

“Transforming knowledge into an engine of economy” is a motto that has driven the transformation of research in the last few decades. Competition stands at the centre of the current neoliberal-inspired reforms and has underpinned changes in research organizations, career paths and working conditions in academia, and research funding practices.

This book analyzes the consequences of the neoliberal-informed reforms for gender equality in Czech academia. It examines gender aspects in the construction of research excellence, gender blind research policy adopted in the Czech Republic, academic career paths before 1989 and today, mobility, wellbeing and job satisfaction among academics and the reasons and motivations for leaving academic careers. The lack of local mobilization among women researchers combined with a conservative gender order and hostility to gender equality measures in research give us the opportunity to explore the gendered effects of neoliberal reforms in the particular settings of a country that has revamped its research funding and evaluation systems in a relatively very short time.

One of the goals of the book is to show the merits of studying local practices against the backdrop of large-scale geopolitical influences. While the book adds another piece to the global puzzle of changes in the organization of academic research and their impact on the lives of academics as well as on the quality and focus of the research conducted, its value lies in serious and critical attention to geopolitics. The local developments can thus be understood not only as particular cases of the impact of neoliberal-inspired reforms, but also as cases that can shed some light on possible developments in other, including “central”, geopolitical locations.

*“This is a valuable, important and welcome contribution to international research and policy debate on gender and science which is largely dominated by research conducted in global “centres” rather than smaller country settings, and which is especially lacking research from Central and Eastern European developments.”*

Professor Liisa Husu, Örebro University, GEXcel International Collegium for Advanced Transdisciplinary Gender Studies, Sweden

The book is an outcome of ongoing research of the Centre for Gender and Science, Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, with contributions from other colleagues with similar research interests, including transformation of the higher education system in the Czech Republic and wellbeing of academics.

**Gender and Neoliberalism in Czech Academia** Marta Vohlídalová, Marcela Linková

Marta Vohlídalová, Marcela Linková (eds.)

## **Gender and Neoliberalism in Czech Academia**



SOCILOGICKÉ NAKLADATELSTVÍ

THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY OF  
THE CZECH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Keywords: Academic capitalism, Czech Republic, Excellence, Academic mobility, Gender equality, Work-life balance, Research policy, Higher Education Institutions, Women and Science, Gender

First published in 2017 by SOCIOLOGICKÉ NAKLADATELSTVÍ (SLON)  
in co-edition with The Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.  
E-book only.

Reviewed by Professor Liisa Husu (Örebro University, GEXcel International Collegium for Advanced Transdisciplinary Gender Studies) and Lubica Kobová, M.A., Ph.D. (Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague).

This book was written with the support of the grant project National Contact Centre for Women and Science IV (Národní kontaktní centrum – ženy a věda IV) (No. LE12003) within EUPRO II. programme funded by the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Education, and with the institutional support RVO: 68378025.

Gender Enquiry Series, vol. 13,  
editors Zuzana Uhde, Jiří Ryba and Hana Maříková.

Type-setting by Designiq, Prague.

Publishers' Addresses:  
SLON, Jilská 1, 110 00 Praha 1, slon@slon-knihy.cz, www.slon-knihy.cz  
Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i., Jilská 1, 110 00 Praha 1, www.soc.cas.cz

Copyright © The Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences 2017

ISBN 978-80-7419-255-5 (PDF) Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON)  
ISBN 978-80-7419-256-2 (epub) Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON)  
ISBN 978-80-7419-257-9 (mobi) Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON)  
ISBN 978-80-7330-287-0 (PDF) Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i.  
ISBN 978-80-7330-300-6 (epub) Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i.  
ISBN 978-80-7330-301-3 (mobi) Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i.

