

Exchange of views of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality on Gender Studies in Hungary

8. November 2018 – European Parliament, Brussels

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1 Introduction

With effect from October 15th, the Master's (MA) programme on Gender Studies has been removed from the list of Master's programmes admitted in Hungary (Reisin 2018). This goes back to a proposal made by the Hungarian Government in August 2018 (Petö 2018). The draft decree allowed students enrolled this year to complete their studies, but terminated the degree for future years (Network of University Teachers 2018). The actual government order signed by Hungary's Prime Minister Viktor Orbán declares that all permissions given to the "Masters-program in Gender Studies" are revoked (Petö 2018) and that the Gender Studies Master's degree is annulled (CEU 2018d). One official argument for the abolition of the study programme is that "there is no need for these graduates in the labor market" (Petö 2018; see also Oestreich 2018; Redden 2018).² Another argument is that Gender Studies is "an ideology, not a science" that works on abolishing the sexes and has, therefore, "no business [being taught] in universities" (Redden 2018; see also Oestreich 2018).

Gender Studies programmes can be studied in Hungary at two universities both located in Budapest: Such curricula are offered by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Eötvös Loránd State University (ELTE) and the private Central European University (CEU). The Master's degree in Gender Studies was added to the list of tertiary education already in 1996/97, when a one-year MA programme in English was for the first time offered at the Central European University, followed by a PhD programme in 2002, a two-year MA programme in Critical Gender Studies in 2008, and two international, European programmes, GEMMA and

¹ Along with Dr Ulrike Auga, I represented RINGS, the International Research Association of Institutions of Advanced Gender Studies, at the Exchange of Views of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality on Gender Studies in Hungary, European Parliament, Brussels, 8 November 2018. This paper is the English translation of the paper I presented in German at the Brussels hearing. For this publication, some data on the content of Gender Studies and on labour market questions have been added. The information presented at the Exchange of Views and in this paper draws on my personal research experience as a sociologist and gender scholar located at a university in Germany. As such, it focuses mainly on Studies in European contexts.

² Redden (2018) cites a statement made by Zsolt Semjen, a deputy to Hungary's prime minister, to the international news agency Agence France-Presse. According to Semjen, the labour market demand for the field is "close to zero": "No one wants to employ a gender-ologist" (Redden 2018; see also Oestreich 2018)

MATILDA, in 2009. In 2016, initial offerings of courses in Hungarian were introduced within the Faculty of Social Sciences of ELTE (Network of University Teachers 2018; Petö 2018). The current Master's programme at ELTE was launched in 2017, so that the first cohort will graduate in July 2019 (Petö 2018).

Since the accreditation of the first Gender Studies MA programme at CEU in the fall of 1997, some 630 MA students have graduated in one of the four programmes. According to an alumni report looking at the last ten years, the graduates have found jobs “from Kirghizstan to Iceland and Great Britain in higher education, economy, culture and finance” (Petö 2018).³ Thus, they work in companies, foundations, NGOs, politics, administration and science (Oestreich 2018). The labour market turns out to be quite good, as well as in other countries. So what are the allegations referring to? And what are Gender Studies about? The paper will answer these questions. It is divided into five sections. After the introduction (section 1), the second section gives a short explanation of Gender Studies, followed by an overview of the study programmes and courses students can choose (section 3), and the labour market of Gender Studies graduates (section 4). A conclusion is given in the fifth and last section.

2 What is Gender Studies about?

Gender Studies is a subject of study and research that is composed of different disciplines (Brand et al. 2018) and contains a multitude of theories and empirically proven scientific knowledge from these disciplines. It engages with academic disciplines and concerns across not only the Humanities and Social Sciences, but also Natural and Applied Sciences, Medicine, Technology, and Management.⁴

Gender Studies is offered as a Bachelor's (BA), Master's (MA) or Doctoral (PhD) programme – either alone or in combination with another subject. Some universities have established elective Gender Studies programmes complementary to other BA or MA curricula so that

³ According to Éva Fodor, Pro-Rector for Hungarian Affairs at CEU and an Associate Professor with the Department of Gender Studies, 42 per cent of the Gender Studies graduates are working in education and research, 23 per cent in the private sector (some of them in large corporations such as Air France KLM, Citibank, IBM, KPMG, or The Coca-Cola Company), 16 per cent in civil organisations, such as foundations and NGOs, 7 per cent in international organisations, 4 per cent in public administration, 4 per cent are small entrepreneurs, and another 4 per cent work in “other” occupations. The data are based on a survey conducted in 2017 on 398 students (hvg 2018).

