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Gender – Diversity – Intersectionality

(New) Perspectives in Adult Education

WAXMANN

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Martina Endepohls-Ulpe and Joanna Ostrouch-Kamińska

Introduction: gender, diversity, intersectionality – (new) challenges in adult education

Under the influence of women's movements at the end of the sixties, researchers, asking about the sources of male domination, rejected the understanding of gender as an unchanging natural fact and defined it as a social fact. The next step was to undermine the homogeneity of the "feminine" and "masculine" categories and the exploration of their various social meanings. Recognizing that the definitions vary with the change of social context, they are no longer considered to be "a priori universal categories on the basis of which specific relations of the gender hierarchy are constructed" (Yanagisako & Collie, 2007), and the social processes constituting them are considered to be identical with the processes generating inequalities among women and men. In terms of concepts embedded in social constructivism, gender does not exist by itself – it is "constructed" in everyday interactions with others, through language and growing into the "culture of femininity and masculinity". Gender is understood as a process, and the meanings associated with it are created in personal, political, historical, cultural and linguistic contexts.

Research on gender is related to questions about its essence, determinants and social value ascribed to it by people and culture. According to the assumptions of constructivism, the gender role is not something permanent, but it is constantly socially produced. That process depends on the meanings given by individuals, and on the various interaction processes, including negotiations. It has been proven that gender roles and stereotypes are not only reproduced and maintained, but also are negotiated and produced in everyday interactions (Bem, 1993; Renzetti & Curran, 2003). The aim of research, which is focused on the social construction of gender, is to create a theory grounded in real experiences and in language of women and men, emphasizing the differences in the ways they experience the world (Lather, 1991).

According to Bettina Dybbroe and Edmee Ollagnier (2003), gender plays a very important role in defining, constructing, and conditioning education and learning. That fact has been well-known and researched regarding the process of gender socialization of children and the youth, as well as learning in educational institutions and culture, but in adult education it is still not enough researched, described and reflected: "the major themes relative to gender in adult education literature, in the last years, have been focused on feminist pedagogy, the hidden curriculum, the classroom climate, women's silence, women's voices, and collaborative learning" (Ostrouch-Kamińska & Vieira, 2016, p. 42). Thus, that book is an attempt to develop a discourse on gender and adult learning, but not only, because gender is not the only person's variable, that influences social behavior and learning processes. For younger students, there is much evidence that e.g. socio-economic status and ethnic origin affect achievement in the educational system considerably more than gender,

and these influences even seem to become more important as students grow older (Sammons, 1995, c.f. EURYDICE/EACEA, 2010). These variables as well as "gender" belong amongst others to a group of features that are included in the concept of "diversity" (Allemann-Ghionda, 2013; Czernecka, 2013). "Diversity" is a term which has approximately the same meaning as "variety" or "heterogeneity" and has become very popular in the last decades as a consequence of globalization and efforts of fostering equality in countries, societies, organizations and business companies (Quaiser-Pohl, 2013). Diversity variables comprise visible and inner features, both inborn and acquired, which make people different or similar. Most commonly considered are sex/gender, age, ethnic and cultural background, disability, sexual orientation, religion, language, marital status, and education (Allemann-Ghionda, 2013; Blaine, 2013; Czernecka, 2013).

Dealing with diversity, connected problems and social processes like prejudice, stereotypes, inequality and discrimination, inevitably leads to the point where it becomes clear that a person's particular discrimination can result from a specific combination of factors such as 'gender', 'race' and 'class'. For example, socio-economic status and immigration interact with gender. In many European countries, the gender gap is wider for students with lower socio-economic background and for students from certain ethnic minorities (Endepohls-Ulpe, 2012). Gender differences with respect to analphabetism amongst adults are another example. An UNESCO report from 2002 identified analphabetism in Europe as a female problem (Fiebig, Ragg & Lübbs, 2003) and this still seems to be the case even worldwide (BMBF, 2018). But for Germany, the statistical data show a different picture. Studies show that the group of people with functional analphabetism is dominated by males in Germany (BMBF, 2018). In studies from the beginning of the millennium, this was especially true for the new federal states and for younger participants. Among older participants and participants with a migratory background, we discovered more females to be analphabets (Döbert & Hubertus, 2000).

Akasha (Gloria T.) Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith started the academic discourse on diversity already in the 1980ies with their publication of a book with articles on black women studies: "All the women are white. All the Blacks are men. Some of us are brave." (Hull, Scott & Smith, 1982). It was this upcoming black-feminist discussion that made clear that sexism, class oppression and racism are connected processes and being a black woman often meant and probably still means to be afflicted by all of them in a very specific way. At the end of the 1980s, Kimberly Crenshaw introduced the term "intersectionality" for this circumstance and pointed out that discrimination often results in a particular combination or – as she called it – specific intersection of factors like gender, race or class (Hoffmann, 2013) – features that are important in the discussion of the consequences of diversity.

Gender is an issue that is of great impact on the educational system, and in particular on adult education. However, there is still need for research on gender related processes and inequalities that influence or necessitate pedagogical measures. But for all research projects and educational measures, it should always be kept in mind that

the meaning and impact of gender may dramatically differ for men and women with different combinations of class, ethnic origin, religion or other diversity features.

That book is an international discourse on a combination of the previously mentioned factors analyzed in the context of adult learning. The four parts of it reflect some important aspects of this field. Part I deals with influences of the gender variable on several aspects of adult males' and females' behavior and resulting consequences for pedagogical interventions. Diversity and intersectionality of different diversity features like ethnic origin, age, social class and gender and their impact on processes and outcomes of adult education and counseling are issues of the second part. Educator training, treated in part III, is also a field where on the one hand gender competence has to be imparted and on the other hand diversity of the adult students has to be taken into account. The last part presents two creative examples of approaches in adult museum pedagogy that emerge from the idea that diversity features like gender or ethnic origin open new perspectives on the way art and cultural artifacts are presented and exhibited.

The first part of the book is begun with the chapter entitled *The 'learned disadvantage': Unraveling women's explanations about their greater responsibilities in doing household chores in Portuguese heterosexual couples with children* by Cristina C. Vieira, Lina Coelho, and Sílvia Portugal. It presents a reflection on the reasons a sample of Portuguese women gave when asked to explain their greater disadvantage translated in the gap of time allocated to chores that are essential to both partners' life, including the performance of domestic chores and the caring of their children and dependent ascending relatives. The results were derived from direct and semi-structured interviews conducted with forty heterosexual couples, with at least one dependent child, that lived together for at least three years. They showed that the recent economic crisis in Portugal has worsened the scenario of family/work reconciliation especially for women, and that gender ideology seems to continue to undermine the organization of family routines, regardless of the status of both partners in the labor market.

In the next chapter entitled *The impact of emotionalization in different text types on women and men in German (young) adults*, Melanie Pohl analyses research conducted with 278 participants from an online survey. It focused on the effect of emotionalization on different kinds of text-based media on men and women and compared their emotional reactions. The text types were newspaper articles, social media postings, literary texts and a factual text type. The results have shown that there are differences in the perception of emotions between men and women regarding different text types. When it comes to the female connoted emotions grief and fear, women's reactions were significantly stronger while results were mixed regarding the more male connoted emotions. The results on rage turned out to be the opposite of what was expected, with women showing more rage than men, while contempt was displayed more strongly by men. When analyzing all text types together, women showed to be more touched than men. However, when analyzing each text type separately, only social media articles and the factual text type showed significant differences in favor

of women's emotion. The author hopes that the result would be worthy for a better understanding of the patterns and strategies of emotionalization and for reading and learning strategies of adults.

Monika Grochalska, the author of the third chapter of part I, entitled *Social representations of intimate relationships in female narratives as the effect of social learning,* refers to the results of research on social representations of relationships in female narratives. Representations were considered as a set of concepts, claims and explanations arising from the process of social communication. Data collection methods were individual in-depth interviews and focus group interviews, and the method of analysis of the collected material was Critical Discourse Analysis. The aim was to reconstruct the experiences of women in intimate relations through the prism of their practical discourses, as well as to reconstruct the discourses on intimate relationships that coexist in public sphere, and to try to identify the sphere of mutual interpenetration of discourse with the experiences of everyday life. She found out that the representation of intimacy in the discursive practice of women was basically built around five dichotomous dimensions: sex – lack of sex, consent – conflict, support – obstacle, being together – being alone and trust – distrust. She also discussed distinct patterns of perception of intimate relationships which can be useful for knowledge on women's learning strategies in a family.

Joanna Ostrouch-Kamińska reconstructs in her chapter entitled *Male project of self-destruction and adult learning of authenticity. Educational challenge for contemporary men*, the sources of male excess mortality and their risky behaviors, including various types of addictions and attitudes related to the lack of care about health that are embedded in patriarchal culture, processes of socialization and learning in adulthood according to the paradigm of traditional masculinity. She claims that men can be viewed as prisoners and victims of dominant cultural concepts of masculinity, which destroy their health, emotions and life. It happens most often among men from lower social classes, who are not well-educated, live in rural areas or originate from unemployed or dysfunctional families, as a process of reproduction of their underprivileged position in society and culture. The author concludes that as formal education does not generate a real social change, the role of informal education of adults becomes more important and enables "going" beyond the dominant male role toward greater autonomy and reflection.

In the first chapter of part II, entitled *Feminine educational paths in three generations with Apulian origin in Milan,* Marialisa Rizzo analyses semi-structured interviews with women from three generations of migrants with Apulian origin living in the North of Italy, grandmothers – who migrated in the period of the great internal Italian migrations, between the '50s and the '60s – mothers and daughters. People of the South of Italy living in this northern area are kept in a subordinate position and have another hierarchical organization, in which women remain in service of the familiar needs. This research demonstrates how women's educational paths are influenced by informal educational experiences, not only generated by gender but also by cultural heritage and age.

The objective of the study presented by Rita Bencivenga, *The gender dimension in assessing migrant women's non-formal and informal learning and skills*, was to achieve a greater understanding about the training background and personal beliefs influencing the approach of volunteers assessing migrant women's non-formal and informal learning and skills and the presence of biases in their approach. A second goal was to learn more about the interconnections among NGOs, public services and educational institutions dealing with migrant women. The research was based on a qualitative approach: desk research and meetings with stakeholders, in-depth interviews with personnel and volunteers and ethnographic observation in organizations, which assess migrants. Results show that the initial assessment of migrant women's non-formal and informal learning and skills is influenced by gendered biases and stereotypes of the involved personnel. The process is also subject to the constraints imposed by migration and education policies, paying no attention to gender, in terms of power relations at a local level but also in the migrants' networks.

In their chapter titled *The role of gender and culture for the development of human resources in Kenya,* Claudia M. Quaiser-Pohl, Mirko Saunders, Josephine N. Arasa, Priscilla W. Kariuki and Michaela Heinecke-Mueller report the first results of a cross-cultural research project, focussing on personality, gender and culture regarding psychosocial functioning in Kenya and Germany. They conducted an empirical pilot study based on the Five-Factor Model of Costa and McCrae (1992) and supplemented by the indigenous social relational concept of personality (Nel et al., 2012) to test the cultural equivalence of these scales. Additionally, gender roles, gender identity and the perceived work-life balance were measured. The authors found cross-cultural similarities and differences as well as gender differences. They interpret their results as a support for the notion that an emic-etic approach, looking on problems from within the social group as well as from the perspective of an observer outside the cultural group, in human resources management is needed that takes gender explicitly into account.

Martina Endepohls-Ulpe and Victor Garnier are authors of the chapter *Gender-related occupational stereotypes, job-related goals, interests and educational and family preconditions of young women and men in apprenticeships in a technological field*, which concentrates on young women in occupational fields from the field of STEM that are non-academic and more manual skilled and traditionally male stereotyped. The subjects – male and female – filled in a questionnaire which comprised questions on several aspects of attitudes and socialization circumstances that could have influenced them in their occupational choice. Results show that unlike their male peers, female apprentices in technological professions are not conforming to traditional gender stereotypes and that already in pre- and primary school age, male relatives like fathers or grandfathers had been of great influence for their interests in STEM. Considering their exposed position as a small minority in a social environment with very traditional gender role attitudes (male peers, teachers, instructors), the authors judge supporting measures to encourage these young women to continue pursuing their goals and interests to be of great importance.

In her chapter entitled *Canada's Indian Residential Schools, intersectionality, and decolonizing adult education*, Cindy Hanson gives an analysis of the intergenerational impact of Indian Residential Schools in Canada and of the official efforts to compensate the harms or acts of abuse Indigenous people met there. She criticizes that despite a rich history of community work and social justice, adult education in Canada has not adequately dealt with Canada's colonial history and the push for Indigenous-settler reconciliation and Indigenous adult learning. By presenting a critical perspective on Canada's Indian Residential School settlement policies, she intends to make clear how Canada's colonial history may be analyzed and interrogated using an intersectional lens along with community-led adult and intergenerational learning.

The main objective of the study presented by Mariya Ivanova and Aneta Dimitrova in their chapter titled *Improving the socio-economic integration of Roma women through adult education* is to collect information about the educational status and access of Roma women to education forms for adults, to assess these data in comparison to the status of the general population in Bulgaria and to compare the situation of Roma women against Roma men. The authors analyze restrictions that Roma women face when seeking educational services, the specifics of Roma women's attitude to lifelong learning, the key factors that influence learning opportunities to Roma women and the role of existing educational programs for the integration of Roma women. They show that Roma women experience double discrimination, on the one hand from society and on the other hand from the Roma community itself. Based on their results on these trends and dynamics of the studied characteristics, they formulate conclusions and recommendations to improve Roma women's situation in the Bulgarian society.

In the first chapter of Part III entitled *Complexing gender in a context of multiple layer hierarchies – a case study from training French nursery professionals on gender*, Elisabeth Hofmann and Rachel Besson present the results of an action research process about transformative learning in gender training. The case study that was the object of this research consisted of a series of workshops for professionals in childcare facilities for children from zero to three years in France. Teams were almost exclusively female, and it could be observed that other different intersecting discriminatory factors amongst the team members interfered: professional status, diploma, race, age, etc. Their perceived lack of recognition of their profession and the consequent feeling of subordination towards the parents of the children where in a first stage clearly obstacles in this gender training. The authors show how the analysis of this process gives interesting insight into the importance of taking heterogeneity within gender categories into account.

The second chapter of this part by Susanne Kreitz-Sandberg is entitled *Gender inclusion 2.0: Working with norm-critical perspectives for adult educators*. The author discusses how gender inclusion can be part of adult education and especially with regard to teacher training for educators in this field. As an example, the paper investigates a folk-high-school teacher-education program at a Swedish university where norm-critical perspectives are being introduced into university teaching. Norm-crit-

ical pedagogy challenges some norms like hetero-norms, the functionality norm, whiteness norms and binary gender norms and thus, relates closely to intersectional analysis. One expectation of the developers of the program is that teacher students who meet gender-sensitive instruction and norm-critical perspectives in the university classroom will develop these approaches further in their own pedagogical practices.

The fourth part of the book begins with the reflections of Alexis K. Johnson entitled *Co-curation, re-framing critical spaces from an outsider lens*. She examines the role the 'outsider' can play in re-imagining, making visible and widening curated narratives within museum settings. The author focuses especially on that role in re-framing gender diversity representation by exploring methods of co-curation and co-creation taken from arts education models in the public realm, which invite participants that traditionally demonstrate low engagement with museum spaces to re-imagine social narratives from a traditionally under-represented lens.

Darlene E. Clover and Kathy Sanford in the last chapter of the book, entitled *The feminist museum hack: A cultural pedagogy of seeing the unseen*, show the important role of museums in critical education of adults. They refer to feminist cultural theory which assumes that museum practices of representation – dioramas, artworks, images, objects, exhibitions, curatorial statements and labels – are not neutral but rather problematically steeped in patriarchal ideology. Their chapter focuses on a practice called "the Feminist Museum Hack", which is an imaginative, flexible methodological, analytical and pedagogical practice, they have designed to reveal the male gaze ensconced in museum narratives, languages and images. The "Hack" is grounded in cultural theories of representation and feminist visual methodologies and discourse analysis and revolves around a series of quantitative and qualitative 'seeing' questions. They illustrate the way they used the "Hack" to disrupt the complacency of museum narratives through a variety of activist and artistic interventions including attaching post-it notes, re-writing labels in ways that draw attention to how they mould gender, creating "found" poems and/or fully re-creating actual exhibits. Through a radical, feminist oppositional gaze, the "Hack" encourages critical thinking, reflexively and the imaginative capacity to unravel the museum's fabric of ideological restrictions and address their broader implications in terms of identity and knowledge.

The book was conceived as an academic discourse on gender, diversity and intersectionality as a challenge in adult education. Because of authors' different approaches to the title issue, it deals with it in a wide theoretical context that can be a great opportunity to rethink the researched categories. We hope it will bridge the gap between theory and practice with respect to adult learners and educators, as well as provide a wide range of implications for both. For the inspirations for new reflections, we would like to thank the authors of the book. We also would like to thank both reviewers: professor Astrid Męczkowska-Christiansen and professor Elisabeth Sander for their constructive and valuable comments which have enabled the authors to improve their chapters.

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I.
Gender stereotypes and gender roles as frames for adult learning and social behavior

Cristina C. Vieira, Lina Coelho and Sílvia Portugal

The 'learned disadvantage': Unraveling women's explanations about their greater responsibilities in doing household chores in Portuguese heterosexual couples with children

Abstract: The chapter presents a reflection on the reasons some Portuguese women gave when asked to explain their greater disadvantage translated in the gap of time allocated to chores that are essential to both partners' life, including the performance of domestic chores and the caring of their children and dependent ascending relatives. Direct and semi-structured interviews were conducted with forty heterosexual couples, with at least one dependent child, that lived together for at least three years and both partners were interviewed together. This phase of data collection was a part of a bigger project, with financial support from the Portuguese Government[1], which had the aim to explore the consequences of the economic crisis (2011–2014, approximately) for families with minors. Quantitative data of the first phase showed that as a consequence of the huge economic difficulties, people admitted to having done some cuts in household expenses such as going out to eat, contracting people to clean the house, and hiring other services, such as babysitting. Since these responsibilities are mostly assumed by women than by men, these results showed that the recent economic crisis in Portugal has worsened the scenario of family/work reconciliation especially for women. In addition, gender ideology seems to continue to undermine the organization of family routines, regardless of the status of both partners in the labor market. Implications for intervention, including self-awareness of men and women, of core principles of gender equality and changes in core points of public policies were approached, departing from the main conclusions outlined from the discourses of the women.

1. Patterns of time use among couples and its implications for women (and men's) individual life: a brief review of studies

The time spent doing household chores, by men and women living in a relationship of conjugality, is usually one of the main indicators of gender inequality that public policies are unlikely to change, if the people involved do not really believe and recognize that need for change. Specially for women, the normal day includes paid work and extra unpaid work at home, and therefore the question expressed by María Ángeles

1 Project *FINFAM – Finances, gender and power: How are Portuguese households managing their finances in the context of economic crises?* (PTDC/IVC-SOC/4823/2012-FCOMP-01–0124-FEDER-029372). Research team: Lina Coelho (Coord.), Sílvia Portugal, Miguel Oliveira, Catarina Frade, Cristina C. Vieira, Ana Cordeiro Santos, Rafael Marques, Fernanda Jesus, Alexandra Ferreira-Valente and Raquel Ribeiro. For the complete report of the project, see Coelho et al., 2015. E-mail for contact about this chapter: vieira@fpce.uc.pt.

Durán (2013) seems reasonable: how many hours a day do they miss? This problem is even more dramatic when this contribution of women is not even considered when it comes to understand the economy of the family or even to calculate the pensions they will (probably) receive after retirement. According to the last available data regarding the Portuguese population (Perista, Cardoso, Brázia, Abrantes, & Perista, 2016), and considering only the unpaid work that is done at home, women spend more 1 hour and 45 minutes a day than men[2]. In all the considered age groups, women dedicated more hours a day than men to tasks related to domestic housework and care responsibilities, but the huge difference between (heterosexual) couples occurs in the age group of 45–64 years-old. Considering demographic changes (reduction of birth rate and increasing longevity) of the population – in 2018 Portugal is one of the countries with the highest index of ageing in Europe[3] – and their direct impacts on the organization of family life, usually these middle aged women are considered 'serial caregivers': they face the need to take care of the younger and older generations (Portugal, 2014; Vieira & Perista, 2012), and in many cases not all the persons needing care are direct relatives (in the case of new marriages or recomposed families, which may include stepchildren; or the case of parents-in-law). Concepts as 'second' and 'third' journeys of women may be used in this context to mention the performance of household's chores and the guarantee of care activities towards younger and older generations, respectively.

Several studies have been demonstrating that in European countries women's time distribution is more intricate and fragmented, because they have to reconciliate paid and unpaid work, they have to do many different tasks ('multitask performers') and pay attention to a greater range of duties during the day, which means a reduction of free time to themselves (Múrias, 2015; Pimentel, 2011; Saraceno, 2004) and even a weakening of their social networks (Portugal, 2014). As it is known, this conventional pattern of time allocation generates a more fragile status for women in the workplace (Alcaniz, Querol, & Martí, 2015; European Union, 2018[4]; Ferreira & Monteiro, 2015). Looking at this problem from a top down approach, public policies that have been designed to foster the equality between men and women in the participation of paid

2 These data related to the allocation of time by Portuguese men and women in 2016 reproduce somehow the pattern that was found in the country a decade before, in the 4th *European Survey about the Conditions of Work* (Parent-Thirion et al., 2007). According to this report, women spent at that time more 16 hours of unpaid work, which represented a weekly difference of more than 13 hours of total work per week (paid and unpaid work), because men devoted only more 2 hours and 24 minutes of their time to paid work. Data available at: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ef_files/pubdocs/2006/78/pt/1/ef0678pt.pdf

3 See last available data from EUROSTAT and a comparison between countries at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Population_structure_and_ageing

4 The most recent data about countries from European Union were published in the report available for download (PDF) at: http://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/just/item-detail.cfm?item_id=615287

labor market seems to be across the years very inefficient regarding the consideration of structural and societal conditions that maintain the slow pace progress of women in professional and public domains. It is possible to acknowledge the same omission concerning the promotion of men's involvement in care activities towards younger and older generations of relatives and the performance of household chores. The theoretical creation of environments to ensure the equality of opportunities of success for both sexes in several arenas of life – through *de jure* regulations – does not guarantee the *de facto* equality of enjoying such fair possibilities (Alvarez & Vieira, 2014). Reconciliation measures to promote an unprejudiced allocation of time to the several activities and tasks of adult life should be based on an attitude of unraveling the imbricated nature of factors that may obstacle self-determination of women and men, regarding their decisions and assumptions (e.g., gender stereotypes) of family and professional duties. In her clever critical analysis of the framework of gender equality policies in the European Union and in Portugal, Maria do Céu da Cunha Rêgo (2012), a former Secretary of State for Equality in the country, wrote that "it is necessary to keep constant attention to the limitations and inconsistencies that occur [in legislative matters] (...): working mainly on the effects of the problems does little to change their causes" (p. 42).

The impact of the recent economic crisis in Europe, which was most strongly felt in countries such as Portugal, enduring a derived sovereign debt crisis (known as the *Troika period*: 2011–2014, approximately), resulted in a worsened scenario especially for women and intra-family gender relations, because many cuts in expenses that households were forced to consent were related to services that constituted an alleviation of traditional women's tasks in the domestic sphere (cf. Ribeiro, Coelho, & Ferreira-Valente, 2015, for the case of Portugal; cf. Alcaniz, Querol, & Martí, 2015, for the case of Spain; cf. Segnana & Villa, 2015, for the case of Italy). Due to such hard times resulting from austerity measures imposed by Governments, women were "pushed again to the 'family's black box', from where they struggled to leave for decades" (Ferreira & Monteiro, 2015, p. 12).

In the larger Portuguese study that included the research described in the next section of this chapter, a quantitative survey that involved 1001 subjects living in heterosexual families with minors, both partners admitted having done some cuts in family expenses, as a consequence of economic difficulties, such as eating out, hiring a person to regularly clean the house, and hiring other professional services related to care, such as babysitting or formal careers of older people (including, in some cases, their deinstitutionalization, from residential facilities and their return to the family) (for details, cf. Coelho & Frade, 2015).

Employed and unemployed women continued to perform mostly the more routine and time consuming activities that are indispensable for the comfort of all family members, confined to the interior of the house, as laundry, cooking, house cleaning, caring for descendent and ascendant relatives, and also for the sick persons; men prevail in activities related to repairing cars and management of household finances. Such conclusion was independent of the professional condition of the husbands

(Ribeiro et al., 2015), who tended to 'compensate' women mainly on weekends, even in the cases of male unemployment in the family. This idea of compensation reflects a 'utilitarian or merely instrumental approach' to the reasons of reconciliation and not a critical awareness of gender equality principles to rule distribution of unpaid work that is inherent in a shared cohabitation relationship. According to previous studies (cf. Mikula, 1998; Poeschl, 2000), and also in this research gender ideology assumptions seemed to play "an important role in participation imbalance" (Ribeiro et al., 2015, p. 80), when partners are invited to express their feeling of justice regarding the distribution of household chores. Surprisingly, as it will be clear in the data presented in this chapter, related to our research project, women's explanations even in the presence of their husbands show a range of sentiments, most of them of compliance, guilt, resignation and inevitability of the prejudice they suffer related to time allocation to intra-family responsibilities.

2. Methodology of the research project: Who does what in the couples' distribution of the household chores? How much time? Why?

2.1 Participants

This study involved 40 heterosexual couples from different regions of Portugal, with at least one dependent child (under 18, or over 18 but economically dependent), with at least one of the partners aged between 30 and 50. The age of the partners ranged from 27 to 53 (Men: $M = 40.78$, $SD = 6.16$; Women: $M = 39.70$, $SD = 5.14$). The majority were married (80.0%), having lived together from 1 to 29 years ($M = 14.38$, $SD = 7.66$). Over half (52.5%) lived with 2 children in the household, 37.5% with one and 10% with 3 or 4. A minority (15%) lived in blended families.

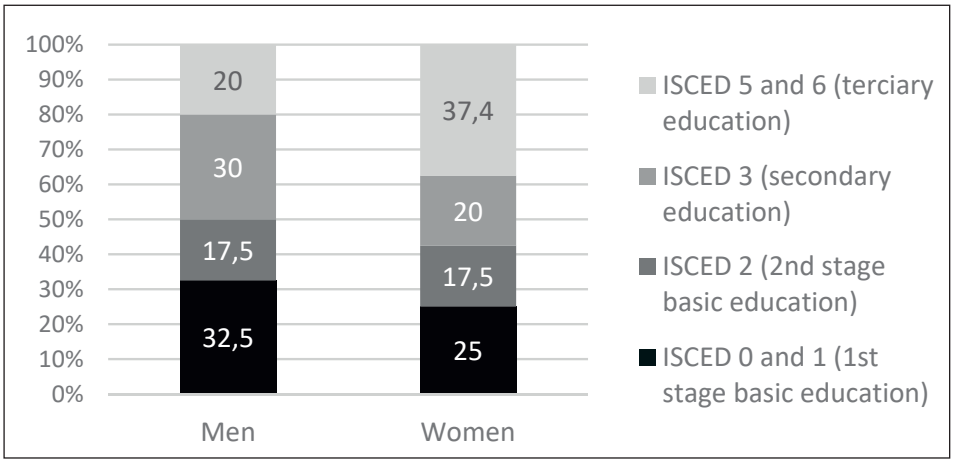

Figure 1. Participants' educational level (ISCED-1997)
Note: "ISCED-1997" = International Standard Classification of Education Levels, 1997

Figure 2. Employment situation of each member of the couple

Participants' level of education varies considerably (Figure 1). The majority of the couples were educationally homogeneous (52.5%), while 37.5% of the women had a higher education level than their partners.

In the great majority of couples, both partners were working (90%). In relation to the other couples, four men, but only one woman, were unemployed. Only three women were housewives (see Figure 2).

2.2 Instrument of data collection

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews. This involved the construction of interview guidelines to cover the various topics of interest, based on what was already known from the enquiry and from the previous literature review. The initial version of the guidelines was tested in six exploratory interviews, allowing us to recognize the replies to questions which were most significant for family narratives. Since there appeared to be no need for significant adjustments to the guidelines, these six interviews were included in the final analysis of responses.

Within this semi-structured approach, couples could talk freely about the topics presented to them, but other related topics arose as well. Couples were asked about: a) their own personal trajectory and how they had set up their family; b) their family life (routines, division of domestic and parental work, socializing, etc.); c) how they manage their family budget; d) the impact of the economic crisis on personal, social, professional and family life; and e) strategies adopted to deal with these negative impacts. For the purpose of this chapter, our focus will be on the answers of women considering mainly the performance of domestic roles (including caring of children and older people) and on the efforts and implication of both partners in respecting reconciliation of working-family life principles. Summarizing the questions that were asked to them: Who does what? How much time? Why? The answers of women to such questions are the object of our analysis.

2.3 Procedure

Participants were contacted by the researchers after they had initially shown their willingness to participate, when they had given their contact data in the first stage of the larger research project. Some of the couples had already responded to the project's national enquiry, in which, at the end of the questionnaire, they were asked if they would be interested in participating in the later stages of the project. If so, they were asked for their phone number. The remaining couples were recruited by specially trained research assistants, who approached them and described the aim of the study and its methods (audio-recorded joint interview) and asked them to participate. After informed consent was given, interviews were programmed according to each couple's and the interviewer's availability, in terms of both time and place of the interview. On the agreed date, additional informed consent was obtained before starting the interview.

These interviews were conducted with both partners simultaneously. Dyadic interviews have been used in the social sciences and in research on the family to study different relationships between pairs, such as couples, siblings, parents and children, best friends, and patients and their careers (cf. Morris, 2001; Torgé, 2013). These studies show the potential of this inherently relational interview method to understand relational phenomena (Bjørnholt & Farstad, 2014).

There are several different methods for conducting pair interviews: the partners may be interviewed separately but simultaneously, separately but at different times, together, or together and separately (for a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of each option, cf. Eisikovits & Koren, 2010). Although our original aim was to interview couples separately but simultaneously, difficulties in finding couples willing to participate in this double approach led us to opt for interviewing both partners together.

This option has the advantage of simplifying the collection of data and improving the uptake of potential interviewees (Morris, 2001). In addition, it allows us to record not only couples' shared perspectives but also their individual perspectives on shared experiences (Allan, 1980; Morris, 2001). In fact, joint interviews allow the collection of data concerning the interaction and the nature of the relationship which would be hard to obtain by means of other methods. In a joint interview, for example, partners can confirm (or contradict) each other's replies, continue or deviate from the other's line of thought, question the other, express different or opposite points of view, etc. (Allan, 1980). Thus researchers can notice interdependencies and qualitative aspects of family life, and obtain information on divergent and problematic areas, on the dynamics of negotiation and power and the decision-making processes of each partner (Heaphy & Einarsdottir, 2012).

However, like any methodological option, the one we selected has its own limitations. Firstly, there is a risk of bias in the participants, since it is to be expected that couples in troubled or conflictual relationships would be less disposed to participate in a study involving joint interviews. As such, some aspects of marital conflict and

disagreement may become underrepresented (Torgé, 2013). Secondly, joint interviews of pairs may supply less reliable information than individual interviews since in some cases one of the partners may dominate, while in other cases the partners may avoid revealing personal opinions which might cause conflict, or avoid speaking about problematic or stressful matters in the presence of the other (cf. Allan, 1980; Taylor & de Vocht, 2011). However, there is also evidence that couples in conjoint interviews do contest, question and disagree, and do not necessarily spare each other from negative remarks (Bjørnholt & Farstad, 2014).

The majority of the interviews took place in the couples' homes (77.5%) or in the workplace of one (or both) partners (10%). Average interview length was 77 minutes. Interviews were conducted between October 2014 and June 2015.

3. Unraveling women's explanations for their greater responsibilities in doing household chores: interpreting narratives

To analyze the results of the collected data, the interviews were transcribed, the names of the participants being changed and substituted by a code[5]. A grid of categories was constructed for analysis of the contents, based on the interview guidelines, after an exploratory analysis of the content of the first six interviews. The analysis was carried out using MAXQDA software. In order to understand how both partners organize their tasks related to the routines of family life, interviewers invited them to talk freely about the strategies of reconciliation especially during the period when they have to face financial cuts. The data presented in this section will be focused on women's discourses and in their arguments to justify traditional division of unpaid work, even when their husbands faced unemployment. Women's explanations were aggregated into thematic categories that emerge from the interpretation of their answers. In this section an exercise of interpretation of the women's voices is done, with the conviction that probably their narratives were influenced by the presence of their husbands. Categories are presented separately, but the discourses permitted to infer the imbricated nature of feelings and hesitant justifications.

3.1 Women's guilt

Women that were interviewed revealed they felt guilty not only for the burden that doing household chores represented for them, but also for not being able to have enough time for their children. Because they are required to make all the other domestic tasks, mothers sometimes 'ask for help' to their male partners in playing with the children. In such cases, they feel they have to justify this need to their partners,

5 The women that were interviewed are mentioned in the excerpts by the code W associated to the number of the couple that participated in the study (from 1 to 40). Their age will be mention with the acronym yo (years-old).

thus revealing how the responsibility for caring tasks are experienced as belonging exclusively to the woman.

> "I feel guilty that there is no more collaboration from my partner. I have the mania that I do things well" (W9, 43 yo).

> "I also include myself in the 'fairy of the home' on Saturdays (...) Saturdays and not only… the whole week. I even noticed that this has more repercussions for the time the family loses. We do not spend much time with the kids during the week. Although we are with them, we are and we are not. We are physically. We are taking care of them, but we are not with them from the relational point of view" (W28, 44 yo).

> "I am guilty for that ... but I do things quicker and faster than my husband and this represents economy of resources" (W9, 43 yo).

> "To be honest I sometimes think so ... look, it's me that I'm being very ungrateful, but it's true! I hope it's half past nine p. m. for the children to go to bed ... because I lose patience with them many times" (W34, 43 yo).

3.2 Women's obligation

The answers of the participants that permit to elicit this category included many perceived causes for this obligation, like the fact that the wife's salary is lower than the husband's, the greater availability due to the fix schedule at work, among others. Furthermore, many women reinforced the idea that their husbands 'help them' mainly on weekends as a strategy they accept to occupy their free time.

> "If I iron 10 shirts per week I can save 10 euros which are crucial to by fruit and vegetables for the family, and with this task I can add 10 euros to my salary each week" [her salary was lower than her husband's] (W9, 43 yo).

> "I feel I need to work more in doing household tasks because my husband contributes more to the economy of the family" (W30, 33 yo).

3.3 Women's 'volunteer' choices

In order to take care of their children some women accept fixed schedule in their work which contributes to a reduction in their salaries, even among graduate women (example: nursery schools). Being at home earlier in the afternoon than the husband implies to have more time to do household chores. The age of the children contributes to the diversity of tasks in the unpaid work of women: the smaller the child, the greater diversity of tasks.

> "I'd rather do than ask to do ... because otherwise I'm going to get bored and then there's no point in being angry. It's better that I do it ... It's okay". (W29, 32 yo)

"I chose a school for my child near my workplace, so it is normal that I spend more time taking care of her. I save time to take her to school and pick her up from school" (W34, 43 yo).

"He makes the beds and helps outside when we use the oven that is on the terrace. And nothing else ... in relation to the rest I leave my job at three o'clock and I get home at four o'clock ... I have time to do things" (W39, 44 yo).

"I'm going to pick up my daughter from school every day because I leave work early, then I give her the afternoon snack, I give her a bath ... I'm at home longer and he's not (...) he changed her [the daughter] few diapers. Because he is also a very little time at home and there are things that cannot wait" (W15, 35 yo).

3.4 Women's lower social status

Some women tried to make sense of their disadvantage in terms of the time spent in doing nonpaid work with arguments that put them in a lower status than their husbands'. Some reasons were related to their lower level of schooling and others to the supposed inferior nature of their daily tasks.

"I have no choice. I did not study. I do not have a graduation. These are my tasks as a wife and mother" (W9, 43 yo).

"I'm very sorry ... I concluded only the seventh grade but I see myself no less than many graduates ... my husband knows ... I consider myself an intelligent woman, I know how to behave ... I'm very dynamic and very ambitious, but I should have studied more ... I'll advise my daughter never to give up studying ... (W30, 33 yo).

"Taking care of the house is only for women. Me and my daughter. At an early age she started learning how to help me. In our house men don't do anything, anything at all!" (W38, 47 yo).

3.5 Women's commitment to family harmony

In this category, we included the reasons presented by women that were related to the satisfaction of their children' and partners' needs and also to the maintenance of a satisfactory intimacy between couples. Some women identify a pattern of household chores distribution before and after the birth of their kids. Clearly, women dedicated more time to household duties after they became mothers. Others accepted to assume more tasks and to sacrifice more free time to correspond to their partners' choices, like investing in their own training.

"My husband was always responsible for his clothes and I was responsible for mine. The children were born and I also took over the children's clothes [laughs]" (W15, 35 yo).

"He had a normal schedule and after that he was still attending classes and then he had to study. And what I told him ... was that the only way I had to help him was to free him from domestic chores" (W35, 35 yo).

"I am not old, but thirty-three years old, with a house, with a business, with a daughter, with a husband, however much he helps me ... because he is a husband who doesn't know much about the household, but he's good on the business level. He is also a good father, always present" (W30, 33 yo).

"My husband manages our company and I manage the house [laughs]. Which is to be one less ... one less thing for him to worry about too, isn't it? Usually at home I worry about expenses, shopping, and things like that" (W45, 48 yo).

"When I get home, I have to organize everything ... I am a woman! (...) it's a lot ... I try to do everything in advance, the food, the cleaning of the house and the laundry, so that we can spend a little time together ... I do everything so that my husband lacks nothing" (W12, 36 yo).

3.6 Women's connivance with sarcastic explanations

Some women seem to deal with the issue of non-reconciliation of domestic chores by their partners with a kind of sarcasm. Others talked about that subject using jokes in order to explain what is inexplicable, with the complacency of their partners.[6] For some of our interviewees the partner that 'helps' at home is the exception rather than the rule. From some discourses it was possible to infer a kind of goodness of character that was recognized to the men who collaborated in the tasks at home. Some participants even extolled men's willingness to help, as times changed and their companions were far more concerned with the division of labor than their parents (though they did actually very little).

"Yes, we share the household chores. He usually dirties the house and I clean [laughs] ... he is clumsy (…) housekeeping is the norm for me" (W4, 45 yo).

"Sometimes at the weekend my husband is the one who makes lunch or dinner ... I mean, things over the weekend try to be more ... more divided. But it's me ... basically I do everything" (W15, 35 yo).

"We are always butting heads with each other [laughs]" (W2, 39 yo).

"Tasks ... my husband usually dirties the house, I clean it. He unmakes the bed ... I make it. He dirties the clothes ... I put them to wash and iron it. Okay, these are the chores ... he is a macho man! (W24, 43 yo).

6 During the interview nº 24, the male partner (39 years-old) expressed his opinion about the reconciliation principles with a very sexist metaphor: "when I am asked how we share the chores at home, I usually answer that 'every jack to his trade'! Here at home the girls [wife and daughter] are the ones who do things".

"In the dating phase, sometimes I did, sometimes he did. Nobody gave orders to anyone ... that worked well. My partner was a person who really ... Being me or him doing the chores was the same thing. Because what I knew how to do, he knew and that was it" (W15, 35 yo).

"He comes home after work, then he eats, takes a shower and if he has nothing urgent to do ... he spends the whole afternoon lying on the sofa ... then I make dinner and that's it. It's our day-to-day life" (W44, 46 yo).

3.7 Women as 'elastic' persons[7]

Women seemed to deal better with situations of financial difficulties than men by doing extra work at home. In addition, their routines are composed of multiple tasks and they stop more often on the path between home and work because of the different roles they play. These characteristics of their daily lives represent a huge overload of time and energy for them. Those working in family enterprises tend to do household chores during the performance of paid activities (like in cafes, restaurants, groceries, etc.). Women tend to create "solutions" in the domestic management of available resources at home to meet the needs of the family which tend to increase their unpaid work.

"I go very early in the morning to my work by bus, then I walk home in the evening. (…) At home I wash and tidy the breakfast dishes, I make the dinner, I arrange the clothes for the next day and the day is over" (W39, 44 yo).

"We have to try to reconcile everything and organize the kids' meals and snacks and do the shopping and do the housework. It's always an hectic daily life" (W5, 39 yo).

"On Monday I go to work more tired than when I started the weekend ... I start the week tired, very tired (...). But during the week ... is to take the kids to school, to put up with their tantrums, to get to my work on time, to pick them up from school, to get home facing the traffic, to make dinner ... sometimes when I get home I go up to my room to have some time just for me" (W34, 43 yo).

7 This idea was expressed by a 36 years-old men, a father with two children, during the interviews, when referring to how he perceived his wife's routines in the family: "She is the player in this game. (…) I recognize her value for that, indeed. Sometimes I make jokes on that. I say: Well, you look like the "elastic woman". (…) I don't take care of anything. I only take notice when I'm missing something". It was clear after the interviews of forty couples that some men recognize the extraordinary 'elastic' capabilities of their female partner for domestic tasks and home management. They may even express gratitude but that usually drives no sharing. Men tend to assume they are a mere recipient of the wives' services.

3.8 Women's needs and intrinsic characteristics

Some women justify their greater burden of household tasks, even during the weekends, explaining that such time represents an alleviation of professional duties during the week. Such kind of explanation has the implicit assumption that domestic chores and caregiving activities are not as physically demanding as professional and paid work duties. In other cases, women expressed their beliefs in the inherent characteristics of females that tend to need organized and clean environments around them no matter it means time consuming.

> "On weekends we stay at home ... look ... I take care of the house ... I have my friends here ... at least I am able to clear my head" (W27, 45 yo).

> "I do not feel good working if things are not organized in the house. It's a part of me to be calm and able to concentrate on a neat and clean environment. It has to do with me" (W15, 35 yo).

4. Discussion: may public policies improve with data from experience?

Through the discourses of the women it is possible to perceive that the problem of reconciliation seems to continue to be an issue that women assume has their own. It is possible that gender stereotypes lead them to think that this problem is their only fault because of their massive entrance into the labor market. So, the pressure to continue performing traditional gender roles at home and to be active and fully participant in the labor world lead them to a sense of conformism (Portugal, 2014), expressed in their discourses, which may be called 'learned disadvantage'. The recent economic recession period that Portugal has faced seemed to aggravate the situation for women, concerning their allocation of time to unpaid work and its multiple tasks, because the coping strategies of Portuguese households to survive the crisis and austerity included some cuts of services and products that previously alleviated women's responsibilities as mothers, wives and caregivers (Frade & Coelho, 2015).

An analysis of the answers obtained during the interviews enabled to understand how women, no matter their socio-economic status, professional area, or school level, express a "learned disadvantage" that seem to naturalize the burden they suffered for being daily the main responsible persons for household chores. Arguments expressed by the interviewed women are related to their need to compensate the lowest wages they earn per month (economically contributing less to the family life), their higher competences and training for household chores, their lower professional requirements which permit them to be 'psychologically' more capable to work at night at home, among others.

Discussion of these perceptions should take into account the power of informal learning based on gender order (Ostrouch-Kaminska & Vieira, 2015), in the organization of roles and tasks which men and women recognize as being their compe-

tences, inside and outside their home, regardless of the amount of time they really dedicate to things that should be shared. Time is a very valuable resource and women seem to continue being in a greater disadvantage when compared to men. In addition to the factual question concerning the number of hours spent in common tasks, the major problem lies, in our view, in the fact that many of them are not aware of this prejudice as a core damage of the principle of gender equality.

In order to combat this problem, we should ask if unpaid work is an issue for ongoing public policies. It seems that the answer is yes, but the related effective changes are hard to evaluate. In September 2015, United Nations General Assembly approved the Resolution: *Changing our world – 2030 Agenda for sustainable development*, with the main intention of creating a new model of living together (United Nations, 2016). The Agenda has 17 sustainable developmental goals and 169 targets which incorporate equality between men and women as a cross-sectional criterion to accomplish all of them. The Sustainable Development Goal number 5 is related to the achievement of gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls. One of the problems identified in the framework of this goal was clearly related to the uses of time.

Among the targets and indicators until 2030, United Nations (2017) established several measures for the next decade including: "recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate"[8] (Target 5.4.) and monitoring the "proportion of time spent on unpaid domestic and care work, by sex, age and location"[9] (Indicator 5.4.1.). Moreover, the *Commission on the Status of Women*[10] (UN Women, 2017) that had its 61st meeting in 2017 drew a conclusion (nº 16) that also highlights the pervasive problem of the burden of unpaid work:

> The Commission recognizes that the sharing of family responsibilities creates an enabling family environment for women's economic empowerment in the changing world of work, which contributes to the development that women and men make a great contribution to the welfare of their family, and that in particular to the women's contribution to the home, including unpaid care and domestic work, which is still not adequately recognized, generates human and social capital essential for social and economic development (p. 5)

Irrespective of these political commitments of nations and organizations, the problem that Rêgo (2012) identified in public policies seems to persist. The efforts should not ignore the structural causes of problems in order to eliminate their effects: gen-

8 See Annex IV of the *Report of the Inter-Agency and Expert Group on Sustainable Development Goal Indicators* (E/CN.3/2016/2/Rev.1) (p. 8). Retrieved from: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/11803Official-List-of-Proposed-SDG-Indicators.pdf

9 *Idem*.