Editors:  
Marta Vohlídalová  
Marcela Linková

## Gender and Neoliberalism in Czech Academia

Other Authors:  
Blanka Nyklová, Kateřina Cidlinská,  
Hana Tenglerová, Karel Šima, Petr Pabian,  
Kateřina Zábrodská, Jiří Mudrák, Petr Květon  
Kateřina Machovcová, Marek Blatný, Iva Šolcová



Praha 2017

## Table of content

Editorial board of SOCIOLOGICKÉHO NAKLADATELSTVÍ (SLON):

Luděk Brož, PhD. (Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences)  
Prof. PhDr. Miloš Havelka, CSc. (Charles University)  
Prof. PhDr. Jan Holzer, Ph.D. (Masaryk University)  
Doc. PhDr. Helena Kubátová, Ph.D. (Palacký University)  
†Prof. PhDr. Miloslav Petrušek, CSc. (Charles University)  
PhDr. Markéta Sedláčková, Ph.D. (Charles University)  
PhDr. Jiří Šafr, Ph.D. (Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences)  
Mgr. Zuzana Uhde, Ph.D. (Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences)  
Ing. Alena Vodáková, CSc. (honorary member)

Introduction	13
<i>Marcela Linková, Marta Vohlídalová</i>	
1. Research on the Semi-Periphery? Beyond Geopolitics	26
<i>Blanka Nyklová</i>	
2. The Czech Research Landscape: Shifts in Research Organization After 1989	69
<i>Marcela Linková</i>	
3. Higher Education Policy Context	93
<i>Karel Šima, Petr Pabian</i>	
4. The Policy of Inactivity: Doing Gender Blind Science Policy in the Czech Republic 2005–2010	119
<i>Hana Tenglerová</i>	
5. Excellence and Its Others: Gendered Notions of What it Takes to Succeed in Science	159
<i>Marcela Linková</i>	
6. The Work Paths of Women in Science Before 1989 and Today: “In many respects I don’t envy young colleagues”	198
<i>Marta Vohlídalová</i>	
7. “My wife finished activities requiring her presence in the Czech Republic, and moved to stay with me in Switzerland.” Academic Mobility in the Context of Linked Lives	255
<i>Marta Vohlídalová</i>	

8. Satisfied but not Equal: Working Conditions of Women and Men Faculty in Czech Universities	277
<i>Kateřina Zábrodská, Jiří Mudrák, Petr Květon, Kateřina Machovcová, Marek Blatný, Iva Šolcová</i>	
9. Gloomy Prospects in Czech Academia: Who Gets Lost and Why?	314
<i>Kateřina Cidlinská, Marta Vohlídalová</i>	
Conclusions: Consequence of Neoliberal Transformations of the Research Profession for Gender Equality in Research	345
<i>Marta Vohlídalová, Marcela Linková, Blanka Nyklová</i>	

## **About the Centre for Gender and Science, Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences**

The Centre for Gender and Science is a unique research department focusing specifically on gender analysis of transformation of science, research and academia, feminist science and technology studies, and gender equality in research. Our research focus covers three strands at present: Firstly, we study research careers from a gender perspective with a particular focus on early-career researchers, academic mobility, attrition from academic research, work-life balance and family policy and sexual harassment in higher education. Secondly, we examine the impact of neoliberal transformation in the public sector with particular focus on the ways managerialism, quality control and assessments and marketization play out in research and innovation, and in health and social care. Thirdly, we focus on medical anthropology and sociology of medicine. Members of our teams are represented in professional bodies, including the RINGS International Association of Institutions of Advanced Gender Studies, AtGender and the Gender Expert Chamber of the Czech Republic. We produce studies, and provide expertise and consultations to bodies of the state administration. We also provide support to higher education and research institutions regarding structural change for gender equality in research. To this end we have set up the Working Group for Change, a national network to advance structural change as an instrument to support gender equality. We also run a mentoring programme for early-career researchers to support them in their career choices and decisions.

The book is an outcome of ongoing research of the Centre for Gender and Science, Czech Academy of Sciences, with contributions from other colleagues with similar research interests, including transformation of the higher education system in the Czech Republic and wellbeing of academics.

**Kateřina Cidlinská** graduated in gender studies from the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, in Prague, where she focused on the state policy for equal opportunities for women and men, the institutional machinery for equal opportunities and family policy. She is currently enrolled in a doctoral programme at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague. Her doctoral research concentrates on the establishment of academic careers and career planning, with a specific focus on the dropout of women and men from their academic paths. Besides her research activities at the Centre for Gender and Science at the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, she is also engaged in providing practical support to early career researchers in the Czech Republic. She coordinates a mentoring programme for early career researchers and chairs the Czech Association of Doctoral Students.

