repertoire of emancipated roles that would assist in the construction of Bulgarian national identity in the 19th century mould, which placed emphasis on ethnicity, language, religion, territorial unity, heritage and kinship. While in the first decades of the 20th century this project of decisive national consolidation continued, the women's agenda broadened to address issues shared across borders during the First Women's Movement. These were, among others, access to and equality in education, access to professions in the public sphere, universal suffrage. In terms of the class character of the movement and its respective paths to emancipation and equality, they were addressed from a broad spectrum of political stances: from bourgeois philanthropy through social-democratic and leftist, socialist ideas to nationalist such. Further on, like a

number of East European contexts post WW2, the Bulgarian context was characterized by a period of setting up and consolidating national state communism between the 1940s and 1989, which undoubtedly impinged on the economic, social, political, and cultural reality and aspirations of women in the country in a complex – and often contradictory – manner. To mention just one salient feature of this stage which has a bearing on my subsequent discussion here, this period involved top-to-bottom centralized policies, as well as their legislative expressions, for egalitarianism in the public sphere. The discourses which this period produced however, as local and global feminist historians note, are not straightforwardly uniform or non-problematically and positively in tune with the 20th century feminist agenda, yet they undoubtedly influenced deeply the development of Women's and Gender Studies in post-communist countries, the institutionalization of which often – as in the case of Bulgaria – is located in the aftermath of the period.

With a view to the Bulgarian context, the post-1989 period of a transitioning society from national state communism to market liberal democracy has generated an acceleratory (a catching-up) and liberatory discourse, not least with regard to the 'inception' and institutionalization of Gender Studies. Along such lines, the 1990s often defined themselves as decisively delineated from the previous 'era', as 'anchoring back' to the pre-1940s period (bridging a 'historical aberration'), as 'creating anew or from nothing', as 'depoliticizing' the public sphere including education (meaning doing away with centralized and top-to-bottom ideological prescriptions), as 'opening' to Europe and the world at large – all these being tropes which have a bearing on how women reconstructed and renegotiated their social and political realities and articulated the contemporary feminist agenda, as well as how the institutional space and the imperatives of Gender Studies were constructed in the country. In the second phase of the transitional period, with a view to EU accession negotiations and Bulgaria becoming an EU member state as of 2007, economically, socio-politically, culturally and educationally the Bulgarian context is inflected by EU-wide policies and legal frameworks with regard to our case of specific focus here: the position of women in society – reckonings with the present and articulating the agenda of the future.

2. Glimpses from History: Women's Movement(s) and Women's Organizations

As in a number of other countries, the Bulgarian women's movement had its beginnings in the spheres of education and social work in the middle of the 19th century. The first secular schools for girls were founded in 1841 within the then borders of the Ottoman Empire and by 1878 – the establishment of an independent Bulgarian state – their number reached 90. In this period of national Revival, the local inflection of the 18th century French model of women's citizenship through patriotic motherhood dominated the scene. Only sporadic male voices among the emergent Bulgarian national intelligentsia, such as Lyuben Karavelov, advocated for equality in education rather than for following the 'two-sex model' in constructing school curricula. Prior to the Liberation the only profession open to women was that of teacher. According to Daskalova and Nazarska (2006: 7) their number was approximately 400 by 1878. The first women's associations of philanthropic or educational nature were set up in the 1850s. Some of these organizations established the first international contacts, especially in the aftermath of the April uprising in 1876, whereby Bulgarian provinces within the Ottoman Empire attracted the attention of the foreign press, namely, through letters these associations addressed to, for example, Lady Strangford and the *Society of Edinburgh Ladies*, as well as to the Ladies' Branch of the *Russian Slavophil Committee* in Moscow, among other diplomats and missionaries.

Access to education remained a stable line on the feminist agenda for a number of decades and it is worth mentioning two significant dates in this regard. In the post-Liberation period school education for boys and girls was equalized – in terms of duration and content – by a law adopted in 1897, which opened and further consolidated the argument for university admission of women. Sofia University granted this access in 1901, which is when the first 12 women were admitted at the then Faculty of History and Philology (Vesselinov 2008: 23). Initially continuing the line of the national Revival philanthropic makeup of women's associations, *The Bulgarian Women's Union* (BWU) was established in the same year, led by the Bulgarian teacher, writer, translator and journalist Anna

Karima.[1] Its course soon became oriented towards equal civic and political rights, issues shared across geopolitical borders. BWU's public voice was captured by the periodical *Zhenski glas* (Women's Voice). 'Equality' entered the agenda of the BWU in 1907 and the Union upheld an above-class principle. It addressed primarily issues of middle-class Bulgarian women even if its membership included women peasants and workers reflecting the primarily agrarian constituency of the country on its way to industrialization and urbanization. By the 1940s this Union had over 14 000 members in 170 women's societies (Daskalova and Nazarska 2006: 14). The second mainstream organization of the time, more leftist in its political orientation, the Union *Ravnopravie* (Equal Rights) or *Sayuz na naprednichavite zheni* (Union of Progressive Women) – a small but firmly suffragist formation – was founded in 1909 by some of the initial members of BWU. In the aftermath of the *Second International*, these two Unions were the main drivers towards unrestricted suffrage.

Even if facing mostly patriarchal and traditional opposition, rather than exclusion from voting by constitution or electoral law, Bulgarian women gained the right to vote considerably later. In 1937 first 'mothers in a legal marriage' were granted the right to vote in local elections, and this later became extended to 'married, divorced and widowed' women for parliamentary elections in 1938. It is clear that these legal provisions remained far from achieving unrestricted women's suffrage in that they based active voting rights on women as male dependents and, additionally, did not provide for women to be elected. As Daskalova and Nazarska observe

> The situation of the Bulgarian women's suffrage movement resembled that of other 'late-comers' such as France and Switzerland, where universal male suffrage had been proclaimed at an earlier date – unlike the situation in Germany and Britain, where class was a barrier to suffrage for men as well. Women in the latter countries got the vote soon after universal male suffrage had been passed. (2006: 15)

The issue of universal women's suffrage in Bulgaria remained on the agenda in the next years, most notably actively upheld by the section of *Women Lawyers*

1 The detailed biographies of the activists mentioned in this section can be found in De Haan et al. 2006. The entries for Bulgaria are: Vela Blagoeva, Dimitrana Ivanova, Elissaveta Karamichailova, Lyuben Karavelov, Ekaterina Karavelova, Anna Karima, Kina Konova, Julia Malinova, Vera Zlatareva, and Ekaterina Zlatoustova.

within the *Bulgarian Association of University Women* (BAUW), who also fought for women lawyers' rights to effectively practice law, an issue which remained unresolved until the end of WW2, while women lawyers in other Balkan countries gained full professional rights in the course of the 1920s.

Before pausing in more detail on the above-mentioned *Bulgarian Association of University Women* (BAUW), which was established in 1924, for reasons that appear key to the inception and institutionalization of Gender Studies in the country in the 1990s (i.e. about 70 years later), let me briefly outline the international liaisons of the First Women's Movement in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Women's movement is the first from the region to enter the international arena in 1908, as Bulgarian representatives participate in the congresses of the *International Alliance of Women* and the *International Council of Women* in Amsterdam and Geneva, respectively. Similarly early on, Bulgarian women joined the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* in 1919 and became actively involved in attending WILPF congresses and schools, as well as hosting one such in 1930 led by Ekaterina Karavelova and Vassilka Kerteva. Among its international activities, in the 1930s the Bulgarian section of WILPF initiated the setting up of a Committee for the defense of Jews in Germany.

Capitalizing on decades of achieved access to higher education, both locally and abroad, as well as advancement, albeit limited, in public office, women university graduates set up the afore-mentioned *Bulgarian Association of University Women*, which spanned across generations of educated local feminists who shared mostly liberal ideals. This organization comprised four sections – Women Lawyers, Women Artists, Women Writers and Women Students – some of which remained in place for the first decade of regime change to national state communism, meanwhile undergoing leadership change and political and economic transformations towards nationalization, centralization, establishing communist party control, etc. to be dissolved in the 1950s. The history of this Bulgarian women's organization is particularly well-documented by contemporary feminist historians,[2] because it is seen as simultaneously the symbolic and material

2 See Daskalova/Nazarska 2006, Daskalova 2006, Nazarska 2007, and the website of the present day Bulgarian Association of University Women at <http://bauw-bg.com/en/?page_id=17> (10 Sept 2013).

location of the inception of Gender Studies in Bulgaria with the restoration of the BAUW in 1990 by predominantly Sofia-based university women.[3] Notwithstanding the ideological choice exercised in the act of 'restoring' in name the BAUW, the activities of which focused mostly on urban middle-class intellectual elites in a liberal mould, as that act which would define the path undertaken by Bulgarian feminists in the transitioning period of the 1990s, the pre-WW2 period presented an ideologically more diverse picture with regard to the feminist agenda, a picture which was shared across European contexts and beyond.

Socialist ideas informed the Bulgarian context since the last decade of the 19th century and socialist newspapers, such as *Savremenen Pokazatel* (Contemporary Barometer) and *Novo Vreme* (New Times), addressed the 'woman's question' within the paradigm of an imminent socialist revolution. While women socialists notably led by Vela Blagoeva initially joined the *Bulgarian Women's Union* in 1901, they soon separated from it objecting to its proclaimed above-class principle and set up the periodical *Zhenski Trud* (Women's Labour), which articulated their stance of speakers on behalf of women workers. This attempt at consolidating a women's movement in a socialist mould was also regarded as 'separatist' from the point of view of men-led socialist organizations, especially those that shifted in the direction of 'narrow' socialism (i.e. under the influence of Bolshevism) in the country. Nevertheless, in 1919 the former clubs of socialist women set up *Women Communists*, their public voices being captured by the newspapers *Ravenstvo* (Equality) and *Rabotnichka* (Woman Worker) negotiating their position between 'sex-neutral' (class-based) and 'women specific' concerns, and activists such as Koika Tineva, Tina Kirkova and Stela Blagoeva took part in the *Communist International*. The other leftist organization at the time, established in 1921 and affiliated with the international women's socialist movement, sided with the 'broad' socialists' organizations. While the two leftist organizations shared the goal of 'liberating women from any kind of material and moral authority', as cited in Daskalova and Nazarska (2006: 34), they had divergent ideas as to the means by which this could be accomplished. Women social democrats advocated equal pay, state measures

3 One of the most current analyses of Gender Studies in Bulgaria by Slavova starts at precisely this junction (2011: 38–41).

for improving health and hygiene, state social care for the unemployed and poor, as well as access to education and cultural facilities for the lowest strata of society. Facing the scrutiny of the state, the regime of which periodically banned communist organizations for 'anti-state activities', women social democrats balanced between dissociating themselves from women communists and delineating their demands from the BWU, which they saw as 'separatist' from the world-wide social democratic movement arguing that the subordinate position of women was inherently located in the capitalist system. Their public outlets were the newspapers *Blagodenstvie* (Prosperity) and, later on, *Nedovolnata* (Unsatisfied). In other words, in the interwar period the Bulgarian women's movement echoed the complex web of issues and tensions which characterized the movement internationally and formed alliances with diverse counterparts abroad according to shared ideologies.

The establishment of the communist regime post-1944 led to the gradual centralization of Bulgarian women's organizations and their placement under state control, together with the subsequent change of leadership. Tsola Dragoicheva, an activist in the partisan anti-fascist resistance and at the head of Fatherland Front in the 1940s, also a Politburo member for many years, assumed the responsibility of chairing the *Bulgarian Women's Committee*. Another prominent figure of the time, Rada Todorova, was in charge of the newly established *Bulgarian Popular Women's Union,*[4] which opened its membership to the masses and worked until 1950 towards achieving mass literacy among women, full access to education and employment. As representatives of the two organizations Dragoicheva and Todorova established the early international relations of the Bulgarian women's movement within the frame of *Women's International Democratic Federation* (WIDF), one of the most prominent global networks for women's solidarity throughout the 20th century.

Even if the Stalinist period in the Soviet bloc countries affected Bulgaria as well to the extent of dissolving in the 1950s specifically women-oriented organizations seen as redundant in the class-based articulation of social and economic issues to be addressed under the new dispensation, these

4 Set up in 1945, dismissed in 1950.

organizations were 'restored' in the 1960s in manner of the *Committee of Bulgarian Women* (CBW), established with a decision[5] of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on 21 May 1968 and headed since (until 1990) by Elena Lagadinova, another member of the anti-Nazi resistance and a genetic engineer at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. One of the primary incentives for reviewing 'gender-neutral' policies of the state in acknowledging the need for women's organizations in the 1960s was the demographic decline, as well as the issue of the double burden on fully occupied women to balance family life. Within the same period similar issues were faced by other communist countries in the Eastern bloc. The periodical which captured the voice of women under state socialism in Bulgaria, since 1945 throughout, was *Zhenata dnes* (The Woman Today). Notwithstanding their positions in a state (and party) controlled environment, both the organization (CBW) and the periodical were stable advocates for the women's agenda under socialism on issues ranging from acknowledging and legally 'compensating' the double burden to upholding abortion rights, to exercising pressure for state policies with regard to child and medical care. Arguably, a number of laws guaranteeing equality between men and women in all spheres of life that were in place by 1975 were achieved due to consistent negotiations between CBW and the male-dominated Politburo and Central Committee. The Constitution of 1971, for instance, included the extended maternity leave among its articles. This is not to say in a swerve of nostalgic sentiment that women's issues were resolved under national state communism – the fact of the double burden remained an issue, the growing feminization of certain professions was on the agenda throughout, the lack of women in high-ranking positions continued.[6] Also, arguably it was a traditional patriarchal order which underlay a number of achievements with regard to family life and maternity

5 Protocol A, N200 of 21 May 1968, available online at <http://www.nbu.bg/webs/historyproject/dokumenti_63-89/razdel2t2b/f1bop35ae199.pdf> (10 Sept 2013).

6 Svetla Daskalova and Ludmilla Zhivkova in their capacities of Minister of Justice and Minister of Culture, respectively, accentuate this issue as exceptions. Further along these lines, among the 400 members of the National Assembly in 1986, only 84 were women. In the following year only 1 out of the 17 members of the Council of Ministers was a woman (Shreir 1988: 36).

in the interest of society under state national communism. But on a range of issues which informed the legal 'battles' of women elsewhere – in the USA or other Eastern bloc countries, for instance – in the 1970s and 1980s, women in Bulgaria had had advances worth reckoning with.

The CBW also left its mark on the international arena, especially in terms of its relations with WIDF and its activism during the seminal for the global women's movement *UN Decade for Women* (1975–1985). In this respect, the recently published account of Kristen Ghodsee 'Rethinking State Socialist Mass Women's Organizations' (2012: 49–73) presents a multifaceted picture. Perhaps the two most salient features with regard to the CBW international activities, which have a bearing on my discussion here, are that the perspective of women in communist countries (Bulgaria being the case in point) brought to the fore not only 'women's issues' but anti-war, colonialism, and racism agendas and chartered territories of solidarity across Cold War 'camps' boundaries and with developing countries in particular. As Ghodsee states, 'communist women believed themselves to be active participants in the early development of the international women's movement, by challenging mainstream American feminism and often providing inspiration to progressive women in the developing world' (2012: 50). Showcasing Bulgaria in terms of women's movements and organizations seems to suggest that by 1989 Bulgarian women had a rather prominent position internationally and were considered at the lead of the Soviet bloc countries in terms of domestic achievements, as well as an example for developing countries to learn from.

Yet, by that point neither Women's nor Gender Studies in terms of Theory, social critique, methodology, etc. had informed Bulgarian academic spaces on any significant scale nor had a field been chartered in this respect in the institutions of higher education in the country.

