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Contemporary Issues and Perspectives on Gender Research in Adult Education



Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade
ESREA - European Society for Research on the Education of Adults
Adult Education Society

Contemporary Issues and Perspectives on Gender Research in Adult Education

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Publishers

Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia

ESREA - European Society for Research on the Education of Adults

Adult Education Society, Serbia

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Design and typeset

Zoran Imširagić

ISBN

978-86-80712-01-7

Belgrade 2016

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Cover image

Title: Straight at You

Author: Mariana Mendes Delgado

Size: 60cm x 40cm

Medium: oil painting printed on watercolour paper

Year: 2012

Website: <http://cargocollective.com/marianacmgd>

The woman is infinitely other in itself, as Hélène Cixous (1981) says, “Je suis là où ça parle” (I am there where it/id/the female unconscious speaks). The project “One Man Show” is a research focused on the question of women’s experience, it’s personal, sexual and socio-cultural identity. From the idea of the politics of the body, where explores gender instability, I rely on the deconstructive use of metaphors and visual bias as ironic provocation strategy of patriarchal identities. This work is one of the possibilities to present other body shapes and symbolic signs, concerning the dichotomy between femininity and masculinity, by creating a fragmented and hybrid pictorial universe.

Mariana Mendes Delgado

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION: *Philosophy, History, Practice, and Gender Research in Adult Education*

Why philosophy?

Dominant paradigms in academic research, theory and history of adult education are not explored enough in the current European academic discourse. Postmodern and feminist orientated researchers have questioned heteronormative tradition of knowing, but adult education theories still do not sufficiently tackle gender constructed concepts and approaches. Adult education research suffered from slighting gender and women in three basic ways: deletion of women (as individual subjects and as a notion) from the history of research and philosophy of adult education, domination of androcentrism in epistemology and misunderstanding of gender perspective and overemphasizing heteronormative differences (placing females in opposition to men) in research methodology and data interpretation, which reproduces dualism and binary positions while underestimating social dimension of gender identities.

Methodological approach to research in adult education is often based on androcentric epistemology that favours objective vs. situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988), linear vs. complex, reductive vs holistic, and rational vs emotional. It is an intriguing paradox that androcentric discourse dominates adult education theory and research, while so called “female characteristics”, such as empathy and caring, are desirable in adult education practice.

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Adult education is still one of the social practices whose structure, approaches, methods, and positions are being created, maintained and reproduced through the existing “neutral” beliefs whose roots are in the answer to the question “what is knowledge”. Educational activities are shaped by the epistemological presumptions regarding learning and development, which are produced through a historical arena of power relations and in the context of dualistic thinking and binary positions. One of the philosophical movements that has arisen within social constructivist paradigm is *feminist epistemology*. It came on the scene in the early seventies, questioning the basis of traditional epistemology, that has for a long time remained secure and under the wing of the self-proclaimed neutrality, and which has, allegedly, managed to overcome the uniqueness and therefore to present the things the way they are (Code, 2007). “The very beginning of the feminist critique of epistemology was primarily referred to the critique of the enlightenment conception of human mind, rationality, objectivity and scientific neutrality” (Lučić, 2008, p. 12). This epistemological course relies on Foucault’s premise that the human subjects, social practices and institutions are the products of historically placed discourse (Luke, 1996). As the author Brickhouse (2001) says, the work of feminist female epistemologists begins with the analysis of what is being perceived as truth and the way it is being justified, as well as the question of claiming rights to the formulation of truthful claims (Lučić, 2008). The idea and the criticism of this philosophical movement are important for educational sciences, because of the debate which is related to the assumptions that are in the basis of learning theories and the educational process itself. The feminist approach is in fact the deconstruction of the ways in which normative, a priori defined principles, promote the androcentricity (Code, 2007).

Code (2007) claims that the white Western philosophy, from its written genesis, has positively evaluated the hierarchical division between the rational and the irrational, where only those who belong to the rational “circle” can expect appreciation and respect. For that reason, not only women were excluded because of the alleged rational incompetence, but also others who had been condemned as inadequate for the reasoning from which the valid knowledge arises (Code 2007). From this follows that the understanding of learning was historically and socially constructed, as the dominant cognitive process and something that can be acquired from the outside leaving out the emotions. Cognition is under the influence of the ideas of positivism and reduced to memory and thinking, and those who learn represent the disembodied minds who attain knowledge outside the context and their own subjectivity, and exactly that had a huge impact on the design of learning theories and “clinical removal” of emotionality and corporeality from education. The project of this book is to bring attention to this separation and invite researchers to contribute to the debate on how androcentric world of view and knowledge shaped

mainstream research methodology and adult education practice, but also to experiment and report on new possibilities that have arisen after the era of deconstruction. We asked the questions: after problematization of dominantly male academic thinking, what are new approaches that are built on feminist epistemology?

Why history?

Furthermore, usual approaches to the history of adult education trace back its roots to the 18th century, mostly to the industrial revolution and birth of worker's right to education, as well as to the church activities and literacy for adults as charitable activity. This approach widely ignores not only the adult learning phenomena as accompanying the development of mankind, but also the long history of various organized form of adult learning in different historical and social contexts.

This is one the reasons why some conceptual analyses were missing from the historical approaches to adult education. Without the historical line of development, deeper insights into the social and cultural factors that shaped ideas and practice of adult learning were not possible, and comprehensive conclusion could be made about the relationship between adult learning and social processes across times and places. History of adult learning and education, especially the earlier one, was never critically examined from the point of view of the new discourses, except partially from the point of view of critical theory and neo-colonialism, but this applies mostly to the modern history. Therefore, feminist ideas and gender studies influenced the contemporary thinking of adult learning and education, mostly the research on participation patterns, professionalisation of the field, teaching and didactics. Only on the international level was gender the focus of adult literacy efforts, and the discourse of emancipation and empowerment entered the mainstream educational discussion in the context of development and global challenges of poverty reduction, health and climate change.

The dominating paradigms of both historical and modern adult education are not sufficiently explored in the current European academic discourse. Transformative learning theory did open the space for challenging the existing heteronormative traditions, but without a clear gender focus, other approaches are tackling them only indirectly.

On the other hand, modern policy creation in adult education remained untouched by critical analysis of patriarchal and andocentric foundations; even the critical inquiry of neoliberal tendencies omits to reveal the nature of economic and ensuing social relationships. Neoliberal form of capitalism, fostered by globalisation, assumes gender neutrality and equal chances for everyone; at the same time, it is

based on the values deeply rooted in patriarchal and machistic presumptions, imposing the norms, codes and standards of a predator, aggressive culture. It is very obvious in the fact that global capitalism works well in Western societies and in a very traditional, conservative societies that still tolerate or even support oppression of women, various forms of violence and a striking lack of democracy. Women as consumers are much higher in the value system of modern societies (even democratic ones) than women in any other role and their 'rights' as consumers are overwriting their human rights. These facts impede all the efforts to achieve gender equality, truly inclusive societies and empowering education.

Critical considerations of contemporary tendencies in education, coming from the economy and human capital theory: privatisation, forced competitiveness, efficiency, efficacy, productivity, skills and competencies, 'goal-oriented' and 'result-based' possession, research paradigms of pure empirism and quantophrenia – they haven't been analysed from the perspective of gender research and its connection with male-dominating system of social power.

Critical studies of neocolonial practices of global capitalism have a strong gender angle, but European research still lacks this approach. Researchers did draw attention to the one-sided European adult education policy, its non-authentic and non-adequate concepts, deconstructing in this way the European myths of inclusive and deliberating lifelong learning which empowers persons and develop societies. But they failed to deconstruct the historical development of the field and its state of art and current tendencies as products of concrete heteronormative societies and their ethics, in the way anthropology did.

