Looking Askance and Envy:
Subtle Gender Violence in the Neoliberalised Academia

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Abstract: This article shows how envy is a form of subtle gender violence within academia. Women professors at the National University of Colombia that participated in this study perceive that they are envied for their academic production within an androcentric system that devalues the knowledge and contributions of women. This occurs in a neoliberal context of scarcity of resources that hinders research and scientific production, but economically stimulates those who produce academic output. Thus, the perception of the envy resulting from professional development leads to sinuous relationships among colleagues, leading women professors to self-isolation. At the same time, this also has consequences for their students, since one way of harming the professors is by obstructing the academic progress of people close to them.

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Introduction

"I have something useful for your research", Z told me with a smile on her face when we met in a coffee shop near the university. For Z, this "something" useful for my research is important because it visibilises that women face a different treatment in any area of knowledge. Z explained that she and Professor G (PG) belong to a department where women professors face inequalities for engaging with specific knowledges, such as cultural and gender issues, moving away from the physical and quantitative tradition of the field. Thus, Z identifies a dispute over power, knowledge, and recognition within this space.

When we met, she was in the last semesters of her second undergraduate degree, working as an auxiliary student on a research project with PG. She enrolled in the "Degree work" course with this professor for the second semester of 2019. Days before our encounter, we were texting about the writing process of our respective research. She told me that in December (2019) PG had made many suggestions to her proposal; therefore, she spent most of her holidays improving the content of the manuscript and, in the end, she felt satisfied with her submission. That Friday was the last day for the faculty to submit the grades for the 2019-2 academic period, and the only grade Z was missing to finish the programme was the one for "Degree work". She told me what happened then.

Earlier in the day, Z had arrived to the office of PG. There, she and another undergraduate student received feedback on their works. The other student obtained her grade and left; T, a former student also working on the research project, arrived a couple of minutes later. They talked a while about the pending work, but then PG asked Z to leave the office and told her she would let her know when she could come back. Z left and waited outside without quite understanding what was happening, but she suspected that it was about the grade she would receive for her degree work. Minutes later, T sent her a message calling her back inside, where PG told her that, after giving it a lot of thought and having also just discussed it with T, she had decided that the grade for her degree work would be 4.9 and not 5, the maximum grade. Z, feeling confused but excited for the high mark, thanked her. Then, PG elaborated on the reason for

her decision. She told her that if she gave her a 5, her manuscript would automatically enter the department's competition for the *Best Degree Works (Mejores Trabajos de Grado)*, along with other texts that received the same grade. However, PG disclosed that they [her colleagues from the department] hated her and that she was never accepted, for having a different academic background from them, for working with gender theories, for being the only full professor at the department, for standing out academically with publications and having a higher salary than the rest because of it. As a consequence, one of the strategies her colleagues use to upset her [and undermine her achievements — such as positioning her lines of research within the department and being the highest paid professor —] is to harm her students: offending them is a way of affecting her.

PG assured Z that her work was good but not perfect and, that if she gave it a 5, the faculty would put it under the microscope, trying to find every single mistake and criticising absolutely everything. The professor stressed that the jury would be crueller and more ruthless with her than with the other contestants, which would force them to face conflicts and discussions to defend at length the content and arguments of the text. This process would end up being emotionally draining on the both of them, especially because, in truth, prize-winning works do not receive such scrutiny. Finally, PG confided to her that, generally, the degree works that the department has selected to compete in the *Best Degree Works* of the entire university have been developed under the hegemonic disciplinary research line that has always questioned her presence in the department for having a distinct academic formation. "So, will she give you a 4.9?", I asked her. "Yes, she already did. I was there when she uploaded the grade. She showed me", Z replied. "But how do you feel?" "Good, it's a good grade. Very high with her. And she's right, *they don't like her* in the department" (excerpt from Field Diary).

Z's account shows that the professors' relationships with their colleagues can be conflictive, especially when there is a combination of several components, such as having a different academic formation from that of the department to which they belong and tackling issues from a different disciplinary approach, standing out with their publications and academic progress, and having obtained wage recognition. This set of attributes contributes to the women professors' perception of being envied, but it also affects their students.