3. Gender Studies: Beginnings and Phases of Institutionalization

It would be difficult to argue against the view that the beginnings of what would later come to be recognized as Gender Studies in Bulgaria, currently institutionalized as degrees at the MA level, as governing separate courses' content at the BA level and as subject area research, as well as

more broadly as an academic field of inquiry infusing a range of disciplines, generating gender-sensitive discourses, etc. are to be located among mostly Sofia University based women academics and more specifically those who organized themselves in the *Bulgarian Association of University Women* NGO in 1991, thus restoring in name one of the local women's organizations which was active before the 1940s and was dissolved in the Stalinist phase of national state communism. The implications of this location are manifold as an act of the moment and as a recurrent starting point in the articulation of the Gender Studies institutionalization narrative in this context. Among a range of those that come to mind, (a) first, the act of resurrection effectively announced 'a death' in the interim period and at the self-same moment projected a line of continuity categorically placed before the 'historical aberration' moment; (b) secondly, it acknowledged the presence of and the right to free association of women intellectual elites; (c) thirdly, it positioned the project thereafter outside the government sector, outside the then existing institutional spaces, outside that which had been seen as 'corrupted' by the state ideological apparatus, and ironically, at the same time defined itself against 'politicized' institutions and organizations. Similarly, among the first activities were extracurricular ones conducted on a voluntary basis and the setting up of an interdisciplinary seminar on gender, culture and representation in the early 1990s. All aspects evident in the choice had legitimate grounds, of course. Among others, universities in Bulgaria were at the time (still are?) centralized, hierarchical, glass-ceiling upholding, and fixed in terms of recognized disciplinary delineations (often tied with departmental institutional expressions) and subject area territories. Besides these obvious considerations on the institutional level and in view of a recently published book by the local feminist theoretician Miglena Nikolchina on the genre (and the actual practice) of 'the seminar' – in her case the practice of seminars in Theory in the 1980s at SU, from which members of the current establishment elites in scholarly academic circles emerged[7] – the choice of activities of the 1990s feminists on the level of 'genre' (extracurricular, seminars, hardly documented) was at the time also reflecting the immediate 1980s modus of interrogation and critique,

7 See Nikolchina 2012 or her 2002 paper.

which defined itself against the regime's attempt to establish total discursive control in monologue form. In other words, substantially perhaps, the 1990s beginnings of Gender Studies in the country were also informed by creating a site of 'different speak' and dialogism as a continuation from the 1980s no matter how emphatically the break with the immediate past was symbolically performed.

Positioning the 'gender project' thus meant that in the 1990s Bulgarian feminist academics worked from 'without' or at the very least from an 'in-between' stance with regard to established disciplines and institutional spaces of the academy. They relied on networks of support and circulation of knowledge in this respect primarily from the Anglo-American axis and were engaged in a project of translation, not only literally of feminist theory and scholarship from English into Bulgarian but also, more broadly, in cultural and political translation, which concerned the conceptual and the practical levels of implementation as well. Since Anglicists were at the crux of this project of translation, I will be returning to it in more detail in the subsequent section of this chapter. Regarding networks of support across borders, it is expedient to note that some of the first feminists from abroad who taught gender courses 'proper' in the institutional spaces of the Bulgarian universities since 1993 did so in English Studies departments and arrived in Bulgaria under scholarly exchange schemes which had been in place since before the period of transition such as the Bulgarian American Commission for Educational Exchange *Fulbright*.[8] Others, such as Francine W. Frank, who conducted the course in 'Introduction to Women's Studies in the USA' (1993), did so under the exchange program the English Department at SU established post-1989 with the State University of New York at Albany. A range of other channels for reciprocal exchange became available in the first years of transition, most notably with the foundation of the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary in 1991, which soon became a hub for scholarly and academic development for CESEE countries, not least in Women's and Gender Studies. These channels also contributed to the building of resources by investing not only in

8 Fulbright exchanges between Bulgaria and the USA began in the late 1960s, but the Commission was inaugurated with a ten year bilateral agreement between the Government of the US and the Republic of Bulgaria in 1993.

the professional development of individuals, but also in enriching library resources, supporting local scholarly publications, creating scholarly publishing outlets on a regional basis, supporting cross-border projects and networking activities, etc. Gender-sensitization was one of the goals of the restored BAUW, and if we look at a random sample of publications in the Bulgarian language, we will see that those were variously supported by the Association's independent budget, the Open Society Institute in Budapest, the European Communities Commission (now EC), the British Know-how Fund, to mention just a few.[9]

By the year 2000, on the conceptual level a stronger preference was articulated opting for 'Gender Studies' in the designation of the subject and the area of critical analysis locally, which is seen as 'more inclusive, [as] it presupposes a relational system between men and women, and removes the stigma of ideology' to quote Slavova (2011: 37) and further on 'to avoid the connection with ideology and/or activism' (52). As she also notes this designation is preferred in most Central and East European countries to 'Women's Studies' or 'Feminist Studies'. And while the debate on the translation of the category of 'gender' into Bulgarian between *sotsialen pol* (social sex) or *rod* (the linguistic equivalent to gender in English) continued, the area of inquiry was established in setting up courses – both mandatory and elective – in Gender Studies *within* existing subject areas manifested in degrees at the BA and MA levels at Bulgarian HE institutions, and by including a 'gender component' or topic *within* previously existing separate core or mandatory courses. The previously existing areas which at that point were especially informed by 'gender aspects' were area studies (British and American Studies mostly), History, Literary Theory, Philology (as studies in languages, literature, and linguistics), and the universities across the country similarly reflected the leadership of Sofia University in this respect. Taking stock of the dynamics of the field with a view to gauging gender mainstreaming in HE in Bulgaria and using SU as a case study, Slavova observes that 'the infusion of gender elements into the content and methodology of traditional disciplines followed both "anti-discipline" and inter-discipline approaches' and further on, for the same period

9 Slavova/Kirova 2001; Daskalova/Slavova 2002; Nikolchina et al. 1997; Muharska 1999, respectively.

> These early steps of building the foundations of the discipline contributed to the overall gender sensitization in the academy, and stimulated interdisciplinarity, comparative and cross-cultural approaches, yet many scholars believed that these achievements were at the expense of the visibility of the discipline (2011: 41).

The institutional consolidation of Gender Studies as a degree program followed the pattern of interdisciplinarity and cross-cultural perspectives and appeared in 2001 by the setting up of an MA degree program at the Faculty of Philosophy at SU (Director Nedyalka Videva), in which members of various departments conduct courses to this day. Now it is also a program at the PhD level.[10] Post-EU accession in 2008, under an Erasmus program scheme and with funding from the EC, DG Education and Culture, SU set up the second gender-oriented degree program in Women's and Gender History called *MATILDA* (Bulgarian coordinator Krassimira Daskalova) in a network mode.[11] These current concentrated locations of Gender Studies in the country provide the context for 'condensed' gender content, interdisciplinary knowledge creation and exchange, specialist training and growth. Gender Studies have not been institutionalized at the BA degree level (which also translates as no Gender Studies departments were set up), nor have any other explicitly gender-oriented MA programs been established in the country. Additionally, while a number of gender-focused PhDs have been completed during the past twenty years, it is hard to gauge their dynamics – in terms of distribution across institutional contexts or subject areas – for a host of reasons. One of them is that until 2010 a centralized body for PhD (and higher[12]) degree awarding existed at the national level, which followed a uniform classification directory for 'recognized' academic areas. Gender Studies was not included as a separate category in it. With the latest *Zakon za razvitieto na akademichniya sastav* (Law for the Development of Academic Faculty in the Republic of Bulgaria) adopted since 2010, this Central Attestation Commission was dissolved and its functions decentralized and delegated to the universities in the country. The institutions of HE, however,

10 See detailed description and analysis in Slavova (2011: 41–42).

11 With the Central European University (CEU) in Budapest, the Université Lumière Lyon 2, and the University of Nottingham, UK, coordinated by the University of Vienna. See website at <http://gender.ceu.hu/node/18307> (10 Sept 2013).

12 Bulgaria follows the German model of habilitation.

continue to use the classification directory of designated academic areas as a governing principle in chartering areas of PhD research or subsequent academic rank promotions to associate professors or professors. In terms of academic ranks this qualification appears in 'bracketed' specifications. For instance, the promotion of one of the leading feminist historians in Bulgaria Krassimira Daskalova to a full professorship position is publicly stated as being in the 'specialty 3.1. Sociology, anthropology, culture studies (book studies/book history; women's and gender history)' (*Darzhaven vestnik* [*State gazette*], 39, 20.05.2011).

Bracketed or not at all acknowledged at the level of institutional bureaucratic documentation at the higher levels, Gender Studies have been an *extensively* and *intensively* developing academic field in Bulgaria over the past twenty years. For the context in question it is perhaps most fruitful to think of them in the terms proposed by Slavova in 'Gender Mainstreaming and Study Field Change: Patterns of Infusion, Diffusion, and Fusion at *St. Kliment Ohridski* University of Sofia' (2011: 37–58) as *dispersed across* but *interrogating* and *informing* all levels and delineated and previously fixed territories of HE institutions. She also provides a most illuminating present-day picture of gender-focused and gender-inclusive courses in various programs at different Faculties of SU. At the same time, the way Gender Studies are disposed now they are failing to exercise sufficient pressure to inform educational and social policies at the government level, at that in an EU context which provides for supra-national incentives to this aim, perhaps precisely because of 'shying away' from activism, relying on liberal ideologies of individualism rather than on forging collective solidarity in a more decisive manner and addressing themselves towards society rather than the academy – all choices made in the immediate aftermath of the period of state communism.

The scholarly domains of social and cultural critique which Bulgarian Gender Studies academics have transformed, however, are multifaceted and far reaching. By virtue of positioning the Gender Studies project in Bulgaria both *within* and *without*, the development of the field served to interrogate fixed boundaries, especially in institutional delineation subject areas by bringing to the fore cross-cultural and interdisciplinary formations in knowledge production and circulation. Conferences and publications underpinned by feminist theories and gender focuses have interrogated

and destabilized grand narratives of national history and national identity construction (Daskalova 1998; 2004; Stoycheva 2007), informed the canon debates and revision in Bulgaria – in the works of Milena Kirova (2009) and Amelia Licheva, among many others; formed new locations of comparison, convergence and alliances – within the Balkans (Daskalova/Slavova 2002); within CESEE countries (De Haan et al. 2006); within Europe (Dimitrova/Gavrilova 2001). These perspectives have also informed the development of social history and included oral history in the legitimate domains and modes of inquiry of the previously traditional history studies (Daskalova et al. 2003). Moreover, insofar as feminist methodology questions assumptions of dominance and subordination not only with regard to men and women, but also along the lines of any asymmetrical relation of power, a persistent trope in gender-informed analyses locally have been social, cultural and political critiques along the lines of the Balkans as a racialized Other in the 19th century mould (Kostova 1997a/b; 2001a), post-colonial and post-socialist critique (Kostova 1997a; 2012; Todorova 1994), unpacking and dismantling exchanges of stereotypical constructions between the 'East' and the 'West' (Slavova 1997b). Gendered critical lenses have also been increasingly informing discussions of consumerism, popular culture and the media, as well as turning the gaze on transitional identities (Kirova/Slavova 2007; 2010). At the same time, and especially in the past decade, the 'politics of difference' entailed in gender-focused discussions became more complex and nuanced to work at the intersections of difference as also simultaneously understood in terms of race, ethnicity, nation, religion, age, sexuality, etc. This latter aspect works both in scholarly publications discussing the local context within, i.e. Bulgaria, as well as by voicing the positions of local Gender Studies scholars abroad. As an example of the former I can point out the book-length study about university education and Bulgarian women (1879–1944) by Georgeta Nazarska (2003), which also addresses ethnic differences in the access to education and professional realization by women in Bulgaria. An illustration along the lines of 'politics of difference' in the latter vein is a bit more difficult to signpost, but in engaging with Gender Studies discourses local gender and feminist scholars have consistently engaged with interrogating the dominance of the Western Anglo-American feminist experience and critical stance as a universally valid and applicable mode of critique as well as model to emulate in terms

of institutionalization. That is, feminists from the region capitalized on the authority of the 'politics of difference' to attempt to articulate 'dissenting' positions vis-à-vis the Anglo-American axis of feminist theories and Women's and Gender Studies.[13]

The most pronounced difference in Gender Studies scholarship between the first decade and the second decade of its emergence as a field of inquiry in Bulgaria lies perhaps in the terms with which the immediately preceding period (1940s-1989) is addressed (or really not quite addressed). For example, the history of the First Women's Movement in Bulgaria has attracted considerable scholarly attention from present day feminist historians, unlike the Second Women's Movement 1960s-1980s (or lack thereof), seen in terms of the Anglo-American or Western 'leading' experience. Still, since the middle of the first decade of the 21st century feminist scholars – from the CESEE region and outside it – have turned their analytical gaze on the socialist period in attempts to critically revaluate this legacy, initially perceived as solely 'negative' or 'detrimental', hence 'best be forgotten' or 'dismantled', and to interrogate the very process of translation and translatability of the above-mentioned 'Western' frames. Such is, for example, the motivation of the editors of *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms* (De Haan et al. 2006) as stated in their 'Introduction',[14] where established dichotomies are being nuanced by adopting a biographical approach, among a number of others in this respect. Beyond women's movements, it is mostly in the second half of the past decade that a more nuanced and complex picture of the socialist period vis-à-vis women per se is beginning to shape in publications such as (and without being limited to) Kaneva and Ibroscheva (2011), Ghodsee (2007; 2012), some of the considerations quite possibly underpinned by women's perspectives on what has recently been designated as 'red nostalgia' in the former Eastern bloc (Ghodsee 2004). In any case, it may well be that reckonings along such lines are necessary so as to account for a field which is still developing, dynamic, and diverse.

In view of the above section of this chapter it may appear counterproductive and implausibly constricting to frame Gender Studies developments

13 See for instance Kotzeva 1999; Slavova 1995; 1997a; 1999; 2011.
14 Especially pages 8–9.

within the institutional spaces of English Studies (ES), because evidently Gender Studies in Bulgaria is positioned across institutional delineations of any one discipline or particular department, but taking English Studies as a case study will flesh out substantially the issues discussed above and also throw light on its position as a driving force, mediator, locus, etc. for Gender Studies in this context.

4. Anglicist Gender Studies in Bulgaria

The institutional historical development of English Studies in Bulgaria, within which I will be positioning my discussion of Anglicist Gender Studies, has recently been discussed in some detail by a number of scholars,[15] starting with Shurbanov and Stamenov's chapter 'Bulgaria' in the *European English Studies: Contributions towards the History of a Discipline* (Engler/Haas 2000: 267–92), albeit without paying particular attention to the 'gender aspect' in the thus outlined stages of its institutionalization and present day condition. In brief, the outline of institutionalization follows the path of introducing the language study of English at Sofia University (SU) and the first appointment to this aim in 1906, the introduction of English as a Degree Subject in Philology in 1928, and the establishment of a Chair in ES in 1946, which spurred the subsequent appointments of specialists in Literature (English and American), Linguistics, EL Methodology, as well as instructors in English language practice. Until 1972, when the subject was introduced to Veliko Turnovo University, SU was the only institutional location of English Studies in the country. Starting in the late 1980s but mostly throughout the 1990s, several other state universities and one private university institutionalized English as a Degree Subject and subsequently Department – Plovdiv University, Shumen University, South-West University, and New Bulgarian University.