⁴ And it is recognized as a relevant academic discipline by the scientific associations of the related disciplines. For instance, in an Expert Round Table held at the Anglo-American University, Prague, (November 16, 2018), “[t]he Political Studies Association (PSA) confirmed that Gender Studies form an integral part of understanding the complexities of social interaction, the impact of policy, and the dynamics of the economy. Similarly, the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) maintain[ed] that Gender Studies is an internationally recognized discipline and an established multi-disciplinary area of research and teaching in the social sciences, which helps to understand dynamics and power relations in our society” (Mršťáková 2018, p. 1).

students can choose to achieve a gender perspective in addition to another BA or MA programme.

The focus is on the significance of gender “in history, culture, science, society and politics” (Reisin 2018; translation: AvA); this includes “how gender shapes and is shaped by different societal structures, organizations and human life, and how knowledge about gender is generated” (Örebro University 2018a). Key issues of Gender Studies include “how gender and gender equality and other dimensions of power, such as class, ethnicity and sexual orientation, are woven together, influence each other, and are transformed. Problematising theoretical, as well as everyday, understandings of sex, gender and intersectionality is of central interest” (Örebro University 2018a).

Gender plays a central role in every area of our lives: in politics and everyday life, at work and in the private sphere, as a category in documents, official forms and statistical data, in literature and fashion, biology and medicine (HU Berlin 2018). Gender Studies “reveals that there is no biological determinism that automatically deduces from the presence of certain organs and hormone levels which characteristics and abilities certain humans have” (Reisin 2018; translation: AvA). Gender studies “asks when and how gender is made socially relevant in the most diverse social contexts, possibly even constructed in the first place” (Siri 2018; translation: AvA).

For example, there are different behavioural expectations based on gender, as in the roles of mother and father. Gender scholars explain this fact in various ways, for example, with the historical separation of workplace and family household and, as a consequence, the assignment of the breadwinner role to man and the homemaker role to woman (Alemann, Beaufaÿs and Kortendiek 2016, p. 10). One consequence of this division of roles can be seen in the gender pay gap (GPG), which amounted to about 16 per cent in the European Union in 2016 (European Commission 2018, p. 17) and “has barely narrowed over the last two decades” (Bensidoun 2018, p. 35). Gender research has investigated the causes of this gender pay gap. Some of the income differences can be attributed to gender differences in

- work preferences and attitudes, e.g. “career priorities, appetite for risk or optimism about future career prospects” (Bensidoun 2018, p. 35)
- education and work experience (Bensidoun 2018, p. 35, Holst and Marquardt 2018, p. 315),
- position (European Commission 2018, p. 18),
- company size and sector (European Commission 2018, p. 18), and
- conditions of work and working time, e.g. part-time work and/or fixed-term contracts (European Commission 2018, p. 18; Holst and Marquardt 2018, p. 315).

Two thirds of the difference (or 10 of the 16 per cent), though, cannot be explained (European Commission 2018, p. 18). It is a widespread assumption among Gender scholars that gender-specific discrimination has an effect here.

However, Gender Studies can also explain why the work situations of women and men are slowly converging in many areas, as, in some case, are the roles of mother and father (Alemann, Beaufaÿs and Kortendiek 2016). Relevant causes are the increased participation of women in education and employment, the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, changed ideas about parenthood and child rearing, but also political initiatives for gender equality. Gender studies asks what this development means for men and women, for girls and boys, for politics and for companies.

3 What do students learn in Gender Studies?

To shed some light on what students learn in Gender Studies, I studied Gender Studies curricula at various universities in different member countries of the EU, e.g. my home country Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and Hungary. Normally, the MA programmes are divided into modules, such as

- theories of gender and gender relations,
- techniques of scientific work and research methods, and
- professional/thematic specializations, e.g.
 - cultural and symbolic representation,
 - socialization and development,
 - division of labour and social structure.⁵

Many universities focus on thematical profiles, the most popular being

- (1) work, organizations/institutions and social transformation,
- (2) cultural and medial representation,
- (3) socialization and education,
- (4) health and the body, and
- (5) identities, positions and differences (i.e. heterogeneities and inequalities).⁶

The courses offered in Gender Studies always depend on the subjects and faculties involved in the study programmes. In most cases, disciplines belonging to the Humanities and the Social Sciences are involved; and in many cases other disciplines take part in the study programme as well, e.g. Visual arts, Music and Dance, Education and Psychology, Economics and Law, STEM, Medicine, Health sciences, and Physical education.