10 61st session, NY, 24-March, 2017: *Womens' economic empowerment in a changing world of work*.

der stereotypes and gender norms that regulate individual life of men and women. This conclusion may be further strengthened through a critical analysis of data from the most recent report on indicators relating to equality between women and men in the European Union countries (European Union, 2018). According to the document, more than four in ten European persons (44%) believe that a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and family. Moreover, in a third of EU Member States, this percentage is even 70% or above. Women continue to be the main caregivers of children and the elderly, and those who provide household chores and this is particularly clear when care responsibilities are more intense: in couples with children under 7 years of age, women spend on average 32 hours a week in paid work and 39 hours in unpaid work, compared to men who spend 41 hours in paid work and 19 hours in unpaid work.

Considering such figures it seems that even though we agree that "to achieve gender equality and empowerment of women policy-makers and government officials have to create institutions that are 'fair to women and men'" (Correa-Fernandes, Dumas, Jones, Mbarika, & Ong'ao, 2015, p. 130), it is also evident that mentalities do not change by decree, nor gender stereotypes can be suddenly erased from the cultural inheritance. The awareness and promotion of core principles of gender equality require that individuals use critical thinking and such a role is played by formal and non-formal education in all contexts and throughout the life cycle. Empowering girls and boys from early years of age through positive models – inside and outside the family – and inclusive contents of school curricula, that foster the discussion about public and private life issues, are certainly good practices if the goal is to build a society where younger generations may live more free of (gender) prejudices that are based on a learned social organization.

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Melanie Pohl

The impact of emotionalization in different text types on women and men in German (young) adults

Abstract: Research shows that there are differences between men and women when it comes to emotional reactions as well as to their reading habits. Based on these findings, the core question of the present study is if there are different emotional reactions of men and women to emotionalization strategies in different text types. The text material had the overall topic of war and terror attacks with four different text types and different strategies of emotionalization. The text types were newspaper articles, social media postings, literary texts and a factual text type. Results show that when it comes to the female connoted emotions grief and fear, women's reactions were significantly stronger while results were mixed regarding the more male connoted emotions. The results on rage turned out to be the opposite of what was expected, with women showing more rage than men, while contempt was displayed more strongly by men. When analysing all text types together, women showed to be more moved than men. However, when analysing each text type separately, only social media articles and the factual text type showed significant differences in favour of the movement of women.

1. Introduction

Based on everyday experiences, one would say that men and women are different when it comes to both emotions and reading. Hence, it is expected that when emotional reactions on reading are the focus, differences would be obvious. But what are the real gender differences in reading habits, or in the topics men and women read about? And what are the implications about the emotions men and women report to be having while reading something?

The objective of this study is to compare the findings in emotional gender differences to the emotional reactions regarding reading. It focuses on the effect of emotionalization in different kinds of text-based media on men and women and compares their emotional reactions to different text types. These texts are either relatively formal or with stronger strategies of emotionalization, which are believed to gather the interest and attention of readers.

The study aims at an analysis of possible differences in emotion in general and of specific emotions in the reaction of men and women to the texts. Also, it is examined whether the overall emotional reaction of both men and women is stronger on those types of texts that are more connoted with the reading habits of their own gender.

The impact of emotions on the perception of the different types of text-based media is important because emotions influence cognitions and decisions and thus have an impact on people's everyday life. This way, emotions in a piece of text could have an influence on important decisions for society, for example in an election. If

people were educated about this impact on their own belief system, they might be able to make more rational decisions. They could become be able to separate the state of being moved due to strategies of emotionalization from the state of being moved due to the topic or the arguments used.

2. Emotionalization in different text types

The term emotionalization is aimed at certain aspects of the text that are responsible for the elicitation of emotions. The characteristics are strategies used in a text that make readers rate one text more emotional than the other. These often consist of the use of metaphoric or metonymic elements, onomatopoetic parts or other stylistic devices that appeal to the readers own emotional experience. This way, an interaction between text and reader and their experience develops and elicits the emotions. (Hiergeist, 2014; Mellmann, 2006).

The number of details given about a certain topic, a room or even a person can also shape the emotional reaction, as well as mentioning patterns of everyday life that are connected with a specific emotion. A just briefly described situation could, for example, be considered dangerous, happy or sad. In this case, it is not the amount of words describing a situation, but the scheme that is triggered in the reader's head (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2016; Mellmann, 2006). Furthermore, it is possible that emotions are induced by the form, the surface of the text. A reader could for example admire the beautiful or unique use of words to describe something, like a metaphor or a rhyme, with less regard to the content, or none at all (Hiergeist, 2014; Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2016).

Despite some cultural similarities when it comes to those emotional reactions, there are differences. Some of these are individual, of course, because every reader has his or her own set of individual experiences or schemes to be activated when reading. But some reaction patterns are interrelated to specific groups, because the individuals in this group might have a specific trait or set of experiences in common that makes them react stronger. The reaction to a brief description of a dark, lonely street at night might for example appear more dangerous to women than to men (Mellmann, 2006).

Usually when emotions or emotionalization is mentioned, what comes to mind first is literary reading, because novels and poems are often read for their emotional content, as readers enjoy being moved by what they read, and this might often be the sole purpose of reading (Nell, 1988). But emotions can also be found in other text types, and often it is intended here as well. The most prominent example are newspaper articles. They appear to be written for information in the first place, and it is the most important duty of journalism to prepare relevant information for the public. However, there is a lot of competition in this business nowadays, even more so since people now also use the internet and especially social media for information. As a result, journalists not only try to write informative, but also interesting and emotionally involving pieces and offer the fastest and most relevant coverage of what

happens in the world (Peters, 2011; Rykalová, 2014). This is especially true for tragic events like terror attacks or school shootings, where there are many people, even children involved (Robertz & Kahr, 2016).

The strategies of emotionalization are different for each text type. The form related emotions are most important in poetry, where it is even possible to make tremendous grammatical mistakes in order to emphasize emotions. These methods are rarely found in journalism, though neologisms are very popular, especially for headlines. Mostly the emotional contents of newspaper articles are altered by choosing the focus of the description. Statements with personal information or wording that implies a more personal connection between the reader and the topic of the coverage will much likely induce more and stronger emotions than a factual report of the incident (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2016; Mellmann, 2006).

3. Gender differences

In everyday life, it seems obvious to most people that men and women are different, but there is a lot of discussion, for example in the media, about how different they really are, or if the alleged differences are scientifically proven. To properly approach the subject of gender differences in emotion and also in reading habits, it is necessary to first lay out the groundwork for the present study by examining research findings on both topics.

3.1 Gender differences in emotional reactions

The stereotype of emotional women and rational men is used a lot in everyday life, be it on TV, in books or even in advertising. Subsequently, all the differences between the frequency or intensity of emotions of men and women have to be assessed with regard to the gender-stereotypic socialization, especially when the data is gathered in self reports (Brody, Hall, & Stokes, 2016).

When it comes to emotions in general, gender differences have been a subject of research for a long time and many studies found differences in how emotional men and women are. Both men and women believe that women are the more emotional gender, they are seen as more sensitive in understanding the emotions of others (Barrett, Robin, Pietromonaco, & Eyssell, 1998; Brody et al., 2016). This self-perception is also validated with the results of tests on emotional intelligence and verbal as well as nonverbal emotional decoding skills. Women also verbalize their emotions more than men do, which applies to the spoken as well as the written word (Brody et al., 2016).

There are also differences regarding specific kinds of emotions: Women report to overall sense and express more positive emotions than men. Especially love, happiness, sadness, fear and empathy or negative self-centered emotions like grief or shame are female connoted emotions. Women's expression of strong positive emo-

tions, like sympathy, thankfulness or love, is often related to others, for example in social situations (Brandstätter, Schüler, Puca, & Lozo, 2013; Brody et al., 2016).

Men report to sense and express contempt, confidence, excitement, or trust more often. Their negative emotions like anger or rage are expressed more frequently in an externally procured manner, their expression of positive emotions is more often self-centered, here the most mentioned emotion is pride (Brody et al., 2016; Chaplin 2015; Lozo 2010). Looking closer, the findings on anger are often inconsistent. When asked about a specific situation between people, women report to have felt more anger, and even a stronger intensity of anger, while men report a stronger overall tendency to get angry (Brody et al., 2016).

Many studies show that the situation in which an emotion is displayed is an important factor in moderating gender differences in emotion: In summary, women mostly display their emotion in social situations, for example with a close person or a circle of friends, while men seem to do the opposite. They display their emotions stronger in public situations (Brody et al., 2016).

3.2 "Male" and "female" reading

As a general rule, the more emotional books in an everyday bookshop seem to be targeted towards women. Terms like "Chick Lit" suggest that these are exclusively for women, and they are also mostly visually designed to attract mainly women – or at least what marketing experts expect women to like.

Fictional reading, in general, is also often female connoted, and there is a reason for that: Women do read more than men, and they report to read for pleasure more often, while men report to read for information or education. Accordingly, women have a tendency to identify with what they read, so they are believed to be more sensitive to strategies of emotionalization while reading. In contrast, men have a stronger tendency to informative reading, so their emotional distance to what they read seems to be greater (Charlton, Burbaum, & Sutter, 2004; Fenkart 2012).

When it comes to text types, women rather read poems, novels, and short stories. Men in contrast reportedly prefer contemporary or political books and when they read fiction, they tend to read novels with topics such as adventure, war, or science fiction (Charlton et al., 2004).

Those differences in taste when it comes to reading will much likely have an impact on the way people react to emotions in all kinds of texts because to be moved emotionally by a text, there must be a certain susceptibility to a specific type of emotion in this kind of text. Therefore, if the text has rather little in common with the taste and the personality of the reader, it is expected that they will be moved significantly less (Walton, 1997).

4. Study with different text types

Based on the above-mentioned research on gender differences in emotional reactions and gender specific reading habits, two research questions were devised:

(1) Are the emotional reactions in the more gender-specific emotions different for men and women, so that men's score on rage and contempt will be higher and women's score on grief or fear?
(2) Will women be more moved by the different texts than men?

The rating of the emotions was done with the Modified Differential Affect Scale (M-DAS) (Renaud & Unz, 2006). This scale is a modified version of the Differential Emotions Scale, which was originally created by Izard and was translated into German by Merten & Krause. Renaud & Unz adapted it specifically for the use with media as stimulus material (Izard, C.E.1977 and Merten, K.R., 1993; as quoted in Renaud & Unz, 2006). The 5-level-scale lets the test subject rate 16 emotions on three items each, ranging from positive emotions like happiness or fascination, to more neutral emotions like being interested or surprise, to negative emotions like grief or rage.

4.1 Choice of text material for the present study

The seven texts used as stimulus material were two literary texts, two newspaper articles, two social media postings and one non-fictional informative text, all had the overall topic of terror and terror attacks. This topic was chosen in an attempt to minimize the influence on gender specific emotions, simply because it is a particularly emotional topic for almost everybody. Since there are always victims involved, but also a culprit, a human being who committed an exceedingly "evil" crime against any basic human and social norm, the topic has a rather personal aspect: When people hear about it, most of them cannot resist the urge to think about the reasons for this crime or to imagine they were themselves affected as victims (Robertz & Kahr, 2016).

In addition to the more conventional text types of literary texts and newspaper articles, the social media articles where chosen because social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter became more and more relevant for the gathering of information on public events. Because of its structure and the promptness of distribution of social media postings, these clearly are a different text type, even when the postings sometimes are journalistically edited (Kahr, 2016). Of the two newspaper articles one showed stronger emotionalization strategies and was from the German magazine "Focus", the other one had a more factual approach and was from the "Frankfurter Rundschau". The two literary texts were short stories by hardly known authors so that it was assured no participant knew them. One was more emotional, with a lot of personal information, stylistic devices and details about injuries, the other had a more demure style, both had the subject of fictive terror attacks. The same combination of one factual and one emotional approach was used with the social media postings: The factual one was made by the police in Munich and gave

advice to stay safe during a possible terror attack. It contained important information but was written in a calming tone to prevent panic. The other social media posting was made by a politician from a German far-right party, that was anonymized to prevent the reader's political opinion to influence the outcome of the study. In the posting, the politician wrote about a terror attack and how Germany becomes more and more unsafe in her opinion. She used many exclamation points and the choice of words was quite agitated.

The last text used was an excerpt from the Wikipedia page of a terror attack. It contained information and a timeline of what happened before the attack but was very factual. All texts were shortened in a way that excerpts of all texts had approximately the same length in every text, yet the meaning of the texts remained unchanged.

4.2 Participants and data collection

Of the 278 participants, 195 were women and 81 were men, two stated "other" when asked about their biological sex. When asked about their gender, two of the biological women turned out to be trans, 3 stated to be non-binary and one more stated "other". The age range was between 13 and 65 years, with a mean of 29,97 years (*SD* = 11.85). When asked for their occupation, 100 stated to be employees, 93 university students, 22 workers, 19 pupils, 6 were looking for occupation, 6 were housewives or -husbands, 3 retirees, 28 stated "other" and one did not answer the question.

The study was performed as an online survey, starting after a welcome page with a few questions about the current mood of the participant. It was followed by instructions about the upcoming text material with the direction to read the text completely and take as much time as needed before going further in the survey and answering the questions. Then the texts were presented as stimulus material, they were randomly assigned. After that, the complete M-DAS was performed and subsequently followed a few questions about the reading habits, current ones and those during the childhood of the participants. Finally, the participants answered a short stereotype questionnaire and some questions on sociodemographic variables like sex, gender, and current occupation. The survey was closed with the opportunity for students to fill in a special code that allowed them to collect points for participating in the study and a thank you note.

Since in the present study only the items on emotion and the sociodemographic variables were included, the following chapters will focus on the analysis of those items. The data on sex and gender was mostly congruent, so there was no reason to evaluate both separately. Hence, in the following analysis, the biological sex is used as a basis for the analysis. In addition, because the research questions and furthermore the hypotheses were directional, but SPSS was used to process the data and it does not offer the directional testing in a t-test, the significance values were divided by two.

5. Results

In the following chapter, the research results will be described. For better clarity, the chapter will be divided according to the two research questions.

(1) Gender differences in reaction on specific emotions

For the analysis of the gender specific emotions, the M-DAS scores for all text types were used in order to evaluate whether men and women show the emotions ascribed to their gender in a stronger way.

Since the topic of terror and terror attacks is considered a more negative one, accordingly, negative emotions were chosen. Thus, the more male connoted emotions used in this analysis were contempt and rage, while the selected female emotions were fear and grief.

For a quick overview of the found differences, the means of the M-DAS scores regarding these emotions are displayed in figure 1. Since the value of each emotion consists of the values of three items, the mean could have ranged between a minimum of three and a maximum value of 15.

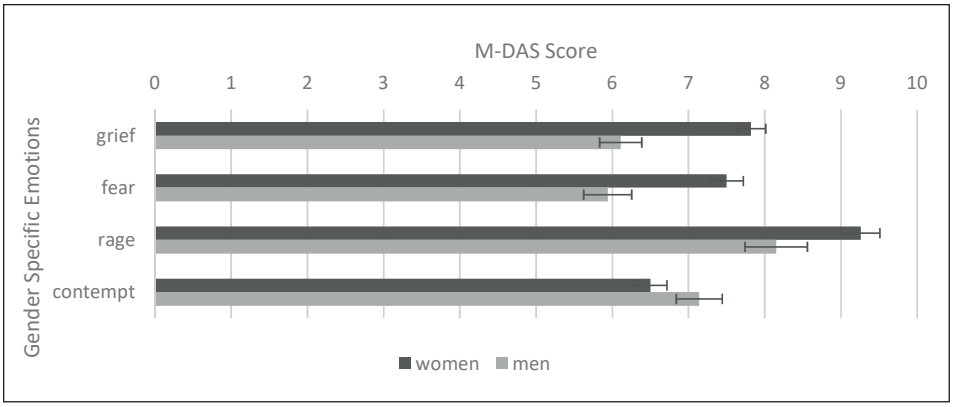

Figure 1. Gender specific emotions

The most prominent results were those on the stereotypically female emotions grief and fear, which shows that in this study, women did indeed show significantly more grief and fear:

grief (women: $M = 7.82$; $SD = 2.6$; men: $M = 6.11$; $SD = 2.5$; $t(265) = 4.97$; $p < .001$)
fear (women: $M = 7.5$; $SD = 3.1$; men: $M = 5.94$; $SD = 2.8$; $t(274) = 3.94$; $p < .001$)

Results were mixed for the male connoted emotions, with the scores for rage being the opposite of the expected outcome: There was a significant difference, with women's results being higher than men's (women: $M = 9.26$; $SD = 3.4$; men: $M = 8.15$; $SD = 3.6$; $t(257) = 2.38$; $p = .009$).

The findings for contempt were according to the hypothesis, with significantly higher values in men's responses than in women's (women: $M = 6.5$; $SD = 2.9$; men: $M = 7.14$; $SD = 2.7$; $t(255) = -1.676$; $p = .048$).

(2) Gender differences in being moved by the texts

In order to determine gender differences in being moved by the texts, the results of all the texts were first combined and analysed, to get an overall view on how moved men and women were. Data showed that as expected, women stated to be more moved by the texts which they had read than men (women: $M = 8.16$; $SD = 3.1$; men: $M = 6.92$; $SD = 2.8$; $t(239) = 2.913$; $p = .002$).

Subsequently, the values for the different text types were analysed separately and the results showed significant differences in the social media postings and the factual text. In reaction to the social media postings, women's scores were significantly higher than men's (women: $M = 7.72$; $SD = 3.2$; men: $M = 5.91$; $SD = 2.6$; $t(63) = 2{,}3$; $p = .013$).

An even more prominent difference was found for the factual text type, with women's values being significantly higher than men's (women: $M = 9.68$; $SD = 3.0$; men: $M = 6.63$; $SD = 2.8$; $t(28) = 2.536$; $p = .008$).

No significant differences at all were found for the newspaper articles or the literary texts (both $p > .05$).

6. Discussion

In this chapter, the findings on the two research questions are first discussed briefly After that they will be reviewed with a wider focus on different topics that might have influenced the outcome.

(1) In line with the research, the data on the female connoted emotions grief and fear showed that women's values were significantly higher than men's, which is consistent with the findings about gender specific emotions. Surprisingly, the result on rage was the opposite of the expected effect: Instead of men's values, women's values were significantly higher. The reason for this could be influenced by the translation: In the M-DAS, the emotion is "Wut", which translates to rage, but one of the three items it consists of is "Ärger", which means anger. As found in the research, anger is an emotion with mixed results, in which the outcome depends very much on the context. Given that the topic was terror, every text also had some kind of social context, for example a specific description of the victims, their family members or their personal experiences. In those cases, research sometimes showed that women expressed their anger stronger (Brody et al., 2016).

With the male connoted emotion contempt, the findings from the research were confirmed, as men showed more contempt than women did.

(2) As a first overview of the research question on being moved, all texts were analysed as a whole. As expected, women were more moved by the texts in gen-

eral, which is congruent with the research that showed that most women's reading style shows a stronger tendency to identify with what they read, so their emotional distance to what they are reading is smaller than men's (Charlton et al., 2004; Fenkart, 2012). For the individually analysed text types, there were only differences in the emotional reactions to social media postings and the factual text type, where women's values were significantly higher than men's.There were no differences in the reactions to the newspaper articles. A possible reason for this could be that people often read newspaper articles for information and therefore might perceive them as factual texts, which could level out the differences between men and women to some extent. In this case, the allegedly factual context of the perceived emotions would have influenced the emotions the participants reported (Jahr, 2000). A possible explanation for the findings on the literary texts could be the fact that the text structure might not have been particularly typical, so people did not always recognise the texts as literature. Therefore, their attitude towards the text might have been different from when they knowingly read literary texts. (Jahr, 2000). Furthermore, for years now, terror and terror attacks are very present in all kinds of media. With a subject that present in media and with a clear intent to induce emotions, it is possible that the participants are somehow irritated by reading about it yet again and subsequently state less interest in the texts (Rykalová, 2014).

With regard to the findings, it is important to remember that, as stated before, it is hardly possible to separate the answers given in a self-report from the internalized stereotypes men and women are confronted with from early childhood on. Even though the data shows a significant result, this might be influenced by social desirability to fit the stereotypes that set the social norms of how emotionally involved men and women should be. So for example, the results might be due to the fact that women do feel more fear and grief than men, or because men, who might feel them in the same way, do not report these emotions (Barrett et al., 1998).

6.1 Implications for education

This study has shown that there are differences in the perception of emotions between men and women and when it comes to different text types. Even though emotions are mostly associated with literary reading, the findings show that emotions also play a role in the perception of other text types, even those that are mostly considered informative (Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Rykalová, 2014). This is important because emotions have a great influence on cognition just as on shaping attitudes towards aspects of everyday life. Without even observing it, people's opinion on a certain politician or population group could be shaped by what is read on an everyday basis, for example on newspapers or social media. The latter is especially crucial because, in the case of social media, certain algorithms decide what a user gets to see, which is mostly similar to what he or she already liked. This way, viewers only get to read what already matches their opinion, so that they get reassured in their view of the world again and again.

Better knowledge of the methods of emotionalization used in different text types, by politicians or on social media and their impact on the readers would be beneficial for both men and women. It would enable them to see beyond the surface of the text, to recognize emotion-inducing patterns of language and maybe even realize if emotional manipulation might be on the author's agenda for this text.

Education on emotionalization would also help readers to understand their reactions to texts better and reflect on the use of language (Wilce, 2009). They would not be caught up in their own emotion and so they could easier extract the important information. If young adults would be taught these methods of emotionalization, they would be able to separate being moved emotionally by the style of the text from being moved by the topic, and so they would be able to make more rational decisions, for example in an election.

In conclusion, the knowledge about methods used to elicit emotions through text material, especially in different kinds of media texts, and strategies to cope with them should become a topic of adult education. Those topics should best be taught in universities or other institutions for adult learning. Of course, the foundation for this learning is built in schools, where children not only learn to read, but also learn about different text types, but a basic degree of maturity and experience in life is required to further understand the patterns and strategies of emotionalization. Similar to a deeper understanding of politics, an understanding of intended or unintended emotional manipulation through media needs to be built in adult life.

6.2 Further research

The intersectionality between gender and educational background should be taken into consideration, especially since there still is an enormous difference between the amount of time fathers and mothers spend with their children. This difference is getting smaller, but still most of the time mothers take care of the children, read to them or oversee their homework (Wollscheid, 2008). This factor has an influence in two ways: First, of course, the family situation with the distribution of care taking in a family has a huge impact on boys and girls, not only during their childhood, but also when they grow up. It shapes their views on the world, their habits and their values, and thus their own images of who reads what kinds of texts and who is more or less emotional. Because of this, further research should set an additional focus on the educational background of the participants, to investigate this intersectionality and get a closer look at its influence.

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Monika Grochalska

Social representations of intimate relationships in female narratives as the effect of social learning

Abstract: The text includes an analysis of the social representations of relationships in female narratives. The theory of social representations emphasises the social character of cognition. Representations are considered as a set of concepts, claims, and explanations arising from the process of social communication. They are a specific equivalent of myths developed by traditional communities, or the emanation of common sense knowledge. They also place the individual in his or her social and cultural environment and thereby allow a better understanding of his/her behaviour. Social representations are rooted in the patterns of thought provided by culture and tradition and reflect the mutual matching of macrostructures of discourse with cognitive models of individuals. At the same time, the discourses in the public sphere shape social representations, but they are also subjected to modifications under the influence of these changing representations. In this particular case, the social representation of female and male roles and intimate relationships are the basis of communication between women and the core of their social identity. The changing discourses of femininity and masculinity also change these representations and the social practice of "being in a relationship." The research was conducted within the project "Women in intimate relationships. The empirical and critical study". Data collection methods were individual in-depth interviews and focus group interviews, and the method of analysis of the collected material was Critical Discourse Analysis. The aim was to reconstruct the experiences of women in intimate relations through the prism of their practical discourses, as well as to reconstruct the discourses on intimate relationships that coexist in public sphere, and to try to identify the sphere of mutual interpenetration of discourse with the experiences of everyday life. This study enabled looking more closely at the cognitive (social representations) and discursive aspects of constructing intimate relationships. Concerning the collected data, it can be stated that the representation of intimacy in the discursive practice of women is basically built around five dichotomous dimensions: sex – lack of sex, consent – conflict, support – obstacle, being together – being alone and trust – distrust. On the other hand, there are five distinct patterns of perception of intimate relationships presented in the text. Potential discursive sources of such representations are highlighted too.

Introduction

The presented material is a part of the wider research project titled: "Women in intimate relationships. The empirical and critical study" financed by the Polish National Science Centre (NCN no 2011/01/D/HS6/02470). The aim of the project as a whole was to reconstruct patterns of women's experiences of functioning in homo- and

heterosexual relationships, both formal and informal, in Polish social context. Two main research questions were:

- How do women experience "being in intimate relationships"?
- What is the significance of public discourse (reflecting cultural demands and expectations towards women) for this experience?

The presented research approach is grounded in the so-called "strong sociology" of Barry Barnes (2015) and David Bloor (1991) of the Edinburgh School, and especially in its basic assumption that cultural beliefs respected in a society define ways of perceiving the world by individuals and at the same time they impose a picture of reality admitted by this society as real (Bloor, 1991, p. 12). People participating in communication accept certain cognitive beliefs. Communication makes individuals maintain collective thinking patterns. The adoption of the ways of reasoning and thinking existing in society is a form of social coercion, a way of taking power over individual practices. Experience also affects the formation of beliefs, but it is always mediated also by previous beliefs. Culture influences the formation of beliefs in the most significant way because it forces the localization of experiences in a network of concepts that are culturally specific and their adaptation to previously accumulated knowledge. In addition, there is some interest at the core of any knowledge. It is used for prediction, manipulation and control. In this sense, there is no disinterested cognition (Szahaj, 1995). At the same time, Barnes identifies ideological beliefs – inculcated in order to induce people to pursue the aspirations of power system instead of their own by providing them with a certain vision of reality (Barnes, 2015, pp. 27–44). The meanings of words (concepts) are also a matter of social conventions adopted by the individual in the course of socialization training. At the same time, meanings may change when "language games" change under the influence of the interests of specific social groups (Szahaj, 1995, p. 58). The meanings attributed by women to intimate relationships, their own duties and their role in these relationships are also the result of socialization training and at the same time an emanation of the aspirations of power – social interests that are carried out by women's hands. For this reason, the analysis of beliefs contained in discursive messages and social representations of relationships from the perspective of women provides the basis for identification of areas in which girls and women are being "programmed" to perform the tasks and roles desired by the authorities. As already mentioned, satisfying the need to be accepted and loved is one of the strongest human aspirations. Intimacy, which we experience while being in a relationship with another person, is one of the most important experiences in the life cycle. Specific cultural messages addressed to women suggest that the emotional bond with another person is particularly important for the female part of the population. At the same time, the naturalizing and neutralizing message that a woman should be focused on meeting the needs of other people, not her own, and the relationship with a man should be the sense of her existence, is clear. The problem of the functioning in intimate relationships is a part of the wider issue of achieving

the sense of happiness, harmony and life satisfaction. This is the topic rather rarely undertaken in a family sociology, social pedagogy and gender studies. And no wonder, taking into consideration the fact that this is the research object very difficult to specify and operationalize. Nevertheless, from the point of view of individuals entangled in social relations, this is a very important issue. Thus, the key question of the study was: "How do women experience 'being in intimate relationships' and what is the significance of public discourse for this experience?"

The theory of social representations

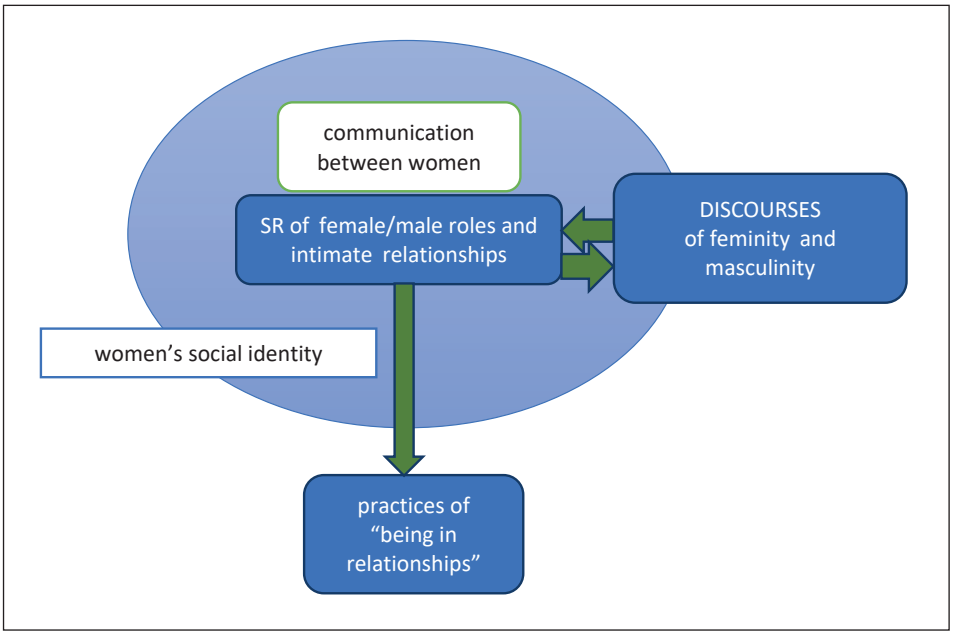
Social learning of intimate relationships representations is the central issue when thinking about self-realisation and happiness of women. They are structured within the processes of learning by many discursive sources available in the social environment. It seems necessary to begin with the definition of social representations as the key concept.

Social representations have been an object of research since the 1960s. The theoretical basis of considered part of the research was the theory of social representations, which emphasises the social nature of cognition. Social representations are defined as the sets of concepts, claims, and explanations arising from the process of social communication (Moscovici, 2000). Social representations are a specific equivalent of myths developed by traditional communities and the emanation of common sense knowledge. They place the individual in his or her social and cultural environment and thereby allow a better understanding of his/her behaviour.

In literature, one can find numerous definitions of the term "social representations". The most significant explanations come from Serge Moscovici (2000). According to his theory, social representations correspond to the symbolic substance, which enters their elaboration and to the practice, which produces this substance. We should perceive the representations exactly as we see the real objects (Moscovici, 2000).

Individuals and groups are not only passive receptors, but also think, produce and communicate their own specific representations. Everywhere in the world people analyse, comment, and concoct their unofficial "philosophies" influencing their social relations, choices, parenting traits and plans for a future. External political events, sciences, ideologies are shaping those philosophies. They can be considered as the fuel for thinking and re-presenting the concepts (Moscovici, 2000, p. 30). The inner structure and dynamics of representations suggest that they are systems of values, ideas and practices with double function of enabling orientation and communication.

A significant contribution to the theory of social representations ar the works of Gerard Duveen (1993). He studied processes of beliefs assimilation by the children. He has emphasized interconnection of social representations with individual practices (Castorina, 2010, p. 18.1). Children constructing an identity take over social representations available to them and at the same time locate themselves in a par-



Scheme 1. Functions of social representations

ticular position within the collective system of meanings. But for them, meanings are established through their practical activity rather through the intellectual understanding (Duveen, 1993, p. 2). Many social representations assimilated by the children are somehow connected to gender. They contribute to internalizing different social expectations by girls and boys (Duveen, 1993, p. 4).

Denise Jodelet admits that social representations are images that condense manifold meanings allowing people to interpret what is happening. Social representations facilitate classifying circumstances, phenomena, individuals and theories (Jodelet, 1991). Social representation, as a socio-cognitive practice (Jodelet, 1991; Moscovici, 2000), is something we do in order to understand the worlds in which we live and, doing so, we convert these social representations into a particular social reality, for others and for ourselves (Philogène & Deaux, 2001).

In learning about the world, we take on particular 'presentations' of that world and re-interpret them to fit with what we already know. In this process, the social representation may be confirmed, re-articulated or re-enacted in various ways (Foster, 2003; Moscovici, 2000). Many other studies have highlighted re-presentation as practice (Howarth, 2006, p. 16). According to Howarth, different representations relate to, defend or challenge different social identities (Howarth, 2002) and are institutionalized in social and cultural practices (Jovchelovitch, 2007). They may be supportive of unequal social relations, but at the same time representations are contested and transformed (Duveen, 2001). Moreover, different and potentially incompatible systems of common knowledge can co-exist within one social group and can be employed by one and the same individual, which has been named "cognitive poly-

phasia". The key terms in the context of transforming representations are anchoring and objectification. The former is a process of classification which locates something foreign within the familiar and the latter is a process of externalization by which representations are projected into the world (Moscovici,1984).

Social representations are rooted in the patterns of thought provided by culture and tradition and reflect the mutual matching of discourse macrostructures with cognitive models of individuals. At the same time, the discourses from the public sphere shape social representations, but they are also subjected to modifications caused by the influence of these changing representations.

Methods

In the presented project, the qualitative research perspective was used. Data were collected through focus groups interviews and individual in-depth interviews. Moreover, chosen public discourse messages were analysed. The research sample consisted of women over 18 years old living in permanent relationships – formal and informal, homo- and heterosexual for at least 2 years. Data were analysed with the use of Critical Discourse Analysis.

There were four focus group interviews, whereas the total number of individual interviews was twenty-four (Hensel & Glinka, 2012, pp. 92–93). For the purposes of this article, research material only from the individual interviews has been used. In the search for respondents, the snowball technique was used – the hitherto found respondents were asked to indicate more people who, in their opinion, matched the profile given by the researcher. Recorded interviews were transcribed using the method of Gail Jefferson (2004). Due to the purposes of translation into English, transcription was simplified (transcription marks were omitted). In order to provide respondents full anonymity, the names were replaced by codes constructed according to the following pattern: R/the number of interview/age/type of relationship (F – formal/N – informal/FL – formal lesbian/NL – informal lesbian)/the duration of the relationship, e.g. R1_32F5 means that it was the first interview with a 32 years old woman living in a formal relationship for 5 years. At the same time, it allows easily identify socio-demographic features of the women quoted.

The female representations of intimate relationships

Research results indicate that social representation of intimate relationships in the discursive practice of women is basically built around five dichotomous dimensions:

Sex	Lack of sex
Consent	Conflict
Support	Obstacle
Being together	Being alone
Trust	Distrust

Generally, the better relationship, the more factors from the left column it contains. Those five factors are the core of the representation.

The first dimension is connected to sex. Respondents say quite a lot about physical closeness in the relationship, no matter they admit the importance or unimportance of sex. Some of them state that sexual attraction is important in the relationship:

R16_30NL3: *Sexuality is a very important aspect of my life. Sex is one of the crucial components of the relationship. Without it, a relationship cannot be successful.*
They think that the relationship cannot exist without its sexual dimension. In their perception the relationship without sex is defective. At the same time, other women declare sex is not so important:

R7_47F26: *This is likely also the issue of gender, I think. Because, like it's widely known, women are more emotional and I feel that my emotions are more important than sexual issues*.
They often appeal to stereotypes of gender roles, claiming that women are less sexual beings than men are. If they undertake some sexual behaviours, they do it mainly to satisfy a male partner.

The second dimension of the social representation of relationships is organized around the conflict. Again, the conflict between partners is both needful and unwelcome. A conflict can be beneficial when it occurs as "a negligible argument" which can impart some knowledge about themselves to the partners:

R7_47F26: *I always try to persuade myself that every cloud has a silver lining. Always something is for something else to happen. You should only learn to draw conclusions.*
Thus, if the argument in a relationship does not lead to violence and both partners are able to draw conclusions from such misunderstanding to improve their relation, it can be considered as an advantage. However, sometimes seemingly innocent conflicts can increase in time and even escalate to a physical violence. If such situation lasts long enough, it can be the cause of the relationship disintegration. Different forms of violence appear in relationships. They often coexist with an addiction to alcohol. All of them are destructive to the closeness between partners:

R9_52F33: *Because he provokes me. He knows that I'm nervous. And I cannot resist, and at some point, I try to reach him and hit him. So, he tries to provoke me, but only when my son is not at home.*
Such relationships endure only out of habit or because of common financial commitments of partners. In such situation, women often feel trapped in the relationship and suppressed by the partner.

The third dimension of the social representation is closely connected to the support. The importance of being supported is usually emphasized when respondents talk about raising children:

R24_47F23: *When my daughter was born, it occurred that my husband was less prepared to have a baby than me. He started to have health problems – neurosis, hypertension and fear of leaving home ... I was responsible for taking the baby and my husband for walks. I had to lug the stroller to the second floor, the baby and so on ... and with the husband holding my arm, because he had balance disturbances on the street.*
Having children is usually indicated as the toughest test for the relationship. Without the partner's support, the relationship becomes a life obstacle for women. Nevertheless, support is also needed when one faces difficulties at work or health problems. This dimension of relationship is its essential and inalienable part in the perception of all respondents.

The fourth dimension is being together. It means living together, which constitutes the "real" relationship:

R14_48F31: *He was working in another city for months. He came home at that time and I said that we have to solve this problem somehow. It was really close to such ... a split ... even a divorce.*
Partners, living apart for some time, suffer because of weakening bonds. But, being together means also spending time together, with kids. It is usually treated as the family ritual. Going for walks, playing sports and games, talking about everyday issues are necessary to feel the closeness. Lack of physical intimacy leads to weakening the emotional ties. Partners' long absence from home is seen as a serious obstacle in building the relationship. Only in destructive and violent relationships, the absence of the oppressor is perceived as a liberation.

The fifth dimension of relationship's social representation is trust. This is mainly the domain of mature relationships:

R22_39FL7: *Our relationship evolved into its mature form, based on trust, joyful, but without oblivion.*
Abuses of trust, such as an infidelity or other forms of disloyalty are presumably the most efficient relationship „destroyers". Trust is built during the whole time of being in a relationship. If someone suddenly acts against the partner, it is really hard to rebuild trust.

Besides the core of representation, there were identified also many peripheral elements. It allowed distinguishing five different intimate relationship perceptions. The relationship can be perceived and articulated as:

- the conscience of souls (or a fairy tale) – the ideal relationship with someone who is destined to be the missing half,
- a cooperation (or joint work) – the relationship perceived as the enterprise with its budget, organisation and policy,
- (a) building – either as a noun or as a verb; a relationship is like a bedrock,

- a war or a fight for ... /a fight with ... – an ongoing fight together against the external world or against each other,
- a prison – a physical and emotional confinement.

The first way of perceiving the relationship has been called conscience of souls (or a fairy tale). It is inseparably connected to unconditional acceptance:

R14_48F31: *If I want something, I want to realise myself, then I also accept some stuff connected to my husband, also his work and his ... maybe not whims, but I do not say "no", because of something, but one has to be the partner for life. Maybe that's why we are together for so many years.*
The acceptance is mutual, and it allows people in a relationship to develop without feeling guilty. It also gives a sense of freedom. The next significant trait of such relationship is friendship:

R11_27N6: *But at present, my partner is my best friend, methinks. I can say so. He is the closest person to me and I can't imagine that he is not here (she laughs).*
Friendship is also mainly the domain of mature relationships. It is considered as the feature of a partnership love distinguished in classic sexology as one of the possible forms of love (Lew-Starowicz, 1983, pp. 90–91). Other important features of fairy tale relationship according to the respondents' views are sincerity, conversations, common interests, tenderness and freedom, openness, satisfaction and joy, ability to laugh together, thinking about the other person, joint creation of reality harmony, mutual admiration, spoiling the partner, meeting partner's dreams, passion and a certain amount of unpredictability, and also being a perfect match. This is a picture of an ideal relationship, based on the belief that somewhere in the world lives the other half of you and you only have to wait for meeting him or her. This perception of the relationship can be dangerous because it assumes that partners understand each other without words, can read in their minds and guess all their desires and that all is quite "natural". It also assumes passive waiting for "the only true love". In result, one can wait until the end of life not meeting the love at all.
The next way of perceiving the relationship is cooperation (or rather joint work). It means working together for a relationship and in a relationship. The most significant element of such relationship is maintenance and multiplication of goods leading to an improvement of the living situation:

R1_35F14: The ability to cooperate in every phase of life. That is at home, at work and with kids, in every developmental phase of the relationship, in every phase of thinking (…)
It is a vision of a relationship consistent with the neoliberal logic of productivity. In this image of the world, people are entrepreneurs who manage their own lives, are independent and responsible for their own life situations. In this vision, the relationship itself is a company. If it is not highly effective and does not meet the expectations of partners, it should be restructured or closed. Other traits of such relationship are the rapport/understanding, mutual respect, good organization of life, self-improve-

ment, communication, listening, compromise, development, rational common decisions, satisfaction exchange, financial security, thinking about the future, partnership and patience.

Another type of social representation of relationship is building understood both ways – as the noun and the verb. The act of "building" occurs quite often in the context of close relationships:

R3_30F3: *I care a lot about that, about such building. Building something to feel happiness. And to give it to others, yes? Then, as you try to build something good and it's really cool, then cool kids come from such homes.*

R18_28N3: *On love, one can build a relationship and everything – patience, honesty, mutual trust.*

Here, "building a house" appears in a figurative sense, not as walls, but the relationship itself. "Building for others" is to raise happiness in a close relationship including children. The element of this representation, which comes first in the interlocutors' statements, is stability. Simply, the building must be stable:

R10_38F18: *For me, it's stabilization. For me, it's really the most important thing in life, such confidence, such a mainstay.*

Such a relationship gives certainty, is "a mainstay", or "a support", "a basis". It is also related to the durability of the building:

R11_27N6: *(...) if we have already said and we've decided that we want to be with each other in a relationship, we should persist in being together.*

The declaration of starting a relationship is something like "a cornerstone" and at the same time a promise to continue building. This representation includes elements such as "binding issues":

R2_31N10: *Intimate relationship, it is a relation between two people, probably. There can be more, but in my case, it is a relationship of two people bond to each other by many different things, situations. Professional situations or ordinary everyday ones or … I don't know … child, budget, place of living residence, anything, you can be connected by.*

Just as cement is binding between bricks, so common issues, situations, things bind two people together. Sometimes these bonds are so strong that the partners are merged into one:

R14_48F31: *I perceive that I am part of him. We are like two halves. We are one.*

Especially faith and the marriage vow taken in the Church is seen as something that "cement" the relationship:

R7_47F26: *And on the other hand, I think that this faith can cement. I mean that non-believers give up easier. And they do not save something that can be very … can be the most important thing in their lives. It can turn out later, right?*

The influence of the conservative Catholic discourse is visible here. The belief about the durability of marriage prevails. Rituals and practices, often associated with

Catholic sacraments, become a very important part of the relationship. Also, the sacrifice becomes inevitable when you need to save the relationship from disintegration. This is in accordance with the goals power system. The relationship as the core of the family seen as the basic cell of society ensures societies' stability. In addition, a stable family ensures the well-being of its members, including children. It does not need to use the help of the power system because partners building a relationship are supposed to help each other, take care of the relationship and home:

R17_35N8: *Although he has a much more difficult character than my previous partner, he is for the family, he is attracted by home. He doesn't escape from home (she laughs) and he really cares that we wouldn't feel lack of anything in life, right?*

In this approach, the economic function of the relationship is also important, but it is not dominant. The relationship is the foundation of respondents' lives. It is the effect of beliefs present in the teaching of the Catholic Church and supported by a psychological discourse. Other features of such relationship are airing and keeping the fire.

The fourth representation of relationship is war or fight. It can be understood as a war mission where both partners in a relationship fight for children, for health, or just for survival:

R10_38F18: *We have gone through whole this period, so we got to know each other in illness and fight for the children and now … the job loss has been also the traumatic event, and the change, right? Because conditions now are different.*

The most important attribute of this representation is a sense of belonging and common values:

R7_47F26: *Definitely, we are changing, situations are changing. There are some adversities along the way and it depends how we overcome them, how this relationship wins and gets out of trouble, or not. Simply it doesn't make it.*

In respondents' statements occur words related to war like "we overcome", "wins", "comes out", "obstacles", and "determination". A significant characteristic of such relationship is performing tasks to achieve the target or just survive. Partners are responsible for each other. House functions as a military base.