Bearing in mind the centrality of Sofia University in terms of longer history, spanning the period of the first Chair in English Studies in the country, which is positioned at the beginning of the period of national

15 See also the website of the project 'English Studies in Non-Anglophone Contexts: East Europe' at <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/he-englishes/index.html> (10 Sep 2013), and the related Gupta/Katsarska 2009; Katsarska 2010 on globalization and ES in Bulgaria; Katsarska/Keskinova 2011 on ES students in Bulgaria.

state communism, I would like to first address the 'issue of women' in the institutional spaces of ES at SU. From the perspective of students, the first female English Philology graduate Pandora Ivanova completed her degree in 1933,[16] following a five-year course of study in the subject introduced in 1928. It is uncertain how many women studied English Philology in the pre-communist period but their number was most likely governed by the quota principle – introduced centrally by the Ministry of Education in 1919 – followed by the Faculty of History and Philology, which was one of the most liberal in admitting women, likely because of the traditionally acceptable teaching professional profile of the degrees, albeit fluctuating from liberal to conservative across years. At one point it was 36% for women. In 1939, judging by a protest petition which women students filed to the Ministry, this was reduced by 15% (Nazarska 2003: 79–80). The quota principle continued into the communist period, whereby the ratio between women and men for university admission was set at 50%, with revisions for different professional areas at different times. The *Academic Autonomy Act* of 1990 in effect lifted the quota principle from 'unregulated professions', as the responsibility was delegated to universities, but with regard to English Studies – among a number of subjects – revised quotas remained in place. In 2008, Plovdiv University[17] admission for ES was based on 70 women and 35 men, while SU admission numbers were 68 women and 30 men. As in other contexts,[18] ES students in Bulgaria are predominantly female, based on a survey conducted in 2007[19] among a representative sample of 417 ES students at SU, Veliko Turnovo and Plovdiv, they were 76% female to 24% male. This feminization functions by extension from the admission quotas but it is worth noting that the imbalance comes mostly in the final year of study at BA level where women become an overwhelming majority at 89%. Hence the feminization of English Studies also occurs in a cumulative fashion, from the entry point into ES to point of graduation.

16 Vesselinov (2008: 45).

17 As of 2013 Plovdiv University has abandoned the quota principle for women and men in languages and is basing its admissions solely on merit in a range of subjects.

18 For the UK, see Williams 2002.

19 This survey is discussed in detail in Katsarska/Keskinova 2011.

From the perspective of appointments at the English Department at SU, prior to 1950 women held positions as language instructors and/or instructors/teachers in 'the methodology of the English language', both regarded as supportive in the disposition of power relations between 'courses proper', i.e. in Linguistics and in Literature, in the philology degree. First specialized appointments for women, i.e. not solely as language instructors, happened during the 1950s.[20] Gradually, women also began to conduct lecture courses regarded as more prestigious symbolically but also leading to appointments in associate professorship positions, therefore having a material expression of power as well.[21] Until 1965 women who conducted lecture courses in Lexicology, Morphology, Syntax, Historical Grammar, Phonetics, and History of American Literature in the English Department at SU were 'assistants' or 'instructors', unlike men lecturers in the same period, who held positions as 'professors' or 'associate professors' in the academic hierarchy. In terms of presence in the Department, for the academic year 1965–66 women made up 65% of the 23 in total full members of staff (Vesselinov 2008: 33). It was most notably in the 1970s that the power balance of women in institutional ES spaces began to shift beyond numbers, i.e. women being a majority in the makeup of the department. Between 1965 and 1988, 67% of the PhDs in English Studies were defended by women and 57% of promotional appointments to associate professorship in English Studies were held by women. Zhana Molhova was the single promotional appointment to full professorship (1979) among the Anglicists for the same period. Yet, in the holding of administrative positions, such as Department Head or faculty leadership at the dean level, women were still the exception[22] until 1989, indicatively reflecting the glass-ceiling paradigm in society

20 Among the first appointments in this respect are Zhana Molhova as an assistant in English grammar in 1951, senior assistant 1961–68; Teodora Atanassova lecturer in theoretical phonetics and the English language 1951–53; Paulina Pirinska senior instructor in the English language and American literature in 1959.

21 On power relations within the makeup of the English Philology degree especially with regard to English practice classes, see Katsarska 2012.

22 Molhova was Department Head in 1974–75 and 1984–89, also Vice-dean 1970–72 together with Maria Rankova. Maya Pencheva and Julia Stefanova occupied faculty leadership positions in the late 1980s.

at large, which was even more pronounced in the academy in particular. In other words, at the junction of regime change women academics were a constituent majority in the gradually feminizing departments of ES with considerable advancements in terms of becoming a scholarly force to be reckoned with, with as yet limited horizons of administrative realization in leadership positions in the academy.

Unsurprisingly then from an identity-based politics perspective, women from the English department formed a significant part of the founding constituency of the above-discussed BAUW. That they on the most part identified themselves academically as Americanists, even if certainly not exclusively so, is worth a pause. The developments of what could loosely be designated as American Studies in Bulgaria took a path which echoes the route followed by European departments in English Studies established under the German philological project and model. More particularly for the Bulgarian context, this meant a later date introduction of a course in the Historical Survey of American Literature (1948) and subsequent institutional appointments of specialists in American literature. By the 1980s there also existed specialized courses in the fifth year of study in English Philology, such as a year-long course in American Drama taught by Natalia Klissurska, for example, which gave a specialization profile to graduates in 'Literature' (rather than 'Linguistics' or 'Translation') if they opted for more courses with a literature orientation in their final year. While there was at that point a course called 'British Civilization', by 1989 there was still no 'American equivalent' of this nature. Put differently, there was no symmetry in terms of number of courses and class allocation in the literature/culture component of the philological degree between the two Anglo-centers (Britain and the USA) around which the degree was disposed. Policies of appointments and promotions to associate professorship at the department level also reflected this asymmetrical relation. At the same time, being a legitimate research area at the PhD level, American literature had gradually begun accumulating a body of PhD-ed specialists in American literature at SU and at Veliko Turnovo University[23] and yet, in terms of an area study 'American Studies' (just as its academic professionals) were in a marginal

23 Natalia Klissurska and Lilyana Georgieva in 1985; Yonka Krasteva and Boukitsa Grinberg in 1988.

position in the institutional spaces of ES. At the junction of regime change in 1989, just as societies on the 'wrong side' of the Iron curtain endowed 'material USA' or 'symbolic America' with a privileged position in embodying the 'West' they were aspiring to, the academic institutional spaces of English Studies in this context saw a number of features of the desired 'liberation', 'opening', 'democratic vision', etc. as entailed in the project of developing American Studies, which had a significant territorial (literally and metaphorically) anchoring and was likewise challenging boundaries and established hierarchies with its historical makeup as an (un)discipline at the location associated with its origin. Since the other line of cultural and political 'catch-phrases' at the onset of the 1990s had something to do with 'catching-up' with the world and 'breaking with' the immediate past, for Bulgarian Americanists this meant taking stock of 'here' (Bulgaria) and 'there' (the USA, in our case in point) and addressing 'the gap'. As several publications on ES institutional history in Bulgaria have indicated (Katsarska 2010; Slavova 1995), from the perspective of Americanists, the 'gap' was identified primarily in 'gender' out of the holy trinity of class, race/ethnicity, and gender, informing the better half of the 20th century institutional developments in American Studies. This was the case because local American literary scholarship by then was seen as comprehensively informed by the former two in, for example, readings of American literature informed by Marxist theories or class-based arguments for racial emancipation or attention to Black American writers. These considerations are rather simplistically put, yet they suggest that from the point of view of Americanists who engaged in the local Gender Studies project, by virtue of convergence there were also 'double gains' for a doubly marginalized position within institutionally disposed academic spaces of subject areas. In general, the histories of Gender Studies and American Studies locally share a range of features in the 1990s; they also have similar ways of establishing themselves at the MA level post-2000, but American Culture Studies have more comprehensively and visibly consolidated their domain at the BA level and where English departments became Departments of English and American Studies.

Hopefully, the above considerations do not suggest that English Studies academics who engaged with the Gender Studies project in Bulgaria were exclusively or 'narrowly' Americanists. There is plenty of evidence that in

the early 1990s 'gender' was a shared category across any demarcation – even if not institutionally fixed – in the local developments in culture studies (as British and American cultural studies). For example the heading of the Fourth International Conference of the Bulgarian Society for British Studies[24] held in Sofia in May 1994 was 'Women in the Modern World'. The volume arising from it, entitled *The Case for Women: Britain and Europe*, appeared in 2001. As the editors state at the very beginning, 'by including the work of academics from East and West, of women and men, it [the collection] attempts to fill gaps, discontinue silences and contribute to the creation of a broader, multicultural picture of the current inquiry into gender and feminist issues' (Chourova/Kostova 2001: 4). Also, gender as an analytical category has significantly informed local English Studies scholarship throughout the past two decades, irrespective of which English-speaking geopolitical context underlies the subject area. I return to this below among the key areas in which ES academics have contributed to the institutional developments of Gender Studies in Bulgaria.

First and foremost, English Studies academics, simultaneously members of ES departments and the BAUW, undertook a significant project of *translation*. On one level, this meant literally making available in Bulgarian for the first time seminal essays in feminist theories, which had been part and parcel of the theoretical makeup of scholarship outside Bulgaria since the 1970s. Some of these translations appeared in academic journals and were collected in 1997 in the volume *Vremeto na zhenite*. The title, indebted to Julia Kristeva's *Les temps de femmes* (1979), which was used in lieu of preface, clearly posed a claim for framing this particular period – the 1990s – as the 'women's moment' for the Bulgarian context. It also suggestively posited a figure of feminist theory, by then well-established in the Western circuits of production and circulation of feminist discourses, and an expat (from the 1960s) of Bulgarian origin, thus reinforcing the emancipatory project entailed not solely in feminist theories per se but beyond that as contextually-inflected concerns of the context itself coming from under the 'burden of oppression' and aiming at 'catching-up' and being recognized within a world of reconstructing borders, be that in Europe or beyond.

24 Organized in conjunction with the BAUW.

Psychoanalytic feminist theories formed a key line in the feminist critique in the initial years. The volume, however, spanned decades of feminist theories and by virtue of using primarily English as the source language of the original texts, the project of introducing feminist theories into Bulgarian was by and large mediated through their consolidation in the institutional spaces in the USA. It comprised seminal essays by Seyla Benhabib, Judith Butler, Jacques Derrida, Jean-Francois Lyotard, Shoshana Felman, Luce Irigaray, Barbara Johnson, Laura Mulvey, Eve Kozovski Sedgwick, Elaine Showalter, among others. As noted above, this process of translation also involved negotiating the entire repertoire of conceptual terms of feminist theory in the often theory scarce context, which was simultaneously being filled with the theoretical apparatus beyond feminism, mostly in deconstruction and psychoanalysis.

At the self-same moment within the Bulgarian linguistic and cultural sphere, the process of translation involved significant acts of *transgression*, because Anglicist scholars perhaps for the first time 'spoke' Bulgarian, since the institutional spaces of English Studies used to be exclusively English mediated – from the politics of total language-immersion at the level of pedagogy to scholarly publications of Anglicists employing for the most part English in their critical writing until the 1990s. Thus, the former isolationism of English Departments was transformed by the Gender Studies project as well. It lent greater visibility to Anglicists in the local academic and scholarly spaces beyond English departments by virtue of authority of access to and fluency in current theoretical frames. In the subsequent volumes in Bulgarian introducing and discussing decades of feminist scholarship, Anglicists and Americanists took on the task of producing the local course books to be used until the present in Gender Studies programs which do not employ English as a medium of instruction. Among these is, for instance, the volume *Teoriya prez granitsite* (Slavova/Kirova 2001), where ES academics such as Ralitsa Muharska, Tatyana Stoycheva, Kornelia Slavova discuss in Bulgarian topics ranging from 'The current debates surrounding the usage, meanings and translations of gender', to 'Gender and nationalism', 'Equality versus difference(s)', 'Gender and language'. Employing the authority of feminist critique, Anglicists and Americanists also engaged with domains which were previously regarded to fall outside the scope of ES scholarship – in the area of Bulgarian literary and culture studies. One

of the lines of relevant inquiry in this respect, also informed by a gendered perspective, became interrogations of nationalism and national identity construction, and the evidence of gender informed critique along such lines by ES scholars can be seen in the work of Tatyana Stoycheva, recently in her book-length study *Bulgarski identichnosti i evropeiski horizonti* (2007), sections of which address the implications for Bulgarian women in the 19th century Bulgarian project for national identity construction and its aspirations towards Europeanization. However, the scope of 'Bulgarian issues' addressed by ES academics is wider and more diverse than that. In this respect some of the essays published in another 1990s volume, *Maiki i dashteri* (Muharska 1999), offer a suggestive scope. Filipina Filipova addressed the 'Image of Women in One Bulgarian Newspaper', and Ludmilla Evtimova discussed 'Women and Arms in the Popular Poetry of Bulgaria and Britain'. The latter effectively signposting a line of cross-cultural inquiry, which produced a number of comparatively and cross-culturally framed scholarly essays and book-length studies aimed at Bulgarian speaking audiences. A recent example of the last aspect mentioned here would be Vessela Katsarova's *Moyata rodina e tseliyat svyat* (2010), which is the Bulgarian translation of her monograph *My Country is the Whole World* (2007), a study of Bulgarian, American, and English women writers and poets, such as Elisaveta Bagryana and Emily Dickinson, Blaga Dimitrova and Denise Levertov and Doris Lessing, Maria Stankova and Muriel Spark, as well as the women characters of Yordan Yovkov and Thomas Hardy.

English Studies scholars also exercised this cross-cultural perspective via the medium of English, which slightly shifts the emphasis of 'addressing asymmetrical relations of power' entailed in Gender Studies as a mode of inquiry with regard to audiences and power relations along the axes of the content disposition of the discipline of ES internationally, in which contextually located interests can be discerned. By employing comparative perspectives in the medium of English, Anglicists and Americanists also aimed at bringing Bulgarian women writers and women in history to the international forums of feminist discourses and Gender Studies spaces along the Anglo-American axis and also within the European space to which Bulgaria aspired in the transitional period. Feminist theories and Gender Studies perspectives therefore served as legitimizing a project for achieving greater visibility of local women in the international arena – be those

historical women or contemporary women scholars and academics. As I already mentioned above, an expression of this can be sought at the level of Anglicist and Americanist scholars employing the authority of the Gender Studies paradigm to address difference in the East European/post-socialist discourse of feminism, create awareness of heteroglossia in its flows and question/interrogate the dominance of the Anglo-American centers as its uniform producers. The works of Kornelia Slavova (1993; 1995; 1997) and Ralitsa Muharska (1999) are indicative in this respect.

The multidimensional flux of the 1990s Gender Studies conception as it informed the ES institutional spaces in Bulgaria cannot be fully tapped into unless we associate it in broader terms with 'gendered critique' underpinning the developments of post-colonial studies. Understood thus, one of the dominant trends in local ES scholarship – that of post-colonial critique, notably in the works of Ludmilla Kostova from *Tales of the Periphery. The Balkans in Nineteenth-Century British Writing* (1997) and '(En)Gendering a European Periphery: Images of the Balkans in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction' (1997: 53–58) to 'Constructing Oriental Interiors: Two Eighteenth-Century Women Travellers and Their Easts' (2001: 17–33) – also falls within the scope of the Gender Studies project as it developed in Bulgaria. This is a line of critical inquiry which consolidated a local school in ES institutional spaces and informed a number of projects of the later generation of Anglicists as well.