**Marcela Linková** is a researcher at the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences where she directs the Centre for Gender and Science. She has a doctoral degree in sociology from the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. Her research focuses on sociology of gendered organizations, research careers, governance of research and research assessment from a gender perspective. Marcela also examines the material-discursive practices through which gender equality policies and initiatives are adopted and implemented at the European and Czech country level. She is active internationally in developing policy solutions for gender equality in research. She publishes on gender equality in research, and together with Mary Frank Fox and Kjersten

Bunker Whittington contributed to the 4th edition of *the Handbook of Science and Technology Studies* (2017).

**Blanka Nyklová** holds a PhD in sociology from the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. She joined the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences as a researcher in 2014. Her research interests include the Czech feminist scene, the situation of gender studies in the Czech Republic, geopolitical dimensions of knowledge production and gender STS. She specializes on qualitative research and has collaborated on numerous research grants. She is the vice-chairperson of the Gender Expert Chamber of the CR. Her most recent publication focuses on the effects of geopolitics and the neoliberal university on possibilities to engage in feminist pedagogy (Nyklová, B. 2017. Marketing Difference: Two Teachable Moments at the Intersection of the Neoliberal University and Geopolitics. *Gender and Research* 18 (1): 154–177).

**Petr Pabian** earned his PhD in theology at Protestant Theological Faculty, Charles University. He was involved in higher education research for several years and published both in international peer reviewed journals and books in Czech, including a book on the massification of Czech higher education since 1989 and co-authored books on the Humboldtian ideology and ethnography of higher education departments. Since 2015 his research focuses on Czech modern religious identity.

**Hana Tenglerová** graduated in gender studies from the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague, and in public and social policy from the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. She joined the Centre of Gender and Science at the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in 2008. She is—among other things—a policy analyst and consultant and is involved in advocacy, opinion making, consultations, and commentary on emerging science policies.

**Karel Šima** earned his PhD in history and anthropology at Faculty of Humanities, Charles University. He worked at the Centre for Higher Education Studies for ten years and published widely on research into higher education, including books on massification and the Humboldtian ideology of Czech higher education. He also co-authored a book on ethnography of higher education departments. Since 2016 he has been working at Faculty of Arts, Charles University where he teaches ethnology, ritual and theory of social sciences and his research interests involve public festivities, cultural history and popular culture.

**Marta Vohlídalová** is a researcher in the Centre for Gender and Science at the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. She earned a doctoral degree in sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. Her research focuses on gender aspects of academic careers and academic mobility, gender equality on the labour market and decision making, family policies and gender and sexual harassment in higher education. She has published her work in peer-reviewed journals and she authored and co-authored several monographs.

**Kateřina Zábrowská** is a researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. She holds a PhD in social psychology from Masaryk University in Brno. Her research interests include interpretative, critical, and discursive theories in psychology, qualitative research methods, and organizational studies with a focus on higher education. Her articles have appeared, among others, in *Qualitative Inquiry*, *Culture and Organization*, *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, *Educational Psychology*, *Research in Higher Education*, and *The Czech Sociological Review*. She received numerous awards including the Otto Wichterle Award, Endeavour Award and Fulbright scholarship.

**Jiří Mudrák** is an associate professor in educational psychology at Charles University and a researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the

Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. His research interests include motivational and social factors related to the development of excellence and well-being in various educational contexts.

**Petr Květoň** is a researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. His research interests include quantitative methodology with a focus on item response theory.

**Kateřina Machovcová** is a researcher at Charles University and the Institute of Psychology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. Her research interests include interpretative and critical theories in psychology with a focus on gender, academic leadership, and educational experiences of students from marginalized backgrounds.

**Marek Blatný** is a professor of psychology at Charles University and a researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. His research focus includes well-being, personality psychology, and methodology of psychology.

**Iva Šolcová** is a researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. Her research interests include well-being, stress and burnout.