In this article, I argue that the perception of being envied emerges as a form of subtle violence (Castelao-Huerta 2022) towards certain women full professors at the National University of Colombia, campus Bogotá (UN hereafter) – where

women make up only 32% of the faculty – which has adopted neoliberal policies since 1992.[1]

Envy is a social emotion that intermingles discontent and ill will (Hacker 2017, Smith/Combs 2010), and it is felt towards another person (or group) that has possessions, character traits, achievements, circumstances, abilities, or qualities desirable to the envying person (East/Watts 2005, Landweer 2020, Parrott/ Rodriguez Mosquera 2008, Strongman 2003). Envy emerges from social comparison, which is why it cannot be detached from the social structure and the rules where it is embedded; in the case of this research, a neoliberalised university where the majority of the faculty are men. Those who envy can feel that they should have had that benefit, or that the envied person is less deserving or worthy, for which reason they should not have achieved or received that advantage: "For the envious look askance on their neighbours and competitors" (Hacker 2017, 197). Envy tends to imply a hostile impulse to destroy. As society disapproves envious behaviour, it tends to mask itself, making it difficult to detect (Della Corte 2014). Actions motivated by envy can range from malicious gossip to defamation, provocation, disqualification, mortification, ruthless harm to the envied's interests, or even murder (Della Corte 2014, Hacker 2017).

With the rise of neoliberal governmentality (Cannizzo 2018), envy has been transformed into a "propulsive force for competition" (Della Corte 2014, 54), which has destructive consequences for relations of cooperation by encouraging individual recognition and reward mechanisms, thus stimulating resentment and social conflict. For some of the women professors at the UN, the perception of being envied is triggered by factors associated with academic recognition. The professors assume that they are envied for their academic production in an androcentric neoliberal system that devalues women's knowledges and contributions. This is exacerbated for women focusing on Women's, Gender, Feminist Studies (WGFS) in their academic work (Pereira 2017), in a context of scarcity of resources that hinders research and scientific production, but economically stimulates those with higher productivity. In this way, the perception of envy for professional growth leads to winding relationships between colleagues, where disqualifications, aggressions, and obstructions of the interests of professors grow, leading them to self-isolation, which also has repercussions on their students since one way of harming the women professors is by hindering the academic progress of people close to them.

I have structured this article as follows in order to develop my arguments. First, I set out the context of the neoliberalisation of Colombian public higher

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1   The rank of full professor (profesor/a titular) is the highest faculty rank within the UN.

education. Then, I present the main findings of the studies that focused on analysing gender violence targeting women professors, highlighting the concept of subtle violence. Lastly, I detail the methodological approach that led me to exhibit these results. Afterwards, I present the ways in which women professors face suspicion and envy, and I conclude with some reflections.

The Consequences of Neoliberal Policies in Colombian Public Higher Education

In Latin America, university budget cuts and the implementation of performance evaluation systems are two neoliberal policies that have been applied with great vehemence (Castelao-Huerta 2021b). In Colombia, Law 30 that regulates the public service of higher education was approved in 1992. This law considers public universities as autonomous entities, not public establishments, with legal, administrative, and financial entity status, as well as with independent assets and the authority to prepare and manage their budget, which implies that the government only contributes a part of their resources. One consequence of this is the defunding of public universities (Castelao-Huerta 2021a).

At the same time, the neoliberalisation of universities has been marked by the implementation of evaluation and quality accreditation systems, which are frequently measured on the basis of academic production. Incentives for production are based on the fact that research has become a global indicator for measuring economic, social, and cultural development. In Colombia, the origins of the implementation of this type of policies can be found in Decree 910 of 1992. It was issued due to the need to solve the problem of low UN faculty salaries. Shortly afterwards, Decree 1444 of 1992 (subsequently modified with Decrees 2912 of 2001 and 1279 of 2022, in force to date) was established for all faculty members of public universities, where it was set that the increase in the payments for faculty would be made according to variables grouped under the concept of *academic production*.