It is not surprising that concern with, broadly put, marginal identities was of momentous relevance to the context within the transitional period of 'opening of and expanding boundaries', which went hand in hand with vigorous and substantial power negotiations and power positions reconstructions. On the one hand, this entailed engaging on equal footing with 'Western' counterparts in established domains of inquiry of the subject areas as they are located in the Anglo-American contexts seen as still possessing the content and the lead in shaping this content (and its trends) in the waves of different academic 'fashions' throughout the past two decades. On the other, the 'gendered' voices of local ES scholars also took part in chartering those shared spaces along the lines of geopolitical and imaginary locations of the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and Europe as the early volume *The Case for Women: Britain and Europe* (2001) suggests, among a plethora of scholarly publications and papers. Gender-informed

scholarship in English, especially post-2000, naturally offered less obviously location-centered critical stances too. Local scholars contributed to the growing body of scholarship in English and American culture studies informed by Gender Studies. This meant addressing not only areas neglected locally but also those which were as yet indifferently discussed but seemed of increasing interest: women writers in the canons of English and American literature; feminist readings of canonical works; travel writing; biography and autobiography; the intersections of gender and race/ethnicity, class, religion, sexuality; masculinity; postmodernism; body theory; popular culture; consumerism – to mention a few.

The above-outlined considerations have also transformed the curricula in English Studies locally at the level of separate course arrangements and topic allocations in syllabi within existing courses. They have also gender-sensitized ES pedagogy analytically as well as practically. Among a number of essays from the 1990s in the vein of reflecting on introducing gender-sensitive critical pedagogy at the BA level, the example of Zelma Catalan's analysis of the curriculum innovation and experimentation in the Practical English Course 'Breakbar: Breaking communication barriers' comes to mind (1999: 9–25). Moreover, adopting the pedagogical paradigm of teaching students to *transgress* against racial, sexual, and class boundaries in order to achieve the gift of freedom, where to educate is seen as the practice of freedom, paraphrasing bell hooks, English Studies in Bulgaria were perhaps among the first subject areas which took on the responsibility of turning the lens of the English Studies classroom onto Bulgarian society itself – especially in the corpus of English practice classes but also in courses in Linguistics, Literature and Culture Studies – a society which by and large is still characterized by sexism, homophobia, racism, nationalism, etc. In that, arguably, the Gender Studies optics with its pedagogical implications provided the theoretically informed argument towards this aim. One of the current efforts to continue influencing the local HE milieu in terms of pedagogical and analytical implications of taking gender into account in institutional spaces and academic fields in the country is the translation – supported by the BAUW – of Mihaela Miroiu's book *Guidelines for Promoting Gender Equity in Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe* (2003, Bulgarian translation 2008). These recent initiatives are underpinned

by Bulgaria's EU membership since 2007 and conforming to imperatives chartered within the wider European space.

The present day curriculum arrangements in ES degrees reflect the wider picture of institutionalization of Gender Studies in the country. At both the BA and MA levels of programs offered by ES in the country, gender clusters have been integrated in mandatory or elective courses. The syllabi of these courses reveal that gender is easily and often cross-classified with other categories of social analysis such as class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, nationality, region and religion. A look at ES programs at SU[25] yields the following snapshot at the BA level:

> gender is present in courses as diverse as 'Introductory Course on British Society' (gender in youth culture), 'English Literature from Victorianism to Modernism' (women writers, women and the avant-garde), 'Cultural History of the US' (first and second wave of feminism, the 1920s and women's rights, black women and feminism of colour), 'History of American Literature' (women writers, slavery and women), 'Canadian Literature and Culture' (Native women writers, multiculturalism and gender issues), 'Popular Culture in the US: Texts and Images' (feminine/masculine genres, gender in MTV culture and Hollywood), 'Popular Fiction on Page and Screen,' (chick lit, James Bond movies and masculinity), 'Negotiating (with) Power' (sexism in language, stereotyping and hate speech). (Slavova 2011: 46)

This detailed rendition of curriculum space allocation in terms of gender, covering the MA level as well, echoes the considerations of scholarly domains of field interest discussed above and it capitalizes on two decades of Gender Studies developments in Bulgaria. At other English departments across the country, gender is similarly integrated in the curricula, either by a visible trace of topic focus within a course or by a gender-based/oriented course within another program. Not aiming to be exhaustive but suggestive, glimpses with regard to both these tendencies can be seen at different institutions. At Plovdiv, for example, the BA course in English Romanticism features three lecture topics in this regard: 'The rise of "feminine" Romanticism. Major characteristics'; 'Jane Austen: irony and "feminine" nuance'; and 'Mary Shelley: feminine revisionism of the masculine tradition. Family politics vs. "masculine" individualism'; as well as in the seminar topic 'Considering gender'. Among

25 SU course descriptions are available at <http://sites.uni-sofia.bg/english/> (13 Sep 2013).

the 20th century English Literature topics 'Tendencies in women's writing. Realism. Feminist propaganda. Fantasy' and in the course in Victorian literature in seminar topics: '*Jane Eyre*: autobiography and the position of the independent (parentless) female individual (*the governess* as a social category). Gender authority: education and independence'; 'Lord Alfred Tennyson and Robert Browning: the imprisoned/victimized female individual and the male artist', and in American literature – 'American women realists', as well as in other course contexts. At Veliko Turnovo University at the MA level, there is an independent Gender Studies course as well as discussions of gendered identities and gazes in the course 'The Balkans and Eastern Europe in British Literature and Travel Writing (18–21c)'. With respect to course syllabi and curricular arrangements gender is less visible in courses in linguistics, with the exception of SU. The difference in terms of course provisions between the 1990s and the years post-2005, is that the earlier decade relied primarily on guest lecturers and scholars in the setting up of gender-related courses, often on an elective basis, with scholarly exchanges supported within the frame of the *Fulbright* Program,[26] for example, or the SUNY exchanges of SU, while nowadays these are taught mostly by local scholars, who have developed their expertise in the field. Relying on the visibility and authority across institutionally demarcated spaces in Bulgarian institutions of HE achieved through engaging with the Gender Studies project in terms of scholarship during the transitional period, Anglicists and Americanists are also conducting courses in the inter-departmentally instituted Gender Studies MA programs.

As the above paragraphs suggest, over the past twenty years ES academics have been active contributors to the production and circulation of gender and gendered discourses in English and in Bulgarian for domestic audiences across institutional boundaries as well as for international audiences across geopolitical demarcations. These scholarly efforts have also led to transformations of traditional philological curricula in English Studies and have informed extensively the present makeup of course syllabi. Now, if we return to the way I began this section of the chapter, i.e. by taking

26 For instance, the teaching terms of Susan Gunter at SU in 2001; Jane Barstow at Veliko Turnovo in 2003; Paula Shirley at the American University in Bulgaria in 2003; Judith Barlow at SU in 2007; Lauren McConnell at Plovdiv in 2010.

stock of the demographics and gender power relations (in the narrow sense) within the institutional spaces of English Studies, the present day picture of 'women in academia' or, more specifically, in the 'case study' of English departments may well look different. Indeed it is. The institutional spaces of English Studies have become even more feminized in terms of full-time staff members, whereby Plovdiv University is perhaps at the lowest end of women faculty ratios with 68%, while in departments such as the Department of Germanic and Romance Languages at the South-West University among the 21 members there are currently 2 men. At Shumen University 13 members (out of 14) of the English Department are women. Among the SU English department members women make 80% of full-time faculty. Out of the six departments involved in ES programs across the country, four are chaired by women. In the country's largest English department, that at SU, comprising 43 full-time members, currently there are 6 full professors and 9 associate professors – all of them women. In those promotions to highest academic ranking positions even if not at all explicitly institutionalized as 'Gender Studies positions' – they are institutionalized as associate professorships or professorships in periods of English or American literature, fields in Linguistics, Translation Studies, etc. – a number of women academics included in their portfolios a significant array of academic publications along the lines of Gender Studies scholarship. Right now, by virtue of occupying the highest academic positions in ES institutional spaces in Bulgaria women form the hegemony in decision making on departmental policies, scholarly academic advancement and post-doctoral promotion procedures, so it would be interesting to see how this empowered position (or really dominance) translates into the local dimensions of English Studies as a field of critical inquiry, educational paradigm, institutional arrangements, everyday practice of the discipline, and their relations to other disciplines on the domestic scene and to other contexts, internationally or globally.

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Seda Gasparian / Gayane Muradian

Armenia: Ancient Traditions, Upheavals, and the Beginnings of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies

1. Introduction

In the 20th century, Armenia operated within a socialistic higher education system for 70 years. During the Soviet era Armenian higher education enjoyed advantages (free education,[1] employment security) and faced disadvantages, which were linked to strong competition, lack of choices in academic courses and opportunities to study abroad. In the post-Soviet era (i.e., since 1991), the higher education system of Armenia has gone through numerous transformations, both positive and negative. Among the positives are: more than one major as well as alternative mandatory courses can be pursued; the assessment system is flexible; and the curriculum is diverse. In addition, universities have received more autonomy in management and finance. Among the negatives the lack of resources, specialists, professional networks and certain disciplines as well as the tuition fee should be mentioned.

Women's and Gender Studies, aimed at institutionalization of gender education to raise awareness and change gender stereotypes regarding women's status in public and private life, is one such discipline that has commonly been neglected in Armenian academic curricula. Although the Bologna agenda, in the context of curriculum reform, includes introduction of new disciplines and inter-disciplines, so far little has been done to develop a full gender-inclusive curriculum in Armenian higher education institutions at large. We are not of the opinion that the Bologna requirements should impose certain courses upon our universities; each university and department should make the best of the situation by debating the particularities of

1 Referring to the period Perkins and Yemtsov (2001: 6) described it as an era when 'Armenia's education system was comprehensive and generously provisioned, with virtually all services free of charge to the user'.

the implementation. American, European or Russian courses and research projects should not be artificially transmitted without genuine analysis of their relevance to the local context (Shahnazaryan 2010), professors and students should not be led into a series of reforms whose actualities they do not understand. As to Gender Studies, what we think relevant is that each country or the central university should be provided with tools to help them consider and discuss implementation carefully and effectively; they should try to provoke wider debate parallel to training specialists and designing gender-inclusive courses before finally institutionalizing the new discipline. This process will take some time, as very often departments of higher education are inherently conservative and consequently resistant to updating old courses and implementing new ones.

However, there seem to be other, more serious barriers in Armenia for gender education to overcome than the ones mentioned above, namely the numerous economic, political, cultural, psychological and socio-ideological challenges.

The growing gender ignorance and asymmetry, questionable democratic governance, dismissal of women from the decision-making process (women's involvement in government being incomparably lower than that of men), legal and organizational obstructions are problems, the solution of which requires further democratization of society, munificent budgeting and serious research in the sphere of Gender Studies, which cannot be conducted only through individual enthusiastic devotion and endeavour. A full-fledged policy of institutionalizing the discipline is needed. Gender inclusion in Armenian academe and implementation of gender-sensitive academic curricula are extremely relevant today.

It is hard to examine a highly dynamic situation, especially in a field as complex as higher education and in a discipline as sensitive as Gender Studies, though often changes that occur are gifts to the policy researcher. There have been changes in the past months, and indeed since we initiated this research. New elements have arisen and are bound to arise that make us hopeful that gender education will become part of Armenian reality and Anglicist women will have their say in the matter.

2. 'Gender Dynamics': Past and Present

Armenian history has had examples of equal opportunities provided to men and women in society. In the 9th century, highly placed women had a value and role beyond the purely sentimental personal and family relationships; they wielded much power and authority. Bloodless resolutions to conflicts necessitated negotiation, and mediators were often married women. The charters of the Armenian Siwnian dynasty (9th century) attest ownership, purchase, bequest and donation of property by women, though women were never portrayed in ecclesiastical sculpture as donors, as men were. Daughters had a legal right equal to sons to inherit property as well as to own property; in the 12th century, legal practice prohibited husbands from using physical violence against wives and allowed women to initiate divorce (Redgate 1998: 207; Gevorgyan 2001: 35).

The first Armenian women's movement started in Western Armenia[2] in the 19th century: 'The nineteenth century saw Armenia attract the attention of other westerners, besides Russians. Commercial contacts existed already, but now American missionary work and European scholarly research helped to spread western ideas among Armenians and information about Armenian matters to westerners' (Redgate 1998: 266). The result was the rise of an intellectual class of women, who became active propagators of patriotic sentiments, freedom of expression, and female education. The first boarding schools for girls were founded, followed by the establishment

2 The partitioning of Armenia into two parts and the wording Eastern Armenia and Western Armenia is the final result of a series of ruinous invasions of historical Armenia throughout history. Armenian statehood was abolished in 428 and the country was divided between Byzantium (Roman Empire) and Persia. In the 7th century the Arab forces conquered both parts of Armenia. The country witnessed two perils in the 11th century: the annexations of Byzantium and the aggression of Seljuk Turks. The 13th century saw the conquest of Armenia by the Mongols. In the 15th century much of Armenia passed to two Turkmen dynasties. The Ottoman Turks gained Armenia in the early 16th century. In the 17th century Turkish authority extended over Western Armenia and Persian authority over Eastern Armenia. As a result of Russian-Persian wars Persia entirely withdrew from Eastern Armenia in 1828 and it became a province under Russia. In 1921, after a short period of independence, Eastern Armenia was declared a Soviet republic. The collapse of the Soviet Union engendered new attitudes for Armenians in their newly independent republic in Eastern Armenia.

of the first women's organization (Women's Society) in Istanbul in 1864.[3] The year 1879 witnessed the establishment of two more Armenian women's organizations – School-loving Armenian Women and Armenian Women Dedicated to their Nation. The next result of women's ongoing movement was the establishment (in 1880) of the fourth powerful organization of Armenian women, this time in Tbilisi, capital of Georgia (then known as Tiflis), where Armenians dominated the urban economy and enjoyed prosperity and educational revival. All the mentioned unions and many others that appeared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Russia, the USA, France and other countries where Armenians had communities, in addition to promoting education, were also involved in charity and poverty relief activities. There were also societies of book/school/education-lovers and unions of female students or graduates of various universities. All of them, more or less, provided financial assistance to needy and sick people, got involved in a number of civic activities, set up orphanages, founded schools and trained female teachers for various educational institutions, where commonly English or French were taught as a foreign language (Harutiunian 2003: 60–62). The successful educational activity was the most important achievement of the first Armenian women's movement.

The Soviet official and legal policy of gender equality, even though somehow spurious, reinforced or 'imposed from above', had a significant influence on the public position of women in Armenia and led to an improved social status for them. Law promoted education and work outside home, made mutual consent a requirement for marriage, banned dowries, gave women the right to inherit and own land. Equality, though, did not extend to the private sphere, where women were still seen as responsible for domestic work and childcare. During the Soviet rule (1920–1991) women participated actively in the social, economic, political, academic and educational life of the country. Professional women and so-called 'women-heroes

3 With reference to Yeprem Poghossian from the Mkhitarist Order (Venice) who studied the history of Western Armenian NGOs, Anahit Harutiunian states that 'out of around 630 NGOs that operated in Istanbul in the 19th and early 20th centuries about 60 were women's organizations' (2003: 59). During this period the Armenians were the largest ethnic minority in Istanbul. Estimations put their number at 250,000 in 1851 (Redgate 1998: 269).

of socialistic work' were the most vigorous representatives of what can perhaps be regarded as the second feminist movement in the Armenian reality.

The post-independence period (1991 onwards) saw enormous political, economic, and social upheavals. There was a resurgence of discriminatory customary practices based on rigid gender roles. Many of the positive achievements in terms of incentives for women's participation in politics and the workforce were presented in negative connotations and abandoned. Gender disparities increased, traditional patriarchal stereotypes prevailed, adherence to a more archaic ideology gradually became the norm. In this context, 'Armenian women were quicker to accept Western values, concepts and ideas and are perceived as more flexible and open to learning new skills and languages, traits that have become essential during the post-Soviet period. In contrast, Armenian men more comfortably adopted patriarchal and traditional views and roles, influenced by the East' (*Gender Assessment* 2010: 15).