## Introduction

Marcela Linková, Marta Vohlídalová

Over the past few decades we have seen the rise of *cognitive capitalism* (Høstaker and Vabø 2005; Moulier-Boutang 2012), which has transformed knowledge into an engine of economy, where researchers figure as individualized units of production. The idea that research output must be under the constant surveillance of assessment procedures in order to ensure stable and continued productivity emerged within this framework.

Shore & Wright (2000: 60) argue that while it is difficult to chart the history of audit rationality precisely, since the early 1980s various market mechanisms have been introduced in public sectors of most Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, in an effort to increase efficiency, accountability, and consumer power over the public sector. The conjunction of the OECD's appropriation of science and technology as an instrument of economic development with the onset of New Public Management in OECD countries since the 1980s created a very particular situation in research where the ground was laid symbolically (i.e., through statistics and values of the New Public Management) and institutionally (i.e., new practices of New Public Management, auditing, and assessment) for a neoliberal type of governmentality. Academic research and higher education have thus become major sites of neoliberalism characterized by privatization, deregulation, financialization, and globalization (Morley and Crossouard 2016). This governmentality regime entails "a focus on management, performance appraisal and efficiency; the use of agencies which deal with each other

on a user-pay basis; the use of quasi-markets and contracting out to foster competition; cost-cutting...” (Shore 2008: 293). The cornerstone of this logic is the assumption that introducing the principles of competition and competitiveness will seamlessly transform into increased efficiency and performance (Shore 2008). The result of the neoliberal governmentality regime is the consumerization of choice in education, the individualization of risk, and the entrepreneurialization of work in research (Ward 2012, cf. also Morley 2003).

Competition stands at the centre of all these processes. It has underpinned the changing research organization, career structure, and funding practices of science. The changing dynamisms in these three aspects are crucially inter-related and contingent upon each other, and it is this co-alignment of organizational, subjective, and policymaking/funding features that has effected a powerful change in the domain of research (Linková 2014; Shore and Wright 2000: 61).

Research assessment and rankings have become a global practice, redefining research accountability in terms of quantitative measures (Sauder and Espeland 2009). Contrary to frequent claims that audit, assessments, and league tables are value-free, neutral, and objective, research has revealed the consequences of these measures, which are epistemic (Anderson 2008; Gillies 2008; Roa, Beggs, Williams and Moller 2009), organizational, and individual, including affective and embodied (Chandler, Barry and Clark 2002; Shore and Wright 2015; Shore 2008; Sparkes 2007; Strathern 2000), and, of course, gendered (Linková, Cidlinská, Tenglerová, Vohlídalová, and Červinková 2013; Morley and Crossouard 2016; Morley 2003). Insecurity has become a key feature of the research profession with rising job precarity, insecurity of earnings, and the ability to advance one’s research topic.

The introduction of neoliberal governmentality and the concomitant transformation of research and higher education reinforce the masculine culture of science. Thomas and Davies (2002) argue that the restructuring of higher education with a highly competitive and individualistic culture promotes a masculine subjectivity and career paths. Knights and Richards

(2003) contend that the shift to contract research linked to increasing competitiveness for research funding adversely affects women more than men researchers. These developments have been identified as further undermining women’s advancement in research (Metcalf and Slaughter 2008; Morley 2003). While the literature produced mostly in the UK stresses the negative effects of these changes, findings from Germany and Austria as well as some Nordic studies see potential benefits in the introduction of New Public Management and its stress on accountability, in breaking nepotistic ties inherent in the Humboldtian model of higher education (Caprile et al. 2012: 140–143).

Here, in conversation with the findings from other research and higher education systems, we explore the impact of neoliberal-informed reforms on research and higher education and specifically research careers and organization of research work. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 3, the Czech research and higher education systems underwent two waves of reforms, one geared toward depoliticization following the political change after 1989 which solidified the autonomy of universities and research institutes, and the other entailing what Linková and Stöckelová (2012) call the repoliticization of Czech research in response to the introduction of a very particular research assessment system in 2004 and a reform of the research, development, and innovation system in 2008. Higher education was also planned to undergo a reform, including the introduction of student fees and greater external stakeholder engagement. Both of these neoliberal-informed reforms were never fully completed, and the Czech system shows features of hybridization. Nevertheless, the impact of change is palpable, and in this book we will specifically explore the gendered consequences of the reform steps that have taken place.