On the other hand, the relationship can be seen as the fight or war against the partner in a relationship:

R3_30F3: *I see this very often. That we sometimes we want to take out guns and shoot. And then is such "tsssss", retreat, go and smoke a cigarette, prepare yourself a lemon balm, huh? Because you will start shooting. He is angry, you are angry … You barely got back home, right? So that's it, okay, I even understand that now we are not going to talk, right?*

The relationship can also remind a prison, being a burden and torment. In this context, the term "closure" appears, which is directly related to the metaphor of the prison and "covering the curtains" from the outside world, which can also be perceived as a form of closing, forced concealment. Respondents describe the relationship as

"living side by side", "only on the paper". One of the respondents describes her husband as "a parasite". She cannot count on his support, which causes stress and states close to depression:

R9_52F33: *I feel bad. I would like him not to be there.*
Partner addicted to alcohol is the oppressor. He uses emotional and physical violence. Sometimes the oppression is not so obvious and well visible, however, it is also very harmful to the relationship. Betrayal or decoupling in most cases seen as the disaster, in such type of relationship are perceived as salvation. According to Michael Foucault (1978), accountability (*responsabilisation*) of a woman is the main reason that such relationships last despite suffering.

Conclusions

The dominant conclusion is that expectations towards women are missing the reality. Social expectations are focused on maintaining the traditional family with its stability, gender divided duties and unconditionally happy children. This all should be provided by women. Moreover, women are expected to be princesses focused on external beauty, emotional, sensitive and empathetic. Women themselves would rather expect a partnership with adoration and support, equal sharing of responsibilities, emotional and financial stability provided by the partner. However, men are being prepared to treat women as sexual objects subjected to their will and as housemaids. Thus, in reality, instead of knights on white horses, princesses meet oppressive partners and sacrifice themselves to maintain the relationships by all means.

The unreal picture of relationships is transferred by numerous discursive sources such as soap operas, TV series, books including handbooks, fairy tales, advertisements and websites. Also, members of a family can create unrealistic expectations towards relationships in boys and girls. There is psychological knowledge transferred through handbooks, online portals, magazines concerning, among others, the importance of sex which becomes "a reflexive project" in terms of Anthony Giddens (1992). In Polish social context, the crucial role belongs to the Catholic Church and its doctrine, which imperceptibly penetrates all aspects of life.

Those cultural messages transferred through the mass media system show a schematic, dichotomous world, which does not fit into the differentiated, multi-coloured reality. They often bring dissonance in the cognitive experience. Some kinds of behaviours are promoted, others are rejected and devalued. Promoted role models become desired ones in a very short time. For example, there are two dominant images of women in TV programmes and magazines – the first is an ideal housewife and the second is the sexpot with an ideal body. On the contrary, the man should be macho or a professional. Only sometimes he is shown as a thoughtful father (Mizielińska, 1997, p. 238). Even very young kids get clear messages from TV programmes and commercials. Girls identify themselves with the type of princess, who is beautiful, delicate and awaiting her prince charming, whereas boys would like to become tough, strong,

sometimes even brutal superheroes fighting evil and their own weaknesses. This leads to the opposite expectations created in boys' and girls' minds. Boys want to see mainly sexpots in their girlfriends, and then adult men want to have perfect housewives. Moreover, they are far from being a romantic, ready to sacrifice everything for love princes from girls' dreams. It is the main reason for disappointments in relationships. Surprisingly, not only heterosexual relationships are affected by these expectations. As my homosexual respondents indicate, they also used to have such culturally created schemes, which left an imprint on their relationships. Some of them dreamed of the traditional wedding and the white gown, which prompted them to enter into heterosexual relationships. Some others tried to transfer heterosexual role models into their lesbian relationships and it turned out to be catastrophic.

Knowledge about social representations of intimate relationships can allow conscious modification of practices in existing relationships towards more egalitarian and satisfying models.

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Male project of self-destruction and adult learning of authenticity

Educational challenge for contemporary men

> "Women bend and men break. The blueprint for masculinity is a blueprint for self-destruction. (…) The masculine imperative, the pressure and compulsion to perform, to prove himself, to dominate, to live up to the "masculine ideal" – in short, to "be a man" – supersedes the instinct to survive" (Goldberg, 2001, p. 17).

Abstract: With regard to gender identity and roles, researching social worlds, especially those connected with informal learning, we could highlight the process of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) in order to better understand how adult women and men develop their biographies in a contemporary world. In the paper, I will reconstruct and give an overview of the literature referring to the sources of male excess mortality and their risky behaviours, including various types of addictions, and attitudes related to the lack of care about health that are embedded in patriarchal culture, processes of socialization and learning in adulthood according to the paradigm of traditional masculinity.

Introduction: changes in the system of gender roles

Changes in the functioning of women and men as well as consequences of these changes led to the creation of a separate research area connected with gender studies in the field of social sciences. Initially, scientific reflection focused mainly on women's studies. The development of empirical men's studies took place much later and was a reaction to women's studies, which had been developing dynamically. Interest in this issue resulted from "problems," which in "everyday reality" were connected with the functioning of men.

Nowadays, more and more attention is paid to men's poor adaptation to the social changes, which have taken place in recent years (Marody & Giza-Poleszczuk, 2000). There are many reasons for the emerging "masculinity crisis". As Pankowsk (2005) claims, the most important of them include equalizing the legal status of men and women in democratic countries, questioning men's intellectual superiority due to the development of psychological research and common access of women to education, overtaking by women the most important indicators of male roles (professional and social activity) and characteristic features of the male stereotype (independence, achievement orientation), decrease of the significance of physical strength and increase of the importance of technology as well as a deficit of fathers who, playing more or less traditional roles, could be role models for their sons. What is more,

modern women's expectations towards men are not always clear – on the one hand, they demand that men should be sensitive and gentle and on the other hand, they should be able to deal with problems proudly. Women would like men to help them with household duties and bringing up children and at the same time they want them to earn a lot of money to support the family. As a result, there has been a relativisation of the notion of masculinity – numerous versions of masculinity have appeared, many of which are contradictory, which resulted in the creation of the said "crisis" (Melosik, 2002).

The consequences of the changes in the system of gender roles are suffered not only by women, who are overburdened with the necessity to combine many roles and who have identity dilemma, but also men: they have problems with self-esteem, become addicted, their levels of frustration and aggression increase. Also factors such as high unemployment rate, lower school grades among boys, increase in violence as well as premature mortality and suicides may prove that some men are not well "socially adapted" (Dench, 1994; Golczyńska-Grondas, 2004; Biddulph, 2004). As Goldberg (2001, p. 17) claims, a man who is under constant pressure to prove his "true manhood" is sometimes not able to analyze reality rationally and suppresses his instinct of self-preservation. The author writes:

> "… the man's psychic energy is used to defend himself against something instead of expressing himself. His efforts are aimed at proving himself and others what kind of a person he is not – somebody feminine, dependent, passive, frightened, helpless, a loser, a failure, an impotent, etc. (...) For the whole life he is forced to prove his manhood at the battlefield, in an office, in love, on an operating table, in a bar and even on his deathbed" (Goldberg, 2000, p. 14).

The main idea here is to contradict everything, which can be associated with femininity in our culture. The problem is viewed in a similar way by Badinter. In her opinion, masculinity in our culture means a triple contradiction: I am not a woman, I am not a child, I am not homosexual, "printed," among others, in the processes of socialization and enculturation (Badinter, 1993).

A way to stereotypical masculinity

In our society, masculinity is stereotypically seen as being independent, competent, self-confident, showing imitative and being the head of the family (Strykowska, 1992). This stereotype is so strong that, for example in adolescence, boys and girls whose behaviors are contradictory to gender rules accepted by their peers, may be excluded from the group. Fear for such situations makes girls who were earlier stimulated to self-development, for instance by their families, hide their achievements, knowledge at a later age and express in this way their agreement for lowering their life aspirations. Boys, on the other hand, who want to be accepted by their peers, intensify behaviors involving rivalry, get engaged in more organized games and activities which require toughness, insensitivity to pain, self-confidence, well-developed

ability to fight and play with words, and readiness to take risk (Renzetti, Curran, & Maier, 2012).

The process of differentiating and activating different behaviours as well as the development of various qualities in women and men starts much earlier – in the family. Parents that take more care of and express more affection to daughters are more understanding and tolerant to them as well as let them show their feelings, pay a lot of attention to their appearance, restrict their freedom to go out. In the case of boys, the situation is different. They are stimulated to activity, developing sense of competence and controlling emotions. Parents are more likely to tolerate their competitive attitude and aggressive behavior, especially verbal aggression. Aggression is also often the only emotion expressed freely which sons observe in their fathers. Physical and emotional distance, strictness and applying penalties including corporal punishment are part of fatherhood and relations with children, especially sons (Łobocki, 1998; Bly, 1992; Eichelberger, 1998).

It can be noticed that parents react positively when boys achieve success, "win" and avoid in this way being labeled "losers," while girls who fail are not evaluated negatively so quickly. Thanks to early socialization, boys learn how to be assertive, are deprived of strong emotions, except for situations in which they express anger. They are not allowed to show weakness and intimacy. They are taught qualities and attitudes connected with training leadership skills. They learn self-sufficiency, striving for extending the limits of their abilities. Generally, traditional male socialization is oriented at improving logical and rational aspects of personality, at developing the ability to self-control and be in control of a given situation (Goldberg, 1976; 2001; Renzetti et al., 2012).

As research shows, cultural stereotypes connected with gender, perpetuated in the process of socialization, have real psychological consequences both in the subjective (physical and mental health of the subject – the image of one's physicality, self-evaluation, self-confidence, competences, sense of control, attributions, achievement motivation, fear for success) as well as in the interpersonal perspective (friendship, love) (Mandal, 2000). Moreover, gender stereotypes, being part of the cognitive structure useful for world orientation and for getting to know oneself, may be and are the causes of identity and interpersonal conflicts. What is problematic here is the discrepancy between long-standing traditional beliefs and stereotypes concerning the role of men and women and the changing reality.

The consequences of stereotypization and imposing the image of masculinity are also reflected in the process of self-fulfillment of men. As Pankowska (2005) claims, the male role makes it impossible for many men to act in accordance with their "true selves" and fulfill their full potential. Imprisonment in "male duties", meeting expectations, norms of behaviour, specified types of life activities and suppressing individual features of character, which are inconsistent with the image of masculinity make a barrier difficult to overcome on men's way to self-fulfilment. Goldberg (2001) points out that the willingness to adapt to the imperative of traditional masculinity may be even "deadly" not only in the area of emotional or cognitive development but also in

reference to men's health. Studies (Mandal, 2000) show that stereotypes connected with gender are to a large extent "responsible" for contemporary men's condition, well-being and health.

Towards self-destruction: male risky behaviours

Goldberg (2001) claims that from the medical point of view, traditional male attitudes, such as the necessity to bear up pain, avoiding visits at the doctor's or not following his or her recommendations and the ability to drink large amounts of alcohol, are connected with self-destruction. The author emphasizes that this is a result of the belief that taking care of oneself is unmanly. In many cases, men lose contact with their bodies because of socialization, which requires that boys should not react to signs coming from their bodies (e.g. exhaustion signs) because indifference toward one's own health is in our culture "manly."

Behaviours risky for the man's health or life include not only reckless driving or riding a motorcycle and ignoring road traffic regulations (speeding, not fastening seatbelts, ignoring security measures) but also all addictions. Men in Poland drink alcohol and smoke much more often than women smoke. It can be noticed that especially drinking alcohol is men's favourite way of solving difficulties and dealing with stressful situations, which became common in Poland due to social and economic transformation. 30–39-year-old men constitute the majority of drinking people and only one in four men over 30 years old does not smoke and has never smoked. The rate of mortality due to drinking alcohol or smoking among men is higher than among women. Polish men die three times more often of injuries and poisonings caused by the above substances than Polish women, they die in road accidents four times more often and commit suicides or self-harm five times more often. As far as road accidents are concerned, men outnumber women in being both their offenders and victims. They also get into fights and situations in which they risk their lives more frequently. On top of that, men drive under the influence of alcohol more often than women do. Our society is more likely to accept or tolerate male addicts (Hulewska & Ziarko, 2002). Many of these behaviours may be considered extreme forms of the features, which make the male stereotype: taking risk, aggression, rivalry.

Taking drugs is also more common among men than among women – they more often take and overdose amphetamine, cocaine, heroin and cannabis (EMCDDA, 2006). Women, on the other hand, are more likely to take substances such as tranquilizers, barbiturates and antianxiety drugs prescribed by doctors. Gender differences in inclination to take psychoactive substances and a higher rate of addicted men than women do not have to prove that men are more prone to taking illegal substances. The fact that they are illegal means that it is more difficult to diagnose addiction (Horwitz & White, 1987). This can be explained by referring to gender stereotypes dominating in culture – women are more likely to tell doctors about their problems and receive legal pharmacological treatment than men. Such inclination is

connected with the well-developed sense of concern among women – including concern about one's health, which positively correlates with the stereotype of femininity.

In Poland, there is still a high mortality rate among men, which is expressed in lifespan amounts to over 8 years and remains high at each stage of life, particularly among young and middle-aged people. Death frequency among 30–39-year-old and 40–49-year-old men is almost three times higher than among women. In the years 1989–1992 an increase in men's death rate and reduction of survival rate was noticed. It particularly concerned an increase in deaths caused by outside factors, such as accidents and cardiovascular diseases – in these cases; the mortality rate of middle-aged men is 3.5 higher than of women. There are even bigger gender differences in premature death level caused by a serious heart attack. What is important here is lifestyle and physical activity: despite the fact that generally men practise sport and spend time actively more often than women, middle-aged men (30–59 years old) tend to spend more time in front of television than women, who prefer going for a walk or cycling (Jóźwiak, 2004). Thus, statistics show that men live shorter than women.

Studies prove (Chmura-Rutkowska & Ostrouch, 2007) that men notice this fact and blame for it, among others, such factors as unhealthy lifestyle, delaying visits at the doctor's when they feel ill, sometimes weaker "nature" of their condition in comparison to women, inability to cope with emotions and stress, including stress caused by the fact that they are not able to meet the expectations connected with the traditional model of masculinity. Among the factors mentioned above, stress to which men are exposed occurs as the most important cause of men's higher mortality rate. The respondents claimed that there are various sources of stress, but this is an inability to cope with increasing tension, which is the reason why they fall ill and suddenly die more often than women die. On the other hand, stress is in some way a "manly" virtue – functioning under pressure and surviving is evidence of masculinity. Saunders (1999) claims that male stress is directly connected with social and environmental conditions – it is a consequence of their behaviour, psyche and personality, changes experienced in life and various forms of pressure from parents, peers and social expectations, which are different towards women and men. Witkin (1997) adds that these are especially men who are at risk of premature death caused by such stress symptoms as hypertension, high blood cholesterol level, a heart attack, alcoholism and ulcers (reproductive organs disorders are extra embarrassing problems for men).

An important cause of higher mortality rate among men, revealed in research results, is the fact that men do not care of their health much and avoid doctors, which confirms the claim that gender is one of the main factors differentiating the use of medical services. The fact that men are generally convinced about their good health cannot be ignored. In the studies mentioned by Jóźwiak (2004), only one in seven men assessed his health negatively – a majority of the respondents evaluated their health as good or satisfactory ("so-so"), which may be the reason why they delay visiting the doctor when first signs of an illness occur. Moreover, the respondents were

convinced that if they did not take care of their health themselves, their wives would surely do it – thus, they do not have to worry (Chmura-Rutkowska & Ostrouch, 2007).

Studies carried out so far confirm this theory. The probability of sudden death increases particularly among men, who are older, divorced or whose wives have died. This may be caused by the fact that men do not take care of themselves properly or that they do not do that as well as their wives. Witkin (1997, p. 32) emphasises that chances to survive are better if the man gets married again.

It is worth pointing out that men make use of medical services less often than women regardless of age – this is true for young, middle-aged and retired people. Education or earnings are not important, either. Avoiding doctor's consultations, including those of specialists, is typical of all men. Mandal (2000) claims that men feel especially uneasy about the idea of being treated by mental illnesses specialists. Men's passiveness is also accompanied by fear for taking on the role of a patient – a person who is ill, weak and unable to work; fear for admitting that time has passed and that one has lost his physical and mental abilities (including sexual ones); finally, fear for revealing health problems to a strange woman – as nowadays, General Practitioners are very often women. Taking care of one's health and regular check-ups are considered in male culture signs of weakness or hypochondria (Chmura-Rutkowska & Ostrouch, 2007).

The intersection of (male) gender, class and level of education

The problem of social mechanisms of determining gender and their analysis is an important theoretical and practical issue for education. Introducing sociocultural context and referring to a particular place and time enable finding deeper answers to questions about the sources and consequences of implementing given versions of masculinity on the functioning of adult men. The version based on male domination (Bourdieu, 2004) seems to be well established in Western culture. However, it is not so much the "content" of the version but the attitude of those who fit it and those who protect it. Having analysed various versions of masculinity in different cultures, Gilmore (1990) concluded that gender criteria used in reference to men are exceptionally strict on all continents and social sanctions in the case of lack of proof of true manhood undermine gender identity, which almost never takes place in the case of women. Attention to cultural restrictions concerning masculinity is drawn to by Connell (1995) and Bourdieu (2004). Both researchers point out that men can be viewed as prisoners and victims of dominant cultural concepts. As Szczepaniak (2010) claims, the basic dilemma of a man in the Western culture is a difficult choice between fulfilling the mythical norm of masculinity, which is connected with losing yourself, and following one's own individual needs and losing the "true" manhood in the eyes of the society. Hollstein well describes this dialectic of emotional needs and the imposed social models of violence, control and domination over the weak in the following way: "external power – internal helplessness" (as quoted in Szczepaniak,

2010). Being in control and having symbolic power is at the same time a "trap" which may lead to self-destruction.

It shall be repeated: according to humanistic concepts in psychology – gender stereotypes pose a threat for self-fulfilment, life opportunities and developmental potential of individuals – both women and men. As studies results show, one consequence of emphasizing differences between the roles of men and women is a decrease in the amount of life choices made by representatives of both genders. Men's engagement in implementing the "traditional" model of masculinity makes it difficult for them to make their own biographies individual projects, involving their autonomous decision, as Beck (2004) or Giddens (2008) point out. This happens most often among men from lower social classes, who are not well educated, live in rural areas or come from unemployed or dysfunctional families (Golczyńska-Grondas, 2004). This is where the most important factors in Polish society meet, except for the place of origin (village or town). Their effect is the reproduction of an underprivileged position of those men in society and culture. Intersectionality as a perspective of viewing the male self-destruction in the context of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) concept supports the analysis of its complexity and the same time makes us pose new questions and discover new areas. Davis (2008) claims that nowadays it is impossible to analyze the issue of functioning of women (or men), concentrating only on gender. To understand fully the situation of men and women in society it is necessary to discuss the problem from the perspective of multiple differences (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). It seems that the higher the level of education or the position in the social structure the more "open" men are to the different ways of creating masculine identity and less influenced by stereotypical cultural models. However, the studies carried out so far do not verify this claim unequivocally because they concern mainly analysis of opinions and declaration not real everyday practices. Despite the fact that changes in the social system of gender roles cause tension, they are necessary and give a chance for rising men's awareness and creating their own life according to individual needs not the needs of dominant culture or structure.

Conclusions: adult learning of authenticity

As Goldberg (2000) claims, no man can avoid consequences if he gives in to rigid traditional processes of male education: "These processes and models created by them are overwhelming and their consequences are unavoidable. Most men are convinced that they can follow the traditional way and in some magical way avoid what they saw other men experience" (p. 35). Biddulph (2004) argues that most contemporary men "pretend to be living", which is harmful not only for them but also for their families and the loved ones. It is not clear for them who they are, and they learn very quickly that they have to lie. The author points out that as a society, we are only half way through – after the liberation of women now there is time for men. The key to this liberation may be, among others, "multilateral" socialization of boys, which will allow them to "take off masks" or widen their range (Ibidem). In Goldberg's (2000)

view, becoming more self-aware, the man would have a chance to create new physical and emotional patterns, which would enrich and prolong his life.

Unfortunately, all research studies show that formal and institutional education perpetuate the stereotypical version of masculinity and support the androcentric social order in which men's needs are bound to be ignored (Renzetti, Curran, & Meier 2012; Bem, 2000). Studies on the culture of school (e.g. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) dispel the myths of its democratic nature, view it as a place full of symbolic and structural violence, perpetuating inequality and depriving underprivileged groups of access to culture. Identifying the phenomenon of alienation of adult students, Johnston and Merrill (2004) show that even the so-called second chance education-taking place at university is not of equalizing nature, especially for people coming from families of low social status. At present, many researchers (e.g. Biesta, 2006; Bernstein, 2000) are more and more often against education, which activates the mechanism of replicating social structure and perpetuates class, race or gender stereotypes.

If formal education does not generate real social change, the role of informal education of adults becomes more important, as this is a learning area, which not only goes outside the classroom, glorifying the importance of educational experiences gained outside institutional education but also enables "going" beyond the dominant male role toward greater autonomy and reflection. This may support the process of emancipation of men and allow them to attempt to understand the difference between inherited and gained cultural identity (Dominicè, 2000).

The "emancipated" man will react as negatively to the fact that his attractiveness and value depend on playing the "male" role as women do when their value is evaluated based on their figure (Goldberg, 2001). In a society interested in humanity rather than a "game of masks," people who oppose to stereotypical roles will be valued and the man will have a chance to become more authentic. Thus, broadening the definition of stereotypes in culture, mostly through informal learning of adults, could cause greater self-awareness of men, and be a chance to create new physical and emotional patterns that will enrich and prolong men's lives.

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II.
Intersectionality in adult education and counseling processes

Marialisa Rizzo

Feminine educational paths in three generations with Apulian origin in Milan

Abstract: According to the *intersectional* view (McCall, 2005; Guittar & Guittar, 2015), feminine educational paths are influenced by different issues. In this ongoing research, these issues are about generation and cultural heritage, besides gender belonging. Indeed, the study focuses on three female generations with an Apulian origin (South of Italy), who live in Milan or in its hinterland. They are *grandmothers* – who migrated in the period of the great internal Italian migrations, between the '50s and the '60s – *mothers* and *daughters*. This research observes the different feminine educational paths through different social spaces and times (Kehily, 2008) characterised by informal educational experiences (Tramma, 2009).

Data were collected by semi-structured in-depth interviews. The thematic analysis will be based on *intersectional* perspective (McCall, 2005; Guittar & Guittar, 2015; Collins & Bilge, 2016) and *translocal* (Brickell & Datta, 2011) and *intergenerational* criteria (Hopkins & Pain, 2007). The interview could produce the rise of consciousness for every participant about his or her own personal story and their characteristics, but also the fact of being part of a common history. Other tools used are informal contacts with triads, through which it is possible to observe and then to write research diary (Reinharz, 1992). The restitution of stories are fundamental moments in which it could sometimes be possible to observe the dynamics into triads, differently from moments of single interviews.

In the future, it could be useful to organize a workshop (Riaño, 2015) with daughters in order to reflect on some issues, which emerged from the previous steps of the research.

Introduction

Times for reflection – proposed with the interviews and other common moments, as workshops – could legitimize the drawing of some transversal issues among these different stories (grandmothers', mothers' and daughters' ones). They could also create new knowledge, give new meaning to stories and open some alternative dialogues among different femininities who now share the same social structure characterized by gender issues (Connell, 2002) and other migratory phenomena. Here, *gender* is considered as "something that one does; and does recurrently, in interaction with others" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 140) and other issues. It is a social structure that affects relations between women and men, but also between different women and different men with some different characteristics and stories. Gender regards the way in which the society relates to human bodies and its different effects on people's (women's and men's) daily life (Connell, 2002, pp. 46–47). As it has already been said, the other issues (linked with social and cultural representations) considered are

generation (referred to family relations and generations of female internal migration) and *cultural heritage* that becomes more complex with the migration.

Therefore, it is claimed that gender, generation and cultural heritage with its complexity are fundamental in these pathways of life. In fact, the internal migration (Arru & Ramella, 2003; Eve, 2010) and the stereotypes about Southern women (Campani, 2000) played an important role in grandmothers' educational paths. However, for the other women (mothers and daughters), the new territories of reference (Tramma, 2010, pp. 83–87), the peer groups (Merelli, 1985, pp. 53–60) and the male and female adults in their families were of a particular importance. Their families, unlike the Northern ones, were not involved immediately and directly in the economical-boom phenomena and in the social transformations, such as the female emancipation (Brambilla, 2016, pp. 56–59) that characterized Italy at that time (Ginsborg, 1989; Forgacs, 2015). The inevitable comparison has raised problems of incomprehension, exclusion and injustice that played a crucial role in the formation of (female) adults' identities, now living in a complex and stratified urban background (Briata, 2014).

Thereby, the research tries to reflect on the joint action of these three dimensions (gender, generation and cultural heritage) on female walks of life and to observe – among three generations – the reiterations and alterations of gender messages and performances (Butler, 1990). Moreover, the research tries to observe the women's role in mediation between their personal cultural heritage and the new popular culture, with which they have come inevitably in contact. In particular, it wants to highlight the transformative possibilities opened by women for their daughters and the collusive behaviours (Volpato, 2013, p. 71–75) in stereotypes of Southern women and Southern people subordination that were offered in the generational passages. In addition, the last aim of the research is to analyse the role of the territories in which women arrived and where their descendants live, in the domain of the development of alternative learning and critical thinking.

In particular, this paper tries to present the issues emerged during the meetings with six triads (grandmothers, mothers, daughters). All these lines of thinking should be considered and developed further in the future workshop with daughters. Starting from women's life narratives (Bertaux, 2000), here the reflection is on the joint action of gender, generation and cultural heritage. As it has already said, these stories were collected by using in-depth interviews in which women talked about their life experiences, facing some topics that were proposed to them, as for example the significance of their gender and generational belongings or of their contexts of life and reference.

According to Social Pedagogy studies (Alessandrini, 2003, pp. 73–75; Tramma, 2010, pp. 83–87), *territory* is intended as a social and historical context with some specific characteristics that selects and proposes to people some informal, non-formal and formal educational experiences. Territory is a life system that produces invisible and unwritten rules for women and men, for young and old people, for people who have experienced or still experience discriminations. At the same time, people within it contribute to create this life system composed by a plurality of elements,

originated from familiar systems and geographical and historical spaces, each one with their stories and specificities.

In this invisible life system, the *intergenerational* axis (Leccardi, 2002; Formenti, 2003; Kehily, 2008; Hopkins & Pain, 2007; Tarrant, 2009; Morone, 2016) is an important key to read the educational feminine paths. This concept allows us to speak about cultural appropriation (Anolli, 2006, pp. 12–16), going beyond the linear transmission, combining this with a personal elaboration affected by social spaces and times.

In addition, the *translocal* perspective gives a contribution to read these stories (Brickell & Datta, 2011). This concept is viewed as a possibility to live in the same geographical space, a plurality of territories with proper rules and characteristics, and to adopt them directly or indirectly with the mediation of other generations who have lived these contexts. These previous generations who knew that migration could build the local spaces (city, neighbourhood, home) introducing traditional elements (rules, behaviours, foods, objects) that come out from their native territories (Kallis, 2016, pp. 34–38).

Finally, *intersectionality* is a fundamental interpretative tool (Collins & Bilge, 2016) that underlines the presence of multiple biographical diversities with certain educational differences originated in different lifestyles. Generally, the female and male messages that the new generations learn in an unconscious way living in their family and social contexts are linked to the different relationships, roles, tasks and responsibilities that are experienced. These messages also depend on personal gender and generational belongings and on the coexistence of different generations that have experienced different social spaces and times and, sometimes, also several geographical horizons. Moreover, these messages are linked to the opportunity of a self-definition that is legitimized or discouraged by the family culture, and through the ability of families to re-read, revise and connect these multiple learnings. This competence should be supported by the educational system and the territorial organization which is inaccessible in some territories and for some people due to real or perceived constraints (Brambilla, Pozzebon, & Rizzo, 2017).

Taking into account these perspectives and beginning with the stories and the observations that were already gathered, this paper tries to present some important general topics that highlight the joint action of gender, generation and cultural heritage in educational feminine paths.

To maintain the anonymity of the women involved, there are names chosen by daughters for their triads: Lidia, Andrea, Maria, Celestina, Rita, Camilla. We will have Grandma Lidia, Mum Lidia and Daughter Lidia, Grandma Andrea, Mum Andrea, Daughter Andrea, and so on.

Research question

In general, the main question of this research is the following: how are daughters with Apulian origins growing in Milan or in its hinterland? The question is intentionally wide because it reflects the explorative nature of the research.

When we say "are growing", we refer to *informal gender education* and to female stories of life and formation (Brambilla, 2016, p. 103). Focusing on daughters means to underline the desire to re-read a recent Italian past to understand the (youthful) *contemporaneity* in Italy (Palmieri, 2012; Tramma, 2015). Finally, the different territories that are included in the research question bring us back into *translocal perspective* (Brickell & Datta, 2011). As it has already been said, this generic research question is specified by different aims. The aim is to understand what the reiterations and alterations are, among three generation, about gender messages and behaviours; what is the role of women in cultural mediations between their personal cultural heritage and the new popular culture, with which they entered into contact (Signorelli, 2006). Finally, the role of territories of reference in these reiterations, alterations and mediations. It is also important to consider the role played by Southern women's stereotypes (Gabaccia, 2000, p. 118); the female collusion on these stereotypes and the women's daily, invisible strategies of mediations that could open critical and alternative thinking and new possibilities to be different from previous generations.

Method: an ethno-pedagogical research

This work is a pedagogical research. More specifically, it is an ethno-pedagogical research, combining ethnography, biographical approach and pedagogy (Burgio, 2007; Burgio, 2008).

It takes some tools for data collection from ethnography (Dovigo, 2002; Signorelli, 2006; Signorelli, 2015), such as *notes from the field* and *diary of research*. These notes are fundamental because they tracked informal dialogues, in which women have clarified some issues that they have left out in formal moments such as the recorded interviews. For example, during the restitution of her granddaughter's story, Grandma Lidia declared that her decision to migrate has been decisive for her husband's and her future. She wanted to escape the economic control of her husband's family and, for this reason, she pressed on her husband to migrate. She said him that if they had not left Apulia, she would have left him. Interestingly, she added another consideration: she did not confess this episode immediately during the interview because she was ashamed (Grandma-Lidia, personal communication, September 30, 2016). This event, joined with others that were observed and written down on diary, opens to some questions and interpretations around the auto-legitimation of these women (mainly grandmothers) to show – in a formal situation, linked in this case with the University – their thought and their role in their familiar story and, in general, in the social and common history. One wonders if they have internalized their traditional domestic role, even ignored by the social contexts. These notes are

also crucial because they allow the interviewer to track her *positioning* (Riaño, 2015; Kallis, 2016) as a young woman with Apulian origins, linked with the University, who does not speak the local dialect and who does not know Apulia as it was told, for example, by grandmothers. This positioning was in the same time a resource and a limit: on the one hand, it conduced women to feel closer to the interviewer, on the other hand, it led her to take some assumptions for granted.

Going back to the ethno-pedagogical methodology, we can say that it also takes some elements from a biographical approach (Olagnero & Saraceno, 1993) that combines a particular story with social and common one. Every life story is a window into the world and each triad is a *paradigmatic case* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 308) that highlights some general elements of the contemporary society, besides the peculiar characteristics of personal and familiar stories.

Lastly, this research is a pedagogical one and concentrates on *stories of life and formation*. Furthermore, it focuses on the process of the research, maintaining the *transformative tension* in terms of critical thinking. In fact, this research wants to promote the awareness about the joint action of gender, generation and cultural heritage in stories of life. It can help these women to re-read their life and their choices (or "choices") and behaviours and educators (women or men with their own life story) to consider these influences in the people they meet.

This research is both on an *intercultural* and *intracultural* level because it promotes a dialogue with some diversities in the same society, in the same "dominant Italian culture". Thus, also these two levels can contribute to promote a transformative and auto-formative tension. Moreover, the research tries to promote the *participation of triads* through different tools: individual semi-structured in-depth interviews and a printed restitution of personal story (in triads where it is possible). It has been specified "when it is possible" because, in this case, not all women agreed to read other stories or to give personal story to other women of the family. Despite not having the same confidence with all triads, the interviewer usually has met them – individually or in a group – in their homes, and she has shared with all women some informal moments and intimate occasions. The triads were involved with a *snowball sampling* starting from some Apulian Associations in Milan and from the interviewer's personal contacts, as it has been very difficult to obtain the availability of three generation, and not of a singular person (Wigfall, Brannen, Mooney, & Parutis, 2013). Other important tools will be a future workshop with daughters, in which it could be possible to reflect on some issues that emerged from the previous steps of the research, but also a future theatre restitution of stories that wants to go beyond the academic context and beyond these triads, opening many more dialogues (Denzin, 2017).

Results: the joint action of gender, generation and cultural heritage. The awareness about conditioned choices

Regarding the emerging of awareness during the interviews, related to choices, which are often *forced choices*, we can read the words of Mum Maria and Mum Celestina:

> "My family was crucial in the choices of my life and of my marriage. A good girl can't do what she really wants: if you have a boyfriend and you want to live with him or you want to go out with him in the weekend, you can't be only engaged, you must be married! This fact had a great impact on me because I could have waited more to really understand what I wanted to do in my life". (Mum Maria, personal communication, November 5, 2016)

> "The female world was seen as something that must be protected. This situation inevitably brings you to give up many things, and I remember that this situation hurt me. […] I was not a free girl; I couldn't do what I wanted. I gave up many things". (Mum Celestina, personal communication, November 16, 2016)

Even some daughters show this conditioning unconsciously. However, while in grandmothers' and mothers' words there is the recognition of the influence of social context and they say that in their time "the environment was in that way" (Grandma Rita, personal communication, February 16, 2017), with certain rules to follow; daughters do not explicit the conditioning easily. Indeed, they often say, "I am the way I am" (Daughter Maria, personal communication, November 23, 2016). This affirmation brings all behaviours and *conditioned choices* to a behavioural dimension and seems to be very difficult to change because it appears in a spontaneous way and not as something that can be learned in family (by mother and grandmother, for example) or in social context and also not as something that can be modified. Nonetheless, according to Reawyn Connell (2002, p. 176), we can say that people can learn about gender in all time of daily life in which they encounter gender relationships. Consequently, it is interesting to read what Daughter Maria has said, after having analysed Grandma Maria's and Mum Maria's stories and their *conditioned choices* (in particular by fathers and husbands):

> "The fear of losing the person you love gets you to do compromise. On one hand you are happy, because you act for the person you love, but on the other hand this situation can distance yourself from other life experiences. In the end, we have to choose […]. So, I've chosen my love and I've put aside other things. […] Maybe I have made a mistake, but I am the way I am. I know that I am like this. I told myself that I would not be like this, but I do it again… I am like this". (Daughter Maria, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

Among the three generations, some messages and behaviours are repeated. Nevertheless, these behaviours and messages lose the social, geographical and temporal context of reference that has produced them. The feminine sacrifices and the *loss of herself* (Brambilla, 2016) are reiterated but in a different social context that apparently

does not legitimize them (Simone, 2012). How can they combine family's messages with the social ones?

While for grandmothers to *be for others* was a clear feminine rule, hardly editable in their native social place and necessary to maintain the social order and the relationships of solidarity in their country (Gambardella & Morlicchio, 2005), for mothers (after the migration) it became an important duty in family context. Their presence was a resource for the family to take economic advantage. Their choices became family's – mainly father's – choices (Badino, 2012).

> "I would have preferred to do other things… The only thing that I regret is that I should have insisted more on things that I really wanted to do. My father sent me to technical-commercial studies, because he thought that these studies were important for his company. Indeed, when I was 18/19, I held all the accounting and administrative aspects: I took care of everything". (Mum Maria, personal communication, November 5, 2016)

However, while in grandmothers' social space and time, the consideration of woman as a resource of family and not as a person with a particular personality, desires and needs was a common situation in the country, with migration, some women could start to perceive some differences between them and other women in the North of Italy. This situation could create some internal suffering and a sense of *payback* or a refusal of their familiar story.

> "I had a desire of payback. […] I was ashamed […]. The sacrifices made me a rebel, a real rebel. […] If I had grown in an open-minded family, I would have been, probably, a veterinarian, because I wanted to become a veterinarian. I would have probably studied sociology. I don't know. These were the two things that I wanted to do in my life, but I stopped, because something was denied to me". (Mum Celestina, personal communication, November 16, 2016)

On the contrary, as regards daughters, we can observe how these feminine diktats (to *be for others* or to *give up desires*) appear like personal characteristics, equally – as in the past – rigid because they are considered normal rules, but – differently from the past – they seem detached from social context and common female situation.

> "I always weigh everything, and I say, "What is worth doing? Going out with my friends even if I know that my boyfriend will be bothered… or not?" Probably it could be absurd to you, but in that case, you can say, "Why have I to create a problem to him for such a little thing?" I know that it is wrong because it is a nonsense, but when you aren't alone the situation change. […] I live like this; I understand that I am like this". (Daughter Maria, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

The reiterations of messages in different social context: the differences of values and the friendships

As it has already been mentioned, these reiterations have created some sensations of difference, incomprehension and injustice (Merelli, 1985, pp. 53–60).

> "So, I probably have suffered a lot in my adolescent life. Why? Because I used to see other people of my age going out with friends, while I used to remain on the balcony. I used to see them and ask, 'Can I go?', but the answer was always the same: 'No!' (Mum Celestina, personal communication, November 16, 2016)

The women who have received a particular familiar education, often have perceived themselves as different from their peers in the North of Italy and this sensation had some consequences on other feminine generations in terms of informal education (Tramma, 2009): the sensation of diversity becomes a heritage.

> "They were freer, always so much more… […] I heard the other mothers, newlywed as me, who had girls (of 12/13 ages). They were bringing their daughters to the gynaecologist to take the pill. I didn't want trouble with my daughter, so I said her to be careful. This situation was wrong for me! But everybody thinks in his own way. They weren't my friends, they were acquaintances". (Grandma Lidia, personal communication, May 20, 2016)

> "I didn't get on well with other girls. I was different. I probably was too polite. I was really too polite. I grew up with some values that other people hadn't, who were freer than me. They were more reckless. I don't know… They were different, I perceived myself as different. Probably also they perceived me as different. So, I didn't have a lot of friends". (Mum Lidia, personal communication, July 2, 2016)

> "I get on well with few people. I have a best friend who, as me, has Apulian parents. She is like me: we think in the same way, we have the same disposition, style and education. She might be my twin. But the other girls are different from us. They haven't our values". (Daughter Lidia, personal communication, July 27, 2016)

This diversity does not facilitate relationships with a peer group and often leads daughters to inherit their mother's (and grandmother's) friends that are *already given*. While, for grandmothers, the relationships were attributed by the social context – the countryside and, in a second moment, the neighbourhood, built for Southern people (Fofi, 1964) –, for mothers and daughters there is potentially the opportunity of a choice. Listening to the women's words, it is very hard, and women sometimes choose the relational system already given by the women of the family with very few opportunities to create other friendships. For instance, Daughter Andrea explains how the presence of her mother's friends can impede the plans with her friends.

"If this evening we must go out with friends – because we [my brothers and I] are friends of our mother's friends –,I can't say: 'I don't go with them, but I come out

with you", [my peer group]. […] My family is my family; the others are at least only friends'. (Daughter Andrea, personal communication, November 4, 2016)

The family

Very often, these women (grandmothers, mothers and daughters) use verbs that underline their duties and denied possibilities in relation with their familiar system. The triad Camilla is exemplary in this aspect.

> "I was forced to come to Cinisello [Milan]! […] I had to come here, I had to come! […] My husband was in charge, because I did nothing without him. […] A little respect is necessary; it should be payed to the husband!" (Grandma Camilla, personal communication, March 13, 2017)

> "I feel more tied to my family […] I must arrive always to the top right or wrong… I try to be present in everything. […] Either you adapt, or you adapt! You need to adapt yourself to it". (Mum Camilla, personal communication, March 13, 2017)

> "In this moment, I'm living with my family and I can't afford to choose to do something on Sunday morning, without staying with my grandmothers. If in the future I could choose, I'd like to have the possibility to choose to not stay with my family because I have other things to do. I hope they can understand this matter". (Daughter Camilla, personal communication, March 28, 2017)

Family becomes a fundamental element that maintains the *belonging* with the South Italian context. This institution has undoubtedly beautiful characteristics such as the sense of solidarity and support, but it also put several *limits*. Only the job (a legitimate current female duty) seems to justify the breakup of the feminine traditional constraints, carrying out, in the meantime, the expectations that the family has: get busy, be useful, be good (Daughter Camilla, personal communication, March 28, 2017). The workplace is the space, where these *new women* can get away from family traditional obligations without rejecting them totally.

Therefore, the family assumes a dubious form. It becomes something that is, at the same time, a context that *prevent* from the identitarian and relational dispersion, but also a context that gives some – now less explicit – *constraints*, mainly for women (Saraceno & Naldini, 2013). In this kind of family that has improved its internal resources using women's competences with migration (Badino, 2016), and that has always considered girls as crucial elements for the family life and organization, the female identity remains strongly linked (even if in a less evident way) with the *us of family*. This situation rises some questions: how can these women combine the messages that arrive from family with other messages that arrive from the social context? In fact, the popular culture in the North of Italy (but probably not only here) wants free, resolute women (Rosci, 2007), while these familiar contexts ask them to be there for family, for others, to dissolve themselves in the circle of the family. These different messages can create the refusal of the familiar *have to be* that are learned uncon-

sciously from mothers' lives and that are considered backward and as unrewarding examples to follow for their own personal future of women in the contemporaneity.

> "In my opinion, a woman in Milan is independent. […] She is forced to enter in that urban chaos… My life is frenetic […] Instead in Apulia, all things are nearer and you don't have to use the car. I don't know how many people have now the license. I think that they aren't a lot. […] I had to fight to become a different woman, without, for example, the duty to sew". (Mum Celestina, personal communication, November 16, 2016)

In some dialogues with these women, stereotypes upon Southern (mainly female) people emerged: for different women, there is a (more or less explicit) desire to take distance from this female past of subordination and submission (Campani, 2000, p. 26). Doing that, they attribute the stereotypes of backwardness to people who have decided to remain in the South. They belong to two dimensions, as they are neither completely people of the North nor of the South of Italy: "I'm neither fish nor fowl!" (Daughter Camilla, personal communication, March 28, 2017).

They now reject the former and refuse the latter. The mediation, they try to make, is based on their personal resources and rarely are there situations in which they can connect their stories and elaborate them with a rise of awareness in relation to learnings – conditioned by the joint action of gender, generation and cultural heritage – that come out from their walks of life.

The opportunity of the interview wanted to go in this direction, even though some mothers showed some resistances to participate in the research. However, they acted to organize (sometimes by participating) the meetings with grandmothers (their mothers). In addition, in this case, some questions and interpretations are opened: what kind of femininity they perceive for themselves and for their mothers, in particular in formal situations linked with an institution such as University?

Conclusion

These issues, as it has already been said, should be developed further. They are only some examples of daily learnings of these women that unconsciously conditioned the generational passages. Their life narratives, unknowingly, highlight the joint action of gender, generation and cultural heritage in the development of their identity.

As the territory of reference with its rules and messages becomes more complex and wider with migration and the advent of the contemporaneity (Beck, 2000; Tramma, 2015), other migrations and changes combined with some traditional elements, women (Volpato, 2013; Dominijanni, 2016) and people of the South of Italy (Forgacs, 2015) are kept in a subordinate position. They are *the penultimate* in the social Italian order and have another hierarchical organization, in which women remain – in a less evident way – in service of the familiar needs. They often live in neighbourhoods that were built for immigrants during the period of the great internal Italian migration (Alasia & Montaldi, 1960; Foot, 2001) and now, they see other people (*the latest*)

coming; people that today live similar discriminations, also by this population. Some participants of this research sometimes have tried to propose a parallelism between them and people with a more recent migrant background. However, they have attributed them the same stereotypes that they have lived. Grandma Lidia, for example, said, "The Arabian women are submissive, because of their husbands. This probably happened in Italy a hundred years ago" (Grandma-Lidia, personal communication, September 5, 2016).

This research can probably help participants to re-read their personal and familiar story, becoming conscious about *learnings* that come out from their life stories; *stereotypes* that they have lived, proposed to the following generations and attributed to other migrant populations and also to people that have remained in the South; and last the *internal identity conflicts*, their rejects and re-appropriations.

In this way, their (apparently insignificant) stories can help people to reflect on a common history, composed by many personal stories. It could be possible to open a dialogue between different life narratives which are affected by the joint action of gender, generation and cultural heritage, especially in this contemporary society in which different cultures are always in contact even if, at times, with tensions (Briata 2014; Battistelli, 2016).

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Rita Bencivenga

The gender dimension in assessing migrant women's non-formal and informal learning and skills

Abstract: This research contributes to critical literature in the field of gender and migration studies. The main goals of the research activities were to gain a greater understanding about the training background and personal beliefs influencing the approach of volunteers assessing the migrant women's non-formal and informal learning and skills, the presence of biases in their approach and the interconnections among NGOs, public services and educational institutions dealing with migrant women. The research was based on a qualitative approach, through three strands allowing a data triangulation useful for validation purposes. Firstly, education policies and training activities for migrants, with a focus on gendered approaches, were analysed through desk research and meetings with stakeholders; secondly, in-depth interviews were held with personnel and volunteers doing the initial assessments of migrants' non-formal and informal learning and skills. Finally, ethnographic observation was carried out in organisations, which assess migrants. The results show how the initial assessment of migrant women's non-formal and informal learning and skills is not free from gendered biases and stereotypes. Moreover, the process is also subject to the constraints imposed by migration and education policies, blind to gendered analysis and planning.