Today the capacity and resources that Armenian women can lend to the development of the country are great; however, there are numerous institutional barriers that are preventing them from doing so. 'According to the results obtained by the researchers based on 90 interviews among 10 target groups, the main factors hindering the progress of women are the traditionally patriarchal way of thinking, and political corruption' (Abrahamyan 2013). We would add that women are also affected by the ongoing transition to market economy, poor economic development, and resulting high-level unemployment and male out-migration.

The transition period struggle of Armenian women against limitations and for their rights to contribute freely to ongoing economic, political, social and educational processes can perhaps be identified as the third feminist movement in our country.

While women constitute more than half of Armenia's three-million population (census of 2011) and account for 58% of degree holders,[4] their involvement in high public administration and government positions is several times lower than in many democratically advanced countries.

4 For more detailed data see *Statistical Yearbook of Armenia, 2012* and *Implementation of CEDAW* 2007.

Despite the fact that soon after independence Armenia became a state party to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and passed laws that enshrine equal rights between men and women, independent Armenia has had only four women in ministerial posts. Only two of today's 18 ministers are women. Armenia's 11 provinces have had only one female governor so far; she resigned, however, in 2010. Meanwhile, the posts of city and town mayors still remain beyond the reach for women; there are female mayors only in a limited number of rural communities.[5] Only 14 out of the 131 members of the National Assembly (the Armenian Parliament) of the current convocation are women, i.e. Armenian women's presence in parliament is 8.4%.[6]

In this context it comes as no surprise that despite covering broad themes that ensure gender equality and outlining several critical sectors (decision-making, economy, education, domestic violence, marginalization), the government-established Council of Women's Affairs, the Center for Gender Studies of the Armenian Association of Women with University Education (AAWUE), many other women's NGOs[7] and gender projects (funded either by the government or international and donor organizations) have not been effective in formulating gender policies that address women's economic, political and educational empowerment on a large scale. Their achievements are not very tangible. Experts have noted that 'the slow progress for women's issues in Armenia' and 'the absence of an autonomous women's movement' is the result of the NGOs' inability to cooperate and form 'a united body of women claiming their rights' (Wistrand 2007: 10). Leaders of NGOs have also mentioned their marginal impact on the political reform process (*Implementation of CEDAW* 2007: 6).

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5 While some progress has been made in terms of women's local government representation between 2005, when only 16 women headed rural communities, and today (2013) with female mayors in 22 of the country's 866 villages, still the involvement of women in broader local government systems currently makes only 2–2.5% (Abrahamyan 2010).

6 See the official website of the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia.

7 Experts have estimated that of the thousands of NGOs officially registered in Armenia, 60 can be considered 'women's NGOs' (*Implementation of CEDAW* 2007: 41).

Recent positive changes, however, suggest that a more comprehensive system to advance gender equality and Gender Studies will be instituted in Armenia in the years to come.

3. On the Way to Institutionalizing Women's and Gender Studies

Transitional patriarchy is quite apprehensive of Women's and Gender Studies and its institutionalization (as recent campaigns and witch-hunts have shown). In the light of this statement the achievement of a full elimination of gender segregation in the field of education, the adequate involvement of women in the formulation and implementation of educational policies and the institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies in higher learning seem to be important problems to cope with.

There are 68 HE institutions with 112,244 students; a little more than half of them (54.9%) are women. Female students prevail numerically in almost all departments in the government-run institutions of higher learning, with the exception of about a dozen (Agriculture, Transportation & Communications, Industry & Construction, etc.). In non-governmental institutions young women outnumber men even in the departments that are traditionally regarded as male domains. The situation can be accounted for by the fact that the students in non-governmental institutions are not granted deferment of military service. In the 2010/2011 academic year, young women made up 56.2% of the overall number of graduates. Of about 9463 professional teachers involved in higher education and research 4784 are women.[8]

Nonetheless, women still do not take an adequate part in the planning and implementation of the educational policies. The positions of the Minister of Education and Science and one of the two Deputy Ministers are occupied by men. From the other 95 top positions only 34 are held by women, among them several Anglicists. However, the positions they occupy do not enable them to have an impact on policies concerning gender education and to promote academic feminism. In this context it comes as no surprise that

8 These statistics are available at <http://www.armstat.am/file/doc/99471448.pdf> and <http://www.armstat.am/file/article/soc_10_11-12.pdf>.

the inclusion of Gender Studies (on disciplinary or interdisciplinary levels) in the curricula of some faculties was initiated either by the academic staff of the faculties or by women's centres, the Center for Gender Studies of the Armenian Association of Women with University Education (AAWUE) giving an important impetus to the process.[9] Unfortunately, in both cases the weight of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies is not quite visible, despite the fact that at least due to the intermediary role of English, Gender Studies should have become an official part of English Studies long ago.

AAWUE head Jemma Hasratyan stated that 'from 1999 on the AAWUE Center for Gender Studies initiated the introduction of interdisciplinary and special courses on gender issues into the curricula of higher education institutions' (2003: 6). The result of the initiative, however, was very modest: interdisciplinary and optional courses in a couple of non-central HE institutions.

In the course of this research we found that Gender Studies have become part of the officially recognized curricula only in three faculties of the Humanities at Yerevan State University: International Relations, Sociology and Social Work. In other institutions of higher education, too, the visibility is still low. However, the recent months have been witnessing a positive change. On May 7, 2013, USAID/Armenia, Yerevan State University, the most prestigious HE institution in the country, and Arizona State University officially opened the new Centre for Gender and Leadership Studies at Yerevan State University (head Gohar Shahnazaryan). The initiative is part of a broader effort under the Women's Leadership Program that USAID and Higher Education for Development launched in March 2013. It is funded by USAID within the frame of the Armenian Educational Development Project. The Centre will develop a new curriculum in women and gender studies for many faculties of Yerevan State University and other institutions of higher education, promote career advancement for female university graduates,

9 According to the head of AAWUE Jemma Hasratyan (2003: 109) it is not only because of men 'who hold positions of power and authority' in education that women are squeezed out, but also because of women who are 'hostages to patriarchal stereotypes that traditionally relegated women to the private sphere of family and reproductive life'. She concludes that gender education is a prerequisite to transition to a new social order.

conduct outreach activities and advance public policy research on issues related to gender equality and women's leadership. Over the course of the three-year partnership, eight Yerevan State University scholars in areas related to Women's Studies and its institutionalization will participate in a semester-in-residence program at Arizona State University. They will sit in on courses of the School of Social Transformation's program in Women and Gender Studies and will develop syllabi and action-oriented research goals. The first group has already arrived, and not by chance is there an Anglicist in it, which means we will officially start conducting the first Gender Studies course in the English Philology Department very soon. This, of course, will be a more sophisticated phase in the process of institutionalizing Gender Studies in the mentioned department, but it is not a first step. Numerous BA and MA theses in Gender Studies (mostly referring to gendered language, language and gender, or gender advertising) have been carried out and defended. A doctoral study is in its final stages.

Considering the fact that YSU is the leading university of Armenia, and the Centre for Gender and Leadership Studies was, not by chance, established there, it is expected that in the nearest future academic feminism will gain momentum and Gender Studies will become part of the officially adopted curricula and develop into a fully institutionalized discipline in all university fields, including English Studies.

4. Conclusion

Academic feminism and Gender Studies seem to have more chances in Armenian higher education institutions and English Departments today than ever. Nonetheless, the unconditional commitment and professionalization of the teaching staff and international financial and curriculum support are not enough to maintain the academic infrastructure concerned. Educational Gender Studies schemes also need contributions from the Armenian state, business and private sectors. Facilitating links between the government and non-government organizations and associations engaged in a variety of sectors to solve gender problems that are hindering the full-fledged development and democratization of society, is also very important. It is expected that the next stage in the development of Gender Studies and feminism will be more markedly political, due to the growth of the middle class that is at

the forefront of progressive, emancipatory strategies. The middle class will help to strengthen the ties between academia and politics.

It is our firm belief that the higher education system in Armenia should provide appropriate gender policy and a tangible possibility for gender research through

- encouragement of academic interest and commitment to the field of Gender Studies,
- integration of the gender component into the state education policy,
- integration of gender knowledge into the higher education system,
- establishment of gender-balanced representation in higher education institutions,
- ensuring a more equal access to quality education for both sexes,
- shaping an egalitarian gender culture,
- furthering democratization of society through Gender Studies,
- full institutionalization of Gender Studies.

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C. Conclusion

Renate Haas

Europe and Beyond

1. Broader Contexts

'Certainly we [American feminists] have as much to learn from the European feminists as they have to learn from us.' This observation is a century old and was made by Katharine Anthony, a distant relative of the famous suffrage activist Susan B. Anthony. Katharine Anthony criticized the not so rare feelings of superiority on the part of American feminists, which in her experience derived from lack of information. Against the backdrop of the Great War in Europe, she tried with her book to promote feminist communication and solidarity by introducing the women of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, who in her view focussed very much on the fight for political rights, to the insights and successes of the Scandinavian and German-speaking women, who, for their part, focussed very much on fundamental critique (marriage, gender roles; 1915: iv).

Similar intentions underlie the present volume: to give greater visibility to the Continental achievements for the enrichment of international exchange; however, not only transatlantic but global exchange, and at the same time, because of an astonishing lack of information, exchange also within Europe, within individual countries, and within the English Studies of individual countries. The volume shows the impressive variety of Continental Women's and Gender Studies in general and in English Studies in particular, and it does so for a representative sample across Europe, including not only countries some of whose research in the field does manage to get recognition abroad but also several of those sorely neglected.

What in European overview appears with special clarity is how much and in how many respects Women's and Gender Studies are dependent on the general conditions under which they are practised: the political, economic and cultural developments, education systems and academic traditions. The chapters highlight Europe's internal diversity, polylingualism and multiculturalism (and themselves embody them in their different intellectual styles). Nevertheless, there are basic conditions and experiences that characterize

the whole continent, finding various local inflections. Then there are conditions and experiences shared by larger or smaller sections of Europe. Defining Europe is a task that continues, also for Women's and Gender Studies. Concerning the position of women or GLBTQ, no country has been top in all respects or at all points in time. There are no simple East-West or North-South fault lines either.

A brief comparison with the United States is particularly helpful and illuminates crucial reasons for the current dominance of American or, more broadly Anglophone, Women's and Gender Studies. To a high degree this dominance is not only due to the US hegemony in politics, society and culture in general, but more specifically to the better possibilities which US (/WASP) women enjoyed in various respects and which have greatly increased over the past century.[1] While the United States waged no war on its own soil and rose to the status of leading world power, the European states tore each other apart. On both sides of the Atlantic, women, for instance, replaced the absent men during World War II in traditional male domains, making inroads even into the natural sciences (in the US up to the Manhattan Project), but only Americans were able to turn this into more permanent gains. Greater continuity was possible for American feminist endeavours; merely lulls and backlashes had to be overcome. In contrast, the majority of European women had to endure wars, repeated drastic changes of system, extremely misogynist regimes and high human losses (both through death and brain drain).

The growing American lead may be illustrated by two academic associations – one more general, the other specialist: the International Federation of University Women / IFUW and the Modern Language Association / MLA – and some women scholars from English Studies prominently linked with them. But first we should recall that in large parts of the world teaching has been one of the (semi-)professions basic to female emancipation and that the subject dedicated to the national language has belonged to the core represented in all kinds of schools, from the lowest levels up to the universities.

The IFUW was founded in 1919, with Caroline F. Spurgeon (1869–1942) und Virginia Gildersleeve (1877–1965) as the central initiators. Spurgeon,

1 This is not to deny excellence, but excellence thrives more easily under favourable conditions.

the first female professor of English in England, had the seminal idea during her first stay in the US. She was a member of the official British Universities Mission, to which she and a female historian had only been added after the American hosts had objected to the absence of women. In view of the greater opportunities for her sex, Spurgeon subsequently turned more and more to the United States. Her colleague and soon closest friend Gildersleeve was Dean of the New York women's college Barnard. She was very active in educational affairs, above all for the cause of women. Among other things, she served on the boards of the Institute of International Education, the American College for Girls in Istanbul and the Near East College Association (which, beside American Colleges in Turkey, Lebanon and Syria, comprised also those in Athens and Sofia). After World War II she belonged to the American Educational Mission to Japan and helped oversee the rebuilding of higher education there. Of the utmost importance, however, was the fact that in 1945 she was the sole female US delegate to the UN Charter Committee. All in all there were just four women, none from devastated Europe, among 156 men.[2] Gildersleeve gained drafting responsibility for certain sections (which will have been helped by her professional expertise)[3] and persuaded the delegates to adopt the following aim: 'universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion'. This meant that equality of rights for women was made a basic principle from the start. Gildersleeve further insisted that the charter require the appointment of a commission on human rights, and under the direction of Eleanor Roosevelt,

2 The other women were from the Dominican Republic, Brazil and China.

3 In later years, Gildersleeve was proud that she had also been able to contribute the opening lines of the UN Charter's Preamble, replacing a tortuous first suggestion by Field Marshall Smuts of South Africa. Instead of 'The High Contracting Parties, determined to prevent a recurrence of the fratricidal strife which twice in our generation has brought untold sorrow and loss upon mankind […]', she offered 'We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which in our time has brought untold sorrow to mankind […]'. Rosenberg's characterization of Gildersleeve's version as 'simpler, more democratic, and more American' (2006: 475; and, we might add, 'less gendered') mirrors how much the feminism of Gildersleeve and many of her contemporaries was fused with US patriotism, thus foreshadowing later export of US Women's and Gender Studies as part of US democracy / ideology.

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was written. It was to serve as the basis for all of the UN's work on behalf of women throughout the world over the next two generations.[4]

The examples also show how much the direction of academic influence and export was changing from about the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, accelerated by World War I: from 'Europe into the world' to 'United States into world, including Europe'. Tellingly enough, the United States increasingly founded colleges or developed existing mission schools on Europe's doorstep and even in its margins. At different times in different academic fields, the United States gradually went into the lead, often in 'Anglo-Saxon' partnership with Great Britain and not so rarely in connection with peace-keeping endeavours, which women readily joined. Thus even for this early stage it would frequently be difficult to distinguish between internationalization and Americanization. Before World War I, Anthony and Spurgeon as well as Louise Pound, who will be highlighted below, had still absolved part of their studies on the Continent: Spurgeon doing a PhD at the Sorbonne and Pound at Heidelberg, while Anthony brought back many radical ideas, such as Freudian psychology. The first conference of the IFUW (1920, London) was attended by representatives from ten European countries, the US and three countries of the British Empire, namely Canada, India and South Africa. Thanks to the efforts of women's associations like the IFUW, already for the League of Nations equal access to offices was laid down explicitly, so that it had female delegates from the beginning. During World War II, the IFUW came to an end in most of Europe but was kept alive primarily by Anglo-Saxon members, soon to branch out again after 1945, excepting the Eastern Bloc. After 1990, the IFUW played an important role in the establishment of Women's and Gender Studies in Eastern Europe, as the chapters about Lithuania, Bulgaria and Armenia document.