Since 1946 when the first woman professor, Milada Paulová, was appointed in then-Czechoslovakia, the proportion of women in research has clearly increased. The number of women in positions of full and associate professor has grown, and women have started to predominate among university students. Despite these developments, Czech research



continues to be the affair of men. This is eloquently illustrated by the available statistics which show that in terms of gender equality the Czech Republic trails Europe. In 2015, women made up only 26.9 % of researchers, which is the least since 2001 when this indicator started to be monitored in the country (Tenglerová 2017).<sup>1</sup> Compared to other European countries, the Czech Republic is below average or among the worst countries in Europe (European Commission 2016).<sup>2</sup>

This is alarming also because the proportion of women among Master's students (58.4 % of women) and doctoral programmes (43.8 % women) has grown steadily in recent years, and the total number of researchers has also grown (Tenglerová 2017). But only a minimum of newly-created research positions are occupied by women. Thus, in the Czech Republic the proportion of women who have the qualifications to work in research has expanded, as has the number of positions and volumes of funding directed into research and innovation (which has reached the volume of 1.947 % of gross domestic product in 2015 according to the OECD<sup>3</sup>). However, it appears that women do not manage to enter research. And if they do, they have incomparably lower chances than men to advance to higher echelons of the academic hierarchy or to participate in decisions about the direction of research. In 2015 women made up only 25.2 % of associate professors and 15.2 % of full professors (Tenglerová 2017). In a European comparison the proportion of women among full professors in the Czech Republic ranks 30 out of 32 monitored countries (European Commission 2015). The percentage of women in these positions has

---

1 We would like to thank Hana Tenglerová for her statistical input for this chapter.

2 The most comprehensive set of data from individual countries in the Eurostat database comes from 2012. The Czech Republic has the smallest proportion of women among PhD graduates, at 41 % (Eurostat 2013), the third lowest proportion of women in the higher education sector (ranking 32 out of 34), the twelfth lowest in the government sector (ranking 26 out of 35) and the fourth lowest in the business enterprise sector (ranking 32 out of 35).

3 OECD database on gross domestic spending on research and development, available at: <https://data.oecd.org/rd/gross-domestic-spending-on-r-d.htm>.

grown, but only very slowly. The proportion of women in leadership and decision-making positions of research and innovation is totally dismal: In 2015 women made up only 20 % of decision-makers and board members (Tenglerová 2017). The most important institutions and bodies of Czech research and research policy, however, fail this proportion by a wide margin. The leadership of the Czech Science Foundation, the main and de facto only funding organization distributing basic research funds, is comprised of only 6 % women; women make up 20 % of membership of the no-less-important Council for Research, Development, and Innovation—the main conceptual and executive body of Czech research and development policy in the country. Women made up 14.9 % in the leadership of the most important research institution, the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (ibid.). *She Figures 2012*—European statistics mapping the position of women in research—ranked the Czech Republic in the last place out of the 28 countries monitored in terms of women's proportion on panels and committees (European Commission 2013: 117); interestingly, the latest 2015 edition does not provide this information for the Czech Republic (European Commission 2016: 143, Figure 6.9).

Despite these alarming figures the mantra of the main actors of research and innovation policy is the “natural development” or “natural course of events”. The issue of gender equality in research is not accepted by Czech policy makers as a relevant topic deserving systematic solutions; with the exception of the Ministry of Education, the Technology Agency of the Czech Republic<sup>4</sup>, and several cultural and institutional projects funded by the European Commission, no attention is paid to the issue at the policy level or in research institutions. The only issue that relevant

---

4 In 2015 the agency was the first institution in the country to adopt a gender equality policy (the document is available in Czech at [https://www.tacr.cz/dokums\\_raw/urednideska/genderova\\_politika.pdf](https://www.tacr.cz/dokums_raw/urednideska/genderova_politika.pdf)). Since then the Agency has become a pioneer of gender equality in the country, and with the support of Horizon 2020 projects will start implementing a gender equality plan and will participate in the GENDER-NET co-fund project.