Aforementioned decrees introduced a model of salary incentives and bonuses for education, experience, and academic productivity, which also aimed to encourage the academic quality of the faculty (Molina-Molina/De-Moya-Anegón 2013). Nevertheless, when the state seeks encouraging the research with incentives for academic productivity, it does so without a sustained investment in university budgets and research funds (Fassbender/Silva Díaz 2014).

Hernán Jaramillo Salazar, María Alejandra Botiva, and Andrés Zambrano (2004) explain that the dynamics of Science and Technology (S&T) spending in Colombia are pro-cyclical. Thanks to this, the dynamics of scientific production

in this country have been maintained during periods of reduced resources when there have been economic recessions, since the cycles of defunding have not been overly long. Nevertheless, the authors claim that this pro-cyclical financial situation greatly affects the consolidation of scientific research, S&T infrastructure, and the training of high-level human resources (Jaramillo Salazar/Botiva/ Zambrano 2004, 12), since intermittent funding makes it impossible to have continuity in the research, to acquire or maintain the equipment, and to finance the postgraduate studies of young researchers (Tutkal et al. 2021). As follows, the obligation to generate new knowledge to improve productivity and help the country achieve higher economic growth, without having sustained resources to do so, weighs on the universities.

Thus, there are not enough resources to develop research, but there are economic incentives for those who manage to conduct research and publish. The System of Salary Points for Academic Productivity establishes that the salaries of the faculty will be higher when they have higher academic productivity, and, in this way, the salaries of the faculty are heterogeneous and greatly depend on their academic production.

In this context of neoliberalisation in Colombia, this article aims to unveil some of the subtle gender violences against women professors that stand out academically for their production, and who receive wage recognition in an androcentric system that devalues women's knowledges and their scientific and intellectual contributions.

Gender Violences Against Women Professors in Universities

Most of the research that visibilised gender violences within universities has focused on psychological, physical, and sexual violences experienced by women students (Flores-Hernández et al. 2016, Moreno/Mingo 2019, Sandoval Obando/ Peña 2019).

While it is difficult to eradicate presumably tangible violences targeting women students, it is more difficult to even identify the violences experienced by women professors. Robyn Thomas and Annette Davies (2002) point out that women professors feel segregated due to the masculinisation of the university, which refers to the operation of masculine networks (hierarchically higher positions are reserved for men) and masculine symbols (sexist jokes and devaluation of women's work). Thus, some women university professors face situations such as:

[1] occupying outsider positions due to the masculine culture that fosters the representation of the ideal academic as a competitive individual, devoted to work with no care obligations inside or outside of the university (Acker 1990, Cummis 2012, Diezmann/Grieshaber 2019, Martínez Covarrubias 2006),

[2] being treated unequally – although several of them have managed to achieve the highest professorship category, when compared to their colleagues, there are still differences in regards to work, time allocation, and quality of life – (Flores Garrido et al. 2017, Lipton 2020, Yang/Carroll 2018), and

[3] enduring persistent obstacles to access the highest administrative positions (Blazquez Graf/Bustos Romero 2013, Tábora Tirado 2016, Yousaf/Schmiede 2017).

Some studies highlight the "gender microaggressions" that women professors face: nuanced, habitual, and ambiguous – often unconscious – forms of offensive and disrespectful communication with a high level of sexist denigration and contempt for women (Gartner et al. 2020, Yang/Carroll 2018).

For women professors, their status as intruders, as "the other" professionals at the university (Acker 1994, Buquet et al. 2013), has marginalised them and made them face discrimination, harassment, and/or exclusion on a daily basis, for example, when their achievements are ignored or minimised (Howe-Walsh/Turnbull 2016). Psychological violence, one of the main forms of academic violence (Lee/Leonard 2001), is carried out in a systematic, permanent, repetitive, and incremental way. This form of violence includes displays such as devaluing, mocking, isolating, humiliating, ridiculing, and insulting (Diezmann/Grieshaber 2019).