Executive functions in more narrowly academic associations are a good indicator for how much earlier and better American women scholars managed to establish themselves in the universities and in research. The big MLA first elected a woman president in 1954: octogenarian Louise Pound (1872–1958). In the American Folklore Society Pound had reached this

4 Rosenberg 2006: 474; Haas 2002; *American National Biography Online*.

position already in 1925 and in the American Dialect Society in 1938, after eleven years of vice-presidency.[5] Backed by such traditions, the protesters of the Second Women's Movement were in 1973 able to elect Florence Howe president of the MLA precisely because of her feminist merits. (Howe had chaired the MLA Commission on the Status of Women in the Profession and founded the Feminist Press.) In other words, when efforts were made to institutionalize Women's and later Gender Studies, they could already rely on a relatively broad basis, which certainly was far from ideal but incomparably better than in Europe. In addition, academic publishers and other global players soon were won over by glorious sales prospects in global markets thanks to the boom of the international functions of English, not much later boosted further by the Internet.

The longer and better academic establishment of women, which in the women's colleges had included leadership positions since the late nineteenth century, also helped American feminists to acknowledge the advantages of institutionalizing Women's Studies (notwithstanding certain drawbacks), whereas in Europe many feminists of countries with particularly hostile university systems preferred to keep aloof. Cp., for instance, the chapters on France and Italy. The American rapprochement, on the other hand, was further facilitated by the emphases on empiricism and pragmatism of Anglo-Saxon academic traditions and, closely connected, the far less idealized and mysticized role of 'the intellectual' and of research in public life (cp. Griffin/Braidotti 2002: 4 f.).

To return to a primarily European focus and the influence of politics: since large parts of Europe were under Communist rule through much of the twentieth century, a critical and balanced analysis of this history is an important task also for Women's and Gender Studies. It is, of course, far from easy. Socialist Eastern Europe was no monolith. The authors of the chapters deal with the various phases with varying emphases and from more or less divergent points of view. What is crucial is that they are natives of the countries and, at the same time, as Anglicists excellently informed

5 Pound would also furnish ample illustration for further criteria of scholarly recognition: editor of specialist journals, co-founder of a specialist journal, visiting professor at Ivy League universities, challenger of supreme male authorities in a vibrant field (ballad theory, as early as 1921).

about Western and global trends. In their surveys the standard Western concepts are not simply imposed on Eastern realities, as has often enough been done by Western NGOs and researchers. The authors, on the contrary, highlight the new ideas they and their colleagues have developed in their specific contexts. Several of the countries, for instance, never had colonies but were themselves more or less in a colonial situation. Accordingly several contributors accentuate the intermediate and intermediary position of their Women's and Gender Studies between the dominant West and the so-called Global South. Such reflections deserve indeed wider attention abroad. They help to differentiate current concepts and open up new dimensions. Especially useful points for further analysis and discussion are also those areas where the Socialist systems were more women-friendly than the majority of Western countries as well as the more recent problems of retraditionalization.

For the West, too, it is important to highlight here the role of politics. In a number of countries, there is the danger that scholars more and more forget how crucial various policies were for the institutional rise of Women's and Gender Studies. Without EO measures, governmental funding etc., it would have been incomparably harder to overcome the opposition within academia. It did make a difference, if a state with just 8.276 million inhabitants, Sweden, allotted funding for five Centra / Fora-units of Women's Studies as early as 1978. In the volume, it often becomes evident how cleverly the so-called Velvet Triangle of feminist activists, femocrats and lecturers has cooperated, also at European or global levels (human rights; strategies elaborated in UN women's conferences, e.g. gender mainstreaming in the 1995 conference in Beijing). The EU in particular has exerted enormous influence on the academic institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies. With increasing clarity and emphasis it has been concerned with equal rights, and the EO agendas have paved the way for a broader commitment to antidiscrimination. Sociologist Uta Klein even claims that the EU has developed the strongest gender equality programme worldwide and that gender equality policies constitute the most successful sector of EU social politics ([2]2013: 243 f.). In addition, in order to get solid foundations for its policies, the EU has initiated big research projects and created the European Institute for Gender Equality, EIGE, in Vilnius, which started operating in 2010. Of more immediate impact on English Studies has been EU funding

within its general research and education programmes, notably the Socrates Thematic Network Project ATHENA and the GEMMA Erasmus Mundus Master's Degree in Women's and Gender Studies. Whether intended or not, EU policies and funding would thus also seem to have contributed considerably to the fact that in most countries Women's and Gender Studies have managed to establish themselves much better in the social sciences and in pedagogy than in the humanities.

2. Academic Conditions

The poor academic establishment of women has greatly impeded the institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies, yet, at the same time, also been an incentive. The current situation is summarized by *She Figures 2012: Gender in Research and Innovation* of the European Commission as follows:

> Off the starting blocks, women do well, they form a majority in the population of […] students and graduates, but the scissors cross once one reaches the doctoral preparation stage and the other levels that open the way to academic and research careers, the pipeline leaks, and at the very top, at grade A [roughly equivalent to full professor], we are left with just 20 % of women' (2013: 87).

Still fewer women have made it to the top of the universities, a mere 10 % on average throughout the EU-27. In some countries like Hungary and Cyprus not a single university is headed by a woman. The top shares – Sweden 43 % and Finland 31 % – are great exceptions (2013: 114–16). *She Figures 2012* draws the conclusion that there is not just a glass ceiling but also a 'maternal wall' hindering the career of female researchers, and that many more policies are still 'needed to ensure that constant progress is made towards gender-equality in research and scientific careers' (2013: 7).

Traditionally, the position of full professor has allowed the greatest influence in research and other scholarly matters, and it is still a good indicator for the status of women. *She Figures 2012*, accordingly, highlights a variety of its facets.[6] The EU-27 average of 20 % mentioned in the quotation levels

6 The report uses a four-grade classification for academic staff, with A and B covering the usual professoriate. A is defined as 'the single highest grade / post at which research is normally conducted', whereas B are 'researchers working in positions not as senior as top position (A) but more senior than newly qualified PhD holders' (2013: 87 and in detail 139–45). The reference year is 2010.

out considerable variation from 10.7 to 35.6 %. At the bottom, i.e. with the lowest percentages, are Cyprus, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Czech Republic, at the top Romania and Latvia as well as Turkey. The report cautiously draws the following conclusion: 'In the new Member States there is a tendency to have more women at grade A than in the former EU-15 countries' (2013: 90). 'New Member States' means primarily the Post-Socialist countries, but the Czech Republic is not the only negative exception from among them. For an adequate appreciation of the situation in the individual countries it would be necessary to consider a greater number of factors and their interdependences, for instance, whether the respective country holds its universities in high or comparatively low esteem, whether they get good funding, whether the most important research is done within the universities or in other institutions such as academies etc.

An interesting focus is also to ascertain the share of grade-A women among the total female academic staff. Here the extremes are 2–3 % (Lithuania, Cyprus, Germany, Spain, Portugal) on the one hand and 28 or 25 % (Romania, Iceland) on the other. For men the parallel percentages range from 9 to 43 % (2013: 92).

Differentiation according to fields yields results that most of us would expect, but also surprising exceptions. On average throughout the EU-27, the proportion of women among grade-A academic staff is highest in the humanities: 28.4 %. The social sciences and medical sciences follow way behind with 19.4 and 17.8 % respectively, and engineering and technology come last with 7.9 %. However, the humanities do not rank first, i.e. do not have higher female shares than other fields, in Belgium, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Portugal, Slovenia and Slovakia as well as Turkey (2013: 93).

Within the humanities there is considerable variation between the countries, as can be seen from Table 1, which I compiled on the basis of Annex 3.2 and Table 3.2 of *She Figures*. Unfortunately reliable data were not available for several countries, including large ones like the UK, France, Poland and Romania.[7]

7 I leave aside Croatia because of discrepancies between Annex 3.2 and Table 3.2, and the UK because the percentage (22.7) rests only on a total of 93 posts, while no field is specified for over 4,500.

Table 1: Grade A staff in the humanities

Country	Total	Women	Men	Female %
Finland	410	162	248	39.5
Italy	2977	1088	1889	36.5
Switzerland	812	260	552	32.0
Israel	244	76	168	31.1
Sweden	642	194	448	30.2
Portugal	307	91	216	29.6
Slovenia	404	116	288	28.7
EU-27				28.4
Norway	648	183	465	28.2
Austria	565	159	406	28.1
Denmark	156	43	113	27.6
Lithuania	151	40	111	26.5
Spain	1599	407	1192	25.5
Turkey	1411	359	1052	25.5
Germany	4143	1043	3100	25.2
Slovakia	95	23	72	24.2
Netherlands	452	92	360	20.4
Czech Republic	223	40	183	17.9
Belgium	290	44	246	15.2

A range of 15.2 to 39.5 % is indeed remarkable. Who would have thought that in the central host country of the EU administration only 15.2 % of grade A professorships in the humanities are held by women (unless they read Marysa Demoor's chapter)? The raw numbers underlying the percentages show the enormous dimensional differences. Thus the total of grade A academics in the humanities amounts to 95 in Slovakia and 4,143 in Germany, over forty times more; and the total of female grade A academics in the humanities amounts to 23 in Slovakia and 1,088 in Italy, nearly fifty times more.[8] For good reasons, the

8 Arranging the countries according to the totals of grade A women in the humanities yields further insights, as it shows how small these totals are: across the humanities under 100 in a number of countries and under 200 in several more.

authors repeatedly stress the necessity of diligent interpretation. Nevertheless, the 1,088 female grade A professors of Italy and the 1,043 of Germany may perhaps have weight by their sheer numbers.

She Figures 2012 does not further differentiate according to subjects. For English Martin Kayman made a first European survey at the turn of the millennium. His resources were much more modest, but included a grant from the British Council and the support of ESSE. Kayman covered 29 countries, but kept reminding his readers of the enormous methodological problems, in particular concerning representativeness and variation in terminology, and therefore counselled prudence in the interpretation of his figures.

Not surprisingly, Kayman's findings confirm that English is predominantly a female discipline, especially in terms of student numbers. In his own formulation: 'the values here are really very high: virtually all respondents indicated that over 75 % of their students were women'.[9] English is a largely female career if we look at the staff in its entirety. According to Kayman, there was a majority of women staff in the majority of responding institutions, quite often reaching 75 % or more, too. In six countries, however, women were in a minority (2005: 12). In most countries there is a very broad base of untenured / junior / non-professorial staff. In Kayman's sample, a very high percentage of over 80 were of non-professorial rank in 7 countries and in further individual institutions (2005: 11).

Among the associate and full professors, women, at one extreme, constituted a majority in 10 countries: Bulgaria (over 80 %), Croatia, Cyprus,

Country	Women	Country	Women	Country	Women	Country	Women
Slovakia	23	Slovenia	116	Switzerland	260	Germany	1043
Lithuania	40	Austria	159	Turkey	359	Italy	1088
Czech Republic	40	Finland	162	Spain	407		
Denmark	43	Norway	183				
Belgium	44	Sweden	194				
Israel	76						
Portugal	91						
Netherlands	92						

9 2005: 12. Kayman cites only a few exceptions. Not a single respondent indicated a female student population of less than 50 %.

Greece, Italy, Macedonia, Portugal, Serbia, Slovakia, and Ukraine.[10] At the other extreme, they constituted less than a quarter in the following 7 countries: Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland and the Netherlands.[11] However, even before Kayman was able to finish his report, news reached him that at Helsinki, one of his three universities representing Finland, the female share had soared to 75 % – a reminder that in small sums a few changes may produce great effects. Three years later, Päivi Pahta reported for the whole of Finnish English Studies that the ratio of male to female professors was 5:6, in other words, that the female share was about 55 % (Pahta 2008: 33). As has already become evident, Kayman found great variation also within the countries. Unfortunately the countries he covers are not exactly the same as those of *She Figures 2012*, but interestingly enough, several that in his report have either especially high or especially low female shares in professorships rank similarly in the humanities data of *She Figures*: Italy and Portugal at the top, Belgium, Czech Republic and Netherlands at the bottom. Since Kayman, in contrast to *She Figures*, covers both full and associate professors, it does not become clear in how far the higher shares of 50 to over 80 % he found in 10 countries might be due to a particularly high percentage of women professors in English as compared to the other humanities. For a number of countries such a pioneering role of English would seem likely, in particular for Finland. As Finland no longer distinguishes between full and associate professors, the 39.5 % of the humanities in general in *She Figures* may more directly be compared with Pahta's 55 % of English Studies.[12] Though not mentioned in Kayman's sample, the female share in chairs has occasionally and for a limited period even been increased to 100 %. In the present volume this is documented by Katsarska for Bulgaria's largest English Department, Sofia, in 2013.

10 A female majority was also reported by individual institutions in France, Germany, Lithuania, Poland and Spain.

11 The same low female shares were also reported by a majority of institutions in Switzerland and single institutions in France, Germany, Norway, Poland and Romania. 2005: 12.

12 See Pahta 2008: 24 and 33 and European Commission 2013: 93 and 141.

In view of the astonishing variation between and within the European countries concerning the top positions in English Studies, a closer comparative look at history may be helpful. An illuminating focus is when women first attained a chair. On the basis of the present volume as well as of *EHES I+II* I have compiled Table 2, adding the US and UK data for comparison and indicating also the age of the pioneers at the promotion.

Table 2: First female chair-holders in English Studies

1884 Bryn Mawr (US Women's College): M. Carey Thomas (1857–1937) – 27 yrs
1913 Bedford College (Women's College, University of London): Caroline F. Spurgeon (1869–1942) – 44 yrs
1940 University of Istanbul: Halide Edip Adivar (1884–1964) – 56 yrs
1947 Teacher training college Hannover (FRG): Dorothea Karin (Freund-) Heitmüller (1909–2001) – 38 yrs
1950 Moscow State Lomonosov University: Olga Akhmanova (1908–91) – 42 yrs
1951 University of Warsaw: Margaret Schlauch (US citizen; 1898–1986) – 53 yrs
1952 University of Belgrade: Mary Stansfield Popović (1899–1989) – 53 yrs
1958 University of Aarhus: Grethe Hjort (1903–67) – 55 yrs
1958 University of Rostock (GDR): Hildegard Schumann (1907–86) – 51 yrs
1958 Teacher training college Jyväskylä: Auvo Kurvinen (1916–79) – 42 yrs
1964 University of Skopje (Yugoslavia / Macedonia): Mira Shunic ?
1965 University of Bucharest: Ana Cartianu (1908–2001) – 57 yrs
1966 University of Barcelona: Patricia Shaw (1931–98) – 35 yrs
1973 University of Innsbruck: Brigitte Scheer-Schäzler (1939-) – 34 yrs
1979 University of Sofia: Zhana Molhova (1922–2002) – 57 yrs
1987 University of Vilnius: Emma Genušienė (1938-) – 49 yrs
1988 University of Coimbra: Maria Irene Ramalho de Sousa Santos (1941-) – 47 yrs
1993 University of Yerevan: Seda Gasparian (1946-) – 47 yrs
2008 University of Brno: Milada Franková (1946-) – 62 yrs

The US and UK instances underline how incredibly long it took Continental women to finally reach the top.[13] Thomas's youth thus is the more astonishing. What helped her apart from studies at renowned European universities (Leipzig and Sorbonne, summa cum laude dissertation at Zurich) was the fact that the private Quaker college Bryn Mawr was still in its founding phase and her family and friends had enormous influence (inter alia as trustees of Bryn Mawr and Johns Hopkins). Thomas had aimed even higher

13 Another illuminating comparison is, of course, with the dates of the first male chair-holders in the respective countries. See Haas 2008: 217–18.

and asked to be made president of the new enterprise. This had not been granted, but together with the chair of English she also obtained the position of dean. In 1894, after the death of Bryn Mawr's first, male president, the trustees made her his successor when her friend Mary Garrett, the daughter of a railway boss, offered to give the college $ 10,000 each year that Thomas served at the top. In Spurgeon's case, too, it was at a women's college that reaching a chair became first possible. What helped Spurgeon, apart from academic excellence, was female networking and lobbying, esp. of the British Federation of University Women (Haas 2002: 216–19).