stakeholders are willing to address is the issue of combining work and parenthood. The ill-fitting design of family policy together with a lack of childcare facilities and gender conservative discourse of care are the only, even if partially, recognized barriers to women's advancement through the academic hierarchy. Phenomena such as discrimination, sexism, and gender stereotypes regarding women are hard to accept for many political actors and, as our research and experience suggest, also for researchers and heads of research labs. Our goal in this publication is to map the consequences for gender equality in research related to the neoliberal-informed reforms of the Czech academia and higher education taking place in particular since 2008, which started to significantly change the lives of a large portion of researchers. We will focus on the specific context of a Central European country, which demonstrates some specificities that interact with these reforms.

### **Outline of the publication**

This monograph is divided into several parts. The first part includes three contextual chapters which provide background against which the analytical chapters are to be read. Chapter 1 by Blanka Nyklová presents the wider cultural context of the Czech Republic. Nyklová explores the geopolitics of the Central and Eastern European location in terms of knowledge production, theory development, and the gender regime, and challenges the dominant discourse of transitory as a lens through which to read local developments. The following two chapters introduce the Czech research and higher education landscape in terms of its main actors, institutions, and direction of policies affecting the professional paths of academics in these sectors. One of the key features of the Czech academic space is the coexistence of public research institutes (first of all represented by research institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences), public universities, and higher education institutions as the main producers of scientific outputs. Both types of institutions take specific forms, are regulated by specified laws and policies, and the neoliberal

transformations are manifested differently and to differing degrees. In Chapter 2 Marcela Linková shows how these shifts manifest in public research institutes where they have been more pronounced than in the higher education sector. Karel Šima and Petr Pabian complete the picture in Chapter 3 with an outline of the higher education landscape and focus on the massification of higher education and quality assurance at universities.

The second part contains two chapters that address key aspects of the institutional settings in research which have a crucial impact on gender equality in research and research careers: science policies and research excellence. In Chapter 4 Hana Tenglerová analyses how the issue of gender equality in science is treated in Czech research policy and by policy-makers. She underscores the unwillingness of the political elites and policy makers to accept the issue of gender equality as a legitimate topic meriting clear solutions and the “policy of inactivity” adopted by institutions and their representatives in this policy domain. She shows how discourses redefine gender inequality as something that is located and should be addressed outside the domain of research, and in what ways the existence of gender inequalities in research is systematically denied and the status quo maintained. In Chapter 5 focused on the notion of research excellence, Marcela Linková considers what consequences the current definition of excellence promoted by contemporary assessment systems has for gender equality in research and the research profession. She contests the notion of a gender neutral definition of research excellence and shows in what ways women are excluded from excellent science through the very definition of excellence at the symbolic and institutional levels.

The third part of the book addresses the impact of shifts in the academic environment on career paths and work conditions in research from the perspective of researchers, with a specific focus on gender differentials. Linking closely to Linková's chapter on research excellence, in Chapter 6 Marta Vohlídalová examines the ways in which women's work paths have changed in relation to the shifting structural conditions in research.

She compares the narratives of early-career women researchers today and women researchers who built their career paths before 1989, and asks what the main factors are which directed the development of a career path before 1989, which factors affect work paths today, and what the key moments are in the women researchers' narratives which structure their career paths. In Chapter 7, Marta Vohlídalová reflects on a key feature of academic careers today—academic mobility—and concentrates on its gendered impacts. Through the perspective of linked lives she follows couples of mobile women and men researchers. She discusses what impact academic mobility has on the partnership life of mobile researchers, in what ways women and men rearrange their partnership and family lives in relation to mobility, and in what ways academic mobility affects the lives of the partners of mobile researchers.

Next, a collective of authors headed by Kateřina Zábrodská takes us to the environment of higher education institutions in Chapter 8, asking how current shifts and changes are experienced by academics at Czech higher education institutions and universities. Based on a large-scale quantitative study they analyse academics' wellbeing, and focus on gender differences in various characteristics such as job satisfaction, stress, burnout, and general perceptions of the work environment as well as the conflict between work and care.