In other circumstances, violences experienced by women professors appear as everyday actions that do not have an explicit intention to harm, but they actually occur as a consequence of the interweaving of the gender order and the enforcement of neoliberal policies. In a previous work, I exposed how moral harm and disruptions to academic performance are normalised and naturalised: lack of economic resources and competition among colleagues affect the lives of women professors (Castelao-Huerta 2022). I conceptualise certain situations that emerge after the implementation of neoliberal policies as *subtle violence*. This implies that there are violences aimed at women professors and their students which are manifested in subtle ways through discrediting, aggression, and obstruction. Murray Scher and Mark Stevens point out that the subtle manifestations of violence are

"often insidious and potentially devastating because they clandestine-
ly maintain the status quo, undermining and demoralizing those who
are not male, powerful, and privileged […] Although they may not be so
damaging, the long-term effects of these subtle forms of violence can
be more destructive as they potentially undermine individuals structure
and fiber as well as that of society." (1987, 352)

Now, the category of *subtle* emerges from my field work. Professor Y (PY) used it
to tell how, within the UN, there is no explicit discrimination among colleagues
since this is considered politically incorrect and people take great care to not
commit it, but there are issues that occur in a less perceivable way: a sort of low-
intensity sexism. Similarly, Professor X assures that the differential treatment
towards women professors "usually reveals itself in very small details that can
be difficult to… like … pinpoint them, and if you said it, it would appear as if you
were complaining".

Subtle violence is not easy to perceive, identify, and name in certain types of
actions because it is about practices that look as if they do not have the inten-
tion of causing harm. According to Rita Segato, the more disguised and subtle a
violence is, "the more efficient it will be in keeping the memory of the imposed
rule awake and clear, and, at the same time, it will preserve the arbitrary and
inelegant character of the founding violence in oblivion" (2003, 107). In this way,
subtle violence is part of what Rita Laura Segato (2003) conceptualises as moral
violence: the most efficient of the mechanisms of social control and reproduc-
tion of inequalities, for its vague character and omnipresence, which reduces
the self-esteem, undermines the self-confidence, and destabilises the autono-
my of women.

Methodological Approach

The results I present are based on an extensive field work conducted between
June 2018 and December 2020 at the UN. The research included several stages.
First, I identified the 88 women full professors at this university and established
which ones were the 48 with the highest rates of academic production. Subse-
quently, I conducted semi-structured interviews between November 2018 and
February 2019 with 24 of them. Each professor works in one of the UN's areas
of knowledge (Sciences, Health Sciences, Social Sciences, Agricultural Sciences,
Engineering, and Arts). They are between 47 and 67 years old and started wor-
king at the UN between 1974 and 2006. 17 of them are mothers and 17 of them
are either married or in a stable relationship (although motherhood does not
coincide with being in a relationship in all cases). All encounters were recor-

ded and transcribed. The information was subjected to a content analysis based on grounded theory (Charmaz 1996), that is, I started from their experiences to subsequently establish emerging categories related to the consequences of neoliberal policies, gender order, and labour practices. At the same time, I conducted ethnographic explorations in teaching spaces with eleven women professors. On the other hand, for just over a semester (2019-1 and 2019-2), I observed the class of three women professors, whom I chose for their critical stance against neoliberal policies. I used a field diary for the registry of class-room observations, whose information I transcribed via a word processor. This information was codified and systematised following the procedure outlined above for the interviews. Thanks to this daily immersion with the three professors, I was able to conduct interviews with 19 of their students and colleagues. In July and August 2019, I carried out new interviews, this time in depth, with the three professors with whom I had the most ethnographic proximity. Finally, in April 2020, I conducted interviews with ten of the professors and three students to delve into details central to the research.

The experiences of subtle violence perceived as *envy* especially emerged during the interviews in relation to two questions:

- During this time, did you feel, at some moment, that you had received a different treatment than the rest of the faculty, and what do you think was the reason?
- What do you think about the system of salary points for academic productivity?

In turn, the perception of envy emerged from the field when people were finding out about my research topic, as it can be seen in Z's initial account. The professors and their students whose testimonies referred to the perception of being envied belong to the areas of Sciences, Agricultural Sciences, and Social Sciences. Below, I present the results of the research.