With this project we tried not only to challenge the existing gendered beliefs in adult education, but to create a window into different methodologies and education practices. It was a reconstructing project meaning that we did not want only to deconstruct educational practices and research, but to present projects that came after the deconstruction of androcentric biases. Besides deepening understanding of gender issues in adult education and leaning, and inventing new learning and research methodologies, we tried to invite the authors who can shed light on the historicity of gendered biases, by analysing educational paradigms and policies by placing them in certain geographical, political and social context.

Why practice?

Defined in terms of gender, personality is a way of looking at reality, producing and (re)constructing these features throughout life, during which the individual's identity is shaped (Bem, 2000). A way of women and men's behaviour are not

only shaped by the perception of themselves and creating their own „I“, but also by the norms and practices of the culture in which they live. Research shows that both the functioning of adults, and the nature of the challenges undertaken by them in our culture are significantly correlated with gender. Also socially constructed developmental standards, strategies for dealing with crises, experiences and biographies have their own gender specificity (Mandal, 2000). Thus gender in its socio-cultural and biographical dimension is an important perspective of understanding and giving meanings by women and men, as well as a window that allows to “enter into the inner life of the individual” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009, p. 49). The aim of the research focused on the construction of gender is to build a theory grounded in real men and women’s experiences and their language, emphasising the different ways of experiencing world by them (Lather, 1991).

In this perspective, the differences between genders are the result of close links with the category of power and social inequalities, and the specific status associated with gender is (re)produced in all activities of daily life, also through education. But this is formal education which is the biggest space of (re)production of the shape of women and men’s roles. Being an institutional instrument of social influences, it reproduces cultural definitions of gender, gender stereotypes and gender-biased values. It does so through the structure of educational system, also as a part of gendered educational labour market, through educator-student interactions, curriculum, the nature of knowledge provided, and other aspects of hidden curriculum. The analysis of any hidden aspects of formal education shows that knowledge is not neutral, also regarding gender roles, and distinct boundaries between what is feminine and masculine, hidden in symbolic and structural violence of formal education generate adaptable behaviours and do not encourage crossing or changing the traditional gender order (Ostrouch-Kaminska, Fontanini & Gaynard, 2012).

Research shows (Renzetti & Curran 2005) that there are a couple of proposals for action, which could help to eliminate gender inequalities in education, particularly formal and non-formal one. The most important changes are the development of gender and minority studies, evaluation and modification of curriculum and teaching methods used in educational institutions towards more critical ones, and involving adult students in learning process, as Knowles (1990) recommended when he wrote about treating life experience of adult learners as valuable source of knowledge. The important change could also be the increase in number of critically oriented educators in the education system, also with the capability of using “gender lenses” in their work (Arnot, 2006). Adult educators with a critical approach to teaching could stop transmitting stereotypical divisions of gender statuses and roles through transformation of the content of the awareness of the adults. Malewski underlines (2010), that adults in the process of analysing their life in the context of

economic factors, socialisation and cultural impacts should discover the relations “between the definition of their own identities and the influence of social structures as well as they should notice their colonisation impact on the contents constituting their self-awareness” (Ostrouch-Kamińska & Vieira, 2016).

Among those activities there should also be changes in norms of ethical and cultural systems, what is especially emphasized in feminist ethics, based on the experiences and needs of socially marginalized groups (Robinson, 2006). According to the assumptions of the “ethics of care” (Tong, 1998), as feminist ethics is defined in opposition to the “ethics of justice” or “ethics of norms”, the most important issues are the rights of individual and equality, also in the process of education. The basis for practice enabling levelling out the educational chances and opportunities of women and men should be the inclusion of diversity of women and men’s worlds in adult education, and a belief about democratic character of educational processes (Bernstein, 2000). Then education, rather than reproducing the status quo, would become a generator of constructive social changes, making public sphere a space of democratic discourse (Fleming, 2009).

The organisation of the book

The book contains seventeen manuscripts divided in five topic areas: *Philosophy, History and Gender*; *Methodologizing Gender*; *Gendered University: Gender, Academia and Power*; *Exploring Masculinities*; *Gender in Adult Education Practice*. Thirty three authors and researchers from Europe and Australia with different national and expertise background ensured that the book is enriched with various cultural, experiential and theoretical approaches.

The first chapter titled *Philosophy and Gender in Adult Education Discourse in Poland*, the manuscript of Agnieszka Zembruska, is focused on the question, regarding the way in which different philosophical traditions and gender approaches influence discourses in adult education theory and practice in the context of recent Polish political and economic transition to capitalist market economy and liberal democracy. The paper explains how mentioned discourses affect which concepts and notions are emphasized as focal points in adult education theory and practice, and in which manner they are being used, such as: human nature, who is an adult learner, what kind of philosophical orientation is being utilized and what kinds of adult education practice output is being encouraged etc.

The second chapter *Policies on the Education of Girls in 19th Century Serbia*, written by Nataša Vujisić Živković and Katarina Popović shows how 19th century Serbia is an exemplary case for gaining insight in how different social and ideological

paradigms related to modernization, influenced education policies of girls and women in Serbia, sometimes helping the emancipatory processes, not only of women, but of the society in general, but sometimes reproducing female subordination in education context with regards to the dominant ideology and narrative.

Chapter by Maja Maksimović and Aleksandar Bulajić, *Multisensory Research Methodologies: An Exploration of the Process of becoming a Woman*, focuses on methodological and philosophical aspects of transformative and implicit learning processes of actors involved in the theatre play “The Red”, which deals with personal tragedy and/or transformation of women whose intimacy is regulated by social agencies and captured by dominant discursive practices. The manuscript aims to explain the meaning and significance of “liberated methodology” grounded in feminist epistemology, which examined socially engaged learning process that followed and constituted the emergence of the play.

Gender Approach Issue of Students’ Research Papers, is the chapter written by Zorica Milošević and Snežana Medić. The study is centred on analyses of students’ final research papers – defended at the Chair of Andragogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. The content of comprehensive analyses emphasizes the manner in which gender topics and issues are treated in students’ papers, as well as in which study program courses they have a tendency to be treated more or less frequently, what the epistemological and methodological approaches used to address questions of gender are and what can be proposed as an recommendation for further andragogical studies that encompass the gender issues. One of the main contributions of the research is the effort to examine the status and meaning of the gender variable in different theoretical and methodological aspect of studies.

Another paper that studies how gender issues are perceived and construed by students of social sciences programs is the research of Cristina C. Vieira and Maria Jorge Ferro named *Conceptions of Feminism, Machismo and Sexism in Final Year Graduation Students of Three Different Courses of Social Sciences: A Portuguese Exploratory Study*. The study presents an effort to theoretically interpret the misconceptions found regarding gender, sex, feminism and machismo which prevents students’ critical thinking on the matter of subject. The number of gender related aspects such as: power relations or dissonance between dominant narrative and the practice of gender inequality, tend to be disregarded in students’ observed constructs, thus leading the authors to stress and contemplate the need for university program curricula to be changed, in order to achieve more critically oriented future professionals in Portugal.

The sixth chapter devoted to a topic of gender and university is the scholarship of Marie-Pierre Moreau named *Gendering Student Parents in Higher Education*. In concordance with previous research recommendations on capturing student par-

ents' experiences along with different social identities they may possess, this study attempts to understand more closely the differential space in which student parents' commitments are met gender wise. Results provide an observation of the way in which traditional gender roles are sustained or, on the contrary, suspended in this context.