Introduction

All migrants cross a variety of education and training systems, qualification mandates, cultures and languages that may impose barriers to improving their capabilities in new countries. There is increasing scholarship on gender and migration: the feminisation of migration has been analysed (Cuban, 2010), as have skilled women's migration (Webb, 2015) and the role of gendered domination relations within migration paths (Trifanescu, 2015). Women who migrate as refugees or asylum seekers, who are trafficked or forced to move for economic reasons make up a significant percentage of the total numbers.

In this research, my general intention is to explore the gender dimension in the initial informal assessment of migrants'[1] non-formal and informal learning and

1 In using the term "migrant(s)", I follow the EMN-European Migration Report Glossary on Asylum and Migration that defines migrant, "a person who leaves their country or region of origin to live in another"; this relates to "any type of movement, whatever its length, composition and causes". As well as refugees, displaced persons and irregular migrants, the term "migrant" includes anyone who leaves their country for employment reasons ("economic migrants", "highly qualified migrants"). A migrant is therefore any person who moves from his or her country of origin irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate. Since the EU project at the origin of

skills, often carried out by volunteers working for NGOs, and its influence, in particular, on the subsequent choices of migrant women. To get a deeper understanding of this topic I investigated the training background and personal beliefs influencing the approach of volunteers assessing the migrant women's non-formal and informal learning and skills, the presence of biases in their approach and the interconnections among NGOs, public services and educational institutions dealing with migrant women.

Gender and migration

There is a significant body of research on gender and migration, as women who migrate as refugees or asylum seekers and those who are trafficked or forced to move for economic reasons make up a significant percentage of the total numbers. The feminisation of migration has been analysed (Cuban, 2010), as well as the role of gendered domination relations within migration paths (Trifanescu, 2015).

Starting approximately four decades ago, gender and migration scholarship has initially examined sex roles and sex differences. Gender was initially considered a dichotomous variable, until researchers started conceptualising it as a system of relations, "a fluid, multi-level set of practices embedded in social relations shaped by race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, and nationality" (Nawyn, 2010, p. 749). Subsequently, more complex gender analyses and theories were applied, including gender relation theory (Connell, 2002); sex-role theory (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Cranford, 2006); critical social theory (Silvey, 2004), and post-modern conceptions of gender (Parreñas, 2012).

The use made of the term gender does refer less and less to an individual-level binary category ascribed at birth but often indicates a system of power relations between the sexes, a normative and hierarchical system that determines the relative meaning of Femininity and Masculinity (Marro, 2010; Mathieu, 1991). A system that permeates every aspect of life, including the migration experience and relations among and with migrants,

The field has a strong interdisciplinary approach: sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, historians, psychologists and political scientists have analysed gender as a way of structuring power in all human relations, at micro and macro levels, at individual level, in families, communities, up to whole societies (Donato et al., 2006).

Gender has been considered as permeating "a variety of practices, identities, and institutions implicated in immigration" (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003, p. 9), making it a constitutive element of migration. However, attention has mainly been focused on gendered systems of relations in migrants' countries and cultures of origin, with less

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the research is aimed at people for whom it is difficult to document qualifications, learning and skills acquired in non-formal and informal contexts, it is obvious that in this document the term "migrants" does not include highly-qualified migrants who have moved in a regular manner.

attention on the host countries' gendered systems of relations, which are not necessarily uniform across regions, classes and time.

RPL, migrants and gender

Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) is the practice of reviewing, assessing and acknowledging the knowledge and skills gained by adults outside the formal education system. The current approach is aimed at shaping citizens who want to learn and take responsibility for their learning pathway with a view to becoming employable (Fejes, 2010). This has led the EU to instruct the Member States to implement national lifelong learning strategies, with particular emphasis on validating non-formal and informal learning as well. It is now accepted that the learning process may be informal, not only through lifelong learning but also through life wide learning, as life continually offers learning possibilities in contexts and situations not traditionally associated with it. Coffield (2000) describes informal learning as a submerged world which is more important than formal learning. Optimising migrants' entire skillset, not only what can be related to formal education, increases their awareness of their competences and helps guide them in their choices and employability. When a situated learning perspective is used to examine the validation of prior learning in specific contexts (Andersson & Fejes, 2010), the methodologies can be customised to suit migrants too. Migrants from less developed countries have knowledge which is often considered inferior, and the racialisation and genderisation of knowledge is particularly evident. The result is that particular occupations and particular countries are favoured by some immigration regimes (Grand & Szulkin, 2002; Guo & Shan, 2013; Williams, 2007). According to Andersson and Guo (2009), when validation consists mainly of a technocratic exercise and a governing tool, it is based on the use of excluding, normalising and dividing practices to obtain the desired selection results.

Shan and Fejes (2015) have considered migrants' skills and competencies as social and relational constructs capable of producing differences in their interactions with other social relations, but at the same time not challenging the power and practices of western countries. This perpetuates the hierarchical social order along axes of gender and race differences. Of particular interest when referring to the recognition of non-formal and informal learning and skills is the notion of soft skills. Soft skills refer to the "abilities, and traits that pertain to personality, attitude, and behaviour" (Moss & Tilly, 1996, p. 253), including the 'right' look and the 'right' sound (Nickson, Warhurst, & Dutton, 2005). Particularly important in the service economy, in which women are often overrepresented, the attention on soft skills favours the commodification of personal characteristics such as emotions, attitudes and even the way women dress and use make-up (Shan, 2015). Hierarchical social orders are thus perpetuated along axes of social differences, such as gender and race, by skills that are constructed by a dominant segment of the population. The essentialisation of women's work is often "seen as reflective of 'natural' talents or aptitudes" (Dunk,

1996, p. 105); as a result, jobs done primarily by women are considered less skilled than those done primarily by men (Leander, Phillips, & Taylor, 2010).

Aims and questions of the study

The research described in these pages is part of a wider research activity within a Strategic Partnership for adult education, titled Synergies (2015–1-AT01-KA204), co-funded by the European Commission under the Erasmus+ program. The main goals of the gender-focused research activities were to gain a greater understanding of:

- The factors influencing the approach of volunteers and professionals assessing non-formal and informal learning and skills;
- The margin of freedom in suggesting which private or public training paths to follow;
- The formal and informal networks dealing with migrants in training and job-related issues;
- The interconnections among NGOs, public services and educational institutions dealing with migrant women.

Method. Data collection, participants and procedure

The research was based on a qualitative approach, through three strands allowing a data triangulation useful for validation purposes:

- Analysis, performed through desk research and 22 in-depth interviews with stakeholders, of education policies and training activities and previous projects planned by public bodies and organised by educational institutions, aimed specifically at migrants or including migrants in their target groups;
- In-depth interviews (12) to explore the approach of volunteers and professionals doing initial assessments and understand the various organisations' mission and vision. Lasting an average of seventy minutes, the in-depth interviews were carried out face-to face.
- Ethnographic observation in two NGOs and a Public Job Centre (72 hours in 4 months), and observation of 82 assessment interviews with migrant women (54) and men (28).

The ethnographic strand has been included since it "lends itself well to analysing gender as a dynamic concept, as it is easier to capture the dynamic nature of gender in ethnographic work than with the snapshots in time that survey data usually represent" (Nawyn, 2010, p. 760).

The research covered the period August 2016 – July 2017. The setting is a Metropolitan city of 854,099 inhabitants (01/01/2016) in Northern Italy.

Recruitment for the interviews was initiated using snowball sampling. NGOs and public and private organisations working in the Metropolitan city were contacted. Most organisations contacted agreed to be interviewed and two NGOs and a Public Job Centre subsequently allowed also the ethnographic observation of their activities.

A constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006) was chosen as the analytical framework, incorporating constant comparative analysis as a method of qualitative data analysis. Notes from the observed meetings and initial assessment and documents collected during ethnographic observation were compared to the interviews. It then became possible to identify categories and subcategories in the material.

Migrant women in the settings observed

Before describing the research results, it is important to shortly describe the local situation, with some references to the regional and national Italian context. Women account for about 50% of migrants living in Italy: 52.6% of non-Italian residents. Most migrant women living in Italy follow training pathways and/or work in the domestic service and care sector, where demand has not been heavily influenced by the negative economic cycle. Of 100 non-Italian workers in the sector, 86.5% are women, representing 93.8% of family care assistants (Caritas, 2016).

In Italy, there are three main common practices of accommodating migrants: a nationwide approach (with thousands of different organisations); the protection system for asylum seekers and refugees (SPRAR[2]), with a network of entities providing reception projects for these target groups with the support of non-profit organisations and NGOs; and local integration of small groups of migrants. Regional sub-systems are structured in different ways, and involve a variety of stakeholders and institutional competences (Zanfrini, 2015). As a result the system does not produce stable action nets with a consolidated actor-network, such as that described by Fenwick and Edwards (2010).

The distribution of various nationalities varies widely across Italy. Overall, about 50% of migrants living in Italy are women, and the majority of certain nationalities is made up of women. Certain nationalities are concentrated in particular employment sectors, with some found more prevalently in the personal care, particularly domestic services (Macioti & Pugliese, 2010). Due to this variability, only data about nationalities and employment sectors relative to the area where the research was carried out (Table 1), are included, a Metropolitan city in the Northwest of Italy hosting 52% of all residents of foreign origin in the entire region (approx. 136,000).

The main countries of origin are: Ecuador (24.5%), Albania (13.1%), Romania (11.4%), Morocco (8.3%), Peru (4%), Ukraine and the Chinese Republic (3.8% each).

2 Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati.

Table 1. Citizens of non-Italian origin resident in the Metropolitan City as of 1st January 2016 (ISTAT data _ http://www.tuttitalia.it/)

Men	Women	Total	%	% of the total population
32,322	38,430	70,752	51.9%	8.28%

Most migrant women living in Italy follow training pathways and/or work in the domestic service and care sector, where demand has only been influenced marginally by the negative economic cycle.[3]

The training paths required to work as a domestic worker or family care assistant are mainly informal, while the numerous non-formal courses organised at regional level are limited to the care sector, as a diploma is required for jobs in formal settings, such as the public and private nursing and elderly homes officially recognized by the health service.

The current absence of a single national qualification framework (NQF) aimed at reforming policy and practice on education, training and lifelong learning, along with individual regional registers of qualifications and training and professions evolving at different speeds, have all slowed down the validation and certification process for non-formal and informal learning. The Metropolitan City observed in the research described in this research is currently introducing more structured certification systems, which have not yet gone live. In the absence of formal Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) procedures, the initial informal assessment of migrants' non-formal and informal learning and skills is often carried out by volunteers or professionals working for NGOs and by civil servants working for public job centres. This practice, aimed officially both at helping the person plan training and education paths and find a job, is still under-researched. Its influence on migrants' subsequent choices, in particular those of women, is therefore unclear.

Results

In the following pages I will explore from a gendered perspective how the initial assessment of migrants' non-formal and informal learning and skills is conducted in various settings, with a focus on NGOs, as migrants arriving in other settings have usually been assessed previously at least by an NGO. I will also describe how the initial assessment process is related to migration and education policies. Finally, I will focus on the differences in the approaches of NGOs and other institutions working with migrants.

3 The legal and illegal market for foreign female domestic workers in Italy has been characterised as a form of grey welfare. This paper focuses on the legal market; information and data collected on the illegal market have not been considered relevant enough to be included in the analysis, which focuses on the education and training sector. Further collection of data with different target groups will be necessary to complete the picture.

Initial assessment by NGOs and other organisations

NGO1 is well-known throughout the city. It works at international and national level and has 38 branches throughout the metropolitan city. Its general activities consist of offering support and financial, social and organisational assistance to Italians and migrants in difficulty. Its activities for the poor and disadvantaged (both Italians and migrants) include an employment service which helps families (most of them affluent) recruit domestic staff. The branch dedicated to this activity is run by ten volunteers, seven women and three men, all over 60. New volunteers are trained on-the-job by more experienced volunteers. They come from the more affluent sectors of society, rather like the people who contact them in order to recruit staff. In this sense the initial interview is almost a job interview, since the job seekers – even more if migrants – are evaluated also on the basis of what they wear and how they behave; their skills are assessed verbally. In spite of the financial crisis, the employment service has around 120/130 job offers each year (the centre is open from September 1st to June 30th), a significant number compared to similar organisations. The availability of posts as butlers, gardeners, drivers and housekeepers, numerous in the past, has all but disappeared in recent years. The jobs on offer are now for caregivers or domestic workers, most of them live-in positions; the number of these female-dominated posts continues to expand. The organisation is religious in nature, volunteer meetings begin with a short prayer and frequent reference is made to the moral and ethical aspects of their work. Migrants are never asked about their religion, but when describing a potential family to candidates, mention is sometimes made of it:

"The lady is very religious, she says the rosary every afternoon. You know your prayers, don't you? If you say them with her, she'll be happy and everything will go smoothly" [Informal conversation between a volunteer and a migrant woman from South America _NGO1#45iv].

The volunteers all speak at least some French and English, and use these languages when migrants do not speak enough Italian. The initial assessment interview establishing the relation between the NGO and the person (who will return on average once a month until she/he finds a job) is the same for Italians and migrants.

A highly detailed section on the employment assessment sheet – similar to those used by other services – is filled in to record availability and competences as a domestic worker or caregiver. Another section lists additional competences, including nurse/physiotherapist, seamstress, cook/baker/pastry-maker, gardener, painter/tiler, plumber, electrician, carpenter, labourer and 'other'. This should make it possible to keep track of other competences which might be useful in the future. However, during the interviews observed these aspects were never considered: given the shortage and type of jobs on offer, filling in this section is considered a waste of time.

Among the questions, food preparation and housekeeping skills are considered most in-depth. The candidate may "fail" on their description of a recipe, or make mistakes when describing how to iron a shirt, clean carpets, wooden furniture or marble surfaces. However, candidates may give a good overall impression even if some of

their answers are not deemed correct; they are then told to improve their skills, and given detailed descriptions of what families look for. If migrants have poor language skills, they are encouraged to improve them since they have little chance of finding a job otherwise. The volunteers are aware of how hard the pre-selection process is, and wonder whether or not they should tell candidates about their shortcomings: they understand they are not necessarily objective, and in other contexts they might be sufficient, but they trust their knowledge of the requirements of families offering jobs. The volunteers are apparently unaware of how the meeting may influence the candidates in terms of shaping their expectations and the future investments they may make in learning or training paths. Everything is focused on the immediate task of finding a job.

The initial question, 'What can you do?', often summarises the entirety of the migrant's past experiences. When migrant women, the vast majority of candidates, arrive for their interview, they have already heard via their personal networks that the only competence they will need (be it real or not) is the competence required for the jobs NGO1 can offer, and they do not express other expectations. Volunteers sometimes ask candidates about their prior experiences, but even when they have formal competences – such as an engineering degree, as in the case of many women from Eastern Europe – they are told that unfortunately they will not be able to use their qualifications at all. Domestic work and care work in particular are often "seen as reflective of 'natural' talents or aptitudes" (Dunk, 1996, p. 105), from an essentialist perspective. However, domestic work is not considered naturally 'women's work' by the volunteers. The volunteers have always had paid domestic staff at home, and their houses are not the type of places that can be cleaned and supervised by 'no matter who'. They know that training is required to become a competent domestic worker, and they are generous in their explanations to candidates. A generation gap is perceived: "Young women today have always worked. They don't know how to run a house, and they don't have time to oversee staff. They therefore ask us to find women who are independent and know exactly what to do from the start, so sometimes they know more about keeping a house than their employer does" (Informal interview with a female volunteer at _NGO1#8). The NGO1 can offer this benefit to migrant women who do not yet have a personal network of clients: once you are considered suitable for the job by this NGO, you can use this informal recognition in other parts of the city, or wherever you go.

Caregiving competences are investigated to a lesser degree. In this case, references from previous Italian families are considered important, possibly from the same town. Mobile phone numbers are not accepted as references, only landline numbers, due to previous bad experiences in which a friend of the migrant woman was actually answering the phone. Caregiving jobs are most often for live-in workers. It is extremely difficult for younger women with small children – the majority of them migrants, as the local birth rate for Italian women is among the lowest in Italy – to provide this kind of availability, so older and childless women – migrants or natives alike – have a clear advantage.

The volunteers empathise with the candidates, treating natives and migrants alike, and they often point out how strict or absurd some of the families' requests are.

"The women they're looking for must be young, but not too young, strong so they can do heavy-duty work; they can't have children, a husband or a private life. They must have a driving licence, and must know how to swim so they can take the children to the beach. They must be slim, because if they are overweight people worry they'll eat too much and empty the fridge." [Informal interview with female volunteer_NGO1#5).

"Across the globe, the decline of manufacturing has led to an increasing presence of men of colour in reproductive labour. However, we should keep in mind that they mostly perform non-nurturant reproductive labour, in other words they are unlikely to provide care. Still, particular racial groupings of men are more likely to perform atypical gender work than others" (Parreñas, 2012, p. 272). The men who contact NGO1 already know that caregiving and cleaning jobs are the only ones on offer, and they adapt, glossing over other skills. Regardless of their ethnicity, natives and migrants all say they can do everything: not just cleaning work, but also caring for the elderly. The volunteers investigate men as they do for women candidates, and if they are satisfied with the results they will often put men forward for jobs. However, offers for caregiving and domestic jobs are received almost exclusively from women; when an elderly woman is unable to look for staff, her daughter or a female friend will step in rather than her husband. The volunteers say that their female clients do not want to have men around the house, regardless of their skills. It doesn't matter if the elderly person requiring care is a man, if he is heavily-built or aggressive due to a form of dementia: it is seen as safer to have a woman around the house, "preferably an Eastern European woman – they are tall and strong and more confident than South American women" [Informal interview with female volunteer_NGO1#7].

Low levels of education and a willingness to work all hours are seen as positives for all applicants, while, mainly for women migrants, clothing, make-up, hairpieces, 'the way they tie their babies on their back and bring them to work' (Informal interview with female volunteer NGO1#1) are all scrutinised and must be adapted in the name of the ultimate goal: finding a job.

The attention on soft skills favours the commodification of personal characteristics (Shan, 2015) as cultural and social differences are not considered: women must adhere to the requirements, and this will help them find a job. This maintains a hierarchical social order, but the skills which affluent families seek out will widen migrants' employment chances in the future. Ethnographic observation of the local area and the line of people waiting outside the NGO1's office clearly reveal those women who have been coming to the NGO for some time or have already worked in the local area: they behave, talk and dress in a similar way to the families who have employed them (revealingly, people seeking new employment emphasise that they wish to stay in the local area and prefer to wait for a job to come up rather than moving to other neighbourhoods).

Cultural and social differences as well as differences in soft skills are viewed from another perspective in NGO2; it carries out some 9,000 interviews a year, around a third of which are initial assessment interviews. NGO2 is aimed at migrants only, and migrants who are closely integrated in Italian society work as consultants:

"The difficulties lie in the fact that the people who contact us have a different cleaning 'culture', or their approach to the families is different to what we'd expect … there are many subtleties which are obvious to Italians but not to migrants, even though they do know how to do their job. [Formal interview with male employee_NGO2#6i].

Relevance of migration and education policies

In 2008, Italy and other EU Member States embarked on the process of referencing their national education qualifications (those issued by the State, Regions and Public Administration) to the European Qualification Framework (EQF). To date Italy still lacks a National Qualification Framework (NQF), and complexity remains both in terms of legislation and institutions: competences are in fact split between national and regional level both for education and vocational training.

Beyond NQFs, national immigration policies are the other mechanism influencing RPL. In Italy – immigration policies refer to the conditions and rights accorded to migrants (Hammar, 1985), therefore there is no selection of migrants on the basis of their skills: qualifications and competences are recognized once migrants are already in the country.[4] These policies are not gendered, as Harzig (2003) remarks: "Contemporary debate on immigration policy generally frames the issue in gender-neutral terms; this applies to legal propositions (entry status and citizenship), but also to concepts, which structure the subsequent settlement process. However, the neutrality makes the absence of gender even more conspicuous because what seems to be impartial affects men and women rather differently" (p. 35). There are around sixty local organisations assisting migrants on an informal basis in the metropolitan area observed, many of them NGOs. Some work with a few dozen people, others with hundreds. Some only give out information, others organise training courses. However, immigration and education policies influence the initial assessments, no matter if the organisation carrying them out is private or public, profit or non-profit. At the start of the assessment interview candidate's personal data are recorded (as shown on their identity document) and their residency permit is always checked, in the absence of which the interview will not continue.[5]

4 Another possibility is represented by *Immigration control policies* that control the admission of foreign citizens, for example by requiring them to have specific qualifications or competences.

5 All the organisations observed – public as well as private, NGOs or profit – can only deal with migrants aged over 18 who already have a residency and work permit. It is illegal to

The interviewees who work for public Job Centres were all familiar with the concepts of lifelong learning and recognising formal competences. Some had taken part in pilot projects designed to promote RPL. NGO volunteers often asked for clarifications, not recognising the terminology, and on receiving further explanations, they all said that the matter always comes up informally in interviews. For-profit organisations running training courses (in general open to natives and migrants as well) are among the best prepared in this sense, although the training they offer is limited to two areas: building work and health workers (with the focus on the latter). There are no women trainees on the building work courses, but some men do train to become health workers. They are still in the minority, and they are older in age.[6] The training for health care workers, both theoretical and practical, lasts around a year and costs between 2,000 and 3,500 Euros. However, there are many care homes for the elderly in the local area so it is not difficult to find a job. Occupational segregation is still much in evidence, although it is beginning to diversify. Home caregivers are almost exclusively women, while some men are now finding work as health workers in care and nursing homes. There is always demand from care and nursing homes, and the contractual conditions offer greater employee rights than those for home caregivers.

Unlike other Italian regions, courses in home economics are not available in the area observed, so the only way for domestic workers to improve their skills is through experience. This is one of the reasons for NGO1's good reputation: working for its clientele makes it easier for candidates to find jobs in the future, since they will have gained experience in some of the most exclusive areas of the city, in the most difficult houses to clean, and they will have good references.

As noted previously, NGOs gather very little information on candidates' non-formal and informal learning and skills beyond those needed for the jobs required. Volunteers do not consider training courses of any use:

"Many of the [migrant] women cannot afford to pay for the training courses, and they take a long time to complete, so they have to do jobs here and there to get by. There is no demand for people with diplomas, because employers know that they would ask for higher pay. Many of the Eastern European women have degrees, but the South American women have no qualifications. On the contrary, we see a degree as a sign of commitment and willingness to learn, and we know that women graduates will learn quickly even if they have never worked as domestic workers. Ignorance leads to aggression and presumption. In the past people would employ Italian young women with no qualification, but now they start to understand that educated workers can 'use their heads'" [Interview with a male volunteer _NGO1#9]. However, as can be seen, all previous pathways, in profit or non-profit, public and private organisations, currently lead back only to the two types of job on offer.

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give a job to a person without a work permit. Other organisations in the Metropolitan city take care of migrants aged below 18 and help migrants in obtaining a residency permit.

6 Younger migrant men and women who have completed their high school education prefer to try to enrol on university nursing courses.

Lack of networks but a variety of organisations

Since the different public and private, profit and non-profit organisations involved in the research do not collaborate in a structured network, the connections observed were often between individuals working for different organisations who know each other and occasionally use their personal informal network to create useful contacts for individuals. The same migrant may be evaluated at an initial assessment interview several times by different organisations. She or he will decide whether or not to say if she or he has already accessed other services.

In almost all of the cases observed, nothing was asked about the migrants' network of relations. Migrants contact a large number of organisations, including the trade unions, which play a key role in defending their rights, not to mention the informal networks created through interaction with other migrants or Italians. Social contacts have been consistently considered a strong determinant of out-migration (De Jong, 2000; Donato, 1993; Massey & Espinosa, 1997), but social contacts in the arrival country can also be useful in determining personal and professional progression. For example, families who are satisfied with the care given to an elderly relative or with domestic work can be a powerful springboard for migrant women. Word of mouth is more important than selection by any organisation, NGO, private or public service.

The web of personal and organisational relations, combined with the rise in unemployment across the native population, has led to a levelling out of salaries. The time when migrant female migrants tended "to be deployed in a narrow range of occupations shunned by the local female population" (Truong, 1996, p. 28) has long gone. While many migrant women would once accept whatever they were offered, the natives and migrants observed in interviews and informal conversations all asked for 10 Euros an hour, with reductions for a greater number of hours. The real difference is that native Italian women are not prepared to take jobs as live-in care workers, since nearly all of them have a home and family of their own.

The enactment of the assessment is slightly different in each organisation, and it would require little effort to use the collected data as a starting point for future validations in view of more formal RPL activities. But this does not occur, and migrants are expected to continue doing the job they initially said they were able to do, possibly with a greater level of competence. The only jobs available for adult migrants (in particular women) are domestic work and caregiving, regardless of their interests, skills or desires. For NGO1, this means learning working methods and techniques, while NGO2 instils in migrants the importance of understanding the differences between their culture and the new culture they are experiencing. It is difficult to evoke the issue of work segregation according to the sex of the migrants, as all the interviewees' talk of the two or three types of jobs available as an inevitable outcome. They are all the city has to offer, there are very few jobs and a large number of candidates; changing their approach to assessment, filtering and selecting candidates is considered a complete waste of time by all the volunteers. Migrant men and women

are seen as suppliers of work, and their individuality comes second to what everyone sees as the main priority, in their interest above all: finding a job.

The situation is different as regards public employment services. Most consultants working in these settings have significant knowledge of many job sectors, and they have much wider experience than the volunteers. Once again, however, any evaluation of prior non-formal and informal learning or skills is strictly limited by an awareness of what the labour and professional training markets currently offer, and the variety of services provided by other organisations such as the NGOs is not well-known enough to be of any use.

According to Parreñas (2008), women migrate from one patriarchal system to another and this also has positive repercussions: they may find new barriers to autonomy in the host country, but also new opportunities and new ways to negotiate additional power. Similarly, there is an upside to the observed lack of coordination between organisations. Candidates can reinvent themselves at every interview, and skills which have no value for some organisations can become a deciding factor for others since there are no common formal procedures and pathways and no passage of information. If this is not possible with NGOs, as the choices offered are very limited, when the passage is made towards public job centres, the lessons learnt in previous experiences may be useful in opening new paths. Another positive change lies in new family-based arrangements, linked to the fact that it is more difficult for men to find jobs. Younger migrant women sometimes bring their husbands and children along to the initial assessment, saying that they have reached an agreement with their husband because women are more likely to find a permanent job. The women are prepared to become live-in caregivers for the elderly, visiting their husbands and children in their time off, while their husbands take over responsibility for their homes and children.

The main problem mentioned by all those interviewed is that many migrants lack sufficient language skills. All the organisations interviewed urge migrants to learn Italian. However, while the NGOs see the goal as enabling workers to interact better with their employees, the public services consider it a means of integration and offer language courses. All those interviewed feel that migrant women who do not speak good Italian will face greater problems if they have children. Helping children with their school work, talking to teachers and interacting with other parents is once again seen as a woman's responsibility.

Discussion

In this paper, I have examined the role of a variety of individuals and organisations in the informal assessment of migrants' prior non-formal and informal learning and skills, contextualising it in a wider system of relations and organisations within the same local area, which share the same legal, educational and training framework.

The research contributes to existing literature on gender, migration and adult education in a number of ways. It views the role of the first assessment not as a neutral

activity aimed merely at collecting candidates' data for jobs, training or learning, independently from their sex, but as a significant moment in which their expectations and prior experiences can be reshaped. This reshaping is influenced, albeit not exclusively, by a gendered perception of society, education and the job market, where men and women are assigned roles and duties according to their sex, thus influencing migrants' future learning and working process in a cascade effect.

Firstly, although it has previously been argued that employers seeking domestic care workers (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Lan, 2006) show preferences for immigrant women as a more exploitable source of labour than men or native-born women, little attention has been paid to how such preferences may change in time. When the economic crisis starts to affect the native population, the differences between native-born people and migrants fade away and the same services and possibilities are offered to both groups. However, what does not change is the preference for women over men, based on criteria such as safety issues and not skills and competencies: this shows the importance of intersecting the potential ground for discrimination in future studies. If class, gender and ethnicity may be considered primary social divisions (Anthias, 2001), the symbolic hierarchies and material inequalities on which they are based change in time and space, favouring migrant women who grasp the changes. If "class is not an economic relation per se" (Anthias, 2001, p. 846), and economic aspects help shape the local situation, migrants who are able to adapt their appearance and behaviour so that they are chosen to accompany "better-off" elderly women around the local area as well as taking care of them will build up a social and cultural capital for the future.

In this research, I have analysed how the role of the volunteer is enacted in the assessment session, based on the values and mission of the NGOs. These may be different, leading to different results. I have also analysed how the initial impact can transfer gendered perspectives to family or social relations. The study thus contributes towards our understanding of the dynamics involved when the first assessment is done in isolation, with a short-term view of the migrant's future and without networking with other organisations which focus on different aspects. These may include helping people find educational and training courses and supporting their professional growth. The importance of creating formal networks which harmonise the solutions and perspectives offered to migrants emerges clearly from the situations observed.

This research looks at a number of organisations situated in a particular regional context and their everyday informal practices in assessing informal prior competencies. It may be considered a limitation, but the lack of nationwide coordination for migrant-focused RPL initiatives is common to several European countries. An analysis of the processes occurring in other organisations might therefore create a patchwork effect useful at a wider level.

Furthermore, the study supports previous research highlighting the importance of distinguishing between care work and reproductive labour, as "a theoretical focus on [care] privileges the experiences of white women and excludes large numbers of

very-low-wage-workers" (Duffy, 2005, p. 79). Reproductive labour entails a wider array of activities than care work and focusing on it helps us pinpoint racial inequalities among care providers and care recipients (Parreñas, 2012). The research shows how care work is no longer a privilege of "white women" (Duffy, 2005), and migrants use and spend the competences and skills acquired in previous work and in their private lives, caring for their children or elderly family members. Employers and employees alike very often belong to multigenerational families.

Other research has investigated a shift in contemporary society in which men are now starting to employ migrant carers, thus withdrawing from the "dirty work" and reproducing hegemonic masculinity (Gallo & Scrinzi, 2016). In the contexts observed this phenomenon is still minimal, as it is mostly female personal networks which are activated when the need for personal care arises. However, another shift is occurring, with men offering the same domestic work or caregiving competences as migrant women but being refused because of their sex. However, this new availability towards what were once predominantly female sectors has led to greater numbers of male care workers in nursing homes, a better paid and more stable job.

Globally, the research shows some of the profound challenges involved in the informal assessment of prior non-formal and informal learning and skills, at three levels. The first level concerns migration and education policies, often (nominally) gender-blind or female-centred. In the first case they are also blind to gender changes with evolving social contexts, in the second they help perpetuate work segregation while still influencing the final outcome of any assessment. The second level is the local reality, consisting of two main aspects: employment prospects which maintain extensive job segregation, and intermediary organisations which are not organised in networks and do not communicate with each other. The third level is individual, where the concrete exchange of information among interviewers and individuals occurs. Much is said here about the local context, its preferences and its requirements, mainly within NGOs. Mediated by a personal vision of society and relations, this information is gendered in the sense that traditional relations between men and women appear unmoveable and are easily perpetuated by migrant women's wish to adapt in order to find a job.

This research is only a first step towards a greater exploration of the role of NGOs and other informal organisations in assessing non-formal and informal prior learning and skills. It focuses on one local situation in an Italian region, analysing the complex net of organisations working in tandem with NGOs – often the first local contact point for job seekers, but not creating stable networks. Further studies are therefore needed to ascertain how the role of those carrying out the assessments is shaped by the NGO's mission and vision and by personal views, both in other assessment settings and in different national contexts.

Concluding remarks

The picture that emerges from the data analysis is highly fragmented, reflecting the lack of coordination at a local level. Tensions between migration and education policies, often lacking a gendered vision, and the vision and mission of NGOs and educational institutions working with migrants, mean that little attention has yet been paid to an approach to assessing migrant women's non-formal and informal learning and skills that pays attention to gender, in terms of power relations at local level but also in the migrants' networks.

The fact that the majority of migrants accessing the NGO services observed are women gives the assessment consultants the false impression that "gender", meant as the person's sex, is not an issue in their case, as they actually help a majority of women find a job or plan future training. In this way the volunteers focus on gender as a binary category and miss the opportunity to reflect on gender as a system of power relations between the sexes, in which migrants and themselves are embedded. For organisations involved in the assessment of migrants' non-formal and informal learning and skills, the time has come to introduce training activities to help promote an understanding that gender is "relational and contextual, power-laden and also dynamic" (Donato et al., 2006, p. 13).

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The role of gender and culture for the development of human resources in Kenya

Abstract: Personal and personality assessment play an important role for sustainable behaviour and functioning, but the well-established Western diagnostic instruments are not culture-sensitive enough for application in non-Western countries and therefore have to be adapted. Kenya is a multicultural country and to understand the thoughts and the behaviour of Kenyan people, it is useful to think in ways supported by the sub-Saharan concept of Ubuntu. Thereafter it can be assumed that Kenyans show specific and more collectivistic behaviour and attitudes in contrast to the rather individualistic Germans or West-Europeans. In addition, a gender perspective has to be added because in Kenya during the last decades women have become an important part of the labour force, e.g. they run many of the small and medium-sized companies and gender roles also have changed. The paper reports the first results of a cross-cultural research project, focussing on personality, gender and culture regarding psychosocial functioning in Kenya and Germany. An empirical pilot study based on the Five-Factor Model (FFM, Costa & McCrae, 1992) and supplemented by the indigenous social relational concept of personality (Nel et al., 2012) has been conducted to test the cultural equivalence of these scales. Additionally, gender roles, gender identity and the perceived work-life balance were measured. The sample consisted of N=157 university students majoring in psychology in Nairobi, Kenya and Koblenz, Germany. Participants also had to fill in the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI, Fetvadijev, Meiring, van de Vijver, Nel, & Hill, 2015), the Social Axioms Survey (SAS II, Leung et al., 2012), the Traditional Masculinity-Femininity Scale (TMF, Kachel, Steffens, & Niedlich, 2016), the Gender Role Beliefs Scale (GRBS, short version, Brown, & Gladstone, 2012), and the Trier Short Scale on Work-Life Balance (TKS-WLB, Syrek, Bauer-Emmel, Antoni, & Klusemann, 2011). We found interesting cross-cultural similarities and differences as well as gender differences in the scale means related to culture. Correlations between personality, work-life balance and social axioms point to the need for an emic-etic approach in human resources management taking gender explicitly into account.

1. Introduction

Personal and personality assessment play an important role for sustainable behavior and psychosocial functioning. However, it must be stated that when it comes to sub-Saharan African countries like Kenya, the well-established Western diagnostic instruments are not culture-sensitive enough and therefore have to be adapted. Culture represents the values, also customs, beliefs, heritage and norms of a particular group of people of a society (Gopaul-Mcnicol, 1997). To understand Kenyan behavior, it is useful to think in ways supported by the *Ubuntu*-concept, i.e. Kenyan per-

sons show more collectivistic behavior and attitudes in contrast to the rather individualistic behavior and attitudes of German or West-European persons. Furthermore, a gender perspective has to be added to the research for two reasons: 1. In Kenya, women have become an important part of the labour force and they run many of the small and medium-sized companies. 2. Gender roles have changed in Kenya during the last decades and like in other countries of the world, women's empowerment has become an important issue. The paper reports the first results of a cross-cultural research project, focusing on gender, culture and personality regarding psychosocial functioning in Kenya and Germany.

1.1 Kenya and its culture(s)

Kenya is a country of great geographic, cultural and linguistic diversity. In Nairobi, for example, one is likely to encounter people from every continent and later discover that they are all citizens of Kenya. The country has over 30 million people, drawn from 42 different ethnic groups, some Asian communities, remnants of European 'settlers' and more recently some expatriate communities, making the country a mosaic of cultural and racial diversity (Sobania, 2003). Many people think of Kenya as the land of safaris, fast-running athletes, wild animals and Maasai warriors. However, Kenya is a crossroad where different cultures from Africa, the Middle East and East Asia have met many years ago, a land with unique and dynamic cultural traditions.

Kenyan unity is expressed in the national motto *Harambee* which is translated as "let's all pull together." The culture of Kenya reflects a cultural diversity with many ethnic groups, cultural values, culture influence, national culture, cultural identity and ethnicity. In every culture, there are basic standards for social interaction such as personal space distance, eye contact, amount of body language displayed in public, negotiating style and so on.

Although the six largest ethnic groups (see Figure 1) form 50% of the Kenyan population, each of Kenya's tribes has its own language and cultural heritage which form the 'grammar' for behaviour among the members of the ethnic groups.

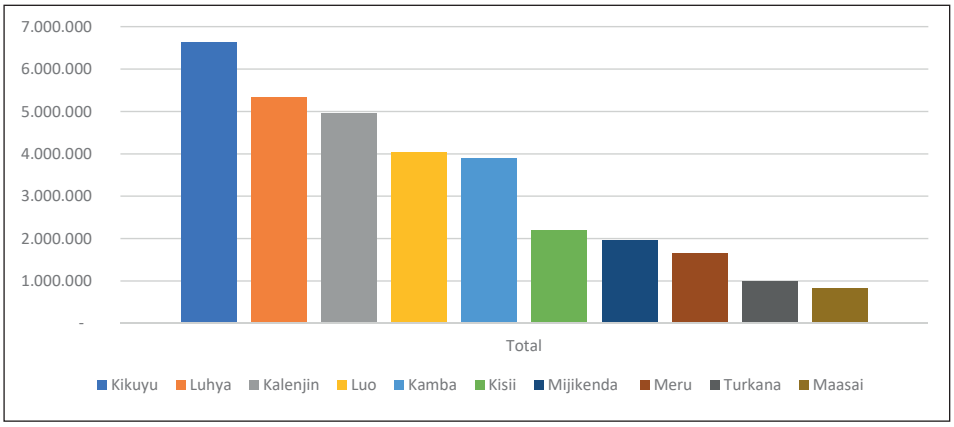

Figure 1. The largest native ethnic groups in Kenya

Each ethnic group has its own way of dressing (e.g., the Maasai dress is a red Kanga with shinning decorations, necklaces, bracelets and headdresses), differing cultural beliefs, own staple foods, a way of conducting their traditional ceremonies such as marriage ceremonies, each tribe with its own flavor.

1.2 Gender roles, gender equality and women's empowerment in the contemporaneous Kenyan society

In Kenya, responsibilities both inside and outside the home are divided according to gender. Among the Kikuyu for example, men commonly have the responsibility for clearing fields, tending livestock, hunting, community decision-making and local governance. Women are responsible for collecting and carrying home water, firewood and agricultural produce. Additionally, to caring for children's health, education needs and home improvement. Traditional ideas about the roles of girls and women restrict their contributions to the country. These ideas hold women back from contributing to important development goals; especially in the areas of economic growth, nutrition and food security.

Kenyan women are the backbone of the rural economy as well as the urban economy. They provide the largest measure of labor at the village level. However, it is recognized that, in Kenya, women are underrepresented at all major decision-making levels within the government. Women hold a mere 16% of top positions in government while 74% of women are confined to the bottom of the public service. There are also large wage gaps to the disadvantage of women and only a small portion can be explained by gender differences in education, work experience or job characteristics (Kariuki, 2017).

Women in Kenya are not only underrepresented in decision-making positions, they also have less access to education, land and employment. In the urban areas, the same social stresses that exist in Europe and North America are confronting Kenyan women who work outside the home but are also expected to do all the work inside the home.

Many Kenyan women are still exposed to vulnerabilities from civil and domestic violence, economic shocks and environmental hazards. Although some progress has been made in addressing gender disparities, a lot of effort still needs to be made. Recently, the untapped potential of women and girls is gaining greater attention in Kenya. This development relies, on the one hand, on United Nation's Developmental Program (UNDP) from 2000, which made gender equality central to its effort. Thus, goal 5 of the *Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)* is aimed to achieve gender equality and to empower all women and girls: *"Empowering women and promoting gender equality is crucial to accelerating sustainable development. Ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls is not only a basic human right, but it also has a multiplier effect across all other development areas."* Kenya's new constitution, passed in 2010, also provides a powerful framework for addressing gender equality. It marks a new beginning for women's rights in Kenya; seeking to remedy the traditional ex-

clusion of women and promote their full involvement in every aspect of growth and development.

1.3 Personality assessment and its relatedness to culture

Personal and personality assessment plays an important role in sustainable behavior and psychosocial functioning. In psychology, personality assessment often focusses on the Five-Factor Model of Personality (FFM, Costa, & McCrae, 1992). The FFM is a hierarchical model that assumes that five broad domains explain personality traits. The domains are *Openness to Experience*, *Conscientiousness*, *Extraversion*, *Agreeableness* and *Neuroticism*. Each of the domains is subdivided into six facets or traits, and their structure is highly heritable (McCrae, Jang, Livesley, Riemann, & Angleitner, 2001). The "Big Five" have proved a very high replicability across cultures and seem to be important for global habits and behavior, as well as for work-related behavior (Zecca et al., 2013).

However, cross-cultural researchers have questioned in general whether personality models and personality trait measures like the Five-Factor Personality Model do qualify for a global scope (Misra, 1994; Shweder, 1991). Other cross-cultural researchers point out that depending on ecological and cultural diversity there is variability in the link between values and attitudes, which is contra-intuitive to the Western conception of personality traits (Boer & Fischer, 2013).

Moreover, the uncritical extension of "Western" ways of thinking to the rest of the world as standard practice in psychological science has been criticized (Church, 2000). Measures of personality assessment like those according to the Five-Factor-Model are developed in Western societies, that are W.E.I.R.D (= Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic). When administered to persons from non-western societies these measures have to be adapted to the different cultural context in order to improve their validity. Concerning the Big Five, this has been proven, e.g., by Cheung, van de Vijver and Leong (2011), who found an inconsistency of the FFM in Asia as far as the factor *Openness* was not verified, as well as Schmitt, Allik, McCrae, and Benet-Martínez (2007), who found that although the five-dimensional structure was robust across major regions of the world, people from South America and East Asia were significantly different in *Openness* from those inhabiting other world regions. Rolland (2002) reanalyzing data from 16 countries found *Neuroticism*, *Openness* and *Conscientiousness* to be highly replicable across cultures, but *Extraversion* and *Agreeableness* slightly varying across cultures while McCrae and Terracciano (2005) were able to replicate the FFM personality structure in most of the 50 cultures included in their study. Moreover, Allik, Realo, and McCrae (2013) found *Extraversion*, *Conscientiousness* and *Agreeableness* to replicate well in Africa, but *Openness to Experience* replicated well in South Africa only with people with white-collar jobs and university students especially of white descent.

Hence, the Big Five personality factors cannot be called 'false', but rather incomplete in the face of different cultures (Gurven, von Rueden, Massenkoff, Kaplan, &

Lero Vie, 2013). One of the most promising studies overcoming this incompleteness has been carried out in the SAPI-project (Fetvadjiev et al., 2015; Nel et al., 2012). Nel et al. (2012) studied the personality structures in the 11 languages of South Africa using a South African Personality Inventory (SAPI) with a sample of university students. The results proved that the Big Five personality traits were present but there were more culture-specific constructs all in reference to social functioning.

1.4 The Five-Factor Model in sub-Saharan Africa and the concept of Ubuntu

The findings of the SAPI-project point to the need to expand personality assessment according to the Five Factor Model (FFM) in sub-Saharan Africa toward a richer representation of the social-relational domain (Fetvadjiev et al., 2015; Nel et al., 2012). Although a South African personality structure was found somewhat comparable to the Five Factor Model (FFM), it revealed to be more elaborated regarding relational (family, tribes) and social aspects. One reason for this could be that in contrast to the cultural values of the W.E.I.R.D. societies, in sub-Saharan Africa the concept of "Ubuntu" exists. Ubuntu is widely spread in East and South Africa and part of Bantu wisdom that a person is only a person through others (Battle, 2009) and seems to be important for commercial and business behavior (Karsten & Illa, 2005). It is associated with social relatedness, respect for others, peace and harmony in a community, environment, compassion and sensitivity toward the elderly, disabled and less privileged (Arasa & Muhoro, 2016).

1.5 Gender and personality

With regard to gender issues, the Five-Factor-Model has also often been criticized. On the one hand, the results of studies on gender differences in personality were inconsistent. On the other hand, the suitableness of the Five-Factor-Model for both sexes, men and women, has been questioned in general.

