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Težave s spoli: kritika binarne enakosti spolov

Prispevek preizprašuje, kaj je enakost spolov, zakaj se jo (še vedno) misli v (cis)binarni perspektivi in kaj bi v družbi lahko premaknila, če bi se jo mislilo (ali začelo misliti) v (trans)nebinarni perspektivi. Enakost spolov je v nedavnih znanstvenih, pravnih, političnih in družbenoaktivističnih utemeljitvah najpogostejše opredeljena kot družbena praksa zagotavljanja enake obravnave in enakih možnosti vseh ljudi *ne glede na spol*. Ideja enakosti spolov se kot akademski koncept, pravna kategorija in politično načelo dandanes nanaša na stanje vsesplošne enakosti v družbi ne glede na spol, zlasti pa v zvezi s statusom, pravicami in možnostmi ljudi. Toda njeni zgodovinski izvori so v ključni povezavi s prizadevanji za sistemsko, strukturno oz. institucionalno odpravo neenakosti žensk v razmerju do moških. Enakost spolov kot enakost žensk in moških tako že nekaj desetletij velja za predpogoj ter pokazatelja pluralnega demokratičnega razvoja, družbene strpnosti in blaginje, hkrati pa je nujno politično načelo za zagotavljanje človekovih pravic. Kot pravni in politični koncept enakost spolov zadeva vsa ključna področja družbenega življenja, od zasebnega do javnega, torej od družine (enakopraven spolni položaj v zakonski/izvenzakonski skupnosti, enakovredna delitev dela v gospodinjstvu, pravično vrednotenje dela ipd.), politike (enaka oz. uravnotežena zastopnost spolov v političnem odločanju, enake državljanske pravice ipd.) do ekonomije (enakovreden dostop do temeljnih dobrin, enako plačilo za enako delo, odprava spolne nepristranosti na delovnem mestu ipd.). Toda že bežen pregled tujih, zlasti pa domačih referenčnih virov na temo enakosti spolov razkrije temeljno potezo mišljenja enakosti spolov: cisbinarno in cismativno zaznavanost koncepta (enakost *med spoloma*, enakost *dveh spolov*), ki poleg žensk in moških ne vključuje ostalih spolov oz. spolnih identitet, torej identitet zunaj spolnega cisbinarizma in cismativizma. Stalna besedna zveza »enakost spolov« kot prevod angleške krilatice *gender equality* v slovenskih rabah deluje varljivo obetajoče pluralno, celo v primerih evidentne pomenske izpraznjenosti, preračunljivega površinskega sklicevanja in gole konjunktorne eksploatacije. Pričara namreč iluzijo o pluralnosti spolov. A pri prevladujočih rabah omenjene skovanke praviloma ne gre za množinsko, ampak pretežno ali kar izključno dvojinsko obliko rodilniškega prilastka. Slednja v resnici razkriva dediščino tega, kako se spol misli v okviru diskurzov o enakosti spolov. Misli se ga (še vedno) refleksno, normativno, cisspolno in binarno, ne (še) refleksivno, inkluzivno, transspolno in nebinarno. Binarna enakost spolov ima težave s spoli, ko spontano ali normativno pristaja na idejo dveh spolov. Če naj bi bila glavni cilj ukrepov glede »enakosti spolov« vse-splošna enaka in popolnoma enakopravna obravnava ljudi v družbi ter na vseh področjih človekovega udejstvovanja *ne glede na spol* (še zlasti akademska okolja naj bi bila pri tem zgled), potem mora ideja enakosti spolov v teoriji in praksi, v deklarativnih zagovorih in dejanskih izvedbah dobiti svoje pluralnejše nadaljevanje. Predstavljena bo ideja *transenakosti spolov* kot različica pluralnega, refleksivnega in vključujočega razumevanja enakosti spolov ter podana presoja akcijskih načrtov enakosti spolov treh slovenskih javnih univerz v perspektivi transenakosti spolov.

Ključne besede: enakost spolov, transspolnost, univerza

Enakost spolov: premisleki in izzivi

Povzetki posveta o enakosti spolov
za vključujočo univerzo in družbo
Koper, 15. november 2023

Gender Equality: Considerations and Challenges

Abstracts of the Symposium
on Gender Equality for an Inclusive
University and Society
Koper, 15 November 2023

Trouble with Genders: A Critique of Binary Gender Equality

This paper reconsiders what gender equality is, why it is (still) thought of in a (cis)binary perspective, and what it could change in society if it were (or started to be) thought of in a (trans)non-binary perspective. Gender equality is most often defined in recent scientific, legal, political and social activist arguments as the



social practice of ensuring equal treatment and equal opportunities for all people, *regardless of gender*. As an academic concept, a legal category, and a political principle, the idea of gender equality today refers to a state of universal equality in society, regardless of gender, and in particular in people's status, rights and opportunities. However, its historical origins are crucially linked to efforts to address systemic, structural or institutional inequalities of women in relation to men. Gender equality, as the equality of women and men, has thus been seen for several decades as a prerequisite and indicator of plural democratic development, social tolerance and prosperity, and as an indispensable political principle for guaranteeing human rights. As a legal and political concept, gender equality concerns all key areas of social life, from the private to the public sphere, i.e. from the family domain (equal gender status in the marital/extra-marital community, equal division of domestic labour, fair labour valuation, etc.), politics (equal or balanced gender representation in political decision-making, equal citizenship rights, etc.) to the economy (equal access to basic goods, equal pay for equal work, elimination of gender bias in the workplace, etc.). However, a cursory glance at international, and especially local Slovenian, reference sources on gender equality reveals a fundamental feature of gender equality thinking: the cisbinary and cishnormative character of the concept (equality *between two sexes*, equality *of two sexes*), which excludes other genders or gender identities besides cis women and cis men, i.e. identities outside of gender cishnormism and cishnormativism. The permanent Slovenian phrase *enakost spolov* (literally equality of genders) as a translation of the English catchphrase 'gender equality' in Slovenian use is deceptively promisingly pluralistic, even in cases of obvious semantic emptiness, superficial referencing and bare trendy exploitation. It conjures up the illusion of gender plurality. However, in the dominant uses, the Slovenian coinage with the periphrastic genitive noun *spolov* – which has the same genitive inflectional ending in grammatical plural and dual – is usually not used in a plural (equality 'of [three or more] genders') but mainly or even exclusively dual sense (equality 'of two genders/sexes'). The latter reveals the legacy of how gender is thought of within discourses of gender equality. It is (still) thought of in an instinctive, normative, cisgender and binary way, not (yet) in a reflexive, inclusive, transgender and non-binary way. The whole binary gender equality enterprise has problems with genders when it spontaneously or normatively applies to the idea of two sexes. Suppose the main aim of 'gender equality' measures is to ensure that people are treated equally in all areas of human activity and society, regardless of their gender (and academia in particular should be a model for this). In that case, the idea of gender equality must be given a more pluralistic follow-up in theory and practice, in declarative advocacy and actual implementation. This paper will conclude by presenting the idea of *transgender equality* as a variant of a plural, reflexive and inclusive understanding of gender equality and by assessing the gender equality action plans of three Slovenian public universities from the perspective of transgender equality.

Key words: gender equality, transgender, university