⁵ One example for this modularized structure can be found at Paderborn University (Germany), cf. <https://www.uni-paderborn.de/studienangebot/studiengang/geschlechterstudiengender-studies-zweifach-master-master/> (Retrieval: 2018-12-02).

⁶ See, for example, the study programmes of Ruhr-University Bochum (Germany), cf. <http://www.sowi.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/genderstudies/studium/stang.html.de>, and of Paderborn University (Germany), cf. <https://kw.uni-paderborn.de/gender-studien/> (Retrieval: 2018-12-02).

The Master's programmes at the Central European University (CEU) provide an example of what can be studied in Gender Studies in Hungary. Overall, the CEU Master's programme in Gender Studies is very similar to MA programmes in other European countries.

The CEU offers a one-year and a two-year Master's programme, two European Master's programmes, and a doctoral programme in Gender Studies (CEU 2018a, b). Students are offered "a condensed grounding in interdisciplinary Gender Studies" while also developing "focused knowledge through original research, culminating in an MA thesis" (CEU 2018a, p. 7). While studying Gender Studies, they acquire theoretical and empirical knowledge, methodological and analytical skills: The programme aims at developing "students' analytical skills through both written and oral expression", and to prepare them for further academic study at the PhD level and/or for other fields of research and practical work" (CEU 2018a, p. 7; 2018b, p. 7). "In keeping with these goals, the program introduces students to major theoretical and methodological approaches to Gender Studies from a range of disciplines", being, at the CEU, History, Sociology, Socio-cultural anthropology, Political science, International relations, Philosophy, Literature, Legal studies, Rhetoric, and Cultural studies (CEU 2018a, p. 7; 2018b, p. 7). MA students are expected "to develop their scholarly perspectives through an interdisciplinary lens and beyond their immediate fields of interest" (CEU 2018a, p. 7; 2018b, p. 7).

Graduates of the MA programmes in Gender Studies thus have a broad knowledge about the various fields of the discipline, their historical and geographical origins and their central debates. They master techniques of scientific work (including research methods, writing and presentation techniques) and are able to apply them in scientific and practical fields of work. Graduates have developed a gender-sensitive perspective on science, social and cultural theories, cultural phenomena, everyday life and politics. This perspective identifies gender inequalities, but also other social and cultural differences, and it is able to analyse how they work together in an intersectional way. It also focuses on approaches and strategies of equal opportunity policies. Students learn to reflect on their own social, cultural and political situation and position. They are able to translate their acquired knowledge into a research project and to work on it using the appropriate methods (CEU 2018a, b).

Topics of the courses taught at the CEU are, besides techniques of scientific work, research methods and theory of science, similar to other MA programmes in the Social Sciences and the Humanities:

- the basics of Gender Studies,
- interdisciplinarity,
- feminism,
- history of women's and gender equality and current political approaches,
- femininity and masculinity,

- social movements,
- human rights,
- new religious discourses,
- nationalism and
- migration (from a gender perspective).

Students learn about gender, race, ethnicity and class inequalities and analyse the meaning of gender in

- visual media,
- literature,
- visual and performing arts and
- other fields of arts and sciences (CEU 2018a, b).⁷

The two-year Master's programme offers both a Research Track and an Applied Gender Studies Track with an internship, as well as in-depth methodological courses and further courses on topics such as

- the labour market,
- political analysis,
- postcolonialism, and
- the work of the UN (CEU 2018b).