Considering the high diversity of the population in Europe as well as in Africa, gender aspects are of specific interest with regard to personality, since they are not based on biology, but on culture, acted out by individuals and influenced by gender stereotypes. As Costa, Terracciano, and McCrae (2001) summarize: „In brief, gender differences are modest in magnitude, consistent with gender stereotypes, and replicable across cultures" (p. 328). In general, the emphasis on stereotypes seems to be stronger in W.E.I.R.D.-countries and there are inconsistencies reported, e.g. with regard to women's status characteristics or Hofstede's cultural dimensions like Masculinity versus Femininity (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

Generally, empirical results on gender differences in the Big Five personality traits show that the link between gender and person perception is quite different across culture. According to Costa et al. (2001), gender differences in personality traits show a geographically ordered pattern: The smallest gender differences are found among Asian and African cultures, the largest in Europe. Zecca et al. (2013) analyzed mean

scale gender differences from nine French speaking African countries and a Swiss sample and compared them between different African regions. In North Africa, they found women to score significantly higher than men on *Neuroticism* (d = .29) and *Openness* (d = .21). In West Africa, women scored significantly higher than men on *Neuroticism* (d = .25). In Central Africa, women scored significantly higher than men on *Neuroticism* (d = .32) and *Extraversion* (d = .28). In Switzerland, they found women to score significantly higher on *Neuroticism*, (d = .37), *Openness* (d = .22) and *Agreeableness* (d = .48). In Mauritius, no gender differences were observed and the gender differences were slightly more marked in Switzerland than in the African regions.

However, correlating men and women personality traits scores over cultures Schmitt et al. (2007) found high correlations for the five domains. Men's *Extraversion* levels were significantly correlated with women's *Extraversion* levels across the 56 nations of the ISDP, and even stronger evidence of generalizability was found for the levels of *Agreeableness, Conscientiousness*, *Neuroticism* and *Openness*.

2. Research questions

The research presented in this paper is part of a larger cross-cultural German-Kenyan project. The higher-level objectives of this project are the investigation of personality factors, based upon research on the Five-Factor Model (FFM, Costa & McCrae, 1992) and results from the SAPI-Project (Nel et al., 2012), and their correlates regarding to psycho-social functioning. It is further assumed that different cultural contexts bring up differing styles of action and coping (e.g. the African concept of "Ubuntu"), which could also have different and culture-specific outcomes on well-being and job performance.

As one of the pilot studies within the broader research project, a comparison study was done in Kenya and Germany with the main focus on gender differences in personality, as well as on the gender- and culture-specific role of personality traits and social axioms for work-life balance. In addition, similarities and differences between Germany and Kenya in gender role beliefs were explored.

3. Method

In cross-cultural studies on personality across cultures, one central problem is whether scales measuring personality traits possess conceptual and functional equivalence across cultures (Brislin, 1999; Lonner, 1979; Triandis, 1994; van de Vijver & Leung, 2001). This is crucial because when comparing the mean scores of different cultures on a personality trait scale, any observed differences may exist not only because of a real cultural disparity on some personality trait but also because of inappropriate translations, biased sampling, or the non-identical response styles of people from different cultures (Diener & Suh, 2003; Grimm & Church, 1999; van de Vijver, 2000). When psychological measures are simply translated from their original English and

ethically imported "as is" into diverse cultures, comparing the assessment results from different cultures becomes highly problematic (Brislin, 1999; van de Vijver, 2000). One common method for establishing the cross-cultural comparability of personality trait measures is to show that the scales contained in the measures are internally reliable across the cultures, and this is what had to be checked in this study in advance as well.

3.1 Sample

The sample consisted of N=157 university students majoring in psychology in Nairobi, Kenya and Koblenz, Germany. In the Kenyan sample, there were n=74, mainly students from the United International University in Nairobi. The German sample consisted of n=83 participants, the majority were students from the University of Koblenz-Landau, Campus Koblenz. About two-thirds of the sample were female and one third was male, almost similarly in Kenya and Germany (see Figure 2), which reflects the gender ratio in psychology students in both countries.

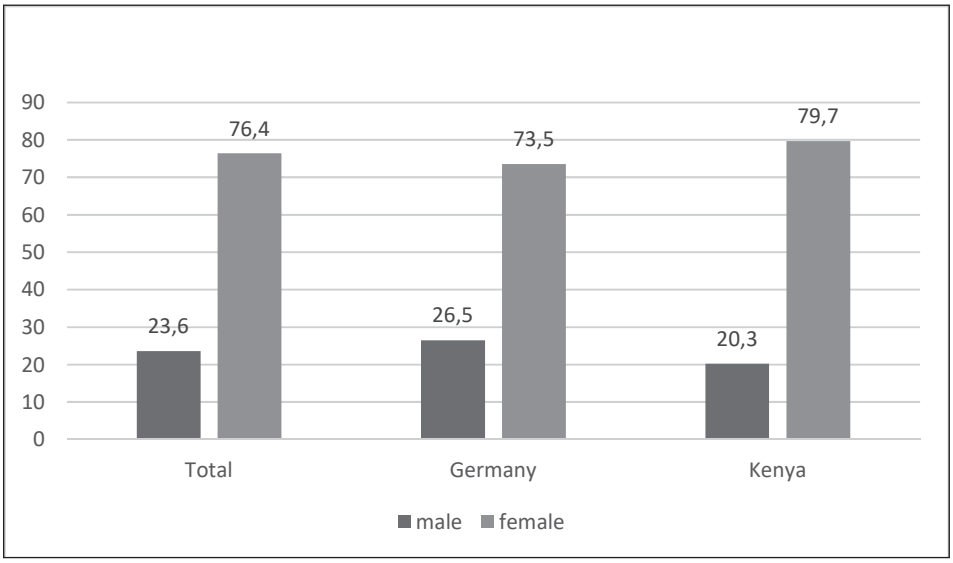

Figure 2. Percentage of women and men in the total sample and in the German and the Kenyan subsample

The distribution of age proved to be slightly different in the subsamples (see Figure 3) with the Kenyan sample (M=21.52, SD=6.98) being a bit younger than the German sample (M=24.16, SD=4.60), this difference was statistically significant (t=2.618, df=136, p=.010).

The samples mainly consisted of students, however, in both countries about one third of the participants were employees (see Figure 4).

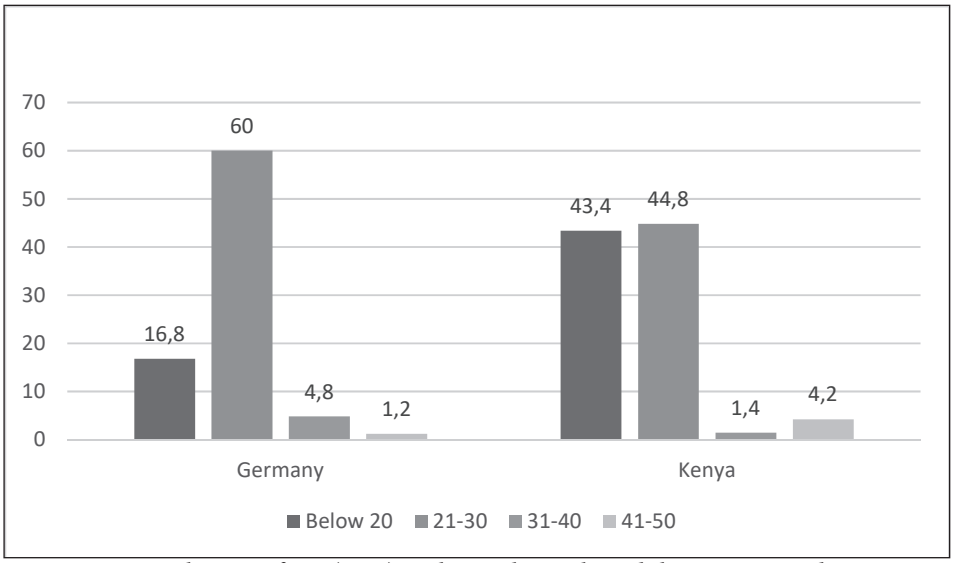

Figure 3. Distribution of age (in %) in the total sample and the German and Kenyan subsample

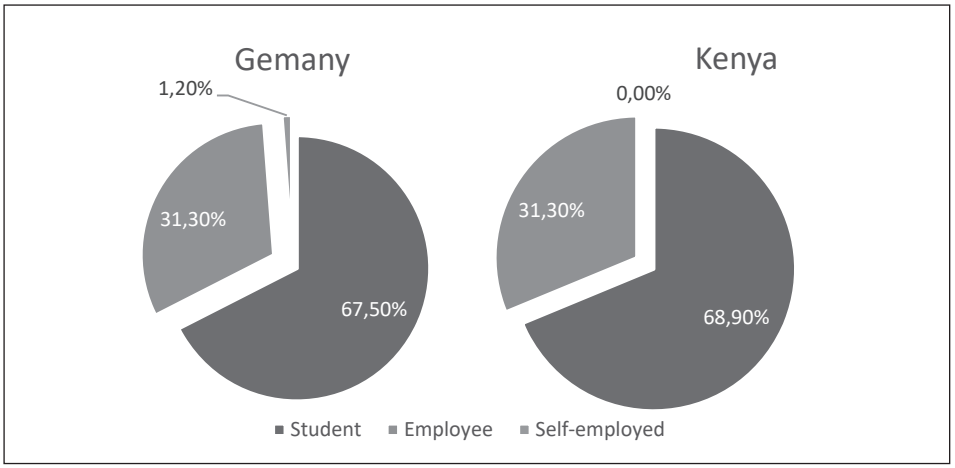

Figure 4. Occupation in the total sample and the German and Kenyan subsample

3.2 Measures

Participants had to fill in the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI, Fetvadjiev et al., 2015) and the Social Axioms Survey (SAS II, Leung et al., 2012), based on the concept of social axioms, an approach to understand cultural specificities in behavior with a higher predictive power for actual behavior than values (Leung & Bond, 2009).

In addition, the Traditional Masculinity-Femininity Scale (TMF, Kachel et al., 2016) the Gender Role Beliefs Scale (GRBS, short version, Brown & Gladstone, 2012)

and the Trier Short Scale on Work-Life Balance (TKS-WLB, Syrek et al., 2011) were administered.

3.3 Data analysis

Due to the relatively small sample, an exploratory factor analysis was impossible. Therefore, as a first step, we did cross-cultural comparisons of the reliabilities (Cronbach's alphas) of the SAPI scales for all facets of the five domains and compared the reliabilities in the total sample with the reliabilities in the Kenyan sample.

For the SAPI subscales, the internal reliability coefficients, calculated with Cronbach's alphas, for all subscales of the five domains in the Kenyan, the German and in the total sample ranged from alpha=.43 to alpha=.88. Only very few items had to be excluded due to very low reliabilities in the Kenyan sample. These were the items "I am a friend one can rely on." (subscale *"Integrity"* of the *Social Relations Positive Scale*) and the item "I think ahead." (subscale *"Achievement Orientation"* of the *Conscientiousness Scale*).

According to Cicchetti (1994), reliabilities between .70 and .79 are acceptable for standardized tests, values between .80 and .89 show good reliabilities and a value higher than .90 reveals an excellent reliability.

With regard to the SAPI scales and subscales, alphas lower than .70 were found for the *Social Relations Positive* subscale *"Social Intelligence"* with a very low alpha (.532) in the German sample the *Social Relations Negative* subscales "*Conflict Seeking*" (.665) and *"Deceitfulness"* (.683) with alphas below .70 in the Kenyan sample. The *Conscientiousness* facet "*Traditionalism – Religiosity"* showed a low alpha (.686) in the Kenyan sample as well as the *Conscientiousness Scale* (.634). However, the *Conscientiousness Scale* also showed a very low alpha (.460) in the German sample. The *Extraversion Scale* also revealed alphas below .70 in all subsamples (total: .547/Kenyan: .524/German: .619), while its subscale *"Playfulness"* only had a low alpha (.685) in the German sample. The *Intellect/Openness* subscale *"Epistemic Curiosity"* had a low alpha (.650) only in the Kenyan sample. The reliabilities of the *Social Desirability Scale* and of its subscale *"Positive Impression Management"* in particular were extremely low in all subsamples, so that this scale was excluded from the further data analyses.

The reliabilities of the SAS-II subscales all reached good or satisfying levels. They ranged from .602 to .912. Only the social complexity subscale showed a reliability below .70 in the German sample (.602) and in the total sample (.675). Looking at the gender scales, results revealed that the reliability of the TMF was excellent in all subsamples (alpha=.93) and the reliability of the TKS was good (alpha=.84 to .85). The reliabilities of the GRBS subscales were acceptable in the subsample to excellent in the total sample (alpha =.45 to .93).

4. Results

4.1 SAPI

Using mean-level group analyses (MANOVAS with gender and culture as independent variables and the means of the SAPI subscales as dependent variables), we found interesting cross-cultural and gender differences.

4.1.1 Differences between cultures

As to be expected, Kenyans scored significantly higher on the *Conscientiousness* subscale *"Traditionalism-Religiosity"* $F(1,135) = 27.42$, $p = .001$, $eta^2 = .172$. They also scored higher on the *Conscientiousness* subscale *"Facilitating"* $F(1,135) = 6.35$, $p = .013$, $eta^2 = .046$, and on the *Social Relations Negative* subscale *"Deceitfulness"* $F(1,135) = 5.75$, $p = .018$, $eta^2 = .042$.

Germans, as to be expected, scored significantly higher on the *Conscientiousness* subscale *"Orderliness"* $F(1,135) = 11.91$, $p = .001$, $eta^2 = .083$, but they also scored significantly higher on the *Social Relations Positive* subscales *"Social Intelligence"*, $F(1,135) = 14.46$, $p < .001$, $eta^2 = .099$, and "Integrity", $F(1,135) = 7.35$, $p = .008$, $eta^2 = .053$, as well as in tendency on the *Social Relations Positive* subscale *"Warmheartedness"* $F(1,135) = 3.54$, $p = .062$, $eta^2 = .026$, and on the *Extraversion* subscale *"Sociability"* $F(1,135) = 4.00$, $p = .048$, $eta^2 = .029$. Regarding the *Intellect – Openness* subscales, Germans also scored significantly higher on the subscale *"Epistemic Curiosity"* $F(1,135) = 6.96$, $p = .009$, $eta^2 = .050$, and in tendency significantly higher on the subscale *"Intellect"* $F(1,135) = 3.50$, $p = .064$, $eta^2 = .026$. For the other SAPI subscales, there were no significant cross-cultural differences (see Figure 5).

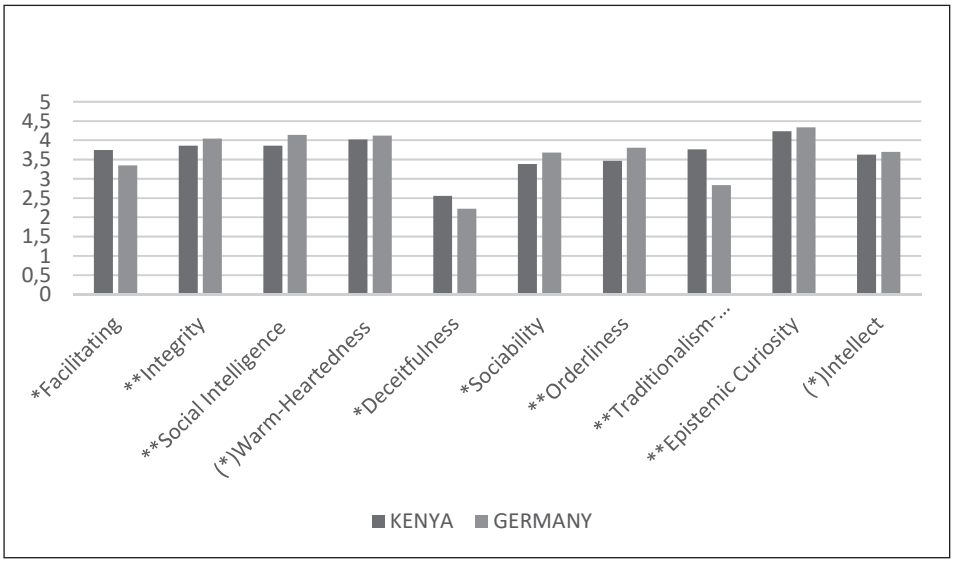

Figure 5. Statistically significant cross-cultural differences (Kenya vs. Germany) for the SAPI subscales (scale means) (* = p < .05; ** = p < .01)

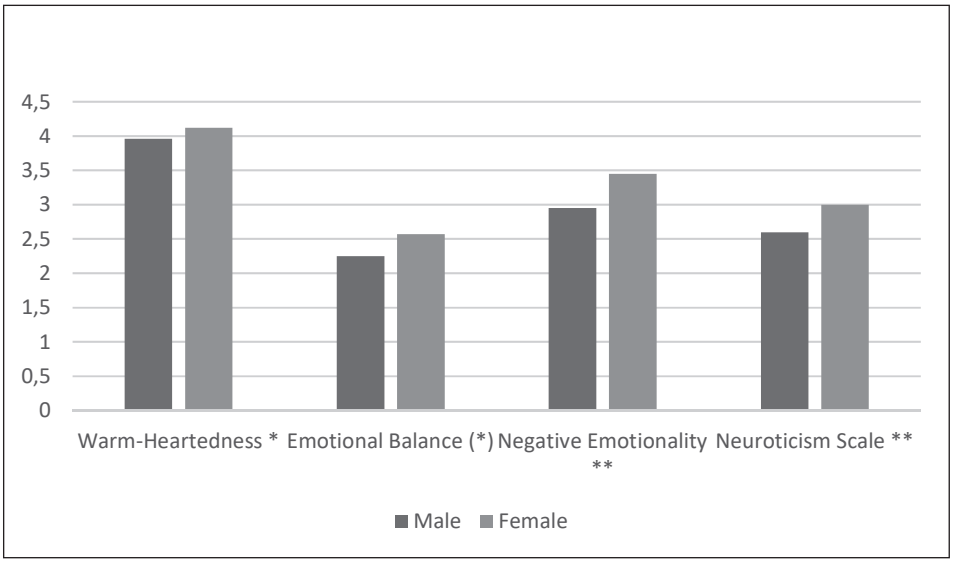

Figure 6. Significant gender differences for the SAPI subscales (scale means) (* = p < .05; ** = p < .01)

4.1.2 Gender differences

Regarding gender differences for the SAPI subscales, there were only a few statistically significant ones: Women scored higher than men on the *Neuroticism* subscale *"Negative Emotionality"*, $F(1,135) = 12.07$, $p = .001$, $eta^2 = .084$, and lower than men on the subscale *"Emotional Balance"*, $F(1,135) = 3.31$, $p < .071$, $eta^2 = .024$, consequently, there were significant gender differences on the main *Neuroticism* scale, $F(1,135) = 8.84$, $p < .004$, $eta^2 = .063$, in the same direction. But women also scored significantly higher on the *Social Relations Positive* subscale *"Warmheartedness"* $F(1,135) = 4.96$, $p = .028$, $eta^2 = .036$ (see Figure 6).

However, there was a significant interaction between country and gender in the *Social Relations Positive* subscale *"Social Intelligence"* ($F(1,135) = 3.78$, $p = .054$, $eta^2 = .028$): In Kenya, women scored higher on *"Social Intelligence"* but not in Germany. In addition, there was an interaction between country and gender in the *Intellect – Openness* subscales: In Kenya, women scored higher than men on *"Broadmindedness"*, while this was not the case in Germany ($F(1,135) = 3.78$, $p = .054$, $eta^2 = .028$), Kenyan women also scored higher than Kenyan men in "*Epistemic Curiosity*", while this was vice versa in Germany ($F(1,135) = 3.78$, $p = .054$, $eta^2 = .028$). In the subscale *"Intellect"* German men scored higher than German women, while there was no difference between Kenyan men and women in this subscale. This could be also seen in the statistically significant interaction of country and gender for the *Intellect – Openness Scale* ($F(1,135) = 7.88$, $p = .006$, $eta^2 = .056$). These results seem to reflect socio-cultural differences in gender roles between Kenya and Germany as well as dif-

ferences in the societal expectations with regard to the behavior and the personality traits of men and women.

4.2 Social axioms (SAS-II)

With regard to mean-level group analyses (MANOVAS with gender and culture as independent variables and the means of the SAS-II subscales as dependent variables), we found the following cross-cultural and gender differences.

4.2.1 Differences between cultures

From the five SAS II-subscales, as to be expected, the Kenyan sample scored significantly higher on the subscale *Religiosity* $F(1,144) = 30.13$, $p < .001$, $eta^2 = .176$, but they also scored significantly higher on the subscales *Social Cynicism,* $F(1,135) = 23.69$, $p < .001$, $eta^2 = .144$ and *Reward for Application,* $F(1,144) = 19.76$, $p < .001$, $eta^2 = .123$ and in tendency on *Social Complexity,* $F(1,144) = 3.74$, $p = .055$, $eta^2 = .026$, which was rather unexpected. For the SAS-II subscale *Fate Control*, there was no significant cross-cultural difference (see Figure 7).

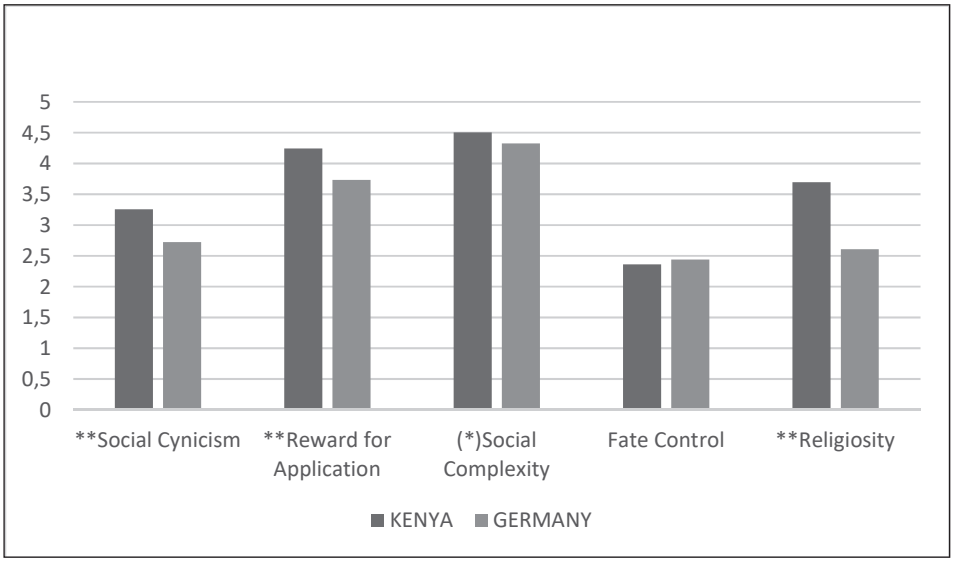

Figure 7. Significant cross-cultural differences (Kenya vs. Germany) for the SAS-II (scale means) (*=p<.05; **=p<.01)

4.2.2 Gender differences

For the SAS-II subscales we only found one small gender difference: Women in tendency scored significantly higher than men on *Fate control* $F(1,144) = 3.51$, $p = .063$, $eta^2 = .024$. There were no significant interactions between culture and gender.

4.3 Gender role beliefs (GRBS)

4.3.1 Differences between cultures

As to be expected, there were large and significant cross-cultural differences in the Gender Role Beliefs Scale (GRBS), this was true for the total scale, $F(1,151) = 184.62$, $p < .001$, $eta^2 = .555$, as well as for both of its subscales. Kenyans in general had more traditional gender role beliefs than Germans (see Figure 8), however, the difference was extremely large for items expressing women's roles in the household and at the workplace (GRBS Subscale 2: $F(1,151) = 6.19$, $p = .014$, $eta^2 = .040$, see Figure 9). It was smaller for beliefs related to protectionism and chivalry toward women (GRBS Subscale 1: $F(1,151) = 536.42$, $p < .001$, $eta^2 = .784$, see Figure 10).

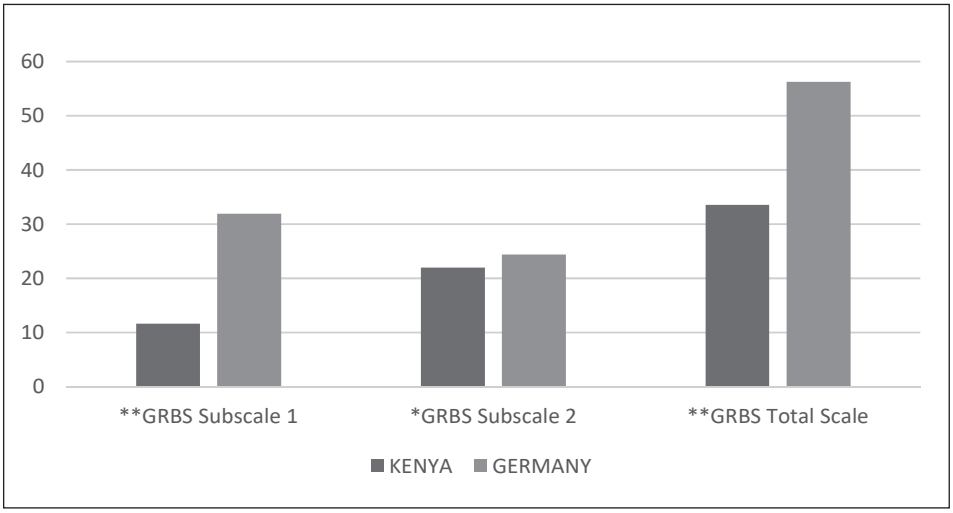

Figure 8. Significant cross-cultural differences (Kenya vs. Germany) for the GBRS Subscales (differences in the mean scale sum scores; GRBS Subscale 1= "Beliefs towards women's roles in the household and at the workplace"; GRBS Subscale 2="Beliefs related to protectionism and chivalry toward women") (* = p < .05; ** = p < .01)

Looking at the single items, there were other interesting findings. In particular, Kenyans revealed to be traditional with regard to gender roles in the family and at work and with regard to the sexual freedom of women (see Figure 8 & 9). In addition, we found statistically significant, although smaller, cross-cultural differences with regard to men's gender role behavior in public (GRBS 2): Kenyan men are expected and expect themselves more to act toward women in manners of chivalry than German men (see Figure 8 & 10).

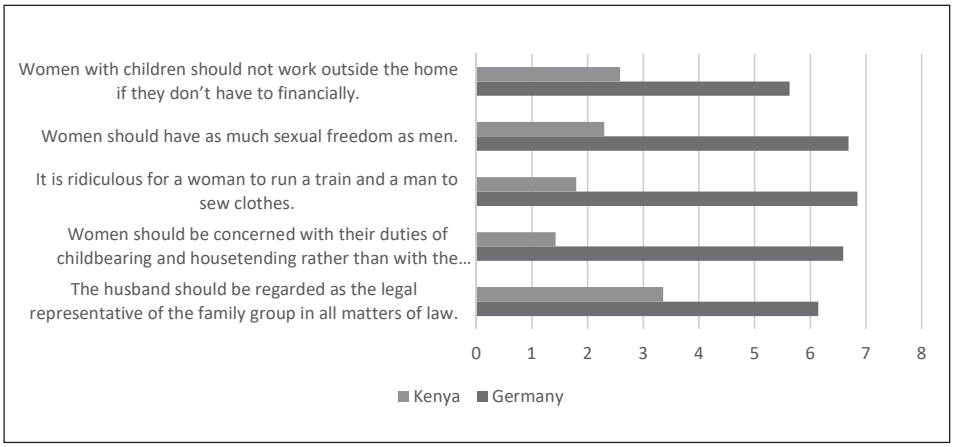

Figure 9. Significant cross-cultural differences (Kenya vs. Germany) for the items of the GRBS subscale 1 "Beliefs towards women's roles in the household and at the workplace" (item means)

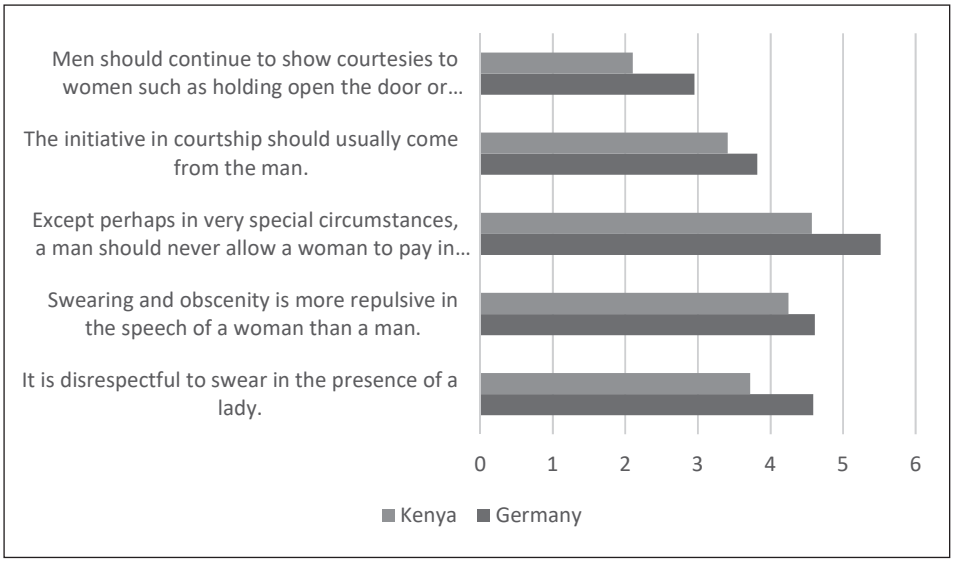

Figure 10. Significant cross-cultural differences (Kenya vs. Germany) for the items of the GRBS subscale 2 "Beliefs related to protectionism and chivalry toward women" (item means; 0="I completely disagree" to 7= "I completely agree")

4.3.2 Gender differences

There were also highly significant gender differences in the Gender Role Beliefs Scale (GRBS): Males had significantly more traditional gender role beliefs than females, and this was in tendency true for the total scale ($F(1,151) = 3.19$, $p < .076$, $eta^2 = .021$) as well as for both GRBS subscale ($F(1,151) = 9.31$, $p < .003$, $eta^2 = .059$). In addition, there was a significant interaction between country and gender for the GRBS subscale

($F(1,151) = 6.23$, $p < .014$, $eta^2 = .040$) revealing an interesting result: In Kenya but not in Germany males had more egalitarian attitudes than women regarding women in the family and at the workplace and concerning the sexual freedom of women.

4.4 Work-life balance and its relationship to other variables

No cross-cultural differences and no gender differences were found for the Trier Short Scale on Work-Life Balance (TKS). However, we found significant correlations between work-life balance, personality, social axioms and gender.

In the German sample, there were several significant correlations between the TKS and the SAPI subscales revealed (see Table 1). They point to the importance of *Positive Social Relations*, *Extraversion*, *Conscientiousness* as well as *Openness* for good work-life balance. There was a significant negative correlation with the *Negative Social Relations* subscale *"Deceitfulness"*. In the Kenyan sample, there were only three significant positive correlations, i.e. with the *Social Relations Positive* subscale *"Social Intelligence"*, the *Extraversion* subscale *"Playfulness"* and the total *Extraversion* scale, but these were about the same size and in the same direction as in Germany. The correlations in the gender groups separately also showed some interesting results (see Table 1).

Table 1. Significant correlations between work-life balance (TKS) and the SAPI subscales in Kenya and Germany, and in males and females.

Scale	Germany	Kenya	Males	Females
Facilitation (Social Relation Positive)	r=.221*			
Integrity (Social Relational Positive)	r=.229*		r=.377*	
Interpersonal Relatedness (Social Relational Positive)	r=.223*			r=.214*
Social Intelligence (Social Relational Positive)	r=.217*	r=.291*		r=.310**
Social Relational Positive (total)	r=.263*			r=.232*
Deceitfulness (Social Relational Negative)	r=-.237*			r=-.214*
Emotional Balance (Neuroticism)	r=-.352**		r=-.411*	r=-.205*
Negative Emotionality (Neuroticism)	r=-.373**			r=-.233*
Neuroticism (total)	r=-.400**		r=-.378*	r=-.247**
Playfulness (Extraversion)	r=.314**	r=.358**		r=.410**
Sociability (Extraversion)	r=.254*			r=.276**
Extraversion (total)	r=.335**	r=.319*		r=.395**
Achievement Orientation (Conscientiousness)	r=.339**		r=.469**	r=.212*
Orderliness (Conscientiousness)	r=.336**		r=.421*	
Conscientiousness (total)	r=.342**			
Broadmindedness (Openness)	r=.319**		r=.376*	
Intellect (Intellect/Openness)	r=.302**		r=.393*	
Intellect/Openness (total)	r=.330**		r=.496**	

We also found correlations between work-life balance and the social axioms subscale. There were low negative but significant correlations between the TKS and *Social Cynicism* in the German sample (r=-.242) for females (r=.211). For males, we a found small correlation of the TKS with *Religiosity* (r=-.249) and a small positive correlation with *Social Complexity* (r=.200).

5. Conclusions

First, according to the reliabilities, we found that the SAPI appears to fit the personality structure of Kenyans or East Africans as well as that of Germans, although the reliabilities of some of the scales were low or only acceptable. But further data collection is needed to be able to analyze its factor structure in both countries more properly.

Second, the cultural differences in the SAPI subscales further support the assumption that personality assessment has to follow an emic approach and also has to take gender issues into account.

Third, the culture and gender differences in gender role beliefs point to the fact that there is still a gap between the attitudes of the Kenyan people, men and women, and the more or less visible gender equality movement in Kenya. However, with regard to work- and family-related roles we found interesting differences between Germany and Kenya, and between men and women, drawing an interesting picture of how culturally based gender beliefs are.

Fourth, the culture- and gender-specific correlations between personality traits, social axioms, gender role beliefs and work-life balance in the Kenyan and the German sample should be taken into account when one tries to improve the work-life balance of women and men in Kenya and in Germany. Results further point to the need for a gender-sensitive approach in personality assessment and in the field of human resources management.

With regard to the part of women within the development of human resources in Kenya one could say, that the development of gender role beliefs toward more egalitarian points of view, as well as the acceptance of culture- and gender-specific personality features as a human resource itself seem to be one possibility to improve the women's status in the Kenyan society and to support women's empowerment. But further research is needed to prove this.

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Martina Endepohls-Ulpe & Victor Garnier

Gender-related occupational stereotypes, job-related goals, interests and educational and family preconditions of young women and men in apprenticeships in a technological field

Abstract: Over the last decade, great effort has been put into research on the causes of gender related differences in choices related to tertiary education and academic professions as well as on the consequences for women having a minority status in these fields. However, little is known so far about preconditions and consequences of women choosing an apprenticeship in a technical, more manual skilled occupational field notwithstanding that gender differences on this level of the occupational system are even more concise than in the academic field.

The objective of the presented study was to learn more about the motivation of young women to choose an apprenticeship in a traditional male stereotyped occupation and about common or distinct features they show compared to their male peers. The sample consisted of 191 apprentices from different technical occupational branches, who according to the German dual educational system for these occupations attended at the same time vocational training schools on two days per week. 31 of the subjects were female; the mean age of the sample was 20 years. The subjects filled in a questionnaire which comprised questions on occupational gender stereotypes, advantages or disadvantages for women working in a male stereotyped profession, on the reasons for choosing an apprenticeship in a technological field, job-related goals, interests and attainments at school and on persons who supported them in their interests on STEM or in their occupational choice.

Results show that female apprentices in technological professions are not conforming to traditional gender stereotypes in several aspects of their interests and attitudes. Already in pre- and primary school age male relatives like fathers or grandfathers had been of great influence for their interests in STEM. Considering their exposed position as a small minority which furthermore does not share the stereotypic attitudes of their vocational social environment (male peers, teachers, instructors) supporting measures to encourage these young women to continue pursuing their goals and interests seem to be of great importance.

Introduction

Looking at the situation of women in the labor force, the fact that improved achievements in the educational system and – on average – getting better school leaving certificates than men, apparently did not improve women's success on the labor market until now, is a phenomenon that more or less can be stated all over Europe. Women's employment rates are lower than men's, their mean income is lower and they are underrepresented in high positions in economy and politics (EURYDICE/EACEA,

2010). The gender-related "horizontal segregation" of the labor market, which means that men and women choose different fields of study and different fields of occupation, likewise is a matter of concern in most European countries (EURYDICE/EACEA, 2010) but also worldwide e.g. in the USA (National Science Foundation, 2014) and East Asia (Peng et al., 2017).

The most prominent area of horizontal segregation is the field of STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics). In spite of similar attainment of boys and girls in STEM related school subjects, females tend to avoid courses of study and careers in this field. On the one hand, this circumstance is held responsible for the already mentioned gender differences in income as women are underrepresented in well-paid jobs in engineering and science. But on the other hand, it also enhances a general lack of skilled personnel in these areas. Hence, there is a great public interest in all societies concerned to encourage both men and women to take up courses of study but also apprenticeships in the field of STEM. A lot of effort has been put into research on the causes of gender related differences in choices related to tertiary education and academic professions as well as on the consequences for women having a minority status in these fields over the last decade. Likewise, many measures of encouraging women to go into male stereotyped academic professions and to improve their situation and forthcoming in male dominated vocational surroundings have been initiated. However, little is known so far about preconditions and consequences of women choosing an apprenticeship in a technical, more manual skilled occupational field notwithstanding that gender differences on this level of the occupational system are even more concise than in the academic field (see Quaiser-Pohl, Endepohls-Ulpe, Rasic, Gnosa, & Sander, 2012) and the consequences for of women's income and job chances are likewise detrimental.

Gender differences in career paths to non-academic technical occupations in Germany

In Germany, some gender differences in vocational choices at transition points from school into the occupational system can be stated, which contribute to a lack of implementation of females' acquired qualifications in successful careers, and this is especially the case in the field of technology.

Indeed, due to a lack of educational preconditions, more young men have to attend courses in transitional measures that prepare for vocational educations when entering the vocational educational system. On the other hand, a greater number of young men start their vocational career path in the so-called "dual system". "Dual system" means that in Germany, training for many vocations and especially for vocations in the field of technology and productive industry, is provided in forms of a dual program of practical training and education. Apprentices close a training contract with a company. There they spend three to four days a week to acquire the practical skills required for their field of work. One or two days a week have to be spent at

a specific school, called "vocational school", where apprentices receive a theoretical grounding in their future job (Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, 2017). Depending on the vocation and the acquired school leaving certificate, an apprenticeship lasts between two and three-and-a-half years. Apprentices who successfully complete their training and finish their exams with good marks are often taken on permanently as a skilled worker by the training company. Moreover, if they perform well in the workplace, there is also the opportunity to train further to become a master craftsman or a state-certified engineer, and then to rise to a managerial position in the company or to set up in business and become self-employed.

In 2016, 60.8% of the training contracts with companies were closed with young men, only 39.2% with women. Women show more activities and more regional flexibility in their search for vocational education, but they prefer trainings in form of full-time schooling, which mostly require a higher general education but at the same time lead in jobs in areas like health care, the educational system or welfare that have lower chances on the labor market (Blossfeld et al., 2009). In these trainings, the missing connection to the practical work life in a company makes it more difficult for women to get a job afterward.

Women are not only ratable less involved in the dual vocational system, but also their choices are limited to a small number of professions disregarding especially jobs from the industrial/technical area. In 2016, 74.5% of all females starting an apprenticeship did this in only 25 professions whilst in the 25 professions most frequently chosen by males, 61.7% of the male beginners could be found (BMBF, 2017). In 2016, the most frequently chosen job trainings by women were office management assistant, physician assistant, shop assistant, followed by several other apprenticeships in the nonproductive industries like hairdresser. Males' favorite choices were automotive mechatronics technician, electronic technician and retail salesman followed by several professions in technical or trading areas. The range of males' choices is not only wider but also offers better wages and better career chances (BMBF, 2017). Females also participate less in measures of further education and advancement e.g. for becoming a master craftsman or trainer.

Theory and research on women in STEM-professions

Models for the explanation of gender differences concerning occupational and educational choices, like e.g. the ones presented by Eccles and colleagues (1994) or Gottfredson (1981), depict the decisions concerning apprenticeships or careers based on a complex network of variables. A person's abilities or skills are only one of the factors that influence achievement related behavior. Other important variables are personality factors like self-efficacy or expectations of success, interests and values as well as features like social class and influences of the environment. According to Gottfredson (ibid.), important environmental influences can be beliefs or concepts that are imparted by a father or mother, gender stereotypes in general and related stereotypical ideas about professions in society as well as about the appropriateness

of a certain profession to a person within a particular social class. All these influences may interact with gender.

For women pursuing academic careers in science and technology, we have some results of recent studies which reveal specific influences that encouraged them to make non-stereotypic choices. Interview studies with female scientists working at universities (Endepohls-Ulpe, Sander, Geber, & Quaiser-Pohl, 2015) pointed out, that the interviewees had a profound interest and a high self-efficacy in mathematics, physics or technology already in their childhood. This interest was awakened and supported by their parents – especially fathers – and sometimes by other relatives, e.g. siblings. Another interesting finding of these studies was the fact that many of the female scientists interviewed emphasized that it was necessary for them to consciously resist gender-stereotypical role behaviour and developing a high frustration tolerance.

The role of primary socialization, especially of parents, also turned out to be crucial in their paths to their vocational choices for male and female engineering students in a questionnaire study where they were compared to male and female students from non-engineering fields of study (Endepohls-Ulpe, Ebach, Seiter, & Kaul, 2012). Compared with their peers from other fields of study, both male and female engineering students from Germany and Austria reported higher intellectually based interest and also higher self-efficacy with regard to science and technology already in their early school years. Moreover, they also remembered more support by their fathers concerning technical activities. Teachers and schools turned out to have played a minor role to raise interest or support activities in scientific or technical fields in this study as well as in the interview studies presented by Endepohls-Ulpe et al. in 2015.

Studies based on samples from the USA show that family SESs may affect gender role attitudes. Low parental education and income distinguish families with more traditional attitudes from those with more egalitarian attitudes (e.g., Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Crompton & Lyonette, 2005; Lackey, 1989). In addition, non-traditional attitudes can be found for children from more economically advantaged family backgrounds (e.g., Antill, Cunningham, & Cotton, 2003; Kulik, 2002). As young females in the dual educational system have a higher probability to come from working-class families than their peers in the tertiary educational system, it is not clear if the role of the family in awakening and fostering non-stereotypical interests and vocational paths is parallel to what can be observed for females learning or working at universities.

Females in general seem to have higher expectations with respect to some characteristics of their jobs (e.g. responsibility, work in an interesting job) but on the other hand to have lower career expectations (EURYDICE/EACEA, 2010). In some aspects this was also true for the female engineering students in the study cited above, at least when compared to their male peers (Endepohls-Ulpe et al., 2012). Male and female engineering students both had a more modern and non-stereotypical image of their

profession, requiring e.g. social competencies and leadership abilities, which differed from the image depicted by their peers from non-engineering studies.

Objective of the study

As empirical results on preconditions and factors that influence young women to choose an apprenticeship in a technical oriented more manual skilled profession are rare, the objective of the presented study was to learn more about their motivation, their attitudes and gender related stereotypes with regard to their profession, their experiences with science and technology in family and school, their job related aims and about differences or similarities compared to their male peers. More information in these fields could be useful to encourage more young women to take up professions from the field of technology and also to give them support to pursue their careers and to assert themselves in their workplaces.

Method

Measuring instrument and procedure of data collection

As an instrument for data collection, a questionnaire was constructed, which contained some questions on socio-demographic information and, amongst others, subscales concerning the following aspects:

I. Job related gender stereotypes
II. Disadvantages for women in male dominated professions
III. Advantages for women in male dominated professions
IV. Reasons for choosing an apprenticeship in a technological field
V. Influences in the process of vocational choice
VI. Favorite subjects in primary and secondary school
VII. Support for interest in and technology and science during school years

Each subscale comprised a number of closed ended questions – mostly 4- or 5-step Likert-Items.

The survey was conducted in a vocational school in the German federal state Rhineland-Palatinate during students' regular lessons. School management, the state office for data protection and the supervising agency of cities and municipalities had to give their consent to the survey. As a condition for the consent some items on socio-demographic data had to be eliminated from the questionnaire – e.g. information on school leaving certificates and vocational qualifications of parents.

Statistical analysis

The subscales of the questionnaire were subjected to an exploratory factor analysis – Principal Component Analyses followed by Varimax-Rotation. The scales consti-

tuted by the resulting factors were tested on reliability by Item-analysis. To look for differences between the female and male apprentices mean values on the scales and – when necessary on single items – were compared by Student's t-tests.

Results

Sample

The sample consisted of 191 apprentices from different technical occupational branches, who according to the German dual educational system for these occupations attended at the same time vocational training schools on two days per week. 31 of the subjects were female; mean age of the sample was 20 years. 46.4% of the subjects had a general certificate of secondary school education, 21.9% a certification of a compulsory secondary school, 14.6% an advanced technical college qualification and 17.2% a higher education entrance certificate. School leaving certificates of the female apprenticeships were significantly higher than those of their male peers ($Chi2<.001$). There was a higher percentage of females in the group with a higher education certificate (38.7% vs. 13%) and a lower percentage with a certificate from a compulsory secondary school (3.2% vs. 25.5%).