Table 2 is preliminary and to a considerable degree accidental: it depends on whether promotions were properly documented, whether the contributors to the volume paid attention to this point or whether I hit upon first clues. Not accidental, however, are various trends which the examples show.

That the first woman to reach a university chair in Continental English Studies seems to have been a Turk may come as a surprise to not so few, who are not familiar with Turkish history. Adivar was, indeed, extraordinary: a writer of international renown, both a national hero and cosmopolitan, who had lectured at a variety of universities, including Columbia and Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi, and who was then to build up the English Department at the University of Istanbul.[14] The next instances of first university chair-holders only follow several years after the end of World War II, first in Socialist countries, and, not by chance, spearheaded by Moscow. The political contexts of Akhmanova's career still need closer analysis; in Schlauch's case, the Cold War dimensions (together with their tragic aspects) have already been studied. Stansfield Popović had since 1926 and at her husband's side built up the English Department in Belgrade and only got the promotion after his death, when she was already 53. The first Western instance of a university chair-holder (unearthed so far) comes as late as 1958: Grete Hjort. In Australia, she had already been principal of University Women's College, Melbourne from 1938 to 1947, and although she pioneered Australian literature in Aarhus, she had to wait for a phase of expansion to receive full recognition. At that point she was 55, and an advanced age at reaching the top is common to the majority of the instances.

14 I am grateful to Işil Baş for this information.

Several of the women were already approaching retirement. Even in this millennium, Franková was already 62, and Cartianu and Molhova had been 57 in the last century. This would seem to be a substantially higher age than the male averages.

Systematic consideration of the teacher training colleges would remarkably change the picture as, because of their lower status, they have been more open and offered much better career opportunities for women. Usually their requirements have been lower, with the consequence that it has been possible to reach full professorships at an earlier age, especially during phases of expansion. Thus Heitmüller was 38 when she obtained a chair at the teacher training college Hannover (with basically the same salary as university chairs). This was in 1947 (18 years before the first university *ordinariae*), when in an early phase of reconstruction and re-education more teacher training colleges than universities were founded in West Germany. Achieving a Continental university chair below 40 only seems to have become possible from the late 1960s onwards, i.e. with the great expansion of the education systems in most of the West. By now the teacher training colleges have disappeared in many European countries, because they were either developed into full universities or integrated into existing universities.

To return briefly to the US comparisons from the beginning of the chapter: in 1954, when the big MLA first elected a woman president, no female Anglicist from the Continent west of the Iron Curtain seems to have yet held a chair, and the few exceptions in the Eastern Bloc had to keep within the limits of the official ideology. Then, when the Second Women's Movement began and when the MLA already elected a feminist president, the number of Continental female chair-holders was just beginning to grow very slowly, helped by the beginning of the great expansion of the education systems, but there was still a number of countries without women in the top positions. In other words, as further indicators would confirm, around 1970 the influence of Continental women was still very limited, at best of a secondary and subliminal kind, far from prestige. The European universities with their rigid hierarchies were indeed 'a hard nut to crack'. The extremely few top women did not automatically side with feminism. On the contrary, they understandably tended to attribute their hard-earned success to personal excellence, which normally did not foster solidarity and commitment to feminism or Women's and Gender Studies. The female

chair-holders who did commit themselves were confronted with enormous trouble (e.g. endless committees), but played a crucial role and deserve to be remembered. An equally important part was played by junior staff and students, and they were highly vulnerable to discrimination. Unfortunately, the victims whose careers were seriously hampered or damaged have hardly ever been documented. In short, whenever impatience with the current situation arises, it may help to compare with the conditions around 1970 and to remember for what brief time the efforts at establishing Women's and Gender Studies have been going on. Considering this brief time span, the achievements are glorious.

Like in general, Europeanization and European integration have considerably helped to improve the status of women in English Studies and to develop Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies. Of great importance have been ESSE (The European Society for the Study of English) and EAAS (The European Association for American Studies). Since joint institutionalization of English and American Studies prevails, for reasons of space I am going to focus on ESSE, although Americanists often seem to have spearheaded Women's and Gender Studies. ESSE was founded in 1990 by representatives of twelve EC countries and its rise ran parallel with the great expansion of English Studies in Eastern Europe. ESSE thus mirrored the development of Women's and Gender Studies achieved by then in the West, and in the context of expansion enhanced it. How prominently Women's and Gender Studies featured among the innovations in the discipline can be seen from the helpless irritation pervading the key-note lectures of the 'grand old men' George Steiner and Frank Kermode at the inaugural ESSE conference in 1991.[15]

Above all it has been through the following factors that ESSE has helped to improve the status of women and of Women's and Gender Studies:

– ESSE is more open than traditional English Studies associations in the individual countries or those at international level which only admitted full professors.

15 I am grateful to Suman Gupta for pointing out these emblematic illustrations. See also Brown 1991: 9–10.

- On account of ESSE's openness, the composition of conference delegates impressively demonstrates to what high degree English Studies in its entirety is a female subject.
- The rise of ESSE coincided with a phase of expansion and boom, which women were able to use for their own purposes.
- ESSE has created the basis for European comparisons and surveys.
- ESSE and in particular its conferences offer opportunities for mutual information and networking. Through ESSE it has become possible to find partners from across Europe, and several important European projects in Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies got started at ESSE conferences (e.g. by Gabriele Griffin at Helsinki 2000).
- ESSE provides space for specializations and innovations – a circumstance from which women, Women's Studies and Gender Studies including G/L/B/T/Q Studies have benefited.
- Increased cooperation among Continental Anglicists has brought to the fore their common tasks of cultural mediation and teaching – fields to which women have traditionally felt more attached than men and which also offered them the earliest career prospects.
- The founding and rise of ESSE antedated the big EU funding so that European structures and networks already existed when the latter possibilities opened.

3. Some Aspects of Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies, Some Perspectives

If, for the sake of clarity, a distinction is made between research and teaching, the main possibilities of institutionalizing Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies are the following:[16]

16 Research and teaching, of course, are expected to be intertwined, which, for instance, becomes most evident in doctoral programmes or when the establishment of a specialist chair goes hand in hand with the introduction of such a course component.

A) Research:

a) Specialized professorships (exclusive focus on Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies or additional focus)
b) Specialist projects with official funding
c) Specialist associations (i.e. associations for Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies) with their own conferences etc.
d) Specialist journals
e) Specialist sections within the English Studies associations, with regular 'corners' in the associations' conferences, publication series, etc.
f) Specialist awards

B) Teaching:

a) Women's and Gender Studies modules in English Studies programmes
b) Distinct Women's and Gender Studies parts of English Studies modules
c) Distinct English Studies parts of Women's and Gender Studies modules
d) Distinct Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies parts of general modules, e.g. of introductory, basic modules or modules of loosely structured PhD programmes.

As far as can be inferred from the chapters of the present volume, these possibilities have been realized quite to extremely rarely. Rarest of all are specialist professorships, which in all likelihood, considering the ways in which higher education works, would have the greatest effect. To my knowledge, there are only three: in Tübingen and Berlin (Freie Universität) as a special focus of English Literature or Cultural Studies and in Barcelona / Vic 'American Studies / UNESCO Chair: Women, Development and Cultures'. In a number of countries such specifications seem extremely difficult, as professorships of English Studies are not further differentiated but have very global designations. But there are, for a start, enough countries with a high degree of specification. It is, for instance, hard to see why in Germany even an official focus on Urban Studies may be laid down for a Cultural Studies professorship (Potsdam), but only two professorships among the several hundred devote special attention to gender. Without a higher degree of institutionalization too much is left to individual initiative, idealism and self-exploitation. Gender research and teaching tend to stop or peter out

when the individual scholars leave the institution because they retire or move on, or when projects or funding come to an end.

This plea for more institutionalization within English Studies is not directed against autonomous Women's and Gender Studies centres (nor against better institutionalization in other subjects, nor against pluri-, inter- or transdisciplinary cooperation). As the experience of almost forty years shows, it is necessary to fight on many fronts, the motto not being 'either / or'. Often understaffed and underfunded centres are confronted with too many tasks. Thus frequently a single centre professor is expected to advance gender research and at the same time develop contacts with the various disciplines. If centres push ahead with highly specialized research, the usual prerequisite for academic distinction, and lose contact with the various subjects in their universities, this is a serious loss. It may, indeed, happen that such a brilliant centre eclipses everything else and a country achieves the image of a citadel of Women's and Gender Studies while very little is going on in its English Studies (or other subjects for that matter).

For Anglicist Women's and Gender Studies, one consequence of the low degree of institutionalization is low visibility, which, of course, has many other reasons as well. But greater attention to institutionalization lies more within their power than diverse other factors. In this context it may be helpful to consider in what way Women's and Gender Studies constitute an intrinsic part of English Studies, and for once also to ask the question whether in the field of Women's and Gender Studies there even are things that can best be done by English Studies or perhaps can only be done by English Studies. Such reflection may not only produce useful arguments vis-à-vis the administration and broad public, but concerns the basic understanding of research and teaching in the field and may bring to the fore highly relevant features. The present volume would offer a wealth of new material to start from.

One possible starting point, often addressed directly or touched upon in the chapters, are the tasks of translation in a broad sense and cultural mediation. They are most evident in places where the English competence of the population in general and academics in particular is not yet high. In a country like Germany, on the other hand, researchers from other disciplines often believe their English so good that they no longer need any help; but this has not so rarely led to serious misunderstandings and impediments. An

instance would be the early reception of Judith Butler's writings in German sociology. Truly shocking examples, however, can be found in recent critiques of the dismal translation situation in Russia, which show how much should have been done. Sociologist Tatiana Barchunova (Novosibirsk State University), for instance, impressively illustrates that on account of the long seclusion and the ideological constraints of Soviet research, afterwards not only central concepts of Western Women's and Gender Studies were missing, but in addition their connections with further fields of Western thought. She fills whole paragraphs merely enumerating the most important names from various disciplines which this side of the former Iron Curtain belong to the common ground of Gender Studies, i.e. from history, economics, psychology, sociology, political science, philosophy, anthropology, queer theory, folklore, arts and so on (2006: 136–37). There was a great danger that missing key concepts like identity, agency, reification, and subject were unthinkingly replaced or overlaid by existing Russian de- and connotations. Translators and cultural intermediaries were faced with the enormous task of reconfiguring the intellectual space and of moulding a new discursive area – a gigantic challenge overtaxing the comparatively small discipline of English, which had to cope with a broad spectrum of further tasks as well. In view of poorest remuneration, poorly qualified translators took on the job, and resulting serious mistranslations have often obstructed access instead of opening it. Barchunova gives many illustrations, e.g., when Luce Irigaray's *Ce sexe qui n'en est pas un* / in English *This Sex Which Is Not One* becomes 'This Sex Which Is Not Lonely' in Russian, or when the last part of Butler's title *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* changes into 'Subversion of Individuality'.[17] On the other hand, such analyses also give an idea of the enormous troubles and achievements that authors of the volume document for a number of post-Soviet countries in a matter-of-fact tone and without self-glorification.

As the above examples and, in fact, the whole volume show, focus on Women's and Gender Studies has great potential for advancing the reflections about the new roles of English and the new roles of English Studies. English Studies is again in a necessary phase of reorientation and

17 Barchunova 2006: 144; cp. also Garstenauer 2009: 68–74 et passim.

reconceptualization. As Suman Gupta argues from a global point of view, it is now more appropriate to re-orient English Studies increasingly 'not as converging in Anglophoneness and along a centre / margin (colonial / post-colonial) axis, but as emanant from an interlingual field, where receptions and translations and cultural cross-fertilizations are more the norm than otherwise' (2010: 5). Continental Europe may serve as an illuminating case: larger than a single nation state and better to grasp than the globe. Not by chance have concepts that have so far been basic to English Studies, such as mother tongue / national language, native speaker and nation, strong gender components. Joined together European and gender perspectives can the better expose the shortcomings of dubious concepts and overcome traditional limitations. It is most appropriate for the discipline dealing with Europe's leading lingua franca and greatly profiting from this circumstance to help to (re-)conceptualize Europe and to help to develop forward-looking European imaginaries. Here, too, the present volume can serve as a base, and for many other new directions as well.

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Contributors

Esther Álvarez López is Senior Lecturer at the University of Oviedo, where she teaches Literatures of the US. Since its inception, she has been part of the teaching staff of the PhD Programme in Women's Studies, of the Masters Programme in Gender and Diversity, which she coordinated from 2008 to 2010, and of the Erasmus Mundus Masters in Women's and Gender Studies. Her numerous publications include over sixty entries for the *Diccionario crítico de directoras de cine europeas* (2011) and the following co-edited volumes: *Jóvenes I+D+F* (2005), *Tramas postmodernas: voces literarias para una década, 1990–2000* (2003), *En/clave de frontera* (2007) and *Diasporic Women's Writing of the Black Atlantic: (En)Gendering Literature and Performance* (Routledge, 2014). She was Managing Editor of *Atlantis: Revista de la Asociación Española de Estudios Anglo-Norteamericanos* from 2012 to 2014, and is currently on the boards of several national and international journals.

Florence Binard is Senior Lecturer in Modern British History and Gender Studies in the Department of Intercultural Studies and Applied Languages at the University of Paris Diderot – Sorbonne Paris Cité. She is a member of ICT (Identities, Cultures, Territories) and the President of the Société Anglophone sur le Genre et les Femmes (SAGEF, http://sagef-gender.blogspot.fr/). Together with Françoise Barret-Ducrocq and Guyonne Leduc she edited *Comment l'égalité vient aux femmes: Politique, droits et syndicalisme en Grande-Bretagne, aux États Unis et en France* (2012) and *Genre(s) et transparence* (2014). Her latest book is *Femmes et eugénisme en Grande-Bretagne à l'époque édouardienne et dans l'entre-deux-guerres: entre féminisme et antiféminisme* (forthcoming, 2015).

Isabel Carrera Suárez is Professor of English at the University of Oviedo, specializing in the intersections of postcolonialism and gender, particularly as enacted in contemporary writing by women. She co-founded the Women's Studies Doctoral Programme in Oviedo, where at present she coordinates the PhD Programme in Gender and Diversity and the Erasmus

Mundus Masters in Women's and Gender Studies (GEMMA). She has published extensively in international journals and volumes, recently contributing to *Tropes and Territories* (Toronto: McGill-Queens, 2007), *Reading(s) from a Distance* (Augsburg: Viessen-Verlag, 2008), *Metaphor and Diaspora in Contemporary Writing* (London: Palgrave, 2011), *Theories and Methodologies in Postgraduate Feminist Research: Researching Differently* (London: Routledge, 2011). Editor of *Atlantis: Revista de la Asociación Española de Estudios Anglo-Norteamericanos* (2011–2014), she has served on international boards and edited multi-author volumes, among them *Post/Imperial Encounters* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), *Nación, diversidad y género* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2010) and *Reading Transcultural Cities* (Palma: PUIB, 2011).

Marysa Demoor (PhD 1983) is Full Professor of English Literature at Ghent University, Belgium, and a life member of Clare Hall, Cambridge, UK. In 2011 she was also the holder of the Van Dyck Chair at UCLA. Demoor is the author of *Their Fair Share: Women, Power and Criticism in the Athenaeum, from Millicent Garrett Fawcett to Katherine Mansfield*, *1870–1920* (Ashgate, 2000) and the editor of *Marketing the Author: Authorial Personae, Narrative Selves and Self-Fashioning, 1880–1930* (Palgrave, 2004). With Laurel Brake she edited *The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century: Picture and Press* (Palgrave, 2009) and *DNCJ / Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (British Library and Academia Press, 2009). Her current research focusses on the cross-fertilization between Northern Belgium and Britain in the long nineteenth century.