„Looking Askance and Envy"

In relation to Z's account at the beginning of this article, the word "hate" is frequently used to refer to the animosity that – according to Professors A, G, and O – their colleagues feel towards them because of their academic productivity, but also – in the cases of Professors G and O – for being women and having a different academic formation from the department where they work (at their departments there is a vast majority of men – 70% and 68% – among the faculty). Sara Ahmed (2004) points out that emotions are social and cultural practices

and highlights that hate emerges when a feeling of threat and risk is evoked; it is an intense emotion that involves being intentionally against something or someone, that is, loathing. Hate is present in the negotiation of boundaries between self and others, "where 'others' are brought into the sphere of my or our existence as a threat. This other, who may stand for or stand by other others, *presses* against me, threatening my existence" (Ahmed 2004, 51). Thus, when a woman professor says that *she is hated*, she is referring to a perception that both her presence and her academic development are seen as a threat by her colleagues, which is strongly linked to the relatively recent presence of women in universities. This hostility is exacerbated with the addition of the fact that women full professors stand out in their fields of knowledge thanks to their scientific contributions, tangible in their high academic production.

The next important aspect of Z's initial account is that it shows the devaluation of women professors' knowledges and how prickly the relations between colleagues are. In this sense, Elisabetta Della Corte emphasises that when there is envy, "the feeling of vengeance is masked by a veneer of 'scientificity' and efficiency, which is why the 'production' of the Other is never scientific enough" (2014, 61). Former student, L, shares this view in regard to the differential treatment that PG receives because of her epistemological positioning and stresses that even during lessons some professors tend to make comments aimed at discrediting PG's academic achievements, obviously without directly mentioning her name. L tells it this way:

> "… saying that … like, talking about topics [of the department's discipline] when [PG] didn't even have a background in that discipline. Yes, like setting this paradigm of the hard sciences with the soft sciences, sort of implying a bit that the [department's discipline] is much closer to the knowledges that are much more, uh, concrete, physical, those more positivist aspects [of the discipline], yes.
> —Quantitative?
> —Yes, more quantitative, referring to the fact that she was talking about something [physical] from a cultural perspective. Yes, like, when she wasn't even from [the department's discipline], or didn't have that type of education."

In this sense, PG *notices* attitudes and comments from her colleagues that undermine her academic position: "cries at the faculty meetings, like 'you have no business weighing in', or like 'you don't know anything about it, things like that". For her part, PO alludes to this discrediting of her work: "there is no way that they insult you to your face, and you keep quiet".

In PG's case, this situation is exacerbated because she is a "gender person" (Henderson 2019) within her department. This term is an expression referring to someone that conducts research and/or teaches about gender, but whose principal affiliation is not to a gender studies department or centre. PG suffered discrediting and simplification for constructing theoretical knowledge from a gender perspective, which means that she constantly has to negotiate the status of this knowledge. PY had a similar experience:

> "For them, gender had more to do with Social Work. It was like more of a women's thing and linked more to like an intervention, and it had nothing to do with [the department's discipline]. So, it was also very difficult for me to achieve a certain academic legitimacy within the department."

Emily Henderson (2019) warns that the "gender persons" report being isolated and lonely, feeling as misfits at their departments. This occurs because, following Maria do Mar Pereira (2017), within academia, there has been a tendency to think that WGFS can produce, and have produced, credible and relevant contributions to academic knowledge, but only up to a certain point, or only in some research lines, or only if they have done it in a certain way. This implies that the epistemic status of feminist work is undermined by those who conceive it as inappropriate academic knowledge, which is not considered a fundamental and indispensable component of education and research in social sciences and humanities.

This is how the presence and teachings of PG, and of PY in her time, cause discomfort and rejection, mostly because they are seen as a threat since the gender perspective for which they advocate contributes to questioning the theoretical and conceptual foundations of any discipline established on the patriarchal order. Thus, PG has received verbal aggressions and discrediting, such as the sentence "that is gender ideology". To a certain extent, this has led her – as PG herself recounts by highlighting that her department is misogynous and exclusionary – to feel that she is not part of an academic community. This situation of marginalisation is aggravated because PG is academically distinguished for her productivity, with which she positioned herself as the only full professor of her department, in addition to holding the highest salary.