Who is Who in Faculty Management in Serbia? A Concise Gender Analysis is an empirical study conducted by Aleksandra Pejatović and Violeta Orlović Lovren which encompassed number of state as well as private universities in Serbia with an aim to explore the sex distribution of dean and vice-dean university positions and related job descriptions in the context of the question of power distribution among men and women and traditional division of labour. The study shows how this traditional division of labour is preserved in dean positions, namely through gender division on "male" or "female" traditional professions certain university are focused on, as well as through "male" or "female" socially perceived types of responsibilities in the area of certain vice-dean positions.

Another study, presented in chapter eight, deals with gender issues in the context of academia. The research done by Jelena Đermanov, Marijana Kosanović and Jelena Vukićević, called *Gender Related Obstacles in Higher Education*, conducted at the University of Novi Sad, tends to explore gender based inequality found to be experienced by female students during their higher education studies. Different discriminatory practices found are analysed, such as derogatory messages received by female students, as well as unequal treatments of students based on their gender, gender insensitive application of curricula, instruction methods and unsupportive environments.

Nataša Simić and Vesna Đorđević, the authors of the ninth chapter *Work Satisfaction and Challenges in Scientific Career – Women's Perspective* is a study conducted on ninety female researchers and scientists from Serbia. Authors found several gender related factors that influence general female job satisfaction that evidence the need for change in the Serbia legislation to be made as well the need for dominant values and attitudes to be transformed. The factors found reflect a demand for female researchers to achieve more rights regarding parental leaves and to be more acknowledged in a scientific and wider social context,

The tenth chapter *Masculinity, Intergenerational Relations in a Family and Care: Men Learning Care in Adulthood*, is presented by research of Joanna Ostrouch-Kamińska and Iwona Chmura-Rutkowska. It is an effort to explore the sphere of establishing relationships between adults and their aging parents in the context of masculinity. Using focus group interviews and biographical interviews the authors analysed the manner in which middle-aged Polish men tend to perceive and behave when occupying the role of the son of ageing parents. The key elements that consti-

tute these relationships are analysed and are found to revolve around the structure and functioning of modern families, patriarchal sexual contract and men's socialisation experiences aiming at independence.

Australian scholar, Barry Golding, the founder of Men's Shed Movement, is the author of the paper named *Critical Reflections on the Role of the Men's Shed Movement in Changing Perceptions about Learning by Older Men in Community Settings*. Author explores intersected areas related to older men's learning and wellbeing through Men's Sheds. Critical reflection on the Men's Shed model founded on feminist epistemological postulates, shows how learning process is being transformed and enhanced when a traditional male' learning context is moved away from simplified and standardized masculinist practices.

The chapter *What Men Do Not Speak About: Sexualized Violence during War and Its Consequences*, written by Christine Buchwald examines the practice of sexualized violence in wartime from the perspective of intersection of Bourdieu's "serious games" and Connell's "hegemonic masculinity" theories. The relation between victim and offender can be seen as a result of several factors, as the offenders demonstrate influence and force over the victimized men who lose power being pushed away, in a masculinity hierarchy context, from the constructed ideal of hegemony to a position of subordinated masculinity. The victims are deprived of heterosexuality through the act of forced homosexual acts, and their capital is potentially decreased though affecting their ability to earn as a result of future posttraumatic stress. The author emphasizes the need for adult learning to be incorporated in practical dealing with these issues, especially since the affected men hesitate to communicate their experiences of violence (despite the experienced emotional pain), as it would mean being attributed to subordinated masculinity.

Gender Differences and Adult Participation in Leisure Education is chapter of Tamara Nikolic Maksić and Nikola Koruga. The text aims to explain gender differences regarding participation in leisure education from perspective of different theoretical and empirical investigations of the issue, also drawing upon previous research done by the authors. Avoiding the simplistic generalisations, the authors depict more complex and wider view on the relation between gender and leisure education, offering recommendations improving methodology, policies and practice of examining and improving the field of concern.

The text *Adult Education in Science Technology Engineering and Mathematics under the Gender Aspect: A Critical Overview of Programs and Strategies in Germany*, written by Elisabeth Sander, Martina Endepohls-Ulpe and Claudia Quaiser-Pohl offers insight in STEM professions' gender gap in Germany, but also analyses the initiatives for supporting and motivating women to take up STEM carriers, as well as the theoretical grounding of such socially engaged educational efforts. This gap,

as authors notice, influences social agencies' styles and behaviour such as those of parents and teachers, as well as the structural base of education system. Based upon previous research observations, the authors conclude that empowering and encouraging current and potential female STEM professional can be achieved thorough designed interventions and that this influence is mostly noticeable in the area of female's self-efficacy, self-confidence and related attitudes.

Alzira Manuel and Oleg Popov are the authors of the chapter *Exploring Gender Differences in Participants' Motivation and Expectations in Non-Formal Vocational Education and Training Programmes in Mozambique*, which is a description of their research efforts that used semi-structured interviews and life stories of participants of non-formal vocational education and training programs to explore the latter's gender related motivation and expectations in the context of mentioned programs. The study depicts clear gender differences in anticipated or desired program benefits by the participants, which reflect traditional male-female role dichotomy – women's motivation is more focused on benefits in the family sphere as men aspirations aim more to professional achievements.

The chapter by Maria Ivanova and Aneta Dimitrova is the research under title *Do old Women Study in Bulgaria? Preferred Methods of Training of Men and Women Aged 65+*. The study offers a short overview of ongoing situation of adult education, lifelong learning and training in Bulgaria, compares European policies and recommendations, as well as Bulgarian legislation regarding social inclusion of elderly, and the current field situation in Bulgaria in the context of the issue. Authors' empirical study shows level and type of motivation for participating in learning endeavours for both men and women and analyses additional important factors influencing this age group's motivation such as: health status, financial capability, habits, gender based learning preferences etc.

The book ends with a study by Antonieta Rocha and Teresa Cardoso named *The Adult Education and Training Courses in the Portuguese Society: A Look at the Female Presence*. The focus point of the study is the analysis of women participation, their satisfaction related to the courses and the characteristics of female participants in adult education and training. According to the study results it seems that the context of adult education and training courses in general, offers good opportunities for women to achieve their professional as well as other life goals. However, the authors state that the level of female participation in non-formal education is still not satisfactory perceived from the gender equality point of view.

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PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY AND GENDER

PHILOSOPHY AND GENDER IN ADULT EDUCATION DISCOURSE IN POLAND

Abstract

This paper reconstructs the discourse on adult education in Poland in recent decades, taking into account two perspectives: those of philosophy and of gender studies. What interests me is, on the one hand, the presence or absence of philosophical traditions in academic texts. On the other hand, I am interested in whether gender has been invoked in this discourse. What is the specificity of adult education (and of its philosophical assumptions) if we try to comprehend it from a gender perspective? While I focus on the Polish literature on adult education, I also refer to American research in adult education, which profoundly influenced the thinking about adult education in Europe.

Key words

adult education, andragogy, philosophy, gender

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Eastern European countries, in the late 1980s and early 1990s Poland underwent a systemic transformation that touched every sphere of life, from politics and economics to society and culture. The transformation process had as many similarities as differences and shades among particular countries that abandoned socialism in favour of a more or less successful democracy and capitalism. More than a quarter of a century has passed since the symbolic year 1989, a fact that encourages reflection on this process or processes – their meanings, advantages and disadvantages, profit and loss accounts, winners and losers of the transformation.

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The political and economic changes entailed further social, cultural and psychological changes in the lives of the citizens of post-socialist countries. Those changes inevitably affected education – both its theoretical and practical dimensions. Zbigniew Kwieciński, one of the most astute researchers of education in Poland, has remarked lately that such a fundamental turn must evoke questions about its implications for education on the broadest sense:

Its aims, forms and contents of teaching, ways of thinking (ideology, paradigms, methods, and strands), about these processes and ways of studying them. The same questions apply to the effects of the radical transformation on pedagogy itself. (Jaworska-Witkowska & Kwieciński, 2011, p. 81)

The aim of the present text is to outline the relationships between philosophy, gender and adult education in the Polish adult education discourse after the transformation. In other words, I will attempt to answer such questions as: Is philosophy present in adult education discourse? What kinds of ontological, epistemological and ethical issues can adult education raise? Are there any connections among philosophy, gender and adult education? If so, where are they?