The importance of the MA programme in Gender Studies is demonstrated in various co-operations of universities on the national, international and EU level. The European associations AOIFE (Association of Institutions for Feminist Education and Research in Europe, founded in 1996) and ATHENA (Advanced Thematic Network in European Women's Studies, founded in 1998) were both recognized with a Socrates fund of the European Community (Sanden 2010, p. 7).⁸ In 2006, GEMMA, the first European MA degree programme in Women's and Gender Studies, was established.⁹ CEU is one of the participating universities. GEMMA is an Erasmus Mundus Programme, i.e. it "is a programme of excellence supported by the European Commission" (EC; see GEMMA 2018). The EC has selected it as an Erasmus Mundus Master Course three consecutive times (in 2006, 2011 and 2017) and distinguished it, from an average of 150 project proposals submitted annually, as a "project and model in the field of Women's Studies and Gender Studies in a European

⁷ At other universities, the study programme is quite similar. At Örebro University (Sweden), e.g., students take compulsory courses such as Philosophy of science, Research methods, Feminist theory and The interplay between theory and empirics, and can choose a number of elective courses in theory, empirics, and methods (Örebro University, 2018b).

⁸ In 2009, they co-founded, together with the association WISE (Women's International Studies Europe) the professional association ATGENDER (European Association for Gender in Research, Education and Documentation); cf. Sanden 2010, p. 7).

⁹ Eight universities participate in GEMMA (Sanden 2010, p. 7; GEMMA 2018): University of Granada (Spain; Coordinator), University of Bologna (Italy), University of Hull (United Kingdom), University of Lodz (Poland), University of Oviedo (Spain), Rutgers University (State University of New Jersey, USA), University of Utrecht (Netherlands) and Central European University (Budapest, Hungary). Since the 6th edition of the programme, the extended GEMMA Consortium also includes universities in North, Central and South America (GEMMA 2018).

and global perspective” (GEMMA 2018). CEU also offers MATILDA, a unique European Master in Women’s and Gender History, designed for students wishing to develop expertise in women’s and gender history, as well as European history. The programme, like GEMMA, requires studying at two European universities (CEU 2018e).¹⁰ The universities that offer Gender Studies exchange programmes on the basis of international agreements, one of them being CEU, provide their students with international contacts and experiences. These programmes make it obvious that Gender Studies is recognized, as a field of study, at a European and international level.

4 What can Gender Studies graduates expect on the labour market?

The labour market corresponds to that of the Humanities, like European Ethnology, History or Philosophy (Kriszio and Pache 2012), and the Social Sciences (Binder and Pache 2008, p. 93).¹¹ Internships, work experiences while studying, and international study experiences increase employment opportunities (Kriszio and Pache 2012). Alumni surveys show a “broad acceptance of the degree” MA Gender Studies and “an explicit interest, appreciation and curiosity” on the part of employers (Kriszio and Pache 2012, p. 6; translation: AvA).¹²

As most of the Gender Studies programmes have been established in the 1990s and early 2000s, alumni surveys conducted in the 2000s in EU countries showed a somewhat difficult acceptance and partly explicit rejection of degrees in Gender Studies in that time (Kriszio and Pache 2012, p. 6; Sanden 2010). Women’s Studies (as many of the study programmes were called in the early years) often had “a negative image”: Employers and colleagues lacked “knowledge about the actual content of Women’s Studies programmes”, did not “take it seriously” or connected it “to stereotypical ideas about feminism”, and graduates often had “to explain what Women’s Studies is and what its use is” (Sanden 2010, p. 194).

This situation changed gradually in the later 2000s. In a German survey carried out in 2007, “only a few interviewees reported that they had to explain what Gender Studies is”; in later interviews, “such statements” were no longer found (Kriszio and Pache 2012, p. 52; translation: AvA). Currently, alumni surveys from various countries show that “the actual employment relevance of gender competences far exceeds expectations” (Kriszio and Pache

¹⁰ The MATILDA consortium currently includes University of Vienna (coordinating institution), Université Lumière Lyon 2, Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, and CEU (CEU 2018e)

¹¹ An interview study on graduates from diverse German universities primarily focusing on gender in various disciplines in 2005 found out that “graduates from Women’s and Gender Studies” were “found to work in the same fields as other Social Sciences and Humanities graduates” (Binder and Pache 2008, p. 93).

¹² This had also been a result of the German alumni survey carried out in 2005: “contrary to expectations, knowledge gained in Gender Studies was highly relevant to occupations with a tendency for this to increase” (Binder and Pache 2008, p. 93).