Apprentices came from trainings for manifold professions: electronic technician, IT specialist, water engineering, process engineering, mechanist, industrial mechanist, automotive mechatronics technician, draftsman underground/street/landscape construction, systems mechanic, electrician road builder, metal processing, machine building.

Job related gender stereotypes

Male apprentices gave more affirmative answers to the general question if the profession they were learning was a typical male profession ($M=3.04$), significantly more than their female colleagues ($M=2.45$; $p<.001$) and they also agreed more with the statement that women avoid these jobs because they are not typical for females (males: $M=3.03$; females: $M=2.52$; ($p<.01$). The remaining items on this scale constituted two factors:

I. Interest and self-efficacy (3 Items, $\alpha=.723$)
II. Women as a minority (2 Items, $\alpha=.929$)

Females ($M=2.38$) as well as males ($M=2.56$) did not see serious gender differences in interest and self-efficacy with respect to technology and did not differ significantly in their answers. But males ($M=2.31$) showed a significantly higher agreement with the statement that women have minor abilities in the field of technology and crafts than females ($M=1.97$, $p<.05$), even if their agreement to this statement was not very strong. Both sexes did only slightly judge the circumstance as a possible reason that

women avoid technical vocations because they are a social minority in this field (females: M=2.25; males: M=2.4).

Disadvantages for women in male dominated professions

Items on this scale constituted 3 factors:

I. Discrimination (3 items; α=.68)
II. Career opportunities and social barriers (3 Items, α=.70)
III. Lack of aptitude (2 items, α=.62)

Neither males (M=2.22) nor females (M=2.12) saw major discrimination for women in male dominated professions and likewise did not see disadvantages in career opportunities for women (males: M=2.06; females: M=2.10). Both sexes did not agree with the notion that women have minor aptitudes for apprenticeships and jobs in a technological field, but women negated these statements (M=1.79) significantly stronger than men (M=2.12) ($p<.05$).

Two items could not be allocated to a factor and both items showed significant differences between answers of males and females. Males tended to agree with the statement that it is difficult for women to effect the same physical performance as men (M=2.98), whilst women answered that this is not the case (M=2.29) ($p<.001$). Additionally, men answered more affirmative to the statement that it is a disadvantage for women that they have to adapt to male manners (M=2.64) than females (M=2.00) did ($p<.01$).

Advantages for women in male dominated professions

Items on this scale constituted three factors, but none of them showed sufficient item reliabilities. Thus, analysis was done the base of single items. In general, neither males nor females saw real advantages for women in male dominated professions with regard to support from male colleagues (males: M=2.79; females: M=2.71), earnings (males: M=2.17; females: M=1.94), or better aptitude (m: M=2.03: females: M=1.87). The same was true for getting assigned less physically laborious tasks (males: M=2.66; females: M=2.03; $p<.01$), to be treated lenient when making mistakes (males: M=2.19; females: M=1.81; $p<.05$), to get better positions faster than women in female stereotyped professions (males: M=2.29: females: M=1.90; $p<.05$) and to have a better social prestige than women in female stereotyped vocations (males: M=2.18; females: M=1.87; $p<.05$), but for these items females even agreed significantly less than males with the statements.

Reasons for choosing an apprenticeship in a technological field

This scale contained items concerning interest and job related aims. Factor analysis constituted two Interest factors and two factors that represented job related aims.

One Item "Interest in the special occupational activity" could not be allocated to a factor.

I. Interest in mathematics and science (3 Items, α=.77)
II. Interest in technology and practical work (3 items, α=.71)
III. Job security (3 items, α=.72)
IV. Good earnings and position (3 items, α=.72)

Both male and female apprentices stated that their interest in mathematics and science had played a (moderate) role for their vocational choice (males: M=2.47; females: M=2.60). Apparently interest in the specific occupational activity had been more important (males: M=3.45; females: M=3,35). Interest in technology and practical work had been of influence for both sexes but significantly stronger for males (M=3.25) than for females (M=2.89) (p<.001).

With respect to job related goals, "job security" – getting a permanent, secure full-time job – was likewise very important for males (M=3.68) and females (M=3.69). This was also true for "good earnings and a high position" – earning much money, having good promotion prospects and high responsibility (males: M=3.22; females: M=3.30).

Social influences in the process of vocational choice

Table 1. How did your social environment influence your vocational choice?

Following persons influenced me like that ...*	**sex**	**Mean**	**Significance level t-Test (2-tailed)**
(1) ... Father	m f	4,01 4,42	0,031
(2) ... Mother	m f	4,01 4,32	0,093
(3) ... Grandfather	m f	3,45 4,04	0,009
(4) ... Grandmother	m f	3,32 3,69	0,116
(5) ... Brother	m f	3,21 3,57	0,167
(6) ... Sister	m f	3,33 3,55	0,388
(7) ... Female friends	m f	3,47 3,50	0,909
(8) ... Male friends	m w	3,70 3,90	0,396
(9) ... Male teachers	m w	3,19 3,15	0,878
(10) ... Female teachers	m w	3,16 3,24	0,771
(11) ... Occupational counsellor	m w	3,08 2,89	0,436

* 1=acted against, 2=did not support, 3=somewhat supported, 4=supported, 5=strongly supported

Both male and female apprentices got a lot of support for their vocational choice from their families – father, mother, even grandparents, siblings and also from friends. Teachers gave only moderate support and occupational counselors were rated as the less supporting persons for choosing an apprenticeship from a technological field. Interestingly, females reported even significantly stronger support for their decision than males from their fathers ($p<.05$) and especially from their grandfathers ($p<.01$). For mothers there was a tendency for greater support to be remembered for their daughters ($p=.09$) (see table 1).

Favorite subjects in primary and secondary school

Table 2. What were your favorite subjects in primary school?*

subject...	sex	Mean	Significance level t-Test (2-tailed)
(1) ... Mathematics	m	3,03	0,001
	f	3,61	
(2) ... German language	m	2,34	0,117
	f	2,06	
(3) ... Social Studies	m	2,73	0,066
	f	3,10	
(4) ... Religion	m	2,02	0,210
	f	1,77	
(5) ...Technical crafts, textile crafts	m	3,01	0,060
	f	3,40	
(6) ... Arts	m	2,56	0,005
	f	3,16	
(7) ... Music	m	2,30	0,002
	f	2,97	
(8) ... Sports	m	3,41	0,378
	f	3,26	

* 1= liked it not at all – 4= favorite subject

A very strong preference for mathematics in their primary school years was reported by both male and female subjects. This preference was even stronger for female subjects since they rated mathematics clearly as their favorite subject ($p<.01$). Girls had liked arts and music significantly better than boys, as a tendency also social studies and crafts. Interestingly girls as well as boys had not been very fond of the subject German language and both liked sports very much (see table 2).

Girls' best liked subjects in secondary school had been mathematics ($M=3.29$) and biology ($M=3.33$), significantly more than for boys ($M=2.92$, $M=2.74$) ($p=.056$, $p<.01$), but boys also liked these subjects. Bothe sexes also had liked vocational studies/technology (males: $M=3.11$; females: $M=3.37$) and reported to have liked sports very much (males: $M=3,36$, females: $M=3.23$). Girls liked arts (females: $M=2.94$; males: $M=2.39$; $p<.05$)) and music (females: $M=2.80$; males: $M=2.29$; $p<.05$) significantly more than boys. This was also the case for the subject business studies (males: $M=2.31$; females: $M=2.79$; $p<.01$). Both male and female apprentices reported only moderate sympathy

for the subject German language (males: M=2.24; females: M=2.19) and for foreign languages (males: M=2.31; females: M=2.26). Chemistry (males: M=2.54; females: M=2.84) and physics (males: M=2.93; females: M=2.68) have been liked better than languages by both sexes.

Implementation of interest in and technology and science during school years

Both males (M=3.12) and females (M=2.90) reported that their teachers had communicated the importance of mathematics and science for a vocation in the technological field during their school years. Their teachers assigned them tasks in mathematics and science that comprised problems that could be solved independently by the students (males: M=2.85; females: M=2.74). Support of parents (males: M=2.85; females: M=2.87) was remembered as stronger than support of teachers (males: M=2.54, females: M=2.45) by both sexes. The implementation of the importance of technology for society by teachers tended to be remembered lower by females (M=2.37) than by males (M=2.68) (p=.06).

Summary and discussion

Summarizing the results of the questionnaire study, it can be stated that female apprentices in the sample had significantly higher school leaving certificates than their male peers. These facts are in line with the results on general gender differences in school achievement all over Europe, and in many non-European countries in the last decades (Quaiser-Pohl & Endepohls-Ulpe, 2016).

In contrast to their male colleagues, females did not judge the profession they chose to be a typical male field, did not at all agree that women have minor abilities in the field and did not see an obstacle for themselves in the fact that women are a minority in this kind of job. They anticipated neither discrimination nor disadvantages in career opportunities for women. In opposition to male apprentices, females did not see that females have minor physical abilities or that they could have difficulties to adapt to male manners. But the young women could also not see any advantages for women in male dominated professions at least compared to the situation of their male peers.

Reasons for women choosing a job in a technological field were their interest in mathematics and science (moderately) as well as a strong interest in the specific profession. Interest in technology and practical work also played a role but significantly less than for their male peers. With respect to job related aims job security in the field of technology had been very important for the choices of both males and females. This was also the case for good earnings and career options.

Female as well as male subjects remembered very strong support and influence from their family in the process of their vocational choice. Fathers, mothers and grandfathers were rated as the most important persons of influence. Even grandmothers and siblings but also friends seemed to play a role. Females' fathers and

grandfathers and by trend also mothers were remembered as even more important than males'. Teachers' support for the choice of a vocation from a technological field was remembered as only moderate by both sexes. Both sexes remembered some influence of schooling with respect to their interest in science and technology, but support from parents seemed to be more important.

Girls had a strong preference for mathematics in their primary as well as in their secondary school years and a rather low sympathy for the subject German language. Subjects from science like biology, physics or chemistry have been liked better than language. Boys' preferences have been similar to those of girls but not so clearly with respect to the big gap in interest between STEM subjects and language.

Results show that female apprentices in technological professions are not conforming to traditional gender stereotypes in several aspects of their achievements, interests and attitudes. They start their apprenticeship with better school certificates than males and already showed distinct preferences for STEM subjects in their early school years combined with a dislike of language. This profile of interests persisted to their secondary school time. This is a typical profile fitting in the male stereotype – and these young women show this pattern even more clearly than their male peers. The only "female" feature they show is a lower interest compared to boys in practical technological activities during their school years – a difference that they have in common with the female engineering students in the study of Endepohls-Ulpe et al. (2012).

Their job related goals are likewise similar to those of their male colleagues – a secure job with good earnings and a good position. In this study – in contrast to the already cited study with university students – no differences to male subjects with respect to job related goals could be shown.

Job related attitudes of female apprentices do not go along with the traditional stereotypes. They do not think that women have minor aptitudes for apprenticeships and jobs in a technological field, have no doubt that women can show the same physical performance than men and above all do not think that the profession they want to learn is a typical male profession. Attitudes of male apprentices were significantly more traditional in these points – even if they did not represent very strong gender stereotypes.

According to results about correlations of social stratum and educational level with gender role attitudes cited above, it can be assumed that gender stereotypes held by the staff of handicraft and industrial enterprises – which beyond that are mostly male – are generally rather traditional. The girls apparently have got and presumably still get support from their families – especially from their male relatives – for their interests and for their vocational choice. But when they are permanently confronted with a social surrounding that has expectations about women's interests, aptitude and behavior that are quite opposite to their self-concepts, the probability of conflict and frustration rises. Maybe some of the reasons for women not to pursue a career as a master craftsman or trainer can be found in this field. Thus, supporting measures to

encourage these young women to continue pursuing their goals and interests appear to be of great importance.

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Cindy Hanson

Canada's Indian Residential Schools, intersectionality and decolonizing adult education

Warning: the content of this paper may contain triggers regarding sexual abuse

Community activism and social justice largely shaped the field of adult education in Canada (Selman & Dampier, 1991; Nesbit, Brigham, Taber, & Gibb, 2013). Despite this rich history of community work and social justice, adult education in Canada has not adequately dealt with Canada's colonial history and the push for Indigenous-settler reconciliation and Indigenous adult learning. By presenting a critical perspective on Canada's Indian Residential School settlement policies, I intend to share how Canada's colonial history may in fact be analyzed and interrogated using an intersectional lens along with community-led adult and intergenerational learning. My perspectives come from decades of living with Indigenous people and working as an ally in many and diverse ways.

Indian Residential Schools

Canada had a long history of mandatory residential schooling for its Indigenous[1] population. Indian Residential Schools (IRS) in Canada operated from 1831 to 1996 (Legacy of Hope, 2001) making the IRS history longer than the history of Canada (i.e. Confederation) itself. The schools were made compulsory under the 1876 *Indian Act*. Canada's Indian Act came into effect in 1876. The *Indian Act* determines who is a status Indian and therefore a federal responsibility, entitled to treaty and other benefits, and who is not (Regan 2010) and it also has controlled all aspects of the lives of Indian [sic] people. Although it has been amended numerous times, it still exists as government legislation in Canada.

Indian Residential Schools can be considered a historic policy widely understood as having had, as their central objective, the forced assimilation of Canada's Indigenous populations (Regan, 2010). Some have labelled Indian Residential Schools a form of genocide (Silver, 2013). Christian churches and the government operated the schools over a period of 165 years – a period that damaged the lives of 150,000

1 The terms Indigenous and Aboriginal are both contested terms used in this paper. Aboriginal is a colonial term that the federal government designates to lump Canada's main Indigenous peoples – the Métis, First Nations and the Inuit together for constitutional and legal purposes. Aboriginal gradually replaced most uses of Indian as a term of recognition in Canada but since Indian Residential Schools (IRS) existed before Canada became a country the term Aboriginal was not used as a descriptor of the schools. Indigenous is used to define people originating from a particular place and the term refers to peoples protected globally through the United Nations.

Indigenous children, their families and communities (Regan, 2010). The damages inflicted upon individuals and communities as a result of the schools are best viewed as intergenerational and continue to this day.

The long-term intergenerational impacts of the Indian Residential School system began when children were removed from their families. This caused trauma, grief, and irreconcilable senses of loss to parents, children, extended families, and communities. In the School children suffered neglect, hardship, forced labour, physical and sexual abuse along with the losses of culture and language (Unrau & Snyder, 2007).

Children already suffering from the pain of Indian Residential School abuses returned home to parents who could not cope with the heartbreaking loss of their children (Hanson, 2016). Many parents were IRS students and survivors themselves. The schools took away knowledge of traditional Indigenous childrearing practices and a sense of balance between personal autonomy and responsibility to family and community that traditional practices taught (Anderson, 2011). The scope of the intergenerational residential schools legacy was broad and devastating.

The survivors of Indian Residential School often internalized these experiences and re-entered their home communities with negative learned behaviours (Harrison, 2009). The support and validation the former students needed to resolve their painful experiences and to reconnect with traditional teachings was not always available from parents who were themselves dealing with the trauma of having been raised in residential schools (Anderson, 2011). Important in this regard is the knowledge that Indigenous learning cannot be separated from intergenerational learning, or that Indigenous learning is considered relational and community based. I will return to these ideas, but first I discuss two ideas linked to this chapter: 1) the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRS settlement) which the Canadian government called Canada's policy aimed at *reconciliation and healing* – (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010) and, 2) the theory and practice of intersectionality and why it is important in reviewing the IRS settlement process.

Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement

The Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement was signed in 2006. It was Canada's response (endorsed by all federal political parties) to litigation (brought on as early as the mid-1990s by survivors of Indian Residential Schools). Faced with spending millions of dollars in court damages for abuses incurred at the schools themselves, the Canada's federal government instead decided to negotiate an agreement with all the stakeholders of Indian Residential Schools (that is, [a few] Aboriginal survivors, the Church, and the government). The Settlement included five main components: a common payment for all former students of IRS for loss of language and culture; an endowment for healing; support for commemorative activities; establishment of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission; and the establishment of a compensation policy for dealing with claims of sexual or serious physical abuse – the

Independent Assessment Process (Aboriginal & Northern Affairs Canada, 2010). The compensation process, the IAP, is the topic of my past and current research.[2]

The IAP provided witness that over half of all living IRS survivors had experienced serious physical and sexual abuse (Indian Residential School Secretariat, 2014). In itself, the large number of compensated survivors, approximately 38,000 (Indian Residential School Secretariat, 2017), attested to the widespread abuse at the schools and paid for through the (IAP) out-of-court settlement process. Through a Supreme Court of Canada decision, the federal government has vowed to destroy the testimonies delivered through the IAP within destroyed in 15 years (Fine, 2016). This is largely due to the fact that the IAP was considered part of common law where individual rights are held as sacrosanct. Thus it is only if individual survivors opt to make their hearing public, that their records will be saved. That this is enacted through a relationship with a lawyer is part of the problem. Destroying the records will leave a tremendous gap in the public's understanding of Indigenous-settler colonial history. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (2015) accused Canada of cultural genocide in the way the School's were operated. That the government will now destroy these records is disturbing irrespective or the kind of law it supports. Europe had several historic examples of colonialism, genocide, militarism and so on. These examples attest to the importance of making this history public and broadly comprehended. This is one area where adult learning could play a pivotal role.

Compensation, reconciliation and education

The IAP is unique to Canada as individual based cash compensations have not been part of other reconciliation policies worldwide. This says much about Indian-settler relations in Canada and it says even more about the need for a public pedagogy to bring this learning into popular history and memory.[3]

Many delineations of reconciliation, including those used by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), called for an acknowledgment of the deep legacy of colonialism in Canada that continues to impact social, political and economic structures. The current path of reconciliation in Canada is being recognized as flawed because it is a top-down approach that frequently emphasizes settler values and monetary benefits (Green, 2012). Certainly the idea that reconciliation comes through a cash settlement is problematic. There is an acknowledgment that reconciling views will require personal and collective shifts that emphasize opportunities for Indigenous agency and actions (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009) and impor-

2 My initial study on the IAP was called *Who Benefits: Compensation and Women's Experience of Healing from Indian Residential Schools*. That community-based study is complete.

3 To address gaps in public understandings of the IAP I am working on a second study about the IAP called *Reconciling Perspectives and Building Public Memory: Learning from the Independent Assessment Process*. It is funded by Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

tantly, that recognize how power is embedded and resisted in the process. Whether this is actually possible remains circumspect and is worthy of additional study.

The history and process of attempted reconciliation regarding Indian Residential Schools leave behind many questions for adult educators and the field of adult education. Is the role of adult education to expose this Indigenous-settler history to a wider audience? How might adult education and research begin to determine, develop, and implement effective strategies for transferring knowledge about the Indian Residential Schools and other colonial acts into public pedagogies and, more explicitly, into future processes of reconciliation? How might public pedagogies that merge intersections of "culture, media, informal sites of learning, democratic education, and social activism" (Sandlin, Malley, & Burdick, 2011, p. 339) provide opportunities for extending knowledge about this history? How might an uninformed public develop consciousness about "reconciliation in action"? How does intersectionality allow us to interrogate more deeply the different perspectives around compensation and redress? Clearly the IRS settlement policies under the IAP and administered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission required a complex lens – one that goes beyond settler-colonial relations. An intersectional approach may offer the complexity necessary for such an analysis.

Expanding the analysis with intersectionality

Intersectionality is a theory and practice that challenges reductive ways of framing difference. It "refers to *both* a normative theoretical argument *and* an approach to conducting empirical research that emphasizes the interaction of categories of difference (including but not limited to race, gender, class, and sexual orientation)" (Hancock, 2007, p. 63).

Critical approaches to intersectionality seek social justice by revealing and responding to the ways that people can be both oppressed and privileged when their identities or social positions *intersect* with each other, and within social structures. Intersectionality assumes that peoples' experiences are deeply affected by social and political systems that are largely created by dominant groups. The IAP is no exception. Although Indigenous people were considered stakeholders in developing the model, the dominant ideologies of the State and legal frameworks were held sacrosanct.

The contribution of intersectionality to public policy is helpful for thinking about the structural effects of colonization. The construction of the Independent Assessment Process, unlike other parts of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement or other examples of reconciliation (for example, Rwanda, South Africa, Chile), relied on individual law and personal/individual compensation (that is, Western knowledge and values and common law). If intersectional and Indigenous approaches had been used, it is more likely that communities would have been the focus. As a former Indigenous friend and scholar pointed out, "The impact of individualization of our legal relations moves Aboriginal nations further away from our traditions,

which are kinship-based and collective. That women are the focus of these trends cannot escape our attention" (Monture, 2014, p. 77).

An intersectional lens points out other problems with the IAP model – that is, for example, in the design of the model the stakeholders used a unitary definition of survivor – that is, the model did not recognize gender, class, ethnicity (nationhood); class, traditional lands, communities, languages, etc. Thus when the IAP hearings compensated for harms or acts of abuse the categories in the model privileged the male body (Hanson, 2016), heterosexual relations, the English language, individual versus collective harms and so on. The impacts of this in policy and legal practices are best summed up in the words of the women who experienced the IAP as survivors of the Indian Residential Schools or as adjudicators (judges) in the process. As a scholar concerned with the way Canada continues to implement the IAP as a model for compensating survivors of abuses suffered at the Residential Schools, I worked with an Indigenous community organization to implement a gender and diversity analysis of the IAP. The study demonstrated how women's lives and experiences were excluded from compensation and how hetero-normative, male bodies were privileged (Hanson, 2016). Emphasizing compensation models that taken into account the many ways that discriminatory factors such as race, sex and class can combine to create inequality and exclusion is one way to build policies and programs that more truly reflect a spirit of reconciliation and healing.

The quotes that follow came from participants in my first IAP study, they demonstrated how the absence of an intersectional lens created a model that privileged male bodies and heterosexuality, that valued only paid work, and that ignored differences between the over 50 Indigenous nations in Canada. The sources of the quotes were interviews with adjudicators in the process– they are all women; both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. In particular, the categories of compensation (and harms) in the model and the way it was developed was criticized by feminist adjudicators.

> This process is really based on what the common law is. Traditional work such as hunting, trapping is recognized … that's easier to recognize because there is a proven history, but women's work is not. It's not different from other cases, where women's work is not valued (adjudicator, interview).

> The other problem is that some of the model comes out of our understanding of abuse by male pedophiles which is about sexual gratification. … I don't think female pedophiles or women who abuse sexually are well understood and haven't been incorporated into the model (adjudicator, interview).

> One or more incidents of attempted anal or vaginal penetration – excluded digital penetration – the thing is when is an attempt proven? How close do you have to be to prove? You can have a narrow interpretation i.e. pants down; might be attempted rape but penetration is the emphasis on that section. There is something missing. Penetration, not the pre-cursor, is the emphasis (adjudicator, interview).

> The acts were not defined in a sexual abuse model. Sexual abuse model is about *power – power and control over a child*. I think what they've tried to do in the model is say, "This is sexual assault", … and what could be sexual assault – so they've plugged in the male model. But some the acts should have been defined in their own terms not using terms like fondling. Fondling can't just mean a caress, right? (adjudicator, interview)

> A Northern Cree woman and a Mohawk woman have a very different way of explaining sexual assault. In Cree I don't think there is a word for it, they have to describe it. Meanwhile the adjudicator is looking for credibility and the speaker [Survivor] may think their description in English is making sense when it's not (adjudicator, interview).

> They (policy-makers) chose steps because they had to make a chart that differentiated different acts. The law doesn't do that. Here they chose a chart and that's to find uniformity. … but by doing that you're creating something that doesn't exist in the law and then I think you needed more thought and conversation about sexual acts. The construction of the steps was made very narrowly and sexual assault doesn't happen like that (adjudicator, interview).

To encourage a public understanding of how the model discriminated, I wrote an opinion piece for a daily newspaper. In particular it explains how the model, by ignoring a gender analysis had discriminated against women because it failed to recognize and value unpaid work. Here is a quote from that op-ed which illustrates this point:

> The government states the goals of the IAP are "healing and reconciliation." It is hard to imagine that recalling serious physical or sexual abuse from childhood memories, which are then judged and assessed a level of compensation under the IAP model, is a form of healing or reconciliation. What's more, the model discriminates by not valuing care-giving or unpaid work — work done mainly by women. A prairie-based [Canadian], community-university gender analysis of the IAP demonstrates several ways the model discriminates. One finding was the irreparable cost, frequently born by the indigenous mothers, of losing their children — a cost the model did not acknowledge or support. For example, the IAP compensates former residential school students for loss of income or opportunity if the abuse they suffered at the schools can be linked to their inability to hold or function in paid employment or in succeeding with educational pursuits. But the model fails to compensate survivors if the abuse they suffered at Indian Residential Schools led to substance use or social dysfunction that disrupted family functioning, leading to a child welfare system's apprehension of their children. … It is ironic that although Indian Residential Schools trained indigenous women to be domestics and caretakers, the removal of children by child welfare authorities is not compensable. This omission of valuing unpaid work is not unique to the IAP model as other Canadian legislation also fails to value unpaid work traditionally done by women (Hanson, March 2, 2017).

Using a framework that brings together Indigenous and Western knowledge might have contributed to building a policy model that would have more closely modeled the complexities of people lives and priorities. Instead, as several survivors in the study noted, the IAP re-traumatized survivors and provided little or no healing or reconciliation (Hanson, 2016).

Redress and resistance: Alternative approaches and adult learning

Supporting alternative approaches to redress historical wrongs and to make that (new) knowledge accessible to a wider audience may be central to healing Indigenous-settler relations in Canada and by extending an analysis of this learning into communities and public spaces adult education can play an important role. I close with a few ideas on how this might take place.

Many Indigenous peoples and communities in Canada continue to experience the intergenerational impacts of Indian Residential Schools. These manifest in high levels of violence, crime, addictions and suicide. Canada's historical legacy of Indian Residential Schools garnered public criticism with the release of the report of the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) in part, I believe because it forced the Canadian public to admit the shocking legacy of colonialism. Although Canadian adult education movements have been influential in shaping community activism, local and international development and social justice activities worldwide, few studies have documented what adult educators would consider public knowledge regarding adult learning in key settler/Indigenous events (for example, the TRC and Indian Residential Schools). This knowledge, is necessary however, so that the truth which leads to reconciliation is considered.

Intersectional and multi-faceted perspectives and worldviews (particularly privileging Indigenous knowledges) are necessary to holistically embrace the decolonization of adult learning. Indigenous scholars, Anuik, Battiste, and George (2010) discuss ideas like the learning spirit that informs lifelong learning. Others suggest an integration of Indigenous worldviews. Munroe, Borden, Orr, Toney and Meader (2013), for example, view mainstream education as alien to indigenous people's worldview. They posit that "decolonizing perspectives rooted in Indigenous knowledge is one way to bring about greater success for Aboriginal students while preserving cultural identities and Indigenous languages" (Mender, 2013, p. 320). Indigenization is one approach through which this is being realized in higher education. "Through a process known as indigenization, many universities are making a conscious effort to bring indigenous people, as well as their philosophies and cultures, into strategic plans, governance roles, academics, research and recruitment" (McDonald, 2016, p. 1). Although indigenization is not without challenges in theory and practice, there is an emerging literature about its application. A path of decolonizing adult education will likely need to integrate both indigenization and intersectionality to get at the complexity of lived lives and identities.

Negotiating spaces and relations

As mentioned earlier, a closer examination of colonialism ultimately requires understanding the depths of violence and injustice committed. A decolonizing space for research and action built on relationships and dialogue is, in my experience, largely community-based. A discussion about colonialism and historical injustices and how they continue to impact social, political and economic structures (Flisfeder, 2010) is not only timely in Canada, it is urgent.

Community-based learning and inquiry offers an evolving and fluid space for continual learning, intergenerational sharing, and participatory and democratic communication. In my experience working on community-based learning can take a researcher in directions never anticipated or expected. For example, last year in Austria I spoke about research I did on the IAP (Hanson, 2016) and how that study, along with another study on intergenerational learning in Indigenous textiles actually taught me the location from which reconciliation can emerge – that is, within communities engaged in intergenerational learning that are linked to traditions and cultural regeneration. Clearly we must integrate Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies with intersectional approaches if pedagogies of practice are to build decolonizing spaces – spaces where adult learning can add value to lived lives and to contribute to healing historical injustices.

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Mariya Ivanova & Aneta Dimitrova

Improving the socio-economic integration of Roma women through adult education

Abstract: The study authors were provoked and inspired by the international initiative "Decade of Roma Inclusion", as well as a number other europian and national initiatives aimed at ideas for social inclusion, equal opportunities and overcoming discrimination of Roma women. The main objective of the survey is to collect information about the educational status and access of Roma women to education forms for adults, to assess these data in comparison to the status and learning opportunities throughout the life of the general population in Bulgaria, as well as to compare the situation Roma women against Roma men. The main focus of the analysis is placed on restrictions that Roma women face when seeking educational services; specifics of Roma women attitude to lifelong learning; key factors that influence learning opportunities to Roma women; the role of existing educational programs for the integration of Roma women. The authors analyzed the posts of Bulgarian state institutions, NGOs, agencies polls, the Institute of Demography and the Institute of Sociology at BAS, as well as data from the National Institute of Statistics and Eurostat. Valuable information has been provided by various Roma organizations in Bulgaria. Systematized information allows tracking the trends and dynamics of the studied characteristics and formulates reasoned conclusions and recommendations.

Introduction

The stigmatization and persecution that the Roma people have been exposed to for centuries are important factors for the formation of their ethnic identity and cultural patterns. Macro-society builds difficult barriers against the Roma, keeping them to an extremely low social status, defining their culture as undeveloped, primitive, and their way of life and behavior as condemnatory.

The socio-economic integration of the Roma women is a particularly important issue affecting the economic political and cultural development of Bulgaria, since the Roma are the third largest ethnic group in the country with a tendency to increase. According to data from the National Statistical Institute, 325343 people or 4,9% of Bulgarian citizens (0,2% more than 2001) were identified as Roma during the census of the population in 2011. At this census, there was a problem regarding the accuracy of the data received: not all citizens who originally belong to an ethnic group are self-identified with such an origin. According to unofficial data from Roma organizations that have carried out their own census, the Roma population in Bulgaria is about twice the official number, about 700,000 people, making them the most numerous minority. Roma are a community with the earliest marriages and family cohabitation in the country. About 80% of Roma create families before 18 years of

age (Vassileva, 2009). This leads to early school dropouts, to their systematic fall out from the labor market, to mass and deep poverty, to segregated neighborhoods with poor housing conditions and to diminishing parental and educational control over children, hampering their socialization and the transfer of values and the rules of the macro-society. On the other hand, a number of peculiarities in the demographic behavior of the Roma are exaggerated by politicians and the media, and periodically (especially before elections) lead to moral outrages about the "demographic invasion of the Roma", presented as a rapid demographic and cultural "melting" of the Bulgarians. Demographic fears are the reason for strong negative attitudes and widespread prejudice to Roma women. The integration of the Roma population is a two-way process – it requires the participation of both, the minority and the majority, and does not exclude the preservation of diversity. Integration focuses on development – the minority should have the same opportunities for personal and professional development as the majority. Integrated people can identify themselves on the basis of ethnic or national origin, without creating tension or provoking intolerance. An essential moment in the integration of the Roma community is the social adaptation of Roma women. According to Emile Durkheim (as quoted in Terziev & Dimitrova, 2013) „the adaptation is the adaptation of the internal organization of man to the norms existing in the society. On the individual level, the adaptation is expressed through the acceptance by man of the dominant public morality, the realization of his or her duty to the society, manifested in his or her thoughts, goals and actions" (p. 90). Under the social adaptation of Roma women, we mean the process of an active adaptation to a particular environment, resulting in a balance between individual activity and the environment. Knowing the regularities of the process of personality adaptation in civil society is the basis for developing specific measures for its regulation.

Empirical research

The authors of the survey are inspired by the International Initiative "Decade of Roma Inclusion", the European Parliament's Resolution on the European Roma Strategy, the National Strategy and the Framework Program for Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society, as well as a number of other international and national initiatives aimed at the consistent and practical realization of the ideas for social inclusion, equal opportunities and overcoming the discrimination of Roma women.

Objectives of the study are Roma women of fertile age. *The main purpose of the survey* is to gather reliable information about the educational status and access of Roma women to education even as adults, to evaluate this data compared to the status and opportunities for lifelong learning of the rest of the population in Bulgaria and to compare the situation of Roma women towards Roma men.

Methodology of research

Approach to data

The main approach applied during the research process is the one of intersectionality, by which the different aspects of the factors that influence a woman's life can be analyzed and described. This leads to a constant revisitation of previous works on the subject as new implications arise to enrich our views (McBride, Hebson, & Holgate, 2009). In addition, this concept provides a way for researchers to evaluate the multiple social systems (including, but not limited to ethnicity, age, sexuality, able-ness, gender, etc.) that determine together the experiences of human life (Collins, 1986, 1990; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Research such as this one requires arriving at a comprehensive result, a careful methodological approach and consideration. The most extensive review of such approaches up to current date is done by MCall in 2005, on whose tripartite classification we develop a comparative framework. Sharing the opinion of Ajnesh Prasad, David Woodard, and Ahir Gopaldas (2009) that „intersectionality can be applied to any systematic study of difference, among or within social systems, in economic, cognitive, social, or cultural processes, in quantitative or qualitative research" (p. 789–790). To integrate the wider variety of meanings, connected to intersectionality – as a guideline set, as methodological practices set, as a theoretical perspective or as a social phenomenon – we describe it as a paradigm, in which categories are integrated into subjects, thus producing unique social experiences. It should be noted that despite the above, the intersectionality paradigm leaves the empirical investigation open to interpretations, instead of focusing on highlighting the potential of systems to be integrated and to propose methods for such integration. It also postulates that the nature of any subject is multi-faceted and internally dynamic; thus, the paradigm is used to a) enrich the life experiences of the oppressed groups and b) reveal the matrix of their oppression.

Taken into account the experience of the authors described above and the objectives of the present study, we place the main focus on the analysis of: the limitations that Roma women encounter in seeking educational services; outlining the specifics of their attitude towards lifelong learning; tracking the living conditions, cultural and social characteristics and identifying key factors that influence learning opportunities for Roma women. An attempt is made to differentiate the impact of factors common to all women in Bulgaria and especially those to Roma women as well as the specificities of Roma women's adaption. The role of available educational programs for the integration of Roma women is assessed.

Sources of information

Publications of Bulgarian state institutions, non-governmental organizations, sociological research agencies, the Institute of Demography and the Institute of Sociology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, as well as data from the National Statistical Institute and Eurostat are analyzed. Valuable information has been provided by vari-

ous Roma organizations in Bulgaria such as the Center for Interethnic Dialogue and Tolerance "Amalipe" – Veliko Tarnovo, Women's Independent Roma Organization "Carmen" – Razgrad, Women's Roma Association "Good Mother" – Vardun village, Association of Roma women and children "Nadezhda".

Study limitations

This report presents the findings between October 2015 and February 2017. The systematized information enables the tracing of the trends and dynamics of the studied characteristics, the formulation of well-founded conclusions and recommendations. Unfortunately, some of the sources do not provide comparable information on all of the indicators surveyed. In many cases, information refers to the main population or to the Roma community as a whole. Despite these constraints, comparing the selected set of data with those of the self-study allows for the formulation of precise hypotheses and conclusions.

Methods of research

Respondents are residents of three distinct Roma districts in Sofia (the capital city of the Republic of Bulgaria). Respondents are chosen randomly in the streets of the Roma neighborhoods. The size of the sample of interviewed persons is 60 (35 women and 25 men). They are at different ages. As expected, most of the respondents find it difficult to read and write, but all respondents understand the Bulgarian language. They can speak in "broken" Bulgarian.

The method used to contact respondents is a direct personal interview (on the street). A questionnaire was developed to conduct a structured interview, containing 15 questions that are divided into two parts. The first part of the questionnaire includes general information about the respondents – gender, age, level of education, professional engagement, organization in which he/she works. The second part of the questionnaire includes questions related to the subject of the survey. The questionnaire focuses on research on Roma women and their real experiences. The psychological research focuses on Roma women attitudes of life long learning. Through the qualitative research, it is attempted to explain the behavior of the Roma women – "why" she acts in one way or another, makes one or another choice and how the motivation is established. The working language of the questionnaire is Bulgarian because it is designed to explore practices in Bulgaria. The authors of the survey interviewed the respondents and recorded the answers to the questionnaires. Because of their experience in communicating with Roma, interviewers have gathered information that is accurate, clear and understandable in Bulgarian. The questionnaire is distributed on paper and not electronically because most Roma families do not have an e-mail.

The research project uses a combination of group discussions and in-depth interviews. In this way, the limitations of the two methods are overcome, and the strength

of the qualitative approach of research is increased. The aim of the Roma group discussions is to understand the attitudes and practices of the Roma community in depth, to explore their perceptions of equality and integration of the Roma woman, to identify the types of Roma educated, to establish the decision-making process and the way in which the Roma woman makes her choice, to identify her integration and learning needs. Group discussions were conducted with a total of 12 Roma families on the street of the respective neighborhoods through spontaneous questions. Through the other focus group, the attitudes of people with Bulgarian citizenship to the education of the Roma were studied. Gatherings of parents, waiting for their children in the yard of three schools, were collected.

The results obtained do not claim representation, however, a comparison of selected array available to those survey allows the precise formulation of useful conclusions.

Results of the study

General information about the respondents

The age groups are divided according to the understanding of the stages in educational and career development:

- 11–14 period of primary education, 15–18 secondary education, 18+ higher education period;
- 18–25 period of apprenticeship, 26–54 period of approval in the profession, 55–64 period during which the employee can shape the direction of development of the organization.

In view of the object and the subject of the survey, people over the age of 65 and people between 7–10 years in a period of primary education are not included for interviewing. Predominant is the percentage of respondents aged 18–25 with 53%, then is the percentage of respondents aged 26–54 with 30%; the less is the percentage of respondents aged 11–14 with 12%, and even less is the percentage of respondents aged 55–64 with 5%. The percentage of respondents without education is 10% (of which 9% are women), with basic education is 88% (38% are women), with secondary education is 2% (only men). On the question "Are you working somewhere?", 85% of the interviewed Roma women give a negative answer, 10% say they have a permanent job and the other 5% are temporarily employed. For Roma men, 35% responded with a negative answer, 30% said they had a permanent job, while the remaining 35% were temporarily employed.

Demographic characteristics

In addition to the empirical research, official government documents and statistics were analyzed. The received information shows the following:

According to data from the National Statistical Institute of 2011, illiterate Bulgarians are 0.5% and the Roma -11.8%, where there are twice as many illiterate women as men. Roma women who have completed basic and secondary education are respectively 36.9% and 4.23% of the Roma community, and, for comparison, the average values for the country are 26% and 40.54% (Pamporov, Kolev, Krumova, & Yordanov, 2008). The largest number of the Roma dropouts is in the lower secondary school. According to the Amalipe Center survey (2011), the average age of the first partner cohabitation for Roma people with unfinished primary education is 16 years, with 50% of the Roma with the lowest education already having a partner. There is the trend of increasing the number of girls who born their babies under 16 years old. The Partners of Bulgaria Foundation (2005) conducted a survey according to which "two-thirds of the Roma who have never worked are women" (p. 12). The results of a 2007 Amalipe Center survey on the status of the Roma woman support these data and strengthen them as a trend. According to the latest survey, only 31% of women work. The percentage of women retired by sickness (6%) is also relatively high (Krumova & Ilieva, 2008).

As a result of the comperative analysis, the following trends are identified. The results are valid for Roma women from the Sofia Roma neighborhoods, which is confirmed by the interviews conducted in 2017 by the authors of the survey. Moreover, it has been established that there is a proportional link between the level of education, the health status and the well-being of Roma women. Even the type of secondary education has a significant impact. For Roma women who have completed secondary vocational schools, the average age of the first partnership cohabitation is 22 years.

Macroeconomic and legal prerequisites for the integration of Roma women in Bulgaria

The United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, the European Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights, focus on the equality of people on different grounds and the need to combat discrimination. The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action on the Rights of Women define the gender equality process for people; The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. The Republic of Bulgaria, as a member of the UN and the EU, has signed international documents and has committed itself to observe these policies and to align its legislation with them. In the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria (Article 6, (2)), it is stated that "All people are born free and equal in dignity and rights. All citizens are equal before the law. No restrictions on rights or privileges based on race, nationality, ethnicity, gender, background, religion, education, belief, political affiliation, personal and social status or property status shall be permitted" (p. 1).

Legal regulation of gender discrimination in Bulgaria is carried out through:
• The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (Article 23) – "Equality

between women and men must be guaranteed in all areas, including employment, labor and remuneration. The principle of equality does not prevent the maintenance or adoption of measures providing for specific advantages in favor of the under-represented sex" (p. 4); • European Pact for Gender Equality (2011–2020); • Act on Equality between Men and Women (2016) – the law governs the implementation of the state policy on equal opportunities for women and men in all spheres of public, economic and political life; equal access to all resources in society; non-discrimination and violence; balanced representation in all decision-making bodies; overcoming gender stereotypes; • Protection against Discrimination Act; • Labor Code – Art. (3) "In the implementation of labor rights and obligations, direct or indirect discrimination based on nationality, origin, sex, sexual orientation, race, color, age, political and religious beliefs, membership in trade unions and other social organizations and movements, family and material status, the presence of mental or physical disabilities, as well as differences in the duration of the contract and the length of working time" (p. 2); • Social security code; • The Law on National Education; • Higher Education Act.

The state works to protect the social and political rights of women and men, promotes equality in employment, pay and social security, vocational training and career development, reconciliation of work and family life, and the right to use parental leave, of their ethnicity.

Legal regulation of gender discrimination in relation to equal work opportunities is achieved by:

- National Employment Action Plan (2017): Support for increasing the growth potential of the economy by providing a quality workforce and increasing the employment of quality jobs in the real economy of jobseekers, including disadvantaged groups on the labor market, priority of the least developed regions.
- National Strategy for Promoting Equality between Men and Women (2016–2020). The priority areas of the strategy are: increasing women's participation in the labor market and an equal degree of economic independence; reducing gender pay and income gaps; promoting equality between women and men in decision-making processes; combating gender-based violence and protecting and supporting victims; changing gender stereotypes in society in different spheres of public life. The National Strategy for Promoting Gender Equality identifies key actions for progress in each priority area.
- National Council on Gender Equality – has the main function to advise the Council of Ministers on all issues related to the development and coordination of equality policy between men and women in all spheres of life. Employees are appointed at a central, regional and local level and responsible for the implementation of gender equality policy.

In Bulgarian society, the model of democratic pluralism, protection of human rights and fundamental human freedoms is established. Successful socio-institutional

democratization, harmonization of public attitudes with those of developed European communities continues. Efforts are being made to support positive processes for the development of interethnic relations, shorten the gap in intercultural dialogue, foster the processes of integration of minority communities in Bulgarian society and achieve sustainable results. A Framework Program for Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society was adopted in Bulgaria. The Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015 is officially launched. Eight prime ministers of European countries signed a declaration stating their political will to solve the problems of the Roma community.

Legislation, Employers and Retraining of Roma Women

According to the Protection against Discrimination Act, the Anti-Trafficking Act, the Law on Combating Domestic Violence, the Child Protection Act, some provisions in the Family Code, collective bargaining agreements, etc., the legislator seeks prevention and through positive measures strives to the implementation of a policy of equal opportunities. Under Bulgarian law, organizations have the freedom to manage their employees, taking into account the specifics of every person. The employer has the possibility to set up a common organization in the enterprise, regulating the same regime for all employees by incorporating it into the Internal Staff Regulations. The employer itself creates conditions for qualification and re-qualification of the personnel. However, the availability of laws and policies is not a guarantee that the notion of equality has become part of the minds of employers. A survey by Partners Bulgaria Foundation (2004) highlights the disadvantage of a Roma woman on the labor market: two-thirds of Roma who have never worked are women. The results of a 2007 Amalipe Center survey on the status of a Roma woman support this data – only 31% of women work. The results of the empirical survey show that 85% of the interviewed Roma women are not currently working, and 74% of them – have never worked because of the lack of the necessary education.

Findings and interpretations

Problems with the illiteracy of Roma girls and women is a major factor in their segregation. There is a serious imbalance in the education of Bulgarians and Roma. For Roma children, illiteracy reaches a startling figure of 64% (Simeonova, Korudzhieva, & Petrova, 2007). The main reasons why Roma women do not have free access to education are:

- The status of the Roma woman in the family and its unjust position, which are determined by the ethno-cultural model and the strong patriarchal character of the Roma community. This is the man who stops the process even when the woman is willing to learn. The foremost traditional role of the woman is mainly related to the birth, rearing and upbringing of the children. Some parents do not drop their daughters at school out of fear they could be stolen. For the

Roma, it is extremely important that the young girl does not engage in sexual intercourse until the marriage union ensues, and in the event of sexual maturity, she is leaving school and marrying in minor age. A large proportion of Roma women are subject to the Roma tradition of creating early family relationships that are becoming less perishable but continue to stop the education process. Many Roma girls between the ages of 13 and 15, in some cases earlier, fall victim to the tradition of marriage by being sold by their parents, or by themselves – on the example of their relatives – wanting to end their education and to create a family. This is usually preceded by irregular attendance at school, lack of interest in the learning process and total ignoring school commitments and obligations.