Such questions are important for several reasons. Firstly, the political changes in Eastern and Central-European countries made possible international collaboration of academics from different cultural traditions, enabling the development of local adult education schools. Secondly, societies in post-socialist countries experienced major changes which had to be and still have to be addressed by researchers in humanities and social sciences. Thirdly, the global processes in the political, economic, cultural, social dimensions require new ways of thinking about the human potential. The shift from teaching to learning and from continuing education to lifelong learning may be a sign of the change in the thinking about what education could be in the face of a complex incomprehensible present and an uncertain future.

PEDAGOGY AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION

Pedagogy, like many other social science disciplines, was used by the socialist ideology to promote the socialist model of a human being, subject to the needs of the socialist state, not critical, not self-governed, not independent but docile, subordinate, productive and useful. This model has been widely (critically) described (Heller, 1989; Tischner, 1992; Kołakowski, 2001). The fall of the old system and its ideology enabled, on the one hand, more pluralistic visions of who the human being may be, giving her/him the right to determine her/his own life. On the other hand,

this was a time when older post-socialist and new ideologies were confronted with more conservative models or more liberal ones.

The early 1990s were also the time when the feminist movement began to flourish in post-socialist European countries: grass-roots movements that soon organized themselves into non-governmental organizations, informal gender studies groups, and occasionally structured university courses and programs. Initially drawing from Western European or American feminist or gender experiences and studies, those movements addressed many local issues, specific to the Polish cultural and historic heritage. Questioning both the Catholic and socialist traditions, feminist activists critically debated the gender roles ascribed to women, who were predominantly seen either through their biological potential as mothers and nurturers or through their economic potential as workers. Soon gender reflection also critically focused on new female role models borrowed from Western (neo)liberal pop-culture that stressed women's sexual attractiveness. Education in its social and cultural setting was one of the main targets of the critical feminist/gender reflection (Kopciewicz, 2003; 2007; Chomczyńska-Rubacha, 2007; Chmura-Rutkowska & Ostrouch, 2007; Gromkowska-Melosik 2011).

PHILOSOPHY IN ADULT EDUCATION

In the one of the most popular academic books on adult education of the recent decades, *The Adult Learner: The Definitive Classic in Adult Education and Human Resource Development*, the authors refer to the role of philosophy, likewise to the role of psychology and sociology in understanding adult education (Knowles et al., 1998, pp. 51-54). As early as the 1920s American academics emphasized the importance of philosophical reflection in adult education perceived, on the one hand, as individual development and, on the other, as the development of the whole society. In 1956 an American national conference "Philosophy of the education of adults" was held in North Andover (Mass.), gathering together philosophers and adult educators to discuss the general issues in adult education, such as its aim, the needs and interests it represents, the theoretical underpinnings of human nature and the society (p. 53). Subsequently, between the 1960s and 1980s, philosophy was of interest in various texts on adult education. Despite the fact that the authors of *The Adult Learner* appreciate the philosophical contribution to adult education reflection, in further parts of the book they attempt to build a model of adult education theory which has its roots in the pedagogical theories. For example, the authors enlist several assumptions of the andragogical model that are specific for an adult learner, in contrast to a younger learner, a child or an adolescent. This list of assumptions refers

to certain beliefs about who an adult person is, what (s)he may need, want, expect, experience (pp. 64-68):

1. *The need to know* – adults must know what is the aim and value of learning for them, otherwise they are likely to be resistant to learning and to the teachers.
2. *The learner's self-concept* – an adult person's belief in being responsible and self-directed may collide with their concept of being a student – dependent on a teacher and passive.
3. *The role of the learner's experiences* – the number and character of experiences of an adult person is very different than those of a child, while the groups of adult learners are more heterogeneous. Therefore individualization of teaching/learning is needed to extract the experience-based knowledge and personal identity.
4. *Readiness to learn* – here the authors refer to one's individual readiness to develop. They mention developmental tasks which can be carried out only at the right moment of one's personal development.
5. *Orientation to learning* – unlike children, adult learners are more life-centred, in the sense that learning helps them to deal with everyday situations and problems.
6. *Motivation* – in case of the adults, external motivators (e.g. higher salary, promotion) are reinforced by internal motivators (e.g. job satisfaction, self-esteem, and the quality of life).

The interest in adult education dates back to the 1920s. In the 1940s it became clear that “a conceptualization of adult learning had to be discovered” (Knowles et al., 1998, p. 71), but it was not until the 1950s that the social sciences took a serious interest in adult education as a research subject:

These social science disciplines include clinical psychology, developmental psychology, sociology and social psychology, and philosophy. Noted clinical psychologists such as Freud, Jung, Erikson, Maslow, and Rogers made significant contributions to the study of adult learning. Freud identified the influence of the subconscious on behavior; Jung introduced the idea that human consciousness possesses four functions: sensation, thought, emotion, and intuition; Erikson provided the “eight ages of man”; Maslow emphasized the importance of safety; and Rogers conceptualized a student-centered approach to education based on five “basic hypotheses.” Developmental psychologists provided knowledge of characteristics associated with age (i.e., physical capabilities, mental abilities, interests, attitudes, values, creativity, and

life styles), whereas sociology and social psychology provided knowledge about group and social system behavior, including factors that facilitate or inhibit learning. (Knowles et al. 1998, p. 71)

As far as Polish literature is concerned, there are few examples of philosophical underpinnings of adult education, and usually these are connected to the issue of building a theory for adult education. Mieczysław Malewski, one of the leading researchers in adult education in Poland, points out the theoretical weakness of andragogy as a sub-discipline of pedagogy focusing on adult education (Malewski, 1998, pp. 155-164). Firstly, according to Malewski, in the past Polish research in adult education concentrated on producing practical knowledge on how to organize and perform the education of adults (e.g. as continuing education). Secondly, the dominant orientation on empirical studies in the positivist framework of quantitative methods lacked any deeper critical reflection. Thirdly, the recognition of andragogy as one of sub-disciplines of pedagogy, and the tendency to give it the normative role of politically correct formation of an adult person (pp. 157-158), instrumentalized adult pedagogy. Malewski accuses andragogy of making empty declarations about relations between this sub-discipline and psychology, sociology, philosophy, biology or even cybernetics - declarations that are not followed by any deeper research (p. 159).

However the same author makes an attempt to reconstruct three models of didactic work with adult persons: technological didactics, humanist didactics and critical didactics (Malewski, 2010, pp. 22-43). Each one of them is based on different epistemological and ontological assumptions about the concept of knowledge and its relation to the real world, the concept of teaching/learning, and the concept of the learner. Technological didactics refers to K.R. Popper's idea of three worlds, the first one being material artefacts and natural processes, the second – human dispositions and the content of consciousness, the third consisting of the products of the human mind. According to this model education is based on the selection of *objective* content of knowledge, which is subsequently structured in order to be transmitted to the learning person. The teacher's role is to *pour* the knowledge into the *empty* mind of a student (pp. 22-26). The second model of humanist didactics assumes that adult people want to make use of knowledge to develop their own competences. Since in this case the aim of education is meeting the needs of students, information is valid insofar as it is useful for someone. What is important is the experience and knowledge that learners have gained throughout their lives. The teacher's role is more of a consultant, counsellor and facilitator of the process of learning (pp. 26-29). The last model of didactics, a critical one, is based on several ideas: the thought of the Frankfurt School, especially Jürgen Habermas, the pedagogy of Paolo Freire, and the idea of social construction of knowledge of Peter Berger and Thomas S. Luck-

mann. In this model knowledge is the outcome of competing visions of the world and therefore often combined with power. Each era produces its own understanding of the world: of the political, economic, and social systems, and of the human role in them. For example, because the postmodern era is dominated by the market and consumption, the teacher's role is to encourage adult students to develop a critical attitude and not to take ready-made knowledge for granted. Education is a tool in the fight for a better, more just and conscious life. Critical education uses the Socratic dialogue as a method, while the teacher should have deep social and psychological competences (pp. 32-39).