2012, p. 5; translation: AvA). Overall, there is an increasing “demand for gender-specific knowledge”, reflecting a real “boom of the concept of gender competence” that is regarded nowadays as a vocational “key qualification” (Brand und Sabisch 2017, p. 7; translation: AvA; Brand et al. 2018).

The acceptance of Gender Studies degrees in the labour market has various reasons. On the one hand, it is due to the high acceptance of the MA degree in itself not only in countries where BA/MA programmes have been the standard for many years but also in countries where, during the Bologna process, BA and MA programmes have only been established since the late 1990s and early 2000s. BA and MA programmes allow a large variety of specializations in comparison to the academic disciplines that could be studied earlier, so that employers are getting used to a broad variety of academic degrees. On the other hand, the development of equal opportunities and anti-discrimination policies at the European and the national level as well as new forms of legal action against discrimination have caused a new interest in gender-specific knowledge (GAU 2013, p. 1). Furthermore, diversity management and family-friendly (or work-life balance) policies are considered as more and more important by companies in both the private and the public sector (Alemann 2017; Alemann, Beaufaÿs and Oechsle 2017). Companies also present their diversity and work-life balance policies as a strategy of employer branding, especially in tight labour markets where talented professional and managerial staff is scarce (Alemann 2017; Alemann, Beaufaÿs and Oechsle 2017). To develop and implement effective policies for gender equality and work-life/work-family balance, organizations need gender-related knowledge.

Thus, graduates of Gender Studies are able to use their fundamental knowledge about gender relations, gender inequalities and cultural constructions of gender in many fields of work, and their knowledge is explicitly desired in many of these fields (GAU 2013, p. 1). Gender Studies alumni find work in “a broad range of jobs in a wide variety of employment arenas, including the public sector, business organizations, civil society associations”, and NGOs that focus on women and/or equal opportunity (Sanden 2010, p. 20, 194; Kriszio and Pache 2012): “The majority of graduates” ends up as professionals in the public sector, many of them in research, in- as well as outside the university, and in professions “on the edge of research, such as advisors, teachers, journalists, or policymakers” (Sanden 2010, p. 196). Others find work in social projects and in the international development co-operation, the non-university education sector, the cultural sector or the media, in childcare, healthcare or medicine, and in the field of law and legislation (Kriszio and Pache, 2012; CEWS n.d.; Sanden 2010, p. 194). In addition, there are other professional areas and fields of independent entrepreneurial activity. A large number of graduates are self-employed or work as freelancers (Sanden 2010, p. 196; Kriszio and Pache 2012), especially in the cultural

sector and the media (Kriszio and Pache 2012). Not all the jobs are related to Gender Studies, but the employment trajectories show “that graduates are very versatile, working in various organizations, for instance, as project coordinators, trainers, office managers, secretaries, and social and educational workers” (Sanden 2010, p. 196).

The employment experiences of Gender Studies graduates show that a large number of them is able to apply their Gender Studies knowledge in their jobs (Sanden 2010, p. 199; Kriszio and Pache 2012). Apart from specific knowledge about gender relations and the construction of gender in society, the graduates often mentioned, for instance, “the critical assessment of certain debates, understanding complex issues, and being alert for issues that are relevant to women” (Sanden 2010, p. 199-200). This applies especially to jobs in research and teaching, such as universities and the non-university education sector, but also to positions in gender mainstreaming, diversity management, equal opportunities, human resource and health management of organizations. In politics and the broader area of policy-making, it depends on the field of policy-making if gender-relevant knowledge can be used. It applies especially to all areas relevant to equal opportunity policies and anti-discrimination strategies (Kriszio and Pache 2012; Sanden 2010).

Overall, Gender Studies graduates value their interdisciplinary knowledge as a great professional asset, especially those who work in non-university fields of work, “where the problems to be dealt with are often multidimensional and not purely subject-specific” (Kriszio and Pache 2012, p. 56; translation: AvA).¹³ This applies to positions in the cultural sector, in non-university educational work, in political projects and policy-making, and in large companies of the private and public sector, and it is regarded as an advantage of Gender Studies over other study programmes.