Envy for Professional Growth

Returning to Z's initial account, a third important detail in relation to the perception of envy that results in lack of collegiality is that it is known that PG is the only full professor of the department and the one who publishes the most, which is why her salary is the highest. Z interprets this as follows:

> "This has provoked envy towards her, they look askance at her, that is very evident to me, and it's reflected not only in their attitudes towards her, which are super transgressive from what I've seen, but also in their... in spaces that can affect the people working with her."

PG obtained the category of full professorship seven years after joining the UN as a professor, a relatively short time considering that, in average, it takes 20.38 years for women and 17.91 years for men to reach this category. This situation was a cause of controversy because, within the department, there were professors with more seniority in the institution, who still do not have full professorship. She recounts that the process for obtaining full professorship was delayed for more than a year and that her achievement was not recognised by her colleagues:

> "When I applied for full professorship, well, I fulfilled all the requirements [...]. And I went through the process, I gave my keynote speech [...] And time passed, and there were no news and no news. The documents appeared to be lost. I never knew what happened. I went to the secretary's office, I said 'well, what's happening?', they told me 'no, it is just that they need something else'. The thing is that they have to make a special evaluation. They had to do it again with me, no idea why. And I didn't want to look into it later because there was too much tension [...] What was the impact of that? A non-recognition, I mean, like, 'nothing happened here', like, at the department, it was as if no one was a full professor."

Their peers looking askance and the envy some women professors at the UN perceive are thus linked to their academic production and professional progress. PG highlights the obstruction of her obtaining full professorship – with losing the documents and putting her through a second evaluation – as well as the devaluation of her achievement. Nevertheless, it is precisely her productivity that allows her to obtain the category of full professor and her trajectory is recognised by the institution, despite the marginalisation and belittlement that she faces within her department.

It is important to mention that the salary is one of the chief reasons for envy in the workplace (Cleary et al. 2016). When PG joined the UN in 2006, pay slips used to be placed in public view in a faculty building, a situation which prompted an inquisition from her colleagues regarding "where she was spending all that money". María Guadalupe Ortiz Gómez (2014) underlines that in the culture of the *self*, the values of competitiveness create situations of envy between people, which result in a spiral of rude behaviours (Clark et al. 2013), such as the scrutiny

that PG perceives because of her income. Even though pay slips are no longer publicly displayed, the situation has not changed, and the interrogations persist:

> "Comments like 'why do you earn more?', as if it's not legitimate, or I don't deserve it. So, my answer is 'I have a long career, 30 years of academic work' [...]. At the administration and the council, everyone knows, and it does generate tensions because they make comments, right? They make comments such as 'well, there are people here who earn too much, and they shouldn't earn that', and I am the one who earns the most at the department."

PA also recognises that having a good salary – a result from her high productivity – is a source of reproach. She argues that this outlines her experience within the university:

> "We are like a small island in the department, that is, we maintain an excellent relationship with the people who talk to us [...]. But you know that there is anger, envy, people that maybe *don't like you*, because they *look down on you*, I don't know [...] you see that, for example, in the messages that circulate among the professors – I left that network that came from all the professors at the university – , so when they talked about the ones who do research, the ones who do this and that... oh no, no, no, you see the anger of those people."

Here, it is important to reiterate Bruce Macfarlane's (2016) point about the enormous paradox of representing collegiality as an ideal of the universities when the culture of academic life, permeated by neoliberal policies, works in the opposite direction, as the focus of recognition is on individual productivity and achievements, which ultimately leads to envy.

A final detail to stress from Z's initial account is that, when she mentions that all professors would scrutinise her work with a magnifying glass if she entered the *Best Degree Works* competition, what she reveals is that another way in which women professors and their students perceive that they are affected is by subtly making them feel that their knowledges do not have academic legitimacy.