Other researchers also underline the need for philosophy in adult education studies. According to Elżbieta Dubas (2000, p. 119) there are at least two main anthropological issues in adult education that need to be addressed. The first one is the very general and perennial question about human nature. The second concerns the understanding of adulthood and the nature of an adult person's life. In her text, Dubas mentions few philosophical currents that address questions raised in adult education reflection: personalism (dignity and values of a human being, responsible and independent free choice), existentialism (the human being as a mystery, an unpredictable individual), philosophy of dialogue or philosophy of meeting (teacher-student relation based on mutual understanding and openness) (pp. 119-123). She also enlists other issues worth focusing on, such as: self-realization of a human being, values and needs, a sense of life, development opportunities, and possible models of life.

Particular philosophical ideas seem to be specifically attractive to adult education. But they are no less attractive to pedagogy as such, and to many other of its sub-disciplines. These include the already mentioned personalism, existentialism, philosophy of dialogue, but also phenomenology and hermeneutics. Some thinkers mentioned by adult education researchers can be perceived as being half-way between philosophy and psychology, hence the interest in humanist psychology and (neo)psychoanalysis (Erich Fromm), as well as (neo)behaviourism (Konrad Lorenz, a biologist who studied the mechanisms of human behaviour) (Jaroń, 2007).

GENDER IN ADULT EDUCATION

The gender perspective opens more philosophical questions in the area of adult education: Does biological sex and socio-cultural gender impact the way adult learners learn, act and think? If so, how? How do we understand ourselves and our behaviours/attitudes/activities? How do we understand and participate in social life?

In May 2000 Poland held a conference on „Women and adult education” (7th Torun Andragogy Conference), which was followed by the publication of an edited book, *Kobiety a edukacja dorosłych* (Women and Adult Education) (Wesołowska, 2001). This event and the book are an example of incorporating gender (or feminist?) perspective in research on adult education. The topics covered in the book include: education of women in a historical perspective (19th-20th c.), women’s needs and aspirations in education at different periods of life (young women vs. seniors), educational consciousness of women, educational biographies of women, educational problems of unemployed women, women in: science, the army, the arts, and women’s issues on the Internet. In fact, gender as such was not considered a “category” of analysis in those texts, while the interest was focused on the appreciation of women as adult learners.

Other texts from recent years that may foreshadow the incorporation of gender as a category of analysis in the Polish andragogy discourse also concentrate on the role of women in adult education. For example, one text covers the presence of women in the reflection of Polish researchers of andragogy and social pedagogy (Górnikowska-Zwolak, Wójcik, 2010), while another focuses on the seniors of Polish andragogy (Frąckowiak, 2011). Such texts follow similar pattern present in human and social science research for the last two decades – their aim is to highlight the role of women in particular fields of human activity.

CONCLUSIONS

This text is merely an initial attempt to understand the intersection of philosophy, gender and adult education. The subject is definitely worth further reflection. The majority of texts in adult education, at least in Poland, focus on various practical issues, such as the way particular individuals or groups learn, or the organization of a range of forms of education.

When one thinks of the possible interaction of such categories as philosophy, gender and adult education, several issues may be worth further consideration:

- Who is an adult learner? What constitutes the identity of an adult learner?
- What role does the gender of an adult learner play in his/her learning?
- How does gender impact the way one understands himself/herself and his/her behaviours/attitudes/activities?
- How does one, being male or female, understand and participate in cultural/social life?

An important contribution has been made in the development of andragogy as a theory of adult education and constitution of this sub-discipline of pedagogy. If

philosophy appears in the adult education literature, it tends to serve as a framework for theories of adult education/andragogy. While various philosophical currents are mentioned, some researchers write directly about the “philosophy of adult education” in the sense of a distinct (to what?) worldview and a concept of the human being.

By contrast, gender is much more present in empirical studies of the role of women or their absence in the public sphere. One could argue that there is a lack of conceptual work on gender as a socio-cultural category inscribed in the identity of an adult person. Gender is also an important category when we consider the changes in Poland’s education structure in the last quarter of a century (since the transformation), when the number of well-educated women rapidly increased, as did the prevailing discrepancy in the system of professional promotion and remuneration.

Taking advantage of various philosophical concepts, combined with using gender as a category in doing research, could enhance the understanding of contemporary social and cultural processes, as well as our understanding of our own identity. In other words, adult education research with the support of philosophy and gender studies may bring not only a better understanding of social life, but also empower people in their daily activities.

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POLICIES ON THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN 19TH-CENTURY SERBIA³

Abstract

The aim of the research is to explore the education of women in Serbia in the 19th century, and to reconstruct the dominant influences on the formation of educational policy in regard to women and girls and the nature of this policy. The method used is the analysis of primary sources and archive documents of educational policy - the school laws, curricula, teaching plans and programs, the minutes of the meetings of the Ministry of Education, reports of school supervisors, as well as school diaries and memoirs.

Patriarchal agrarian society in Serbia was in the process of Europeanization in the 19th century, can serve as a paradigm for research into the development of attitudes, approaches and policies of education of women. Based on resources, the conclusion has been made that the socially determined subordinate status of women in education process, at all its levels, and especially the secondary and tertiary level, was legitimized by appeal to European Rousseauian or social Darwinist views. Emancipatory influences came with the rise of socialist ideas in the 19th century. Paradoxically, these emancipatory influences helped create upper middle class, which was able to more easily influence the educational policy than the socialists. On the other hand, the “neutralisation” of the potentially dangerous (to the existing social order) education of women demanded the creation of “gender-educational canon” which also had a dominant influence on the policy of female education.

Key words

education policy, education of girls in Serbia in the 19th century, history of gender equality in education

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³ This paper is a part of the research project undergoing realization at the Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, “Models of assessment and strategies for improvement of quality of education” (179060), supported by Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development RS.

The history of women in modern Serbia, in the 19th and 20th centuries, and so the history of their education, has still not been sufficiently researched, let alone presented in synthetic form. Indeed, this multidisciplinary field of research has only recently been established. In the socialist period of Serbian historical science, the “question of women” was considered as part of research into the history of the worker’s movement, while in the last decade of the 20th century it was placed in the context of the consideration of trends in social modernisation. Hence the most significant collection of papers on this subject was published under the title *Položaj žena kao merilo modernizacije* [The position of women as a measure of modernisation] (Perović, 1998).

Feminist studies and the cultural history of education still have not sufficiently permeated the approach to research into the education of women in Serbia, but there is a respectable number of papers on the biographies of individual promoters – men and women – of the idea of the emancipation of women, their education, their associations and the theoretical foundations they stood on. The position of women itself, and their role in society and in the educational process, has still not sufficiently and systematically been studied. Thus a full half of society has been deprived of its historical exposition, which is all the more problematic when, as in modern Serbia, women are constantly breaking into new areas in terms of social involvement. Thus the question we are addressing does not just have an academic and memorial significance, it is closely tied up with the problems of the *historical present* of Serbian society and its partially planned, partially spontaneous process of Europeanisation in the early 21st century.