In general, alumni surveys state that Gender Studies graduates have acquired a set of qualifications in a variety of dimensions:

- (1) “practices for accumulating and generating knowledge”, such as the ability to identify issues and related questions, to deal with divergent disciplinary perspectives, concepts and approaches, and to formulate questions “which challenge disciplinary and/or established perspectives of the issues” (Binder and Pache 2008, pp. 95-96),
- (2) “practices for reflecting about oneself and knowledge”, such as methodical competencies necessary for scholarly work, “being able to reflect about the

¹³ This has also been stated in an earlier alumni survey, carried out in Germany: “In the domain of subject area competencies, the interdisciplinary approach to studies, which plays a central role in the Gender Studies program at the HU, was described by the interviewed graduates as extremely critical with respect to their professional abilities” (Binder and Pache 2008, p. 95).

possibilities and limits of gaining knowledge”, and “to link bodies of knowledge from different fields” (Binder and Pache 2008, p. 96),

- (3) “practices for transferring and intervening”, i.e. social competencies gained from the social contexts which are integrated into the course of studies, e.g. internships, tutorial projects or studying abroad (Binder and Pache 2008, pp. 96-97), and
- (4) “practices of identity-based professionalization”, such as individual competencies the students acquire while pursuing their epistemological interests and developing their own profile, and organizational skills, “which are generally increased through the specific course of Gender Studies” (Binder and Pache 2008, p. 97).

Alumni surveys show that, once employed, graduates “never lose their Women’s Studies perspective and are always keen to use their knowledge” (Sanden 2010, p. 197).¹⁴ This applies even to graduates interviewed in the early 2000s: “Many respondents (...) from all participating countries talked about the relevance of gender expertise for all employment situations” (Sanden 2010, p. 194). In an alumni survey carried out in 2007 (Kriszio and Pache 2010, p. 52), interviewees stated that there was a social consensus about the central role of gender in society. Currently, graduates “refer to ample occasions in which they are specifically asked to bring a Women’s Studies perspective” to their work (Sanden 2010, p. 197). There is not only demand for gender expertise “from the side of the organizations” the alumni work for, but also “from co-workers, and from societal actors” (Sanden, p. 197; Kriszio and Pache 2012).

Employment satisfaction seems to be relatively high: Nearly all alumni who answered this question in a German alumni survey (Kriszio and Pache 2012, p. 36) were fully (more than 51 per cent) or partly satisfied (43 per cent) with their professional position; only 6 per cent were really dissatisfied. Satisfaction was found to be particularly high in the occupational fields of companies/private sector and universities; on the other hand, a considerable proportion of those employed in science and academia stated only to be “partly satisfied”. In culture and media, only 2 per cent were really satisfied with their position (Kriszio and Pache 2012, p. 36). The authors found out that there is no correlation between job satisfaction and the chance to apply gender-related knowledge on the job, but there seems to be a relationship between job satisfaction and the conditions of employment (Kriszio and Pache 2012, p. 36): In many positions of the academic sector, part-time employment and fixed-term contracts are very common, and in the cultural sector and the media, self-employment and low earnings predominate. By contrast, Gender Studies graduates earn comparatively high wages in the private sector, in government/politics and policy-making and in non-university

¹⁴ Following Sanden (2010, p. 197), this “is related to their ambition to make a difference”, a very strong motivation to study Gender Studies, in the first place.

education (Kriszjo and Pache 2012, p. 36, 46). Thus, the studied alumni surveys reveal that Gender Studies graduates find a multitude of positions in different sectors of the labour market and that there is a strong demand for gender-related knowledge in different areas of society.

5 Conclusion

As shown in this paper, Gender Studies is a study programme where students learn about the importance of gender and gender relations in different areas of society, in history and present times. They learn to analyse existing inequalities and discriminatory structures, and they acquire strategies and methods for their removal. The students are able to identify and question gender-related worldviews and discourses. In this way, they can contribute to relevant social issues in the areas of equal pay and the labour market, family and care work, environment and sustainability, international cooperation and development, prevention of violence, and many other fields. Thus, they contribute to the shaping of future issues, such as globalization, demographic change, migration, or international security.

Graduates of Gender Studies are capable of critical analysis, which enables them to make well-founded criticisms of populism, traditionalism, neoliberalism, extremism or totalitarianism. Because of this, Gender Studies is currently being questioned and politically attacked in many countries in which such social developments are emerging. The promotion of Gender Studies, therefore, also implies the promotion of equal rights and democracy.

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