- This in turn leads to further reproduction of the social disintegration model of the Roma community and neglect of education among adolescents. Women are the ones who care for the children. Their illiteracy or low education has a great impact on the child's educational aspirations and school success. Of great importance for adapting and retaining Roma children at school is the position occupied by the Roma mother. Because of illiteracy, children are begging, rummaging through garbage, or dealing with illegal things – drug addiction, prostitution, theft.
- Those who have received secondary or higher education, and those Roma who realize the necessity of such, are two small groups of Roma women. There is a third group of Roma women for whom education is not a necessity and which even prevents educational institutions from working to integrate Roma women and children. Good education is not a value for most Roma. Roma parents decide to send their children to school to receive social benefits, not because they understand the role of school in shaping the character and values of the child.
- Roma women are not motivated to learn because they do not see the importance of education because of employers' discriminatory attitudes and weaker job opportunities.
- Poverty, low standard of living and domestic violence also lead to a sense of hopelessness and a lack of vision for the future. The inertia of everyday life in which the Roma woman is involved, is a serious obstacle to the destruction of traditional stereotypes and the negative motivation towards education. Roma parents point out reasons why they tear their children out of school – lack of enough clothing and training materials; the need for children to care for younger children or to work to financially support the family; lack of motivation to learn as the school does not integrate them and children feel isolated, especially when they do not understand Bulgarian.
- There are fears among Roma that Bulgarian schools assimilate their children. They prefer to learn among their community. "There are contradictory views about the existence of schools for Roma children only, resulting from migratory processes rather than segregation policies. Government and local authorities are making efforts to create mixed schools that offer quality education for all children regardless of ethnicity" (Simeonova et al., 2007, p.2).

- A serious problem is the low motivation of the Roma to integrate with the Bulgarian society, as well as their unwillingness to increase their educational status. They feel rejected, but they say they are different and identify themselves as "we, the gypsies" with the self-confidence of a different ethnic community, consciously form Roma ghettos, seek contact only with themselves. Many of these people refuse to be integrated and cooperate with the institutions working in this direction.
- Impact on education and social adaptation of Roma women also has their domicile. In small towns and villages, there are problems with access to schools and quality education, as well as in some cases there is lack of schools in the settlement. This predetermines the attitude of learning Roma women. One of the respondents shares the following: "We, here in the village do not have to learn and educate. In the different seasons berry different fruits – apples, cherries." In contrast to the villages in the big cities, more Roma women are turning to education because they think it gives them more job opportunities and they hope to help their children. A 28-year-old Roma woman from Sofia says, „My mother was the first in the family who graduated from school and wanted me and my sister to get farther. I graduated high school with honors. Then I graduated with a bachelor, now I will be driving a master's degree."
- The religious affiliation influence on the education and social adaptation of Roma women. There is a difference in attitudes towards education depending on religion. A 18-year-old Romani Muslim woman (respondent) says, "I wanted to study, but my husband does not give. However, he has graduated from school. We are Muslims and that is why the woman must first look at her family". Philip (respondent), who is a Christian, tells the following: "Now my wife, Mary, is going to an evening school. I'm proud of her".
- The prejudice of Bulgarians towards the Roma also makes it difficult for those Roma women who have the desire for and the access to education. As a result of the survey of the attitudes of Bulgarian citizens to the Roma, the following prejudices are outlined: "Roma are privileged towards the Bulgarians. They cannot be trusted; Roma have a propensity for crime. Lazy and irresponsible; Do not appreciate education. All Roma are the same and their behavior is the same. My child will not learn with a Roma" (respondent says).

Conclusion

The Roma woman experiences double discrimination – on the one hand, from society and on the other from the Roma community itself. Traditions in the Roma community create obstacles for Roma girls and women to obtain education and the possibility of continuous learning. The educational process of Roma women is indispensable for their social integration. Roma integration brings economic and social benefits to society – reducing crime, reducing mortality, full labor and so on. In the Republic of Bulgaria, there is an effective legislation that protects the interests of

women. Programs for the protection of the Roma minority have also been developed and implemented. Roma associations that support the learning and development of Roma women are successfully operating. Nevertheless, the problem of the slow pace of socio-economic integration of Roma women remains unresolved. The reasons can be found in the characteristics of the patriarchal Roma community, the place of the woman in this community, the lack of motivation to learn and the negative attitude towards the training institutions.

It is necessary to carry out the following activities in order to change the status of women in the Roma society and to ensure the access to education:

- Approving and introducing mechanisms for working with Roma parents to motivate them to support the education of girls in the family. These mechanisms must be consistent with the group differences in the Roma community. They should include a wide range of activities: school meetings, family visits, community events, involving all stakeholders.
- Introducing appropriate forms of continuing education and legalization of skills acquired outside the system of compulsory education levels that are consistent with the parent's commitments.
- Setting indicators to assess the effect of national education programs and changes in the educational system on the educational level of Roma girls.
- Increasing security at school and in the school area.
- Motivation and information campaigns in the Roma community, training in skills necessary for taking administrative and managerial positions, creation, development and improvement of leadership and entrepreneurial skills of Roma women.
- Presenting and promoting positive role models for success – Roma women with higher education. Promoting good examples from the Roma themselves.

The problems faced by Roma women are numerous and they will not be able to cope without a positive attitude and joint action by the Roma community, the local government and the government. Institutions should not only take sanctioning, but preventive and incentive measures to promote the inclusion of Roma women in the education process.

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III.
Imparting gender competence in educator trainings

Elisabeth Hofmann & Rachel Besson

Complexing gender in a context of multiple layer hierarchies

A case study from training French nursery professionals on gender

Abstract: This chapter is based on an action research process about transformative learning in gender training. The concept of intersectionality imposed itself in the course of the process in order to make sense of the observed dynamics: a complex setting of multiple layers, interpenetrating hierarchies turned out to be decisive for the outcome of the gender training for adults. The case study that was the object of this research was made up by a series of workshops for professionals in childcare facilities for children from zero to three years in France. In a context where the teams where almost exclusively female, different intersecting discriminatory factors amongst the team members interfered: professional status, diploma, race, age, etc. At the same time, the participants pinpointed implicitly a form of subordination towards the parents of the children. A third layer of perceived discrimination concerned their professional status: as a typical care-economy activity, many participants felt that their profession did not receive enough recognition. These perceived hierarchies and the consequent feeling of subordination where in a first stage clearly obstacles in this gender training that was based on interactive methods the participants were very little accustomed with. However, in some cases, parallels with other forms of discrimination helped to make subtle social construction mechanisms more visible in this context where the credo is a supposedly gender-neutral "individualistic approach" to every child. The analyses of this complex cross-penetration of socially constructed unequal relationships gives an interesting insight into the importance of considering heterogeneity within gender categories. However, taking into account the intersection of multi-layered hierarchies represents a complex challenge for triggering off reflexive transformative learning processes.

Introduction

The initial aim of the action-research presented in this chapter was to analyse learning mechanisms in gender workshops for French nursery professionals in order to make their learning as much transformative (Mezirow, 1997) as possible. The interactive methods employed for the introduction of notions like social construction, stereotype, equality and equity, etc. triggered of reactions that were going beyond questioning gender. In order to apprehend these unexpected outputs, we resorted to the concept of intersectionality. This process brought out to the open that the teams we trained were characterised by and inserted into a system of multi-layered hierarchies, thoroughly complexing the gender dimension and any learning process about gender.

1. Contextual elements

While in France in 2016, the early childhood sector was not targeted by national public policies about gender equality, some local initiatives were addressing this social issue. Despite the small number of studies devoted to gender in early childhood, some research (Coulon & Cresson, 2007; Cresson, 2012), studies or reports (Grésy & Georges, 2012; Dugnat, 2011) have shown that in France day-care facilities for children between the age of 3 months and 3 years – called in French *Etablissements d'Accueil des jeunes Enfants* (EAJE)[1] – are affected at different levels by gender inequalities. First, the sexual division of labour being strongly marked in this sector of activity, women are massively over-represented. All occupations in the sector combined, the average rate of masculinization reaches only 3% (Boyer & Pélamourgues, 2013). Very young children are therefore socialized in a highly feminized world. Second, the initial training of early childhood professionals does not address this issue, therefore not allowing professionals to develop the necessary skills, conducive to a non-sexist education of children. As a result, the institutional projects (specific for each institution) rarely address the issue of gender equality and pursue only a few or no goals promoting gender-neutral education.[2] The leading educational principles in the early childhood sector in France are based on valuing the individual child's autonomy; they translate into the absence of adult intervention in the choice of games and in the gameplay. However, those supposedly "free" interactions between children are based on gender differentiation because they draw from their social environment the roles and attributes they invest in their activities (for example, the "kitchen corner" in the EAJE might be used by children from both sexes, but in different ways, the girls ending up serving the boys[3]).In addition to these educational principles, interactions between professionals and children are marked by different forms of stereotypy: for girls, compliments on the elegance of their dress, for boys, about their physical ability. Some treatments are gender-differentiated: boys receive more attention than girls, are more often invited to develop their motor skills; girls are comforted longer than boys, when they hurt themselves and congratulated when the clean up after the games. While these educational differences are not systematic, they do exist and are common.

In 2016, we conducted training workshops in 20 nursery facilities in a large regional city, as part of a larger municipal project to combat the roots of sexism in early childhood (see below).This project had been initiated originally in 2013, at the time when the French government tried to introduce a national program on gender equality in schools – the ABC's of Equality –, and one year after it had initiated the

1 For easier reading, we will use the term nursery or nursery facilities or the French abbreviation EAJE throughout the text.

2 Among the EAJE that responded to the online questionnaire of a national quantitative survey in 2012, six out of ten said they did not take action against sex stereotypes, considering their practices neutral and not affected by gender issues (Boyer & Pélamourgues, 2013).

3 Fiquet & Lanfranchi, 2017.

reform of marriage in order to open it to same-sex couples, called "wedding for all". From autumn 2012 and all through 2013, a vast mobilisation, entitled "demonstration for all", positioned against this law but also against "the Gender Theory" fostered heated debates in media (Cervulle, 2013). The street manifestations organised by this movement (backed up by right wing and catholic organisations) attracted people that had never demonstrated before and were only weakly politicised (de Boissieu, 2016). In the light of these protests, in 2013, the Ministry of Education put a term to the initiative ABC's of Equality, while the same sex marriage was adopted.

The regional metropole concerned by the object of the present study had launched in early 2013 a call for proposal for a gender equality in early childhood project composed of three phases: diagnosis, training and evaluation. A local consultancy firm had been selected on the basis of their offer, which included subcontracting of the training phase to the two authors. However, in the light of the above-mentioned mobilisation, the implementation was put on hold for two and a half years and all three phases of the project were finally implemented throughout 2016. The controversy about "the Gender Theory" was less prominent than in 2013, but public opinion stayed polarised and gender equality remained a sensitive topic (Julliard, 2016).

2. The object of the research: Gender training for nursery professionals

In order to explain the object of our research, it is necessary to present the gender training for nursery professionals in some detail. In coherence with the national policy against sexist stereotypes promoted by the French government in 2012/2014, the initiative for this gender equality in early childhood project comes from the municipality managing the concerned nursery facilities. The project's objectives defined an ambitious intervention framework that included two goals: first, to promote equal education; second, to develop in each institution an action plan to achieve this, including evaluation mechanisms, all of which should be integrated into the institution's project (the yearly institutional work plan). According to the terms of reference, the aim of the series of one-day training workshops was to develop a pilot training framework enabling EAJE professionals to upgrade their skills on the theme and develop an action plan to ensure gender-neutral childcare. In response to these terms of reference, we conceived a 7 hours training workshop program and conducted 20 trainings in communal nursery facilities. The number of participants varied from 6 to 32, depending on the size of the institutions team. The EAJE were closed for the day of the workshop, in order to allow the participation of the entire staff: Nursery Assistant Technicians, Child Care Auxiliaries, Nurses, Educators, and

Directors.[4] The outcome of the pilot project was evaluated by the consultancy firm through a second series of interviews in 5 out of the 20 trained nursery teams.

Based on this predefined framework with its ambitious goals, the results of the literature review and the findings of the diagnosis report (produced during the first phase of the project), we opted for an action training with interactive methods. Our workshop design highlighted the professional and personal experience of the trainees and strongly encouraged exchanges amongst participants, allowing for articulation and questioning of singular knowledge and experiences in the light of established knowledge. This approach aimed for the transformation of existing gendered representations and the promotion of a common professional culture for each team. These methods were also chosen because they allow a better adaptation to the expectations and needs expressed by the participants. They also had the advantage of being flexible enough to be implemented regardless of the number of participants and the level of sensitivity to and knowledge about the subject. Moreover, they allowed the expression of diversity of opinions present in the teams.

The initial diagnosis study[5]had been carried out by sociologists of the consultancy firm in the first phase of this project through a series of semi-structured interviews and observation sessions in ten different nursery facilities, which were subsequently also included in the training phase. The study reported a strong conviction amongst the nursery's staff that the institution and the individual professionals do not treat boys and girls distinctly. This could be expressed in a vindictive way, "we don't care, we don't ask the question" (Childcare Auxiliary staff member), or with a dubious stance: "I don't see what can hinder equality within the nursery". The on-site observations included in the study documented a significant number of sexo-differentiated behaviour, showing an important discrepancy between the self-perception of the professionals and the observation findings.

At the beginning of the training workshops, the participants reaffirmed little or no consciousness about the sexist practices within their EAJE, brought to light in the preliminary diagnosis. Instead, the professionals strongly pointed out their focus on the individual child, regardless of its sex, justified as gender neutral by reference to educational principles: "Games are offered according to child's stage of development, its ability, its need and not its sex. "If certain hindrances were perceived within the institution, they were sought on the side of the management, the wider professional context and the parents rather than on the staff's side. Thus, strategies of the management when forming groups of children were denounced as favouring a mix based on the calm of the girls, supposedly moderating the agitation of the boys. The management was also blamed for inviting male Assistant Nursery Technicians to

4 Sometimes the municipal psychologist in charge of the concerned institution also assisted. In two workshops, the municipal project manager responsible for this Gender equality in early childhood project also participated in the training.

5 For reasons of confidentiality, the full reference of all these internal non-published documents cannot be indicated.

"reorient himself towards training as a vehicle driver". Some professionals questioned the interest of the municipality for the subject that has been "imposed" on them[6], suspecting a strategy seeking the reversal of a hetero-normed order with defined sexual roles for everybody. "Why do we want to move the lines?" asked a Childcare Auxiliary of Caribbean origin, "Do politicians want to anchor in everyone's head that homosexuality is normal?" One Nursery Assistant Technician, of Malian origin, says, "men and women have their place in society and some things will not change". An important number of participants oppose an essentialist position to a political design that is not understood.

The participants also doubted the relevance of this fight against stereotypes that seems to them not a priority in contemporary French society. This attitude is not self-evident, as they work in a sector having all the characteristics of the care-economy: the large majority of professionals are women whose professionalism is little or not recognized. In the course of the workshop or during informal exchanges around lunch, some participants shared their concern about this lack of recognition, for example when some parents wish them "to have fun today" when they leave the nursery in the morning, or when their profession is referred to in terms of "occupation" and "looking after children", ignoring its educational objectives (see also Ulmann, 2017). Reflecting upon these criticisms and remarks, we realised that many participants not only lacked consciousness about the gendered nature of the discriminations they perceive, but their remarks also shed light on other forms of domination they experience, which intersect with gender inequalities.

3. An action research-methodology mobilising various data and sources

This action research has been carried out by two researchers that are at the same time professional trainers. The request for elaborating and testing a pilot gender training for nursery professionals was taken as an opportunity to undertake an action research process by the authors. Initially, this action research process was based on our interest in transformative gender training for adults: the focus was on enhancing the consciousness the nursery professionals have about their institutions' role on social construction of gender identities in children of the age group from 3 months to 3 years.

To analyse the learning process triggered of by the pilot trainings, we adopted a classical action research cycle, plan, act and observe, reflect (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000):

6 The participating EAJE had officially volunteered to be part of this pilot training. However, during informal moments, some managers admitted that they had been "strongly encouraged" by the municipality; in other cases, some employees put forward that their managers had volunteered for this training without having consulted their staff.

- The planned change was framed by the objectives indicated in the initial call for proposals and the terms of reference for the project with its three phases (of which our training was a subcontract for the second phase). We further specified this planned change in the perspective of transformative learning and taking the outcome of the diagnosis study into account: we aimed for a change in the participants "frame of reference" (Mezirow, 1997, p.5) concerning their perception of socially constructed gender differences and the awareness about their own and their institution's role.
- The "acting" was carried out through the training and we closely observed the training process; at the end of the one-day training period, each team formulated a gender action plan, which we interpreted as a form of immediate effect of the training (as we could not observe the consequences of the change on-site, inside the nurseries).
- We regularly reflected on the observed processes and their consequences: after having elaborated the trainings' content, method and tools together, we carried out the first training as a tandem. At the end of this first workshop, we reflected during a long de-briefing session.
- Our "replanning" took the form of minor adjustments, followed by different cycles of acting/observing, reflecting and adjusting. Each of these cycles covered 3 to 5 trainings sessions carried out respectively by only one of us.

In order to sustain these action-research processes, we mobilised primary and secondary data from diverse sources, at different stages: An initial literature review confirmed the assumption that gender in nurseries is an under-researched subject (compared to the considerable literature body on research about gender in primary and secondary school, as well as in higher education in France (Duru-Bellat, 2008; Cromer, 2012; Dafflon Novelle, 2010)). The literature review was completed during the whole process, especially when the focus of our action research shifted to the intersectional dimension. The three fundamental internal reference documents were the call for proposals, the selected proposal and the terms of reference for the contract between the municipality and the consultancy firm. The project also had a "Scientific frame", produced by an academic advisor with strong scientific expertise on gender and education. Further internal documents were important data sources for us: the initial assessment and our own contracts.

Significant insight was also gained through our participation in two steering committee reunions with the municipality and the EAJE managers, one at the beginning and one at the end of the training phase. Furthermore, during the trainings we produced observation notes, taken from our position as participant observers (the training being very interactive, three phases of group-work took place, allowing a preliminary transcription of observations, completed in the evening, after the workshop).

The illustrated and written individual feedback[7] collected at the end of each session from every participant in an anonymous way, was a very precious source of complementary data. Last, not least, we referred to the evaluation document of the whole process and more specifically of the implementation of the gender action plan conceived during the trainings. This evaluation has been carried out by the consultancy firm through interviews in five out of the 20 trained nurseries, four to five months after the training session.

4. The unexpected turning point: the surfacing of the intersectional dimensions

All along the workshops, we took record of a certain number of expressions of resistances, scepticism and fears, related to the sensitivity of the subject "gender". Most of them fit into one of the following categories:

- The essentialist stance: The pretension that there is no difference between boys and girls is going against "natural" tendencies … and against religious values;
- The question of legitimacy: Are we legitimate as professionals to put the child in situations that might be in discrepancy with his/her family sphere? One of the examples often referred to in this context (but also linked to the following point) is allowing a boy to dress up like a princess.
- The latent homophobia: In more than half of the nurseries, one or several participants expressed their apprehension about the absence of a gender differentiation leading to "encouraging boys to become homosexuals".[8]

We had quite expected the essentialist and homophobic arguments, as they were completely in line with the discourse of the mobilisation against the same sex marriage introduced in France in 2013 (Portier & Théry, 2015). More surprisingly, we also observed a significant number of hesitant and reluctant reactions when announcing the workshop framework. When trying to discuss these apprehensions, the participants shared their astonishment about being solicited to share their point of view. Some of the comments in the final evaluations confirmed our interpretations: these nursery staff members expected to be told what to do (rules, norms, and good practices); they were not used to participate actively in setting their own collective agenda. In this sense, our workshop methodology opened an unusual and unexpected space for expression and exchange among the team members of each EAJE.

7 We combined the "tree of Oostende" (a tree with different little human figures in different postures at different heights – the participants indicated visually respectively which figure they identified with before and after the workshop) with open evaluation questions.

8 In order to stimulate the deconstruction of participants' perception, we asked them about girls wanting to dress up like Spiderman, for example. The great majority of answers were on the line of "that's not the same!" and the discussions confirmed that "tomboys" are not generating apprehension, that they are relatively well appreciated or at least tolerated.

Right from the first reflection session, we realised that the teams we were training were all but homogenous, even though they were almost exclusively female (94%), an observation that was widely confirmed during the following workshop sessions. For instance, the seating arrangements – in a circle – revealed a fragmentation of the team along the professional categories: Nursery Assistant Technicians and the Child Care Auxiliaries were often seated close to each other, whereas the less numerous nurses, educators and managers often sat in another part of the circle. Furthermore, a racial component imposed itself: many women of colour work in childcare, mainly as Nursery Assistant Technicians and Child Care Auxiliaries, the two lowest professional categories in this profession.[9] In our workshops, between one fourth to one third of the participants were racialized. In only one of the EAJEs, the manager and her deputy were women of colour – an exception to the rule. Last not least, the dimension of class became very visible when an important strike lamed the public transport system during some of the days of training sessions: the massive transport problems on these days made it clear that many of the employees of the lower hierarchy levels (Nursery Assistant Technicians and Child Care Auxiliaries) lived at the outskirts of town in low-cost urban housing estates. There was an obvious class difference between them and the majority of the parents whose children frequented the nursery facility they were working in. Moreover, there was a detectable class difference inside the team, largely along the lines of the professional categories.[10]

One additional focus in our training was the employee's perception of coherence – or lack of coherence – between their private and their professional behaviour. Some contributions testified a discrepancy: "I know that I have to let boys play with dolls in the nursery and say nothing, but for my son, I will not allow this, I will explain to him that dolls are not for him" (Assistant Nursery Technician, of Ivorian origin).

In order to analyse these unexpected challenges in the training process, we resorted to an intersectional framework in order to understand the dynamics at work in our trainings. This methodology and theoretical framework allowed us to draw attention to variations in people's lived experiences, taking into account different dimensions, such as race, class, gender, and sexuality among others. Intersectionality imposed itself upon us in order to make sense of our training experiences, investigating previously ignored elements of identity and their connection to disparate social outcomes (Guittar & Guittar, 2015). The postulate that we are not faced with an addition or a succession of dominations, but that the principal systems of domination are

9 Jules Falquet (2008) is amongst the researchers that have pointed out already ten years ago that migrant women (and their descendants) in industrialised countries are overrepresented in the service sector and more specifically in care work (and in prostitution), whereas men of migrant origin are making up the majority of the security sector.

10 In some workshops, during mid-day break, the management proposed to eat in a close by restaurant, with some of the Educators and Nurses, each person paying for her own meal … none of the colleagues of colour and none of the Nursery Assistant Technicians and Child Care Auxiliaries joined us (in some cases, they were apparently not invited, in others, it seemed that they chose not to come).

"interlocked" was easily confirmed in the workshops. Indeed, we observed "rather a moving social position where the interactive effects of discriminatory systems shape the personality of unique and complex individuals" (Enns, 2005; Poiret, 2005; as cited in Corbeil & Marchand, 2006).

Our discovery of these intersectional interferences that multiplied the actual dimensions of the training made us shift our focus in terms of the action-research approach: instead of focusing on transformative learning, we tried to understand how these articulated inequalities were expressed in the course of our workshops and why this dimension surfaced strongly in our interactive gender training.

The different action-research cycles allowed us to understand that the subject of our training (gender discriminations and inequalities) and the chosen pedagogical approach had unexpected outcomes, because it triggered of a growing consciousness of power relations, in a large sense. The introduction of gender as a concept opposed to sex, created a new awareness of mechanisms of social construction, mechanisms that are also operating in racial discrimination or in hierarchies linked to socio-economic or to professional status and the level of diploma.

The question of unbalanced power relationships interfered with the learning process. As planned and explicitly mentioned, the gender dimension was evoked, for example by pointing out that the rare male staff members have specific roles (for example, for male Assistant Nursery Technicians, fixing things, supervising external craftsmen during their interventions in the nursery building, taking care of all technical issues). Moreover, depending on their status, they have a faster career development than their female colleagues (male educators were quite rapidly propelled into management positions), while some parents expressed apprehensions about male professionals taking care of infants (especially under one year old).

More implicitly present (and initially underestimated by us) were other types of unbalanced power relations: the class/race hierarchy between the staff and the parents, the hierarchy amongst the staff along lines of diploma, class and race, but also the suspicion of being instrumentalised by the political agenda of the (left-wing) municipality.

The question of the variable conformity with the model of the French lay republican norm was only once openly addressed, when a racialized woman explained that she is a practising Christian and that she cannot apply all her Christian values in her professional function. The team of this specific workshop was very small, it was the only training-taking place outside the nursery (whose venue was too small to host the workshop). There was an atmosphere of save space that inspired confidence, to which the very constructive posture of the manager contributed in a decisive manner. Indeed, the politically correct performance in public institutions in France would have been to avoid this issue.

Another interesting element that makes sense from an intersectional point of view was the observation that the officially claimed and supposedly collective identity (as public EAJE professionals) did not erase other self-identifications when faced with such a complex subject as gender. In the course of the exchanges in the observed

group work as well as in plenary sessions, a remarkable shift from "we" to "I" occurred in narration, referring widely to the diverse contextual belongings that were significant to the individual participants.

Not every staff member participated actively, but in every workshop, some intense exchanges occurred, at least in the informal moments during a break, often in the sub-groups during group work[11], but also many times in the plenaries. Through many personal stories (some going back to the person's childhood or for the oldest ones, to their children's childhood…) and the observed interactions inside the team, we assisted an unfolding of certain subjectivities or rather intersubjectivities (Diggins, 2011) linked to the gender, but also the race, the class, the age of the participants: In this complex setting, where a professional training workshop treated a subject that touched implicitly everybody also in their private (sometimes even intimate) sphere, the individuals' identity appeared clearly as constructed, performed, enacted, and filtered through structured discursive formations.

Conclusion

The participants' and our own evaluation of the workshops converged: this "training" was at the best a sensitization. Apart from the very short duration (7 hours), the lack of initial consciousness and consensus, combined with the discovery that the preliminary demand for gender training was limited, created some initial reluctance that needed to be addressed. Furthermore, in some cases, tensions and sometimes open conflict amongst the teams hampered or blocked the collective process. The intention to come up with a gender plan was not only very ambitious, but as it was perceived as an obligation that triggered off suspicion amongst some of the participants. We also have much doubt about the prevalence of the necessary conditions for implementing the gender action plan each EAJE has come up with: many of them imply forms of attentiveness and reflexivity in order to change deeply anchored conceptions and frames of reference that determine spontaneous reactions. The unbalanced power relations that surfaced inside many of the teams make it difficult to create the "safe space" necessary for calling into question ones' own and each other's behaviour during the daily professional routine. In addition, some managers admitted openly that they do not feel competent enough for tutoring their teams to implement their gender equality action plan.

Despite all these week points and limits, we consider that the trainings were effective, even though they could not meet all their ambitious objectives. As the largely positive participants' evaluations show, the interactive method of the described trainings was highly appreciated despite the fact that the idea of gender training had received variable acceptance by the participants, depending on their professional status, diploma, race and age. It seemed that the positive appreciation of the process of

11 We had composed the working groups through a counting system that separated the participants from their neighbours of the original seating arrangements.

the training compensated the scepticism of those participants that took more essentialist postures. Many participants considered that the possibility for open dialogue and its quality (achieved through the framing of the exercises and the moderation of plenary exchanges) has an intrinsic positive value and was uncommon in this complex professional setting with its multi-layered hierarchies.

The intersectional dimension was not part of the original gender equality in early childhood project and we had not foreseen its importance in our own action-research frame. We had introduced it in our training reports, but it is still completely absent in the final evaluation report of gender equality in early childhood project. This can be explained by the fact that public discourse in France is strongly entrenched by a very abstract universalism that makes it politically incorrect to address racial issues. The differences of status/educational level amongst the staff have only been mentioned as cognitive obstacles, but not in terms of power unbalance in the evaluation report.

Gender was the subject of the training, but as the teams were almost exclusively female, the gender dimension did not interfere much in the group dynamics of the training process, as the redundancy of the essentialised category "woman" was obvious. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the described professional and social experiences differed between individuals, which made influences of class, race, status and/or diploma, and sometimes age clearly visible, even though rarely explicit. As the interactive setting encouraged narration, identities were performed, enacted, filtered … bringing the constant negotiation of interlocked categories to the surface.

In the light of this experience, the question of how to address these multiple layer hierarchies in gender training imposes itself. If interactive gender training opens the Pandora's Box of unequal power relations, should it be reserved to "homogenous" learner groups (with all the complexity that "homogeneity" along intersectional lines implies)? As confirmed in a majority of the written evaluation comments, the workshops created awareness about these multiple layer hierarchies, but does this awareness foster the learners' agency to address the unbalanced power relations? Last, not least, we also adopt a self-reflexive posture, asking ourselves what role we played as trainers, academics and gender specialists in this context of interpenetrating hierarchies: What about our own performed subjectivities as white European academic feminists?

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Gender inclusion 2.0: Working with norm-critical perspectives for adult educators

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to discuss possibilities for working systematically with gender inclusion in adult education. The paper describes programme development in a Swedish folk-high-school teacher-education programme. The paper investigates how gender inclusion can be part of adult education and especially teacher training for educators in this field. As an example, the paper investigates a folk-high-school teacher-education programme at a Swedish university where norm-critical perspectives are being introduced into university teaching. This is a relevant field for the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA) and, specifically, the Network on Gender and Adult Learning as it touches on gender in adult education and on how we can train adult educators in higher education with regards to gender and diversity.

Introduction

The #metoo movement reminded us in Autumn 2017 that living conditions are different for the genders. Sexual harassment is only the top of the iceberg of complex structures, patterns, and specific behaviours that characterize the life of women or men, binary and non-binary persons, women of different colour and functional variations. Feminist researchers have been aware of this over the decades, but still, it is moving to see the power of all the declarations, all the personal testimonies, and collective experiences. This collective testimony of unequal power relations, once more, shows the relevance of developing norm-critical perspectives. For us who work in different fields of education, higher education, formal and non-formal branches of adult education, the importance of developing strategies for working with an awareness and understanding of gender perspectives in all pedagogical training is obvious.

Teachers at all levels of higher education need knowledge and experience of gender-sensitive teaching in order to avoid all forms of discrimination and encourage student interaction on gender-equal terms. This has been advocated in Swedish discussions on higher education pedagogy for more than a decade (e.g. Bondestam, 2004). The importance of gender sensitivity that takes into account, for example, gender-specific communication patterns, interaction in the classroom, and much more has been described for higher education in different European countries (Bondestam, 2004; Metz-Göckel, 2012). Sometimes this has been called "gender as a form," and a number of relevant strategies have been applied and discussed in different higher education contexts. As a complement to gender as a form "gender as a content" has been discussed (Fogelberg, Eriksson, & Karlson, 2006). This is relevant in many fields and aims at including knowledge related to gender into each field of

study and expertise. Often, but not necessarily, this intersects with feminist perspectives. Gender as a content can successfully be integrated into programme studies like teacher education or programmes in the medical field (Swahnberg, Lykke, & Wijma, 2010). It also can contribute relevant perspectives to single-course subjects (Fogelberg, Eriksson, & Karlson, 2006). Gender as a content is, for many of us, a self-evident part of university teaching. However, in the context of gender inclusion, this is meant to happen more systematically and is becoming an integrated part of the curriculum. Gender inclusion integrates ideas of gender mainstreaming and gender sensitivity in university teaching (Kreitz-Sandberg, 2013; Bramberger, 2015). The basic idea is that gender perspectives can be integrated into (teacher) education programmes in a systematic way (Kreitz-Sandberg, 2016).

With "gender inclusion" in earlier publications, I have meant working with "gender as a content" and "gender as a form" in higher education. I have described the possibilities but also challenges of working with gender inclusion in university programmes for teachers and preschool teachers (Kreitz-Sandberg, 2013; 2016). In my role as a gender lecturer, I was recently assigned to do some developmental work with the folk-high-school teacher-education programme. A gender lecturer has the task of supporting colleagues with including gender into their courses and programmes. We decided to reason together with the directors of studies on possibilities for working with gender and norm-critical thinking in the programme. Each programme has different preconditions. Working with different programmes, therefore, demands different methods of gender inclusion. As theories and strategical work with gender and equality in higher education develop further, there is also a need to think about new strategies for working with gender inclusion. For this reason, I have called this article *Gender inclusion 2.0,* and the idea is to reason about the next steps for this systematic work with gender in higher education.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the possibilities of working systematically with gender inclusion in adult education. The paper describes programme developments in a Swedish folk-high-school teacher-education programme. The paper investigates how gender inclusion can be part of adult education and specially teacher training for educators in this field. As an example, the paper investigates a folk-high-school teacher-education programme at a Swedish university. This is a relevant field for the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA) and specifically the Network on Gender and Adult Learning as it touches on gender in adult education and how we can train adult educators in higher education with regards to gender and diversity.

Background: Folk high schools and adult education in Sweden

Folk high schools are described as particular to Sweden and other Nordic countries. Folk high schools have been characterised as the Nordic countries' "strongest and most independent contribution to the area of education and adult education" (Furuland in Lövgren & Nordvall, 2007). Nordic folk high schools have been discussed as

a pedagogical alternative to the public-school system, and they are known for their informal relations between teachers and pupils. Folk high schools are often, but not always, established as boarding schools in rural areas. They are closely related to the Swedish tradition of *folkbildning* with its emphasis on social and democratic perspectives (Lövgren & Nordvall, 2017). Harlin (2017) has described the horizontal relation between students and teachers as something that is special for this field of education. Teachers have a considerable range of freedom in organising educational activities, and no national curriculum regulates folk high schools (Larsson 2013, Paldanius 2014 and the Swedish National Council of Adult Education 2016 in Harlin 2017, p. 103). Students in folk high schools are a very heterogeneous group, and it is said that teachers need much practical wisdom and well-developed judgement in order to meet their students' needs. Even more than for other teachers, it seems to be true that the professional development of folk high school teachers is "not necessarily about formal qualifications; instead it is more about stimulating reflections related to their own practical reality" (Harlin, 2017, p 104).

Description of the folk-high-school teacher-education programme

Folk high schools in Sweden traditionally build a link to formal education, and secondary teachers have often been recruited. Until today, secondary school teacher education has also qualified instructors for teaching in folk high schools. However, there is also one specific teacher-education programme that specifically trains teachers for working in folk high schools. This is only taught at one Swedish university. This paper addresses teaching in this specific programme for folk-high-school teacher education.

The folk-high-school teacher programme consists of 60 credits, either studied as one-year full time or two years part-time (50%). The Education for Teachers in the Folk High Schools' Programme "sets out the particular opportunities offered by the Folk-High-School concept in meeting the needs of adult education via an extremely flexible approach to training formats".[1] The purpose of the programme is to contribute to the professional development of students so that they can analyse and understand learning and teaching processes at folk high schools in relation to current social conditions and become skilled folk-high-school teachers (The programme syllabus, Dnr LiU-2016–01782, translation SKS). The programme consists of five courses, and half of the programme's credits (30 ECTS) are based on school practical studies (vfu).

Gender lecturer

At this university, each faculty is responsible for a so-called gender lectureship. A gender lecturer is a researcher who works with the integration of gender issues into educational programmes on a part-time basis. Gender lectureships are to provide re-

1 https://old.liu.se/uv/education?l=en

sources, competence, and credibility to work with long-term and sustainable gender mainstreaming and contribute to gathering and documenting experiences (LiU 2010 as quoted in Kreitz-Sandberg, 2013). The gender lecturer is to support colleagues in developing their respective programmes concerning gender inclusion. Gender lecturers are to work with pedagogical development and gender inclusion in higher education.

Theoretical perspective

This paper introduces some ideas about how gender inclusion and norm-critical approaches can contribute to, and inspire, adult and higher education together with ideas for functional and attitudinal development that have previously been applied to adult education (e.g. Harlin, 2017).

Gender inclusion

The idea of gender inclusion is to integrate gender into higher education programmes in such a way that the outcome does not depend on students meeting a few enthusiasts, but, in contrast, gender is meant to be an integrative part of the programme. Gender inclusion addresses working with gender-sensitive teaching strategies and introducing gender content and research into the curriculum of courses and programmes (Kreitz-Sandberg, 2013). It applies intersectionality as an analytical tool in order to contribute with understandings of gender that include different dimensions of power relations, relationalities, and social contextualisation. The purpose of this is to understand and perhaps change the complexity inherent to existing gender orders.[2]

Norm-critical thinking as theoretical point of departure

Norm-critical perspectives became popular in the early 2000s in Swedish pedagogical discussions on gender and education (Swedish Secretary for Gender Research, online). Norm-critical perspectives have their roots in feminist and queer activist work, for example, Kevin Kumashiro's action research studies (Kumashiro, 2002). Norms are important for living together, but they give advantages and privileges to some and disadvantages to noncompliers. Norm-critical pedagogy challenges some norms like hetero-norms, the functionality norm, whiteness norms, and binary gender norms (Swedish Secretary for Gender Research, online). The concepts have frequently been applied to pedagogical discussions and work with children, youth,

2 Refer to Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge (2016) for this understanding of intersectionality as a key concept. Intersectionality addresses the inequalities, disadvantaged position and oppression of particular groups and has therefore, as Merrill and Fejes (2018) have expressed it, relevance for adult education and adult students.

and adults (e.g. Bromseth & Darj, 2010; Lundberg & Werner, 2012; Martinsson & Reimers, 2014; Reimers, 2006). Norm criticism relates closely to intersectional analysis and constructions of normality within a society.

Functional and attitudinal development

My analysis will refer to the distinction between functional development and attitudinal development. I borrow this distinction from Harlin's analysis of folk-high-school teachers' professional development. Functional development pertains to improving one's teaching performance. Attitudinal development, according to Evans (as quoted in Harlin 2017), pertains to reflections on attitudes and values.

Empirical and methodological framework

This article builds on programme development with university teachers who are in charge of folk-high-school teacher-education programmes. The study is inspired by educational ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) and combines observations, document studies, and interviews. The idea is to critically revisit pedagogical practices and develop adequate educational approaches for gender inclusion. This paper documents programme development for which programme directors have taken the initiative. The author collaborated with the programme directors in her role as gender lecturer at the faculty of education. When starting the work with the folk-high-school teacher programme, we gathered some inspiration from earlier work with gender inclusion in the pre-school teacher education programme where a similar, but more extensive study had recently been conducted and documented (Kreitz-Sandberg, 2016). Each programme is different, and, therefore, there is room and a need to develop different approaches to gender inclusion for each programme.

Data collection

The data presented in this paper were collected in the context of the development of a university programme for folk-high-school teacher-education. The results presented here build mainly on a document analysis of the programme syllabus, all course syllabi, and related study guidelines as well as a joint interview with directors of study of the programme.

Research ethics

This study has been conducted within the context of a pedagogical development project. When documenting such work, it is vital to follow research ethics (CODEX, 2010). The participants were informed of the purpose of the study and gave their consent to recording the interviews and using the work for further analysis and discus-

sion in the higher-education research field. All the programme documents analysed in this article have been made publicly available.

Findings: Working with gender inclusion in folk-high-school teacher education

The following describes how a university programme for adult education is currently developing work with gender inclusion. The case is a folk-high-school teacher-education programme, the only one of its kind in Sweden. Teacher education must take into account the special nature of each form of schooling, in this context folk-high-school education, and this consists of including questions on gender into the programme. Ways of reasoning about and practices of including gender into the folk-high-school teacher-education programme will be described. Questions about how strategies for gender inclusion can be described for folk-high-school teacher-education programmes guided the collection of the data.

Adapting teacher training to the egalitarian tradition of folk high schools

The first result touches on the relevance of working with gender and equality in the folk-high-school teacher programme. Swedish folk high schools are not as regulated as compulsory schools. For example, there is no national curriculum. The range of courses and programmes taught at folk high school is very wide. In some courses, students can study core subjects they might have missed in senior high school, other programmes cover mostly aesthetic subjects, and these courses in music, theatre, and so on are regarded as quite avant-garde.[3] Many folk high schools collaborate closely with generally educative and autonomous study circles. Other fields that my interview partners mentioned are vocational training courses and courses that provide higher education credits. In other words, folk-high-school teachers must be trained to meet a very diverse student group (see Bernhard & Andersson, 2017). Attitudinal development is regarded as important in facilitating these meetings. Meetings and encounters traditionally play a central role in folk high schools, both in regard to the meeting between teachers and students and between students themselves.

> "Yes, I think that comes close to the characteristic of folk high schools. This means that you talk about the *meeting* very much and the *meeting* is central between the teacher and the participant but also between the participants. And you talk a lot about tolerance and respect, and folk high schools have always worked with such a type of inclusion, if you consider that folk high schools have always been heterogeneous environments, where many different people have been able to meet. I think, from a gender perspective, *Medborgarskolan* in Fagersta, which you have probably read about [is a good example], gathering women only but from very different social classes, and they were sleeping in the same dormitory, which was enormously unique. This kind of

3 Such programmes were studied in the PhD Dissertation: "Skolning i Jazz" (Nylander, 2014).

> thought has been a part of the history of folk high schools and remains so; if you have a course for people with a certain disability, you do not have them sleep in one building and the other people in another one, but you mix them, because one thinks there is a point in meeting different experiences and conditions and so on". (Joint interview with directors of study, 24 August 2017)

Folk high schools are described as quite egalitarian institutions. There is a long tradition of folk high schools as a meeting point for men and women of different class backgrounds. Equity is central, at least as it relates to meetings of different social classes. Nowadays, gender equity is regarded as very elementary and, therefore, the teacher training for folk-high-school teachers must also reflect this spirit. The programme directors expressed that this is why they want to further explore questions on how current folk-high-school teacher education includes a gender perspective and approaches questions about gender and equality when preparing future folk-high-school teachers for their profession.

During the interview, I asked the directors of study for a description of how they work with questions related to gender and equity in the programme. The results are summarised according to four topics: a) introducing gender content, b) working with norms, c) gender sensitive teaching and professional practice, and d) further education for university teachers.

Introducing gender content

The goal of including gender content into different courses is to shed light on the respective field or topic from a gender perspective. To use an example from the preschool teacher-education programme; when students were learning to use digital technology for teaching young children, it became very useful for them to understand how stereotyped presentations of boys and girls and children with different ethnicities were prevalent in many apps. This understanding became important in order to guide children in their choice of material in accordance with the preschools' task of counteracting traditional gender roles (Kreitz-Sandberg, 2016). Another example from secondary school teaching is a course on study assessment. Students on this course read an article about teachers' gendered expectations of boys' and girls' grades. In the following, I will describe how a gender content is according to the interview partners and the course documents included into the folk-high-school teacher-education programme.

Regarding the question if there are specific contents that the students need to master in relation to gender and equality, the programme directors refer to the first course in the programme. *Folkbildning's* basic values are important content in the course "Folkbildning as a Social and Local Reality". One goal of the course is to describe how *folkbildning's* ideas and basic values are expressed. Examples of these basic values are democracy, equality, equity, diversity, and human rights. In this context, it is also appropriate to problematize patriarchal traditions in folk high schools. The

history of folk high schools is, as one of my interview partners says: "full of old man (full av gubbar)". Students sometimes react to this fact and make critical comments. The patriarchal tradition of boarding schools can be illustrated with the fact that a man was the head of a boarding school, and his wife often took the role as house mother. This fact reflects the anticipated role of men and women in the home and in society. But there were also women's folk high schools. Berit Larsson's (2010) book on women's folk high schools is an example of course literature highlighting this and providing a gender focus on *folkbildning*. However, just as important as the gender focus is an awareness of social differences. In the above-mentioned egalitarian tradition, meetings between women of different class backgrounds were regarded as very crucial.

Earlier studies on working with gender as a content have highlighted the importance of introducing gender topics early in the programme (Fogelberg, Eriksson, & Karlson, 2006). In the folk-high-school teacher programme we obtained an example of gender content being introduced in the first course. There was some course literature and an examination that touched on diversity later during the programme. Another example of course literature that takes gender content into account is De los Reyes and Mulinari's book on intersectionality (2005). This is on the literature list for the second study practice course (vfu), but in the course of studies, it is not clear how the book is to be used by the students. In the discussion with the directors of study it became evident, however, that gender was not a primary focus of the programme. A focus on intersectionality in this course allows to somehow shed light on gender but also on other social categories like class or ethnicity. Much more than equality between women and men equity between different social group is in focus. And the key phrase in the course documents is norm-critical thinking.