Two statements may be considered axiomatic in the approach to educating girls and women in general in liberated Serbia in the 19th century, the period to which we have limited this study. The first is that women as an entire social group were discriminated against, which is indicated by the legal history of their status. Women were legally treated as juveniles, not adults, and so were not allowed to manage their own property or exercise political rights. (see Draškić and Popović-Obradović, 1998) The second statement of an axiomatic nature is that the education of women was one of the key focal points not just of gender emancipation but of social modernisation. (see Perović, 2004) Between these two statements we have focused our research on the social and conceptual factors in the formation of policies on the education of girls and young and adult women in 19th-century Serbia. By analysing primary and secondary sources on policies regarding the education of women, which included the analysis of archive material, legal frameworks, autobiographical and biographical sources, popular academic and theoretical views of the time, as well as existing research related to our subject, we wanted to more clearly

determine the conditions in which it was formed, as well as determine the primary characteristics of women's education policy in Serbian society of the 19th century.

The scope and intended purpose of this paper meant that we would primarily focus on new opportunities for interpreting women's education policy in a patriarchal and agrarian society, which was only just moving in the direction of establishing educational institutions and of modernisation in the area of state administration, the economy and culture. This was accompanied by initial social stratification. In this regard, identifying the primary factors of women's education policy in 19th-century Serbia could serve as a paradigm for the further comparative study of this issue in the broader region of south-eastern Europe.

We have not taken a strictly chronological approach in our paper – on the contrary, we wanted to present a picture of the non-progressive treatment of women's education as a primary characteristic of the process of women's and girls' education in 19th-century Serbia. For this reason in the first part of the paper we will emphasise the placing of this question on the agenda in the intellectual sense in the early 1870s, and in that context will consider previous and later conceptual and social forces which led to its exclusion or neutralisation on the Serbian educational stage. It seemed to us that to consider this drawn-out historical process as one that developed in a non-linear manner was appropriate in looking at the issues surrounding the education of women in a society of "lethargic modernisation" (Trgovčević, 2003, p. 33).

ONE STEP FORWARD, ONE STEP BACK: PUTTING THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN ON THE AGENDA, AND THE NEUTRALISATION OF THE ISSUE

The question of educating women was one of the most important ideological principles of the *Ujedinjena omladina srpska* [United Serbian Youth] national young people's movement, which in its publications developed a lively popularisation of the emancipation of women that was under way through education in Western Europe and the US (see in Vuletić, 1998). At the same time, close attention was being paid to the higher education of women, first and foremost the education of Russian women studying medicine at the University of Zurich. It was at this university in 1867 that the first woman from Russia qualified as a medical doctor – Nadezhda Suslova (Trgovčević, 1998, p. 87).

It was just such cases as these that served as a catalyst for the originator of socialist thought in Serbia, Svetozar Marković (1846-1875) to formulate his own position on the education of women. In his article "Je li žena sposobna da bude

ravnopravna sa čovekom” [“Is a woman able to be equal to a man”] (first published in 1867) he lays out the basic suppositions regarding the “question of women” in 19th-century Serbia (Marković, 1960). He first indicates that this issue has taken its place on the agenda of social reform. Marković rejects the idea that women are not as intellectually capable as men, stating that their equality has been proven both by the fact that the doors to higher education have been opened to them, and by the academic research of, first and foremost, John Stuart Mill (Marković, 1960, p. 215). The subordination of women is a historical fact, but is not unchangeable: “When there are a larger number of educated women in different professions, then even the most bigoted reactionary will be persuaded that his doubts as to the abilities of women were quite without foundation” (Marković, 1960, p. 217). But that was just the first step. In Marković’s vision of the emancipation of women it is made clear that proving the intellectual abilities of women was only a precondition for further progress. The legal equality of women also needed to be secured. This would arise from the circumstance that mankind was keeping half of its number in an unproductive state. Once women took up their role in the economy they would need to be given equality with men in the civil and legal sense too. The social benefit to be derived from this process would come not only through the increase in productivity but also through a humanising of relations between the sexes. The acceptance of women by universities showed that young men enter into romantic relationships with educated women that are based on friendship, partnership and freedom, and not on domination (Marković, 1960, p. 218). Even in this article of Marković’s we see an idea emphasised that was to be further developed later on, that social progress of this kind would favour proper upbringing in the family.

We can to an extent concede that in writing the article “Is a woman able to be equal to a man”, Svetozar Marković was influenced by the democratic revolutionary idealistic image of gender relations of the Russian progressive youth, and that he did not sufficiently recognise the socio-economic factors involved in the discrimination of women in education and in society. But what seems of more significance to our further consideration of this issue is the fact that he firmly rejects the insistence of the academic field in Germany that the problem of the education of women be reduced to the narrow fields of training and preparation for the role of wife and mother.

The benefits of the emancipation of women in future education is emphasised even more in Marković’s foreword to the Serbian translation of John Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women*. It was Marković who gave the initial impetus for this book to be translated into Serbian. In this foreword, which he titled “Oslobođanje ženskinja” [“The Liberation of Women”], he focuses more on the specifically Serbian problems of the “question of women” than in the previous article (Marković, 1865). In Marković’s opinion, one first needed to disabuse oneself of the prejudice

that confronting the Serbs with this issue was premature in terms of their civilisational development. On the contrary, instead of global questions of “the worldwide balance of power” or reforms to the formal structure of government (e.g. its division into legislative, executive and judicial), matters of internal social relations were on the table. In these latter reforms, the liberation of women would be a path to the proper upbringing of future generations, and to raising the cultural and moral standard of the nation as a whole. A mother in a position of bondage, a family grounded on power relations – these could not communicate a proper understanding of “mine and not-mine, work and idleness, justice and injustice, truth and lies, freedom and violence” (Marković, 1865, p. 400) to a child. This way merely paved the way for a blemished early childhood experience and harmed not just women but the whole of humanity.

The views of Svetozar Marković on the education of women had a great impact on many members of the teaching class, men and women, in Serbia: some female activists, such as the Ninković sisters, were referred by Marković himself to first study teaching in Zurich. They subsequently opened a school for girls in Kragujevac in 1876. However, Marković’s ideas of emancipation did not impact the dominant ideology of education. Although differing in their theoretical underpinning, teaching professionals in Serbia mostly cultivated conservative views on the primarily maternal and wifely role of women in society, from which they derived their opinions on the role of women’s education. An example of this can be found in the views of Dr Vojislav Bakić (1849-1929), professor of pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, who was extremely insistent on the patriarchal model of women’s education. He went through numerous phases in regard to this question, from youthful Rousseauism to his reliance on the views of the sciences of physiology and psychology in the 1880s, but in essence his views remained unchanging. (see in Vujisić-Živković, 2012) A similar, predominantly conservative view was held by the director of the Učiteljska Škola (teacher training school) in Jagodina, Sreten Adžić (1856-1933), who on the subject of female teachers in male primary schools wrote the following: “About female teachers in male primary schools, it is my opinion – and I state it here openly – we need to put a stop to their proliferation in male primary schools. In most other nations male teachers work even in female schools, yet we have so inundated male schools with female teachers that St Sava⁴ would surely be mortified were he to rise from his grave and see this unnatural distribution of teaching staff in primary schools. The natural place of female teachers is in female primary schools, and of male teachers in male schools (Adžić, 1898, p. 551).

⁴ St Sava, born Rastko, a prince of the Nemanjić dynasty who is venerated by the Serbs as the Illuminator for his role as a cultural and religious enlightener of the Serbs; he is now the patron saint of Serbia and of education.