Dubravka Djurić is an associate professor at the Faculty of Media and Communication, Singidunum University, Belgrade, and also a poet, translator and critic. In 1994, she was one of the founders of the journal of women's literature and culture *ProFemina*, which she co-edited until 2011, and 1994–2007, she worked as a lecturer in the Belgrade Women's Studies Center. In 1997, she initiated a feminist experimental poetry school, later known as Azin's School for Poetry and Theory. Among her numerous books, primarily in Serbian, is *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-Gardes, Neo-Avant-Gardes, and Post-Avant-Gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918–1991* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003, [2]2006; co-ed. with Miško

Šuvaković). Since its start in 2011, Dubravka Djurić has participated in the pioneering project *Književnstvo: Theory and History of Women's Writing in Serbian until 1915*.

Věra Eliášová is Assistant Professor in the Department of English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic, and a visiting lecturer in the Department of Gender Studies at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. She gained her doctoral degree from Rutgers University, USA. Her research is focussed on the development of the *flâneuse*, the female urban peripatetic, in English literature from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Her most current project examines gendered mobilities in the contemporary Central, East and South-East European literatures.

Simona Fojtová received her MA and PhD in American Studies from the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, USA, and her Mgr. (MA equivalent) in English and Czech from Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic. She is currently Associate Professor and Director of Women's Studies at Transylvania University in Lexington, KY, USA. Fojtová's research areas include Western feminist theory, Czech feminism, Czech women's non-governmental organizations, lesbian activism in post-socialist Czech society, and gender and sexuality in contemporary Czech women's writing. Her work has appeared in *Aspasia*, *Contemporary Literature*, the *NWSA Journal,* and the *Journal of Lesbian Studies*. Her recent article concerning gay and lesbian activism in the Czech Republic since the fall of communism, co-authored with Dr. Věra Sokolová, was published in *Queer Visibility in Post-Socialist Cultures* (2013).

Vita Fortunati is Professor of English Literature at the University of Bologna. She has written widely on modernism, utopian literature, women's studies, cultural memory, science and literature. Her more recent publications in women's studies are on the representation of the female body – *The Controversial Women's Body: Images and Representations in Literature and Art*, Bologna, 2003 (with Annamaria Lamarra and Eleonora Federici); memory from a female perspective – *Studi di genere e memoria culturale / Women and Cultural Memory*, 2004; women's autobiography – 'Memory

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Professor **Seda Gasparian**, Doctor of Philology, is the Head of the English Philology Department at Yerevan State University, the Chairwoman of the Specialized Research Council of Germanic Languages, the founder and President of the Armenian Association of the Study of English (AASE), Member of the YSU Academic Council, Chairwoman of the English Language Methodology Council of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Armenia, ESSE Board Member, founder and Editor-in-Chief of *Armenian Folia Anglistika – International Journal of English Studies*, and Member of the Advisory Board of *EJES*. She is the author of over seventy publications (monographs, textbooks, articles) and has supervised 26 PhD dissertations. She has participated in numerous international conferences and constantly provided expertise to linguistic departments of higher education institutions in her country. For her prolific activity in the field of English Philology and Armenological Studies, she was awarded the title of Honoured Scientist of the Republic of Armenia in 2013.

Ljiljana Ina Gjurgjan (1950–2012) held the Chair of English Literature at the University of Zagreb. Her main research interests were British and Irish modernism, literary theory, women's writing, gender and cultural studies. She published in Croatian '*Kamov and Early Joyce*' (1984), '*The Myth and the National in the Turn-of-the-Century Literature: Vl. Nazor and W.B. Yeats*' (1995), and '*An Irish Mirror for Croatian Literature*' (co-ed. Tihana Klepač, 2007), as well as numerous articles in English or Croatian. She served on the editorial boards of *Umjetnost riječi* and *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia* and on the advisory board of *EJES*. Ina Gjurgjan showed great international commitment, e.g., co-organizing two important feminist conferences and one on Joyce in the Inter-University Centre

in Dubrovnik (1986, 1988 and 2004), fulfilling various functions within ESSE (The European Society for the Study of English), and teaching in the Slavonic departments of the University of Michigan, Yale, and University of London.

Renate Haas is Professor of English (University of Kiel). She has published widely on English literature, on the history of English Studies and in the area of Gender Studies. Together with Balz Engler (University of Basel), she has initiated the EHES project, which focusses on the history of English as a discipline in Europe. Her books are: *Die mittelenglische Totenklage* (1980); *Peter Nichols:* Joe Egg (1985); *V.A. Huber, S. Imanuel und die Formationsphase der deutschen Anglistik: Zur Philologisierung der Fremdsprache des Liberalismus und der sozialen Demokratie* (1990); *The University of Strasbourg and the Foundation of Continental English Studies* (2009, with Albert Hamm, English, French and German parallel versions). She has edited the volumes *Literatur im Kontext* (1985, with Christine Klein-Braley) and *European English Studies: Contributions towards the History of a Discipline, I+II* (2000+2008, with B. Engler). The latter offer surveys for twenty-seven countries, case studies, and a comprehensive overview: http://www.essenglish.org/ehes.html

Susanne Hamscha teaches American Studies at the University of Göttingen. She holds a PhD in American Studies from the Free University Berlin and an MA in English and American Studies from the University of Vienna. She also studied Women's Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where she was a fellow in the Advanced Feminist Studies program. Her publications include the monograph *The Fiction of America: Performance and the Cultural Imaginary in Literature and Film* (Frankfurt/NY: Campus, 2013) and the co-edited volume *Is It 'Cause It's Cool? Affective Encounters with American Culture* (Berlin/Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2014).

Martina Horáková is Assistant Professor in the Department of English and American Studies, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic. Her doctoral dissertation analyzed Indigenous women's life writing in Australia and North America. Her research interests include Australian studies, Indigenous literatures, women's life writing, ethics of cross-cultural narratives

and narratives of belonging, feminist and postcolonial theories. Several fellowships supported her research, including the Endeavour Post-Doctoral Research Award at the University of Sydney (2011) and the University of New South Wales (2006), and the Group of Eight European Post-Doctoral Fellowship at the University of Queensland in Brisbane (2008). She has published chapters in *A Companion to Aboriginal Literature*; *Variations on Community: The Canadian Space*; *Contemporary Canadian Literature in English*; *Alternatives in Biography*; *Postcolonial Issues in Australian Literature*; and *Fiction and Autobiography: Modes and Models of Interaction*. Her articles have appeared in *Antipodes*; *Central European Journal of Canadian Studies*; *JEASA*; and *Brno Studies in English*.

Aleksandra Izgarjan is an associate professor at the University of Novi Sad. She teaches courses in American literature and American studies at the English Department and in gender studies at the Center for Gender Studies, Association of Centers for Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies. In recent years, she has participated in the following projects: *Comparative Studies of Serbian and Foreign Literatures and Cultures* and *Serbian and Foreign Literature and Culture in Contact and Discontact*. Her publications comprise two books and more than thirty articles in the field of literature and gender studies. Aleksandra Izgarjan was a visiting lecturer at New York University, Howard University and University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, USA. At home, she was a member of the working group in charge of the introduction of women's studies at her university and developed the platform for the nationwide inclusion of women's studies in higher education curricula.

Milena Katsarska is Lecturer in American Studies at the University of Plovdiv, Bulgaria. Her publications are in the fields of culture studies, socio-historical studies of disciplinary areas and cultural translation. Among them are *English Studies on this Side: Post-2007 Reckonings* (2009, co-editor), 'The Bulgarian Connection in *Harry Potter*' in Gupta, *Re-Reading Harry Potter* ([2]2009), 'English Studies in Non-Anglophone Contexts: Bulgaria' in Georgieva and James eds., *Globalization in English Studies* (2010), and 'Student Perceptions of English Studies in Bulgaria' in the *Nordic Journal of English Studies* (vol. 10, 2011). At present her research interests are

focussed on institutional disciplinary historiography and the prefatorial discourse surrounding American literature in Bulgarian translation (especially with a view to the 1948–1998 period).

Joel Kuortti is Professor of English at the University of Turku, Finland. His research interests are in postcolonial theory, Indian literature in English, transnational identity, diaspora, hybridity, gender and cultural studies. His most important publications include *The Salman Rushdie Bibliography* (1997), *Place of the Sacred: The Rhetoric of the* Satanic Verses *Affair* (1997), *Fictions to Live In: Narration as an Argument for Fiction in Salman Rushdie's Novels* (1998), *Indian Women's Writing in English: A Bibliography* (2002), *Tense Past, Tense Present: Women Writing in English* (2003), *Writing Imagined Diasporas: South Asian Women Reshaping North American Identity* (2007), *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition* (co-ed. with J. Nyman 2007), *Changing Worlds, Changing Nations: The Concept of Nation in the Transnational Era* (co-ed. with O. P. Dwivedi 2012), *Critical Insights:* Midnight's Children (ed. 2014).

Mia Liinason is a Senior Lecturer in Gender Studies at the University of Göteborg (Kulturvetenskaper) and holds a PhD in Gender Studies from Lund University. She is doing research on feminist theory and methodology and is interested in issues around feminist knowledge production and social movement activism, questions of gender and sexuality in globalization processes as well as feminist transnational interactions and political collectivities. Currently, Mia Liinason is working on two research projects. The first is an ethnographic study about contemporary feminist activism in Sweden (funded by the Swedish Research Council 2012–2015), and the second is a comparative study about institutionalized women's organizations in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (funded by Lund University 2012–2014). Liinason is also a teacher and supervisor in Gender Studies, giving courses about feminist theory and methodology at all levels.

Ana Gabriela Macedo is Professor of English Literature at the Universidade do Minho, Braga, Portugal, and Director of the 'Humanities Research Centre' CEHUM http://ceh.ilch.uminho.pt/. Her main research areas are: Comparative Literature; Feminist and Gender Studies; Interarts and Visual

Poetics; English Literature (Modernism and Postmodernism). Among her publications are: *Género, Cultura Visual e Performance*, co-ed. F. Rayner (Braga, 2011); *Paula Rego e o Poder da Visão: 'A minha pintura é como uma história interior'* (Lisboa, 2010); *Narrando o Pós-moderno: Reescritas, Re-visões, Adaptações* (Braga, 2008); *Dossier Género e Estudos Feministas* in *Diacrítica* 22.3; *Poéticas Inter-Artes / Interart Poetics,* co-ed. O. Grossegesse (Braga, 2006); *Dicionário da Crítica Feminista*, co-ed. A. L. Amaral (Porto, 2005); *Identity and Cultural Translation*, co-ed. M. Pereira (Bern, 2005); *Re-presentações do Corpo / Re-presenting the Body*, co-ed. O. Grossegesse (Braga, 2003); *Género, Identidade e Desejo* (Lisboa, 2002).

Gayane Muradian, PhD, Associate Professor in the English Philology Department at Yerevan State University. She currently teaches courses on Analytical Reading, Diplomatic Protocol and Discourse as well as Functional Stylistics and supervises papers for BA and MA degrees in English and American Studies. She is the Secretary of the Academic Council of the Faculty of Romance and Germanic Philology at Yerevan State University and a Board Member of the Armenian Association for the Study of English (AASE). She is actively involved in translating, editing, proofreading, reviewing of articles and books. Gayane Muradian has also given numerous papers at national and international conferences and is the author of about thirty publications.

Marija Aušrinė Pavilionienė – since 2004 member of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, member of the Committees on European Affairs and on Human Rights as well as of the Commission for the Prevention of Drug and Alcohol Addiction. Head of the parliamentary group on Development Cooperation and Reproductive Health and Rights, as well as head of the women MPs group. Member of the Social Democratic Party and of the Planned Parenthood and Sexual Health Association of the Republic of Lithuania.

Professor (2001–2004), Head of the Women's Studies Centre (1994–2000), and Head of the World Literature Department (1995–2001) at Vilnius University. President of the Lithuanian Association of University Women (1999–2002).

Author of *Lyčių drama* (Drama of Sexes, 1998), *Gyvenimo ir teatro vaidinimai: XX amžiaus Vakarų drama* (The Plays of Life and Theatre: Twentieth Century Western Drama, 2004), and *Viltys ir nusivylimai* (Hopes and Disillusions, 2011). Editor of the journal *Feminizmas, visuomenė, kultūra* (Feminism, Society, Culture, 1999–2002).

Margarida Esteves Pereira is Assistant Professor in the Department of English and Anglo-American Studies at the University of Minho, Portugal. Her areas of interest are English Literature (especially the modernist and postmodernist periods), Women's and Gender Studies, and the intersection between film and literature. Her publications include articles published in books and academic journals at home (Portugal) and abroad, and several books, among which *Identity and Cultural Translation: Writing across the Borders of Englishness* (2006) and *Transversalidades: Viagens / Literatura / Cinema* (Transversalities: Travel Writing / Literature / Film; Universidade do Minho, 2009), both edited in collaboration. Her PhD thesis on A. S. Byatt was published with the title *Do Romance Vitoriano ao Romance Pós-moderno: Reescrita do Feminino em A. S. Byatt* (Braga, 2007).

Carla Rodríguez González is Senior Lecturer in the Department of English, French and German of the University of Oviedo, Spain. She graduated in English (1999) and obtained her PhD (2004) from this university with a dissertation on the negotiation of national identity in contemporary Scottish women's writing. Her research fields include contemporary British literature, particularly Scottish, as well as gender, cultural studies and postcolonial theory. She was Copy Editor of *Atlantis: Revista de la Asociación Española de Estudios Anglo-Norteamericanos* from 2012 to 2014. Among her publications are *Escritoras escocesas en la nueva literatura nacional* (2013, co-authored with Kirsten Matthews), *Nación, diversidad y género: Perspectivas críticas* (2010, co-edited with Isabel Carrera and Patricia Bastida), *Culture and Power: The Plots of History in Performance* (2008, co-edited with Rubén Valdés), *Jackie Kay: biografías de una Escocia transcultural* (2005), as well as several articles in specialized international journals.

Ana-Karina Schneider is Associate Professor at Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu, holding a PhD in critical theory and Faulkner studies from Lucian Blaga (2005), and a Diploma in American Studies from Smith College, MA, USA (2004). She has published a book titled *Critical Perspectives in the Late Twentieth Century: William Faulkner – A Case Study* (Lucian Blaga UP, 2006), as well as textbooks and study guides for classroom use. She has also published articles on William Faulkner's critical reception, English prose fiction, literary translation, reading practices, and English Studies in Romanian higher education. Dr Schneider is Manuscript and Review Editor of *American, British and Canadian Studies* and Secretary of the Academic Anglophone Society of Romania.

Corina Selejan is a PhD student at Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu, Romania. Her thesis covers English, American, German and Romanian campus novels. Her background is in Anglo-American and German literature, as well as British Cultural Studies. She has published articles on Jane Austen, David Lodge and Nicole Krauss.

Elina Valovirta, PhD, currently works as a Lecturer at the Department of English, University of Turku, where she teaches literature courses. She has also taught courses in Gender Studies at the same university. Her book, *Sexual Feelings: Reading Anglophone Caribbean Women's Writing Through Affect* (2014, Rodopi), offers a feminist reader-theoretical model for approaching Anglophone Caribbean women's writing through affects, emotions and feelings related to sexuality, a prominent theme in the literary tradition. She has published articles in journals such as *The Feminist Review* and *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*.

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