The book closes with Chapter 9 by Kateřina Cidlinská and Marta Vohlídalová, who examine the reasons why people leave academic research. Based on unique research combining a questionnaire survey of people who have exited academic research over the last 10 years and in-depth interviews they show who leaves science and what motivations people have to leave. One of the disturbing findings is that most people do not leave because they weren't equal to the task or lost interest: the reason for their exit was primarily the disillusionment over current changes in academia and poor work conditions.

This book aims to bring to international audiences our findings related to the gendered impacts of changes in research and higher education landscapes in Central and Eastern Europe, a region geopolitically

located on the semi-periphery. Our goal is to start a conversation with other studies and findings into the impact of neoliberal research reforms mostly studied in the context of Western research environments, and to present findings based on different historical, economic, social, welfare, and gender contexts and experiences. Contrary to some studies into the post-1989 transformation of Czech society in general and research in particular that are located in transitology, we dispute the transitology logic (for more detail see B. Nyklová's Chapter 1) and want to contest the notion of catching up with Western (central) developments. In line with science and technology studies, our approach is one of symmetry, where we treat the research domain as a laboratory with its local path dependencies. In this sense we treat the local realities symmetrically to realities in regions or countries that are geopolitically located at the centre.

Neoliberal reforms may play out differently, with different intensities, different accents, and perhaps slightly different consequences. Yet this is not to say that the current shifts in organizational logics and governmentality regimes in research do not show a tendency towards institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). On the contrary, the main components of cognitive capitalism and neoliberalism can be found in different guises in policies and organizational logics across countries. Institutional isomorphism is a particularly salient concern in Europe and its continued reinvention through the European Research Area, the European Higher Education Area, Responsible Research and Innovation, and other policy plots. The conversations from various places that started happening in relation to the impact of neoliberal reforms and the introduction of research assessment systems underscore yet another major issue—the issue of collective action. It is clear that the system cannot and will not change through individual action. With neoliberal logic interpolating individual researchers and stressing individual responsibility and performance, the conditions for resistance on the individual level are limited (Linková 2014a). We thus want to join Maria do Mar Pereira (2015: 10) in her call for the need “not just to reflect critically

on our conditions of labour, but also to strengthen the links between academic work and broader collective action for social justice.”