Both Bakić and Adžić remained unwavering in their view that the *natural* function and place of women determined the understanding of their education, while the *cultural* aspect of this understanding was only to be found in relation to national and cultural elevation. We should emphasise that the understanding of the function of women's education espoused by these authors was not purely socially determined but had its roots in the ideas prevailing in the European and Serbian pedagogical disciplines of the day. To begin with, Serbian pedagogy had an attitude towards the education of women that was influenced by Rousseauism (see Bakić, 1870), later building the "findings" of biological determinism into this primary notion, citing social Darwinist examples like the larger volume of the male brain (Bakić, 1893, p. 4).

One progressive idea from the field of educational psychology and didactics which came to the fore in practical and academic efforts to individualise teaching also brought with it the problem of the inequality in the psychological and physical development between girls and boys, young women and young men. This was cited as an "objective" obstacle to coeducation in Serbian primary and secondary schools, and at universities too. Thus the education authorities found intellectual justification to neglect the education of young women, and even to forbid their schooling in gymnasium schools – a restriction that long remained in force, and which effectively eliminated women as potential regular university students. But the responsibility for this attitude towards the education of women cannot solely be placed on the pedagogical profession. It was a stance shared by the entire Serbian academic elite of the 19th century, which can be seen from the response to a survey by the Velika Škola faculty regarding the admission of female students to regular courses of study expressing the view that achieving academic titles was not seemly for the female sex. This meant that the university was a privileged institution for male education, but then its professors also faced the challenge of a growing need for the higher education of girls coming from the middle classes and the need for the Europeanisation of the Serbian educational system (see in Grujić, 1953).

Resistance to male domination came from the ranks of female members of the middle classes who, sometimes consciously, sometimes not, opposed the educational canon of their class, seeking professional affirmation and sexual equality with men. Refusing to accept the fate allotted them by the patriarchal cultural model, they pointed to the growing cracks appearing within it and were the first heralds of new gender relations. Deprived of the right to challenge men in the areas of manufacturing or commerce, they saw the only opportunity to wage their battle in the areas of education and culture. We see an example of such a battle in the life of the first Serbian woman doctor, Draga Ljočić, who graduated in medicine in 1879 from the University of Zurich. This situation, which was carried over into the 20th century, had a long prior history characterised by the indifference of society towards the educa-

tion of girls and the development of parallel education systems for boys and girls, men and women.

If the equal inclusion of women in the education system is an indicator of its modernisation and of the modernisation of a society as a whole, 19th-century Serbia could serve as a paradigm for research into processes of modernisation in eastern Europe in that period. Russian historian A. Shemyakin (as cited in Perović, 2006, p. 9) sees Serbia as “an ideal laboratory for research into modernisation processes in the traditional society”. This hints at why the question of women’s education has appeared on the radar of researchers of social change in Serbia. However a critical review of the research findings brings with it the need to further cast light on the actors, the structures, the institutions, the ideas and the social circumstances of women’s education in 19th-century Serbia.

FACTORS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN’S EDUCATION POLICY

Enlightenment thinking among the Serbs included the question of the education of women as a significant factor in the broader issue of the “education of the people”. It was articulated by Dositej Obradović (1739-1811) himself, the most significant Serbian Enlightenment advocate and the first minister of education in post-Uprising Serbia⁵. He wrote in *Sovjeti zdravago razuma* [Counsels of Common Sense] (1784): “These little girls of ours are born for nothing more than to one day become mothers; but once they are enlightened, what hope for the enlightenment of all the people! So from the age of five to the age of twelve they ought to spend two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon in school, every day except Sunday. They are to learn history, geography, logic and moral philosophy and learn them well” (as cited in Nikolova, 1988, p. 74). However, political circumstances were not favourable for this point of view to be channelled into organised action in the educational sphere. Instead we encounter individual education of girls for the role of “great ladies” within the ruling dynasties and higher social classes. The diary of the young Anka Obrenović (Obrenović, 2007) has been preserved for us. Anka was the daughter of the brother of Prince Miloš⁶, and her diary speaks of the specific mix of general and “lady’s” education she received, in the context of the need to ennoble the sensibilities and tastes of the higher classes. Her home tutor, Dimitrije Tirol, one of

⁵ The First Serbian Uprising against Ottoman occupation; the period after liberation was notable for the significant work done in education and enlightenment.

⁶ Knez Miloš, that is, Prince Miloš Obrenović, was a Serbian statesman and diplomat, also known as the leader of the Second Serbian Uprising against the Ottoman occupation.

the most educated people in Serbia at that time, instructed her in foreign languages, geography and etiquette, while his wife gave her musical tuition.

In parallel with the codification of civil law in the 1840s came the rationalist idea of educating the people, and therefore the inclusion of girls and young women in the process of education. A leading proponent was prominent Serbian writer Jovan Sterija Popović (1806-1856) who as head of the Ministry of Education in 1843 published an article titled “Potreba i polza devojačkih škola” [“The need for and benefits of girls’ schools”], after which he introduced legislation for girls’ schools and began the process of establishing them (the first was founded in Paraćin in 1845). However, Sterija’s key premise was that educating girls and boys together was not appropriate. The following year, 1846, the *Ustrojenije devojačkih škola* [Organisation of the girls’ schools] was enacted. The purpose of these schools was to cultivate female moral virtues and the skills required for women’s work. No special programme was laid down for girls’ schools, it was merely emphasised that the same subjects should be learned in them as in male schools (there was no separate curriculum devised), with the exclusion of grammar, geography, history and stylistics. In other words, the level of education envisaged was considerably lower (Čunković, 1971, p. 38). They operated as follows: girls aged between 6 and 12 enrolled in them, completing three grades lasting two years each. Mornings would be for lessons, while afternoons would be given over to training in women’s jobs. Only female teachers with proper etiquette could work in these schools, who first had to take a special exam (ibid.). At that time, in 1847, the first Serbian women’s magazine – *Vospitatelj ženski* – came into being, edited by Matija Ban and running to three binders. The 1857 *Ustrojenije osnovnih škola* [Organisation of the primary schools] enactment stipulated the complete separation of girls and boys, with a separate decree ordering that the school yards of girls’ and boys’ primary schools could not be shared *Rešenje da se osnovne škole za žensku decu drže u odvojenoj avliji i kući od muških*, 1857) [Decision that primary schools for female children be held in separate yards and houses from male]. In 1865 the duration of primary education for girls was reduced to five years and the curriculum brought in line with male primary schools, except with regard to women’s work, to which the greatest educational benefits for future housewives was ascribed (*Ustrojstvo za ženske osnovne škole* [The organisation of female primary schools], 1865, pp. 201).

However the number of girls receiving even such a primary education, heavily characterised as it was by gender stereotyping, remained small throughout the 19th century, which can be seen from the fact that during the last four decades of the 19th century, in which Serbia increased in size territorially, the number of female primary schools did not grow proportionately: the ratio of boys to girls in primary education remained at more than 4:1, and the total number of girls receiving prima-

ry education never exceeded a fifth of the population (Trnavac, 1998, p. 60). Nevertheless, the number of female primary schools increased fivefold in that period, with the number of male schools increasing threefold. Coeducation of girls and boys, although set down in law, was very rare (Dunderski, 2007, p. 646).

Primary education for the vast majority of girls in the 1870s and 80s also meant the end of their education – the number of female pupils in all the gymnasium schools in Serbia together ranged between three and ten annually. We might add that even this tiny number of girls attending gymnasium met with resistance from the education authorities, and in 1894 a formal prohibition was issued on the attendance of gymnasium by girls (Ćunković, 1871, p. 167).