Working with norms

The programme directors described the two-fold purpose of the programme. On one hand, the programme is to train professional and skilled teachers. A good understanding of democracy and equity is regarded as part of this mission. On the other hand, the programme is also to provide academic training and career paths within higher education and research training. Critical thinking is, according to the programme directors, regarded as a central part of the course of study. In connection with these descriptions, the term norm criticism is frequently mentioned. Norm-critical perspective is regarded as important in the newly revised programme. This is evident in the interview and in the course documents where the term "norm critical" is used a number of times. The programme syllabus gives the following description:

> Great heterogeneity among the participants in terms of age, ethnicity, (work) life experience, study orientation, previous experience of studies and much more is characteristic for folk high schools. Issues related to inclusion are important in the programme as well as issues related to norm criticism and intersectionality. Folk-high-school teacher

> education is to contribute to the students developing an understanding of the variation that occurs in the participants' preconditions, abilities, and experiences. (Course of study, folk-high-school teacher programme, Dnr LiU-2016–01782, author's translation)

This paragraph describes the heterogeneity of participants in folk high schools in terms of age, ethnicity, (working) life experience, field of study, earlier study experiences and much more, but, interestingly, gender is not mentioned. Questions regarding inclusion are seen as important in the programme as well as norm-critical perspectives and intersectionality. The folk-high-school teacher-education programme is to contribute to students' understanding of the existing variation in participants' preconditions, abilities, and experiences. As shown above, it is not completely clear how intersectionality is addressed in the programme, but the syllabus illustrates the relevance devoted to these perspectives.

Norm-critical perspectives have a self-evident relation to understandings of intersectionality. The importance of norm-critical perspectives is explicit in some of the courses. For example, the syllabus for course no. 2 includes the statement that the course embraces norm-critical perspectives on teaching and learning. The goal of course no. 3 is that students are to be able to describe, analyse, and reflect on different teaching strategies and their consequences for adult education pedagogy and norm-critical perspectives. How is that being realized or examined? The course documents, like syllabi and course of study, do not provide any information. However, during the interview, the directors of the study explained that a workshop had been included in the course, where a coach who had experience of working with norm-critical exercises visited the students and worked with exercises regarding norms and values. During the interview, there developed a discussion of whether teachers in folk high schools would need this type of didactical ability. Students in the programme had a textbook to their help edited by the anti-bullying organisation Friends (Brade, Engström, Sörensdotter, & Wiktorsson, 2011) that critically introduces how one can reflect on different norms that may influence teaching and meetings with and between students. Basically, the book is adapted for work with school students, but according to the programme directors, it also works well for adults. The idea is that attitudes and values need to be critically revisited in order to work with ones' ability to meet students beyond prejudice, regardless of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, function/ability or other categories and dimensions.

Many of the scholars who have applied norm-critical positions in their research focus on sexuality and related norms and provide a critical perspective on heteronormativity in teacher education (e.g. Reimers, 2006). Norm-critical perspectives can be regarded as a recently popular feminist school in Sweden. However, since norm-critical thinking has become more mainstream and when it is being applied in the context of equality policies, gender differences are often in the centre (cf. www.

includegender.org).[4] Norm-critical perspectives were also popular with teachers in the folk-high-school teacher-education programme. Working with norms fits into the tradition of the folk-high-school teacher programme, where – as I understand – a variety of teaching methods have been applied that address the whole person and that are not limited to academic studies. However, there have also been critical discourses on limits or may be also risks of methods that aim at changing student's basic values. Nordvall (2013) described that some students advocated more gender stereotype opinions after participating in a course on gender roles in education. Pedagogical challenges to students to revisit their norms were discussed lively in the interview. It was not regarded as an easy but necessary part of the studies. Summarizing, norm-critical perspectives seem to fit well traditions in folk high school teacher education to challenge and try to find ways of problematizing living and learning together of diverse groups.

Gender-sensitive teaching and professional practice

30 of 60 ECTS of the folk-high-school teacher programme cover school practical studies (vfu). Teaching and meeting students in the folk high school is at the heart of these practical studies. One of the central topics for the teaching practice are social relationships. The syllabus states:

> "In the course, which has a participant focus, the students are to develop their ability to understand how social relations influence a group at a folk high school and develop their ability to solve conflicts that can occur. This also includes reflecting on how different function variables influence the students' study situation and how a folk-high-school teacher can contribute to a good study environment for all participants." (Course syllabus, author's translation)

The goals specify that students must be able to describe, analyse, and demonstrate an understanding of social relations and their relevance in teaching and learning processes. Students need to be able to work constructively with conflicts that can occur in teaching situations. This goal has – among others – also a gender dimension. Gender-sensitive and also gender-aware teaching are terms often used in teaching context (Lahelma, 2011). Gender-sensitive teaching or "gender as a form" has been described as important for university education (Bondestam, 2004; Fogelberg, Eriksson, & Karlson, 2006), meaning that the form or pattern of meeting a student group needs to be coloured by equality and equity thinking. Teachers need, for example,

4 This website is the English language version of the jamstall.nu, a Swedish national resource for gender equality. It was launched 2009, and the following actors are working together and providing resources: the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research, the County Administrative Board, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR), the Swedish Gender Equality Agency, and the Swedish Governmental Agency for Innovation Systems (VINNOVA).

to be aware of possibly gender-specific communication patterns with consequences that different groups or persons take different amounts of space in the classroom setting. This is obviously a traditional example that can have changed in present-day classroom settings (e.g. Kreitz-Sandberg, 2013). However, in the interviews, more traditional gender roles of students are also described especially in the intersection with ethnicity in connection to school-practical studies. Many of the students in the folk-high-school teacher's programme have already worked for a length of time in folk high schools or other pedagogical contexts. One expectation is that teacher students who meet gender-sensitive instruction and norm-critical perspectives in the university classroom will develop these approaches further in their own pedagogical practices.

University pedagogy

Another topic eminent in the interview was the question of how university teachers in the field of adult education can prepare for working with gender inclusion in their courses. Obviously, all teachers participate in compulsory courses for teaching in higher education at the Centre for University Pedagogy, and some relevant aspects should be covered there. However, the question whether gender inclusion is systematically part of these compulsory courses is beyond the scope of this study.

As the most relevant place of learning and adopting a genuine gender perspective, the programme directors mentioned the division's research seminars. There are a number of doctoral students and colleagues who touch on gender and norms in their research. This provides a climate in which gender is part of academic communication and identity and in which university teachers become familiar with research-based gender discourses. That should also be a good precondition for teachers including respective topics and norm-critical perspectives into their university teaching. Or, as one of the programme directors self-critically states: "the opposite might be true; as far as gender seems to be eminent in both research and some students' perspective, one might underestimate the need to work systematically with the topic in courses and programmes".

Discussion: Gender inclusion 2.0

Combining both gender as a form and gender as a content with reflexive work with gender identity and norm-critical thinking could become "Gender inclusion 2.0". This might be described as a way of improving the preconditions for students to develop socially sustainable pedagogical practices. In Harlin's terminology, folk-high-school teacher education cannot limit itself to functional development in the form of (only) improving teaching performance instrumentally, it has to go hand-in-hand with attitudinal development (Harlin, 2017). This is relevant in relation to gender and norm-critical perspectives. It can be argued that, in a programme like the folk-high-school teacher programme, an appropriate approach might be to give students

rich possibilities to question, challenge, and develop their own attitudes and values related to gender, norms, equity, and equality in education.

Limitations

In this chapter, I argued and discussed ideas on how we as university teachers can systematically work with gender inclusion and also how we can develop strategies that are adapted to a specific programme. An obvious limitation is that we, at this point, have neither included student perspectives nor have we evaluated what students actually learn in such a study design. This is obviously an interesting line of argument to follow up in further studies. Some earlier studies have exemplified that learning processes that build on attitudinal developing are not easy to direct (Nordvall, 2013). More work on this must be conducted in order to evaluate processes of gender inclusion and norm-critical teaching in (adult) teacher-education programmes.

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IV.
Diversity as a challenge and chance for pedagogical approaches: Museum educational service

Alexis K. Johnson

Co-curation, re-framing cultural spaces from an outsider lens

Abstract: This paper examines the role the 'outsider' can play in re-imagining, making visible and widening curated narratives within museum settings – especially in re-framing gender diversity representation by exploring methods of co-curation and co-creation taken from arts education models in the public realm, which invite participants that traditionally demonstrate low engagement with museum spaces to re-imagine social narratives from a traditionally under-represented lens.

Introduction

Co-curation is a new 'fringe' approach to making creative content by the cultural sector. It sees people who do not traditionally attend cultural spaces, 'outsiders', being invited into museums, theatres and festivals to share their stories with arts educators, socially engaged artists and a handful of creative directors. This practice offers the creative professionals that adopt it a powerful wake up call, revealing what their institutions have hidden in plain sight.

I have had the privilege of co-curating and co-creating with communities of difference across the UK, Europe, West Africa and South America as a socially engaged artist, educator and director. Co-curation with 'outsiders' has given me the gift to see through others eyes. I now see what I couldn't before – that more often than not my sector is keeping alive a singular western patriarchal world view through its artistic programming. This is curious when we consider women are the staple workforce. But so engrained is this singular world view it is very difficult to comprehend there is anything other.

The formal cultural sector wields a portion of control over how we perceive ourselves. Museums serve to give us certainty about how we became who we are today. Visual and performing arts hold a mirror up to our self. We trust the story. But co-curation with 'outsiders' brings into focus the probable stories missing from our institutions – the stories of gender and diversity. By reducing humanity to a single story we have hugely underestimated who and what we are.

This paper expands upon the model of co-curation, looking at how it came about from a UK arts education sector position. In it, I share my experience of co-curating with homeless young people, considered 'outsiders' by the institution and society in general. To ask whether we have stumbled upon a means by which we can begin to see the singular story for what it is, a tiny fragment of the whole. Is co-curation the quiet revolution needed to unleash the myriad of missing stories, the stories that will help us move towards a much more balanced world view?

Cultural institutions and the world view

Cultural institutions and organisations present a unified story of humanity through their curatorial lens, offering us the warmth and comfort of knowing who we are and where we sit in the social and global hierarchy. The story they choose to tell dictates what we consider 'normal', the benchmark by which we judge ourselves. As such our cultural institutions hold authority over us, their imposing facades demand respect, and their solid walls ensure their world view is preserved.

But for centuries they have only told his-story through the lens of the great white western male, a minority group the artist Grayson Perry dryly terms 'default man' (2016, p.15). Visit most collections or artistic programmes and you will have to hunt to find work that proportionally represents the base line demographic of the city or town where it sits. I entered Rio de Janeiro's national museum only to find plaster casts of ancient Greek waring gods. And Lagos museum wasn't much different. In Paris and London, I observe museums bursting with innovative and creative ways to re-package and re-fashion the story of 'normal' for sophisticated contemporary audiences. But look closely and you will see they still persist in reinforcing the singular world view. The story of different kinds of 'women', different 'races', different 'values' and ways of being seem to have been conveniently repressed, stereotyped or considered not important enough to tell.

It falls on the curator, programmer or creative director to decide what story to tell. These leadership roles are traditionally held by 'default man', but its wider workforce is prevalently female. This imbalance is reflected in the pay gap but not the artistic programme. Cultural institutions have neatly woven a story so normalised its bias blends into the background, invisible to the 'default man' it serves and the men and women programming it.

The truth is the human story is one of difference. There is no single 'default' story. In our complex society people have to live side by side with difference and still function. Yet according to Putman (2007) people feel the impulse to run away from difference, the daily obligation of dealing with people we do not understand has the effect of overwhelming us. In packaging 'default mans' story as a unified world view, are our institutions guilty of running away from the challenge of difference too? Aristotle believed "similar people can't bring a city into existence", so the willful repression of difference can only be considered harmful to a healthy society and to healthy cultural audience figures – if you are not represented why go? Or if you are only represented superficially through assumed stereotype, or fleetingly through 'cultural' seasons – why go? I suspect this has, in the UK at least, been the main reason huge swathes of the public resist entering cultural spaces. No one should be made to feel ignored, rejected or irrelevant. But such deep sentiment demonstrates just how powerful these institutions are in how we judge ourselves. Despite our best intentions our lack of seeing outside our own lens is potentially damaging to others. And without 'outsider' intervention our sector is destined to remain blinkered to this.

Arts educators as change makers

Despite the pit falls, change is coming. The agency driving this transformation herald from the lower ranks of the institution, it's not the Director or Curator but the Arts Educator that has begun the process of repair. Arts education developed as a means of engaging new audiences through a top down educational approach, seeking to enlighten audiences about their arts heritage. Traditionally on the sidelines of mainstream programming, it was designed to swoop in at the end of a curatorial process to tell audiences what they should think about the art. But arts educators have worked with non-traditional arts audiences for long enough now to gain a privileged insight into the story from a very different set of lenses. It is difficult to tell people what to think, when you are gifted with empathy. This tinged with a desire to rise from the curators' shadow has fuelled arts educators to stage a very quiet revolution. Through experimentation arts educators found they could gently work with audiences' resistance to engage with the cultural institution by inviting their most hard to reach audiences to re-tell the story from their lens. But what was meant for engagement, has had unexpected side effects.

Co-curation

Arts educators are giving 'outsiders' unprecedented access to co-curate with the institution from their own lens. This practice originates from what has fast become the mainstay of UK audience development, the participant 'take over'. A practice that invites 'under-represented' (outsider) audiences to become active participants in an act of co-curation and co-creation. Here they work with arts professionals to explore collections, art works and themes to re-imagine them from a different lens. Participants often see through the bias with a sharp authentic eye, taking the institution on a journey of re-discovery. What is unearthed is then publically displayed. Admittedly this practice has mainly been consigned to a basement or dark corner by the institution and created on a shoe string, but its presence is now being felt. Sociologist Richard Sennett (2012) warns that "fixing an old machine can lead, when people play around with it, to transforming the machine's purpose, as well as its functioning" (p. 220). By presenting multiple stories of difference through participatory 'co-curation' arts educators are gently but persistently eroding the singular world view of the institution.

Blue Train: Case study

Blue Train was a London Cultural Olympiad project with the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in London's art education department. This project gives a clear illustration of arts education's 'co-curation' approach in action. Centering on the co-operative values and revolutionary work of turn of the last century maverick producer Diaghilev and his Ballet Russe, Blue Train looked to engage 100 of London's most vulnerable care leaver young adults as a new V&A audience. It did so by staging a co-curated, co-produced museum 'take over' inspired by the collection, led by my-

self as Creative Director and a swat team of artists. The message delivered in the art work by the young adults' work was on the face of it surprising if you were to consider their birth right to awful disadvantage. Society offers them a poor prognosis, ranging from convictions, primarily for the men, to addictions, poverty and poor mental health. Expected to repeat a vicious cycle where the abused becomes the abuser of themselves or others. But it was this 'outsider' life experience that allowed them to see the museum's collection for what it was. Interestingly they responded with zero tolerance to everything their sensitive radar picked us as unjust, unfair or down right cruel. This was however not expressed through anger, but through tenderness and a sense of play with serious intent.

When the core team of participants moved around the public galleries and private collections for the first time, the young women and men guffawed at the symbols of masculine potency in the sculpture galleries, effectively castrating 'Samson Slaying a Philistine' for a moment in time. Turning to me, a young man called Rasheed confided; "men have changed since your day Alexis". The men and women alike were greatly surprised by the violence on display, presented as masculine control over the story of global civilizations. What for the participants was an authentic reaction, revealed much more to the institutions staff about their hidden bias in favour of 'default man'. The participant's untrained eye easily spotted what was missing from the mainstream story. Made up of British African, Caribbean and Muslim men and women, it took the group just an hour to discover the V&A did not have a gallery for sub-Saharan Africa. They were making a b-line for it, simply assuming an institution with a gallery for every great civilization would have an African gallery. Something the museum staff had accepted as normal was now revealed as hiding in plane site. The V&A staff were forced to go away and find out why a whole continent was missing, later reporting back that during the institutions main collecting eras African artefacts were considered savage.

Inspired the participants devised and staged 'Circle of Power', to condemn what they saw as 'default man's' abuse of privilege. The performance played out the rise and fall of civilizations in the very institution that preserved the achievements of these global civilizations. Theirs was a call to change, towards a kinder and fairer society, a desire forged through their life experience, given a voice through art and solidarity. They held an unquestioning confidence in the institution's power to give their message authority, and so took this opportunity very seriously. Recognising the performative nature of gender, they staged live art interventions posing as living statues, men and women that looked nothing like 'default man' in postures of dominance and control. They also co-curated site specific contemporary African dance and music in the galleries and co-created schools packs that brought their story into the V&A.

Blue Train participants were given free rein to co-curate their authentic response to the collection by the V&A arts education team. Through this process, they carefully empowered the participant to feel their lens is as valid as that held by the authority of the institution. On being granted permission these participants simply followed their natural urge to address inequality. What had been the barrier to the participants

stepping inside the V&A became the meaning that gave the art they staged resonance. This approach, developed by arts educators, has helped the wider institution to become less likely to run away and hide from working with people from different backgrounds. What is more, it offers professionals the gift of vision through another's lens, to see what is hiding in plain sight. Blue Train participants built reciprocal relationships with museum staff, so much so that some of their innovation and bravery rubbed off. A sub-Saharan gallery is now being planned at the V&A. This process empowered the staff to transform the institution from within.

Conclusion

This process of co-creation has given the arts educator and the audience permission to challenge the institutions' traditional world view. Sociologist Richard Sennett (2012) defines this co-operation as "an exchange in which the participants benefit from the encounter…to accomplish what they can't do alone" (p. 5). Participant 'take overs' have the power re-configure the museum's story. In targeting participants from extreme disadvantage arts educators give the institution stories by those traditionally silent or silenced. This could be understood as an unwittingly subversive act. By repeatedly staging co-curation 'take over's' arts educators are in actuality transforming the machine from within, gently carving out permanent change through the unceasing lap of the tide. Audience engagement success has helped arts educator's elbow their way into decision making positions where they can push boundaries unchecked. In the new experimental topsy-turvy world they are re-configuring the role of audience from passive voyeur to active co-curator or even the art itself. In their drive to eliminate barriers to accessing art they are turning galleries into performance spaces, malls into galleries and streets into theatres of spectacle. Walls melt, art forms merge and hierarchies shrink – and within this cosmic soup of chaos new voices and stories are being told.

Is 'default man' relaxing his grip? Public displays of power and control don't cut it today. So, it is probably fair to assume the institution is no longer serving his needs. If this is true, the institution must find another master. Choosing to serve the majority means becoming more relevant, something that can only come from becoming conscious of fairer representation of difference. Institution's hold power over how we perceive ourselves, if they can begin to accept us for what we are, then maybe we can start do the same.

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Darlene E. Clover and Kathy Sanford

The feminist museum hack: A cultural pedagogy of seeing the unseen

Abstract: The hundreds of museums that now dot our social and cultural landscapes are visited daily by hundreds of adults and as a result, these institutions play an important pedagogical role in terms of teaching us about everything from history to our own identities as people. Feminist cultural theorists remind us that museum practices of representation – dioramas, artworks, images, objects, exhibitions, curatorial statements and labels – are not neutral but rather, problematically steeped in patriarchal ideology. This 'masculine gaze' – the world created through and for the eyes of men – actively negates, absents and/or mis-represents women and others who do not fit its neat binaries of masculinity and femininity, where the former denotes superiority and the latter, inferiority. Yet this patriarchal ideology hides cleverly in plain sight to maintain not only sexism, but equally forms of racism, colonialism and classism that shape how we can see and know, and cannot see or know our world and even ourselves. How do we unmask that which conceals itself so cleverly in the folds of the script-to-visual? This chapter focusses on a very intentional practice we call the *Feminist Museum Hack*, an imaginative, flexible methodological, analytical and pedagogical practice we have designed to 'see the unseen', to unearth critically and creatively the male gaze ensconced in museum narratives, languages and images. The *Hack* is grounded in cultural theories of representation and feminist visual methodologies and discourse analysis and revolves around a series of quantitative and qualitative 'seeing' questions. We illustrate how we use the *Hack* to disrupt the complacency of museum narratives through a variety of activist and artistic interventions including attaching post-it notes with comments and questions beside artworks and displays, re-writing labels in ways that draw attention to how they mould gender, creating 'found' poems and/or fully re-creating actual exhibits. Through a radical, feminist oppositional gaze, The *Hack* encourages critical thinking, reflexively, and the imaginative capacity to unravel the museum's fabric of ideological restrictions and address their broader implications in terms of identity and knowledge.

Introduction

Museums and art galleries are powerful cultural pedagogical institutions, probing humanness in ways so unique, Janes (2009) believes they live a privileged existence with "no suitable replacement" (p. 18). Having so authoritatively socialised us to believe that their representations – what they show and tell us – are factual, objective, impartial, and agenda-free, the public considers them to be the most trustworthy knowledge-legitimating institutions in society today (e.g. Alberti, 2008; Janes, 2015). Regardless of their focus, whether it be historical, aesthetic, scientific or war, museums fuse together objects and artefacts, displays and curatorial statements into care-

fully constructed narratives of what counts as important. Although different meanings "can be invoked by the different assemblages" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007, p. 2), for the most part museums' totalising narratives aim to "create a certain understanding of *reality*" (Bergsdottir, 2016, p. 130, emphasis in original) and feminist cultural theorists remind us this 'reality' is all too often constructed through a patriarchal 'male' gaze. As a central organising feature of almost all museums, this system of meaning reinforces sexism as well as "racism, classism, homophobia, transphobia, nationalism, ageism, and ableism" (Ayu Saraswati, Shaw, & Rellihan, 2018, p. 3). Therefore, displaying, or better said, representing in museums is its own power dynamic. Representations of men abound and they are the masculinised heroes of their own stories. In contrast, women are either missing or veiled behind a curtain of ideologically proscribed naturalness in the form of a decidedly inferior femininity (Bergsdottir, 2016). Yet these absences or practices of essentialising, stereotyping and misrepresenting women and other excluded groups are in fact cleverly concealed in plain sight behind the authoritative voices of the museum that ensure they become mere 'common sense' about not only our world, but ourselves (Marshment, 1993; Pollock, 1988). Therefore if, as scholars suggested, we have placed great faith in the legitimacy of the stories these institutions show and tell, then we are not only accepting their problematic gendered representations and constructs but are actually participating in their making.

Brookfield (2001) reminds us that if the aim of critical practices of adult education is to unmask, name and defeat the 'enemy' – in this case patriarchy and other biases – then we may need to accept that the enemy of gender justice and change is in part our own acts of complicity. Our response to this, and the focus of this chapter, is the *Feminist Museum Hack* (hereafter, the *Hack*), a practice we have designed to shake us loose from complicity with the cleverly packaged unseen of patriarchy in our cultural institutions as a means to explore its implications both within and beyond the museum walls. The *Hack*, using a critical feminist lens, aims to disrupt the seamless stories told through existing museum exhibits through a variety of interventions; these interventions range from gentle disruptions to full re-creation of the exhibits and will be described in detail later in the chapter. The Hack specifically aims to re-energise and re-politicise feminist adult education agendas for gender justice and change within the critical, identity- and knowledge-shaping contexts of culture. We begin this chapter with a discussion of cultural and feminist theories of representation and visual and discursive analytical practices that frame the *Hack*. From there, we outline the various components of the *Hack*, drawing from our own analyses and interactions with exhibitions and displays in museums in Canada and England, as well as from working with groups of graduate students in both countries. We unfold the *Hack* as an imaginative pedagogical, methodological, analytical and interventionist strategy that encourages critical thinking, reflexivity, and praxis within the museum walls, with implications for 'seeing' beyond those walls, recognizing that patriarchy has no borders. As we expose problematic representations of gender 'hidden in plain sight' in museums, we challenge the museum's authority, unmasking

its silences and vulnerabilities to diminish its assumed and subtle power. Through different types of interventions or disruptions on the gallery floors, we reposition ourselves as actors and agents on the museum stage rather than mere audiences and consumers of neutral cultural artefacts and stories. By sharing the *Hack*, we aim to create new understandings of spaces feminist adult educators can use to encourage critical and creative conversations and to engage in vigilant performative modes of reading, learning and activism as feminist imaginaries and pedagogical strategies for change.

Culture, representation and gender

> In displays and exhibitions, museums condense, dislocate, reorder (fictionalise) and mythologise.
>
> Hooper-Greenhill, 2007, p. 2

Museums are now ubiquitous features of the cultural landscapes of countries worldwide, with more people than ever visiting for purposes ranging from escaping the humdrum and general curiosity to self-improvement and self-edification (Janes, 2015; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). Depending upon the museums' focus and formats, we visit them expecting to see important artworks or crafts, stories of human creativity and innovation, the latest scientific inventions, factual historical accounts, and other representations of what and who we are as people, communities and societies. After all, Raymond Williams (1958) reminds us, culture is 'ordinary' and its representational practices are central to creating common meaning. Culture, therefore, has the power to produce, shape and mobilise representations that help us imagine "what the world is, or should be" (Hall, 2013, p. 127).

The practice of representation, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "is to describe or depict [something], to call it up in the mind by description, portrayal or imagination: to place a likeness of it before us in our mind or in the senses" (as cited in Hall, 2013, p. 2).

And while museum representations "bear a close resemblance to the things to which they refer…they carry meaning and need to be interpreted" (Hall, 2013, p. 5). In other words, collections are not simply groupings of inert things – objects, artefacts or artworks – they are narratives, discourses, and imaginaries that produce, exchange and actively shape our ways of seeing and therefore, of knowing. Through organising, clustering, arranging, classifying, and displaying artefacts, museums exercise "power over how people think of themselves and their relationship to society and to others [and this power] is entangled in constructing diverse identities, modes of political agency, and the social world itself" (Giroux, 2004, p. 59). Culture in representational forms in museums thus operates as what Giroux calls "a circuit of power, ideologies, and values" and acts as a critical process of public pedagogy.

What these ideologies are, and their implications for knowledge and identity, has been a focus of feminist cultural theorists for decades. For, as Marshment (1993)

notes, "ideology can be a powerful source of inequality as well as a rationalisation of it" (p. 124). A central feature of culture's 'circuit of power' is the ideology of patriarchy, and this system of meaning is knit into the very fabric not only of society, but of art and culture institutions. For this reason, Marshment (1993) argues, "representation is political" (p. 123) and therefore, a feminist issue. At the centre of the circuit of power of representation lies the 'masculine gaze', the power to see, name and portray the world from the masculine viewpoint. The masculine gaze has silenced women by absenting them from the narratives of art and history but equally, it has created structures of domination by constructing the feminine as fragile, dependent and inactive, to merely act as "a foil to the masculine usurpation of activity, productivity [and] creativity" (Marchment, 1993, p. 136). Cultural theorists Carson and Pajaczkowska (2001) explain the gaze as the power of 'the seen', "considered evidence, truth and factual, as sight establishes a particular relation to the reality in which a visual is considered" (p. 1). Therefore, what we see and are shown, and the settings of seeing and showing in the authoritative context of the museum, produce reality. Taking it further, Carson and Pajaczkowska (2001) draw our attention to the relation between the seen and the 'unseen', with the former acting as a means of concealing the "underlying and unseen system of meaning" (p. 1) which has had profound implications. Without the power to define themselves, Marshment (1993) argues, women will continue to be defined through the representational power of the masculine gaze.

What is most challenging about this, however, is that museum representations are seldom deliberate, overt acts of oppression. Rather, they appear to be simply 'common sense',

> that women should have babies and cook, that women cannot be company directors or bricklayers, that they should wish to totter around on high heels to make themselves attractive to men. This appears to be the order of things. So it just happens 'naturally' that men are spared the drudgery of domestic chores, can have the most of the best jobs, and status and wealth that come with them (Marshment, 1993, p. 123).

This taken-for-granted of 'what we all know' functions pedagogically, or perhaps better said didactically, to foreclose discussions that serve to disrupt this norm, silencing voices that speak of different ways of seeing, knowing and experiencing the world. Building on this notion, Marshment (1993) refers to the insidiousness of what Gramsci (1971) called unforced tacit consent. Museums do not force us to see women and men in particular ways, rather, the masculinist gaze and its constructions lull us into accepting a particular reality as normative. Through images and narratives of heroism, greatness, strength and genius so pervasive throughout museums, we learn for example, that "creativity is an exclusive masculine prerogative and that as a consequence, the term artist automatically refers to man" (Pollock, 1988, p. 29).

Feminist Indigenous scholars Penn Hilden and Lee (2015) take this further, illustrating not only the lack of Indigenous women's stories in museums but they also draw our attention to the challenge of the 'Pocahontas loop', an idealised "tough femininity" that places Indigenous women outside the norm, positioning them as

either 'siren' or duplicitous 'other'. Categorisations of 'woman' in museums are "shot through by other categories of social identity such as ethnicity" (Lazar, 2005, p. 1), reminding us that women's stories are complex and multi-faceted, shaped not only by gender but also race, culture, class, and sexuality. Representations that render all women history-less, voiceless and thus, powerless, have limited our ability to see women as active players in the realms of society, culture, politics, history, science or aesthetics. And while there are a growing number of women's artworks and stories in museums, in the numerous museums we have viewed and hacked to date, masculinised shaping, constructions, stereotypes and even absences remain steadfast (e.g. Clover, Sanford, Bell, & Johnson, 2016).

The feminist museum hack

> Feminism must itself be grasped as an interruption, a mode of transformation, questioning, challenging and opening up futures not yet imagined. Are feminism and the museum, as we know them, compatible at any level?
>
> Griselda Pollock, 1988, p. 1

In adult education, we have a maxim: "Dig where you stand". We stand as feminist adult educators and researchers, working within the multifaceted context of arts and culture. We have drawn from feminist scholars such as hooks (1995) who challenge us to find ways to unpick complex gender inequalities and oppressions using embodied pedagogical practices, and Plantenga (2012) who asked us "to give people the tools to analyse underlying systems of power that institutionalise and manipulate identities in ways that justify oppression, discrimination and often violence" (p. 29). Manicom and Walters (2012) also call for "pedagogies of possibility", practices grounded in pragmatic assessment but also the imagination, "that which might become thinkable and actionable when prevailing relations of power are made visible, when understandings shake loose from normative perspectives and generate new knowledge and possibilities for engagement" (p. 4).

Finding a creative and innovative way to expose and address the pervasive normativity of patriarchy was necessary for us for a number of reasons. Ostrouch-Kamińska and Vieira (2014) found, only a few short years ago, that sexism was "far from having been eliminated from contemporary organisation and functioning, or from social and interpersonal relationships between men and women" (p. 4). English and Irving (2015) acknowledged that stereotypes long thought debunked were in fact "re-emerging in many spheres" (p. 6). We are in the midst of a struggle for gender justice rendered visible in public, as women feel empowered to come forward to challenge misogyny by identifying and naming misogynist perpetrators in places such as the Canadian military, the police forces, and mainstream media. However, the empire still has ways to strike back! A recent, alarming report of national policing data compiled and reviewed over a 20 months period by reporters from *The Globe and Mail*, a major daily Canadian newspaper, revealed

> one of every five sexual-assault allegations in Canada is dismissed as baseless and thus unfounded. The result is a national unfounded rate of 19.39 per cent – nearly twice as high as it is for physical assault (10.84 per cent), and dramatically higher than that of other types of crime (Doolittle, 2017, p. 1).

Despite the publicity of high profile feminist actions, our social structures continue to perpetuate – both overtly and subversively – sexist and other detrimental practices that have profound implications for all of society. We believe that as feminist educators we cannot afford to relax our efforts to unmask these 'unseen' practices of patriarchy and how they play upon who we are and feel we can be. We face today what Zoratti (2014) calls 'cognitive dissonance', the dismissal by both men and women of sexist practices such as, for example, misogynist chants on university campuses, as 'harmless bits of fun'. Cognitive dissonance also shows in comments we hear daily, such as "elax, equality of the sexes has been reached"; "I have never been discriminated against as a woman"; or "Oh, you are wearing a dress. I didn't know feminists wore dresses." These sentiments and views are real and prohibit people from seeing persistent relations of power that pit men against women, and women against women, in all walks of life.

More specific to museums, we have found that most curators and educators lack a feminist sensibility or consciousness (e.g. Clover et al., 2016). Faced with persistent and increasing sexist attitudes, discourses, and practices, we could no longer allow the problematic representations of women in museums to continue their magic of hiding in plain sight. For years, like many other adults, we had wandered "aimlessly through the rooms, looking at collections" in museums and galleries without a means to examine critically what we were seeing and therefore seeing little amiss (Burnham & Kai-Kee, 2010, p. 19). We have come to realise that learning in the museum cannot be left simply to individual interpretation but rather, it must be intentional because social and gender injustices are intentional and powerful in silencing and demeaning women's voices and experiences. We have therefore intentionally developed the feminist museum hack as a tool for acknowledging, challenging, and acting upon the social and gender injustices we identify in museum spaces.

At its core, the practice of the *Feminist Museum Hack* penetrates and illuminates critically and creatively the masculine gaze, the seen and unseen gendered representations secreted in the dioramas, artworks, displays, and curatorial statements. Through a series of questions (listed at the end of this chapter), the *Hack* asks us to employ a radical feminist oppositional gaze, an imaginative capacity to unravel the museum's fabric of ideological restrictions and think through their broader implications in terms of identity and knowledge. This methodological tool can be likened to Mohanty's (1989) 'practice of resistance', "conscious engagement with dominant, normative discourses and representations [through an] oppositional analytic" (p. 208). The *Hack* also encourages direct agency of the participants in the form of physically disrupting the visual and narrative detachment of images and narratives, which we discuss in more detail below, to reveal the museum's politics as its vulnerabilities and

thereby visibly challenge its authority to shape the past and dictate the future for us. The *Hack* does not have a prescribed structure or activity, rather it is fluid and adaptable to different museums – art, history, textile, war – although there are considerable and disappointing gender commonalities across these institutions. The *Hack* is also a way of understanding intersectionalities, surfacing ways in which race and class collide and intensify gender issues. We have used the *Hack* in many of these types of institutions to date and we have most recently turned our attention to women's museums and exhibitions.

Quantitative seeing

Drawing inspiration from The Guerrilla Girls, who developed inventories of women's and men's artworks in art galleries in North America and Europe, we use a deceptively simple practice: Count how many stories are about women and/or, depending on the museum, how many artworks are by women and how many about men. Informal data emerging from this practice has established a ratio, which is frequently hundreds to one, depending on the size of the institution. If not for paintings by Emily Carr, for example, permanent collections in the National Gallery of Canada would be almost devoid of women's works. These numerical surveys clearly demonstrate empirically a powerful assessment of what is being displayed as our cultural, aesthetic story and what is not. Absence is not silence – it speaks volumes or, to borrow from Dinesen (1991), "Who, then...tells a finer tale than any of us? Silence does." (p. 100).

But in an intersectional world of injustices, simply counting women's artworks does not tell the entire story. We need broader conversations for understanding the complexity of identity/ies in today's world as well as the practice of essentialising, i.e., offering reductive representations of women and gender. We therefore revisit the 'numbers', counting again – looking for works or exhibitions by or about trans-, lesbian, Indigenous, working class, Black, or differently abled women. This second counting tells us that race, ethnicity or class, for example, shape women's experiences and their access to power, as well as their understood and represented importance to culture, society and history. "While all women must fight against the ideological discourse of sexism", Carty (1991, p. 27) reminds us, the *Hack* visually illustrates how Black, Indigenous or working class women, for example, must struggle additionally against the ideologically negating discourses of racism, colonialism, classism, and their own particular forms of absenting and silencing representationally.

Permanence, temporality and framing

Some of the questions we use in the *Hack* turn our attention to permanency and temporality, for museums have both permanent and temporary exhibitions. On the given day we visit, we explore how women, as part of permanent exhibitions, tell women's stories or whether their stories are more likely to only be part of temporary

installations. We think through what the ideas of permanence and temporality mean to us. This is of course a complicated discussion.

Museums use temporary exhibitions as a way to fill gaps, to add new ideas and representations because they are being challenged to be more socially responsive in terms of their displays. But not all are rising to the challenge. Recently, a curator in a British museum commented that "the museum has little control over what it owns as a permanent collection and therefore, nothing can be done about it." While the former may be true, the latter is not because the museum does have control over what it 'says' about its permanent collections, the way it takes up issues or frames them in the exhibitions through curatorial statements and other devices.

The idea of 'framing' is also central to museums and thus, to the *Hack*. As noted, collections are framed in ways that tell stories or make statements, whether intended or not. Asking how women, or women's stories, are 'framed' takes us deeper into differences but also reveals commonalities. For example, we began by questioning whether or not the *Becoming BC (British Columbia)* exhibition at the Royal British Columbia Museum was framed within a discourse of colonialism. The answer is both yes and no. It is embedded in the discourse of colonialism, a representation of 'discovery' and 'progress', but it neither acknowledges nor questions this. Rather, it sanitises the plundering, murdering, raping and displacement of the colonial project. Indigenous women are all but excluded from this exhibition – presumably because they are simply 'relics of the past' who did not 'become BC'. In other words, the story we are 'told' is that Indigenous women are simply too irrelevant to the grand, heroic colonial narrative of male conquest to be represented. What, then, of Settler women? We found that if they existed in the exhibition, they did so as wives and almost all were nameless, story-less and frequently, head-less. Synecdoche, however, where a symbol is used to replace a person, was used in a number of stand-in 'representations' for White women, in the forms of dainty tea services, linens and fans. In our *Hack* of this exhibition, we also, however, found posters scattered about of scantily clad women in pin-up calendars. There were no curatorial interventions to frame these artefacts, presumably because these were seen by the curatorial staff as 'normal', representing the way it was. Settler women were therefore either absent, represented in terms of domesticity and female propriety, or they were represented as sexualized objects for the male gaze.

The physical space of the museum is also an important 'framing' device that is not overlooked in the *Feminist Museum Hack*. How are displays about women and men positioned in the museum and what does this say to us visually? One hacking experience found an exhibition of the suffragette movement in Manitoba placed in a poorly lighted hallway where it could be easily missed. Even more problematic was the exhibit of an original petition, with hundreds of signatures by women and some men in favour of 'votes for women', with a small comedic figurine of a gaggle of geese sitting atop of it. What message, we wondered, was intended to be conveyed by such a positioning of mismatched artefacts? In another museum, a dimly lighted diorama of a woman's sitting room at eye level was juxtaposed with an elevated, brightly lighted

display of male uniforms and weapons. Again, what message, intended or not, was taken away by viewers?

Interrogating the 'scripto-visual'

Central to feminist visual culture is what Pollock (1988) calls the 'scriptovisual' – a combination of imagery, curatorial statements, myths, metaphors and symbols. While reading images is central to art history, it is not common for many other disciplines, including adult education. To teach students/viewers to unpick the meanings in artworks, for example, the *Hack* draws directly from feminist visual culture: What are the women doing in the artwork? How are they positioned in relation to men? What is the central story being told and how? Students/viewers see, in forest scenes by 'the masters', for example, women draped naked over branches, whilst men sit fully clothed in intellectual discussion. "The story is that women are adornments to men who contemplate", was a comment by a particularly disappointed female student who had frequented the museum but had previously never thought about the messaging and its implications.

Another part of scripto-visual analysis is to expose the hidden "relationship between language and ideology" (Pollock, 1988, p. 29). We considered one diorama in the Royal British Columbia Museum entitled *Men, animals and machines: Farming meant combining their power.* Contrary to the signage, the only human images were women labouring in a field. Although women were and remain active farm workers, they are seldom referred to as farmers and this representation simply re-enforces the message that they are merely farmer's wives or cheap labour. Legitimate anger, something we return to later, was apparent in this question written on a post-it note and attached to the image: "So what are women then? The animals or the machines?"

Scripto-visual analysis also uncovers other types of narrative penchants in the museum. A display at first glance appeared to be about women's activism around abortion rights. However, most of the commentary was devoted to physician and advocate Henry Morgentaler. While we concur that he was a very important figure in women's reproductive health in Canada, our hacking illuminated two things. Firstly, museums defer to 'individual' and 'heroic' narratives and for the most part these are stories of individual men; stories which form the discursive base of 'leadership' or 'change-makers' creating particular understandings of who has the power to shape society. Secondly, women's stories or artworks are frequently described or situated in relation to men. This is apparent in the example above, but it is ubiquitous. In an art museum in England, male artists were described in terms of innovation whilst the female artists were described as wives or daughters of famous men, instilling an idea of 'dependency' which may in fact be true, but does not question why it was so and how it still may be so, something we enable during our hacking.

Disruption and agency

We use in the *Hack* a practice of direct agency, disruptions in forms that enable us to re-write, change and otherwise interject into the museum's hegemonic representations. One specific practice we use is to move through the collections attaching small post-it notes, mentioned briefly above, to display cases, beside artworks and other visible locations, used to ask provocative questions or highlight omissions we have observed. For example, one post-note was attached to the representation of an alley replica of old China Town in Victoria, which symbolised a site of prostitution, in fact the only mention of women in the entire replica. It also allows us to make suggestions: "Since this violence for control is clearly a story of male power, just say it!" We also use coloured dot stickers to identify works by women or men, creating a visual map of gender imbalances we could then track through the exhibition. Green painter's tape works well to redact sexist language still in usage in curatorial statements and posters. From the *Hacks*, we have also created poetry because, as Lorde argues, the poetic voice is a powerful means to overcome "the intolerable or incomprehensible to find the strength and courage to see, to feel, to speak, and to dare … institutional dehumanisation" (as cited in Golding, 2013, p. 91).

Impacts of our interventions on visitors range from indignation at the 'defacement' of the institution and 'mansplaining' of history to us, to statements such as "Oh, you are not taking those [post-it notes] down? They had added so much to my visit – they have really made me think." These are important teaching and learning moments, opportunities to reflect on both the potential of re-writing history and the challenges we continually face. The length of time our interventions remain on the artefacts and exhibits depends upon our partnerships with museum educators, who can ensure they stay for longer periods of time. Educators can also present reports compiled from our findings to make suggestions for increased attention to women to curators and administrators. We deliberately make suggestions that require little financial cost such adding a series of provocative questions to an existing curatorial statement that peak curiosity and encourage different ways of seeing the unseen. But this calls for the institution to engage in a process of critical self-reflection – by curators, and we have found this is often taken as a challenge to their authority.

Anger as possibility

Revealing the unseen can make us, and our students, respond very emotionally and become very angry indeed; many can be seen stomping from one display to another, pointing vigorously or scribbling hurriedly. While anger is an emotion that can be debilitating, it can also be empowering, demonstrating the 'good' of the angry citizen. Martin (2003) speaks about the importance of activating 'legitimate rage' against injustice, expressing emotions about things we have no other ways of expressing. Our aim in the feminist *Hack* is to instil both a sense of disquiet and anger at the undiminished persistence of the male gaze in the arts and cultural institutions we trusted, and from this, to design strategies for change, both for the institutions as well

as ourselves as artists, educators, leaders and/or activists. Because, although anger itself does not produce change, it is where hope exists. "And of course, *making anger hopeful* is an educational task" (Martin, 2003, p. 575, emphasis in original).

Final thoughts

A central aim of the *Hack*, to draw from Berger (1972) is to ensure that "the relationship between what we see and what we know is never settled" (p. 7). We have created the *Hack* as an important means to see, to critique, to challenge and to unsettle patriarchal, but equally colonial and classist relations of power that hide so cleverly in the scripto-visual folds of museums. For us, the *Hack* provides a means for adults to challenge the unquestioned masculine gaze as 'normative' and critically question its myths about whose artworks, stories, and experiences count and whose do not. It works to illuminate problematic decades old representations of 'truth' at the museum's centre, by disrupting its logic of 'common sense' to expose its 'politics'. As we unearth 'the facts' that in fact promote sexism, racism and classism, we take a stance against this practice of ignorance that simply works to uphold the status quo. We have found that the *Hack* whets the appetite for more feminist strategies and thus is a powerful pedagogical tool in the struggle for gender justice and change.

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Feminist museum hack: Whose gender counts? Some guiding questions of analysis

1) Count how many of the artworks and/or exhibitions are by women and how many are by men?

2) How many (and what) women feature in the artworks or the exhibitions? What are they doing? How are they positioned? Who has agency
3) How many of the permanent exhibits are by women and how many of the temporary exhibits are by women? What do permanence and temporality say to you?
4) Thinking about the types of genres represented – photography, painting, ceramics, wood turning, jewellery – do they feel 'gendered'? What does 'gendered' mean? If so, in what way and if not, why not? How has the gallery ensured they were not? Or have they?
5) Consider the language being used in the titles and descriptions of the artworks or exhibitions. Is it gender sensitive? Does it question gender injustice? Does it perpetuate it consciously or unconsciously?
6) How represented do you as a woman feel in this space? If you are male, how do you feel?
7) What stories/images do women artists draw, project and take up and do they tell us anything about gender justice or women's place and role in society? Is it different from the works by men in anyway?
8) How would you describe what is going on in the artworks or displays in terms of 'body politics'? What are the differences between male and female take ups of body politics? Whose is 'the gaze'?
9) Are there other issues of 'gender' represented? What are they and how are they imagined, storied and illustrated?

Actions:

1) Choose a 'gendered' artwork, an object, an exhibition or installation. Write a poem (and ode), a piece of music or a short story, or create a new label that speaks to the 'gendered' nature of piece or the institution and its collections.
2) What would you like to say to the gallery vis-à-vis gender (in)justice within its walls? What suggestions would you have?

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