PG remembers that one of her master's degree students obtained a laureate for their thesis, and, according to the university's regulations, the document should have been published, but there were obstacles:

> "A year went by, two years went by... and the decision of the department was to send it to peer reviewers, and I said 'but wait a minute, why will you send it to peer reviewers, if this is an earned right?' [...] The book [the thesis] had been sent to someone and that someone was saying that not for this thesis, that this text wasn't adequate, and the publications coordinator comes and says 'that he thinks that it should not be

published'. So I said, 'wait a minute, this can't be, how come? I refuse! For these and for those reasons' [...]. I went to talk to the Vice-Dean because she had been the reviewer; I said, 'they are questioning your own evaluation'. The thing is that after all this process, finally, the book just came out, I mean, [...] they try to block the processes of my students."

Among these affectations, PG includes that her students are assigned reviewers that are not adequate to their topics, and, furthermore, that her colleagues at the department do not attend their thesis defences. This happened with a doctoral student and resulted in the prolongation of her graduation process:

"On the day of the thesis defence, he didn't show up and never explained why [...] 'No, he says he can't come'. I said, 'come on, what is this?' I complained about everything and left it in writing, I almost always leave everything in writing. There was a faculty meeting, and the only thing he said was that he was resigning. Eight days later he wasn't resigning anymore, so he continued. There were no sanctions, there was nothing. I do believe that there are personal issues like, some reasons, because she graduated on time, because she had a scholarship, because she had published, because of everything, and it's like, it's like a feeling, I don't know... I take it personally."

Thus, the perception of envy in neoliberalised academia affects women professors because their achievements are questioned and delegitimised, but also because there are so many obstructions to both the processes of the professors as well as the progress of their students. In this way, subtle violences harm the professors and their students.

Final Reflections

The perceptions of envy emerge at the neoliberalised university because some women professors, who are assumed to have no academic legitimacy, possess something that the rest wants but do not have and seemingly cannot obtain (Hudak 2000, Parrott/Rodriguez Mosquera 2008), which, according to the women professors, makes their colleagues resentful (Cleary et al. 2016). This is paradoxical considering that, in reality, for the professors, managing to obtain resources for research projects implies an arduous work that includes presenting a well-elaborated proposal, following highly bureaucratised administrative processes, and passing all stages of the calls. With the scarcity of resources to fund research projects being a constant fact, the competition for funding and limited opportunities encourage the dissemination of envy throughout the university (Cleary et al. 2016).

Contrary to what is highlighted by Louise Morley and Barbara Crossouard (2016) about academia fostering a competition that results in identities that are based on the capacity to fulfil the dominating performance indicators, the women professors taking part in this study did not express feeling satisfied for having achieved outstanding academic productivity or ashamed for not obtaining the resources for their research. Instead, there is a constant criticism of the way in which science is funded in Colombia because of the bureaucratic processes that it implies but, above all, because of the scarcity of resources. However, the fact that there is compensation for those who manage to conduct research, i.e., salary points, fosters that people who, in PA's terms, won the lottery when their proposals were funded, are looked askance while, in reality, it has also not been easy for them to obtain the resources.

Androcentric structure of science should also be added to this. For someone to achieve salary points for her academic production when she has historically been excluded from scientific knowledge, and whose contributions tend to go unattributed or unnoticed due to *Matilda Effect* (Rossiter 1993), means a blow to those who still share the androcentric values of science. The scarcity of research funds and the gender in science thus lead to the increase of hate and envy among the faculty, which inhibits the formation of a solid academic community.

Faced with this scenario, it is pressing to overthrow the gender order and patriarchy in academia, which foster the devaluation of women's knowledges and achievements, and to change neoliberal policies, which have built a system based on values such as competition, rivalry, and individualism. Instead, a scientific culture could be promoted where knowledges produced by women are recognised and where solidarity, communal work, and care are reclaimed. Finally, it is urgent that future research deepens and analyses in a detailed manner the subtle violences within universities, given that they tend to be normalised and naturalised, and cause as much harm as blatant violences. If blatant violences are the tip of the iceberg, these cannot be eliminated until subtle violences are also identified and visibilised, and mechanisms that allow for eradicating them are generated, because they contribute to the reproduction of the patriarchal culture and structural violence with automatism, invisibility, and inertia (Segato 2003) within higher education institutions.

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