We see the attitude towards the education of girls from a report by school inspectors who particularly emphasised women's handiwork as the most important subject in girls' primary schools. In „Izvestije g. Đorđa Natoševića o učiteljima Kragujevačkog, Smederevskog i nekih iz okružja Požarevačkog” [“Report of Mr Đorđe Natošević⁷ on the teachers of the Kragujevac, the Smederevo and some of the Požarevac District”], from an inspection of female schools on 3rd August 1868, there is marked criticism of the fact that the teachers are demanding of girls that they craft “luxury items” instead of teaching them the most essential skills such as tailoring, sewing, hemming etc. Additionally, Natošević asks that girls' schools be provided with sewing machines, steam irons and similarly modern – for that time – household appliances, and in particular for female schools to introduce savings schemes so that “this most important of all the female virtues be learned from an early age” (ibid.). From this report we see that Natošević is focused primarily on the future role of the woman as housewife and that he does not evaluate the primary education of girls in terms of its potential emancipatory nature.

There is a noticeable lack of any more profound thought on women's education and there was no impact on the socio-economic reality, and as a consequence individual modern conceptual and theoretical approaches such as that of Svetozar Marković did not have the weight to change the policy and practice of education. In practice what emerged was gender segregation, that is a twofold path in the education of the sexes, with young men directed towards the world of science, and young women towards etiquette, household management and the instruction of children. In Serbia this approach can be symbolically connected with the year 1863, when the Velika Škola [the Great School] with its three faculties was founded in Belgrade for the education of young men, while that same year saw the founding of the Viša

⁷ Đorđe Natošević was a doctor, one of the first Serbian educators, principle of the gymnasium in Novi Sad and president of the Matica Srpska – the oldest cultural and academic institution in Serbia – heavily involved in the reform of the school system, the founding of Serbian folk schools and teacher-training schools, as well as enlightenment work.

Ženska Škola [the Women's Higher School], an institution intended for the education of housewives and teachers, which had no equivalence to a gymnasium since it did not open the door to further education (*Zakon ustrojstva Više ženske škole* [Law on the Organisation of the Women's Higher School], 1863). Court patronage of the Women's Higher School and the support drawn from this by its enterprising principal Katarina Milovuk (1844 – 1913), pioneer of the feminist movement in Serbia, glossed over the conflictedness of this institution between modernity and patriarchy (see in Perović, 1998). Nevertheless, a class of fairly well educated female teachers began to emerge who, despite legal discrimination (they were legally bound to a "vow of celibacy", and if they were to marry anyone other than a teacher they would be disqualified from the profession) and financial discrimination (lower pay) as compared to their male colleagues, they were able to involve themselves in education on an equal footing, which included reflection on their own status in society and education.

Alternative institutions for the further education of young women emerged in the form of the worker's schools of the Žensko Društvo [Women's Association] in the late 1870s. This form of vocational training for girls from the lower social classes was very popular, but offered a fairly limited range of professions in the context of the preindustrial society. There can be no suggestion of any comprehensive professional education of women in even a single profession in Serbia during the 19th century. Heroic achievements such as those of Draga Ljočić, who graduated in philosophy in Serbia and in medicine abroad, were the exceptions that proved the rule. The general (with the opening of female gymnasiums) and professional education of women in Serbia are developments belonging to the 20th century. Without taking this fact into account it is difficult to even develop a programme of research relating to the education of women in Serbia during the 19th century, and still more difficult to reach accurate conclusions about its social role. Hence, for now, we will have to be content with recognising the oppressive nature of women's education policies, which were determined by existing social boundaries and prejudices and which did not succeed in developing institutional forms or differentiating professional forms of training for women.

Various authors have attempted to identify the causes of the indifference towards the education of women in 19th-century Serbia. N. Trnavac (1998, pp. 63-69), for example, sees them as follows: 1) the pronounced sexual segregation in Serbian society, 2) the inherited patriarchal model of the family, 3) the sluggish pace of development of the schools network, 4) the predominantly rural character of the country, 5) the primitive division of labour in which the more lucrative professions were barred to women, 6) the dominance of the romantic nationalist over the rationalist social consciousness, 7) the lack of any real-life compulsory aspect to girls' atten-

dance of school, 8) the undiversified system of financing for the education of girls and boys, 9) content of girls' education that was primarily geared towards training for basic crafts and/or housekeeping skills and did not meet the intellectual aspirations of women from the upper middle classes who were deprived of the opportunity to receive general, secondary and especially higher education and 10) the low value placed on the role of female teacher by society.

Any sporadic regulatory and real-life action to advance education for young women went on on the fringes of the patriarchal social order and the legally codified economic domination of men. Attempts to change this situation were regularly eliminated, both from the ideological sphere and from the social reality, which was characterised by deeply entrenched notions of social roles. This does not mean that the 19th century in Serbia should be thought of solely as a period of indifference towards the education of women and of stagnation in the process of their emancipation. On the contrary, this was the period in which the "question of women" began to be raised. In future research of this issue it will be of less importance to consider how it found its expression in the area of education and of greater significance to investigate how it was neutralised by the dominant ideology and theory of education. In this sense the conceptual framework of women's education policy in 19th-century Serbia has yet to be studied in detail.

One can say that the key figures in the promotion of women's education were enlightened individualists and that their ideas were not fully realised due to dominant traditionalist notions on how educational policy as a whole was to be conducted. The women's education movement meandered between progressive and conservative conceptions, primarily governed by gender stereotypes relating to the objectives and content of women's education, discontinuity in general education policy and the reproduction of the prevailing socio-economic order.

CONCLUSION

During the 19th century the education of young and adult women appeared on the agenda of education policy in Serbia, but the scales tipped in favour of addressing the issue "come better times". Historical study of the school system and education as a whole has so far not integrated the attitude towards the education of women as a measure of the overall progression of the education system in Serbia subsequent to its liberation from Ottoman occupation. The question is, considering the nature of the dominant socio-economic and cultural models, how "fair" would it be to the creators of educational policy and theory to problematise this attitude. Are today's measures at all acceptable for a realistic assessment of educational outcomes

in eras gone by? Based on the available material, as regards 19th century Serbia, we must answer affirmatively. There are sufficient historical artefacts that show that the education of girls and women stirred up controversy, was the subject of discussion in educational policy and was even in part institutionalised. It would certainly be justified, and potentially fruitful, for contemporary researchers to focus on this issue. However we still lack sufficient critical apparatus to address the subject in all its social and educational aspects. The progress made in situating consideration of this issue in the context of general social modernisation has made it possible to avoid an approach to the individuals and institutions responsible for the education of women that is reduced to celebrating their anniversaries and marking their achievements. In turn it has become possible to get closer to an objective overview of the role of education in the emancipation of women and a more reliable analysis of the impacts of enlightenment/modernist and neutralising/traditionalist discourses used in the discussion of this topic during the 19th century in Serbia. Further study of these opposing positions may reveal deeper insight into their social origin and function and in doing so ease the way for the contemporary debate on the education of women and education in general.

The indifference towards the education of girls in Serbia during the 19th century is a fact that can serve to deceive if its consequences are not taken into consideration, those being the creation of a canon of a “male nation” and a canon of gender-role based education. Both are deeply in opposition to the values of both liberal, civil society and socialist society in terms of economy, politics and culture. During the 20th century both of these social concepts had to struggle against a less than motivating legacy. Thus it is clear that placing the “question of women” in 19th-century Serbia on the social agenda was not without its consequences, nor can it be overlooked by education historians.

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METHODOLOGIZING GENDER

MAJA MAKSIMOVIĆ¹, ALEKSANDAR BULAJIĆ²

MULTISENSORY RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

*An Exploration of the Process of Becoming a Woman*³

Abstract

Consciousness about female sexuality and abortion, colonized by the public domain, tends to be comprehended as the consequence of the process of social intervention in the psychological space of the womb, with an aim first to regulate