## Literature

- Anderson, G. 2008. 'Mapping Academic Resistance in the Managerial University.' *Organization* 15 (2): 251–270, <http://doi.org/10.1177/1350508407086583>.
- Caprile, M. et al. 2012. *Meta-analysis of Gender and Science Research: Synthesis Report*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, <http://doi.org/10.2777/75176>.
- Chandler, J., J. Barry and H. Clark. 2002. 'Stressing Academe: The Wear and Tear of the New Public Management.' *Human Relations* 55 (9): 1051–1069, <http://doi.org/10.1177/0018726702055009019>.
- DiMaggio, P. J. and W. W. Powell. 1983. 'The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields.' *American Sociological Review* 48 (2): 147–160.
- European Commission. 2013. *She Figures 2012*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. ([http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document\\_library/pdf\\_06/she-figures-2012\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/she-figures-2012_en.pdf)).
- European Commission. 2015. *She Figures 2015*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. ([https://ec.europa.eu/research/swafs/pdf/pub\\_gender\\_equality/she\\_figures\\_2015-leaflet-web.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/research/swafs/pdf/pub_gender_equality/she_figures_2015-leaflet-web.pdf)).
- European Commission. 2016. *She Figures 2015*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. ([https://ec.europa.eu/research/swafs/pdf/pub\\_gender\\_equality/she\\_figures\\_2015-final.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/research/swafs/pdf/pub_gender_equality/she_figures_2015-final.pdf)).
- Gillies, D. 2008. *How Should Research Be Organised?* London: College Publications.
- Høstaker, R. and A. Vabø. 2005. 'Higher Education and the Transformation to a Cognitive Capitalism.' Pp. 227–243 in *Governing Knowledge: A Study of Continuity and Change in Higher Education*, edited by I. Bleiklie and M. Henkel. Dordrecht, Berlin, Heidelberg, New York: Springer.
- Knights, D. and W. Richards. 2003. 'Sex Discrimination in UK Academia.' *Gender, Work and Organization* 10 (2): 213–238, <http://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0432.t01-1-00012>.
- Linková, M. 2014a. 'Unable to Resist: Researchers' Responses to Research Assessment in the Czech Republic.' *Human Affairs* 24 (1): 78–88, <http://doi.org/10.2478/s13374-014-0207-z>.
- Linková, M. 2014b. *Disciplining Science: The Impacts of Shifting Governmentality Regimes on Academic Research in the Natural Sciences in the Czech Republic*. Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences (Dissertation Thesis).
- Linková, M., K. Cidlinská, H. Tenglerová, M. Vohlídalová and A. Červinková. 2013. *Nejisté vyhlídky: proměny vědecké profese z genderové perspektivy*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON).
- Linková, M. and T. Stöckelová. 2012. 'Public Accountability and the Politicization of Science: The Peculiar Journey of Czech Research Assessment.' *Science and Public Policy* 39 (5): 618–629, <http://doi.org/10.1093/scipol/scs039>.
- Metcalfe, A. and S. Slaughter. 2008. 'The Differential Effects of Academic Capitalism on Women in the Academy.' In *Unfinished Agendas: New and Continuing Gender Challenges in Higher Education*, edited by J. Glazer-Raymo. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Morley, L. 2003. *Quality And Power In Higher Education*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Morley, L. and B. Crossouard. 2016. 'Gender in the Neoliberalised Global Academy: the Affective Economy of Women and Leadership in South Asia.' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 37 (1): 149–168, <http://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2015.1100529>.
- Moulier-Boutang, Y. 2012. *Cognitive Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Pereira, M. D. M. 2015. 'Struggling within and beyond the Performative University: Articulating Activism and Work in an "Academia without Walls".' *Women's Studies International Forum*, <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2015.06.008>.
- Roa, T., J. Beggs, J. Williams and H. Moller. 2009. 'New Zealand's Performance Based Research Funding (PBRF) Model Undermines Maori Research.' *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 39 (4): 233–238, <http://doi.org/10.1080/03014220909510587>.
- Sauder, M. and W. N. Espeland. 2009. 'The Discipline of Rankings: Tight Coupling and Organizational Change.' *American Sociological Review* 74 (1): 63–82, <http://doi.org/10.1177/000312240907400104>.
- Shore, C. 2008. 'Audit Culture and Illiberal Governance: Universities and the Politics of Accountability.' *Anthropological Theory* 8 (3): 278–298, <http://doi.org/10.1177/1463499608093815>.
- Shore, C. and S. Wright. 2000. 'Coercive Accountability: the Rise of Audit Culture in High Education.' Pp. 57–89 in *Audit Cultures: Anthropological Studies in Accountability and the Academy*, edited by M. Strathern. London, New York: Routledge.
- Shore, C. and S. Wright. 2015. 'Governing by Numbers: Audit Culture, Rankings and the New World Order.' *Social Anthropology* 23 (1): 22–28, <http://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12098>.
- Sparkes, A. C. 2007. 'Embodiment, Academics, and the Audit Culture: a Story Seeking Consideration.' *Qualitative Research* 7 (4): 521–550, <http://doi.org/10.1177/1468794107082306>.
- Strathern, M. 2000. 'The Tyranny of Transparency.' *British Educational Research Journal* 26 (3): 309–321, <http://doi.org/10.1080/713651562>.
- Tenglerová, H. 2017. *Postavení žen v české vědě. Monitorovací zpráva za rok 2015*. Prague: Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i. (<http://www.genderaveda.cz/files/postaveni-zen-v-ceske-vede-2015-zlom-final-web.pdf>).
- Thomas, R. and A. Davies. 2002. 'Gender and New Public Management: Reconstituting Academic Subjectivities.' *Gender, Work and Organization* 9 (4): 372–397, <http://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0432.00165>.
- Ward, S. C. 2012. *Neoliberalism and the Global Restructuring of Knowledge and Education*. New York, London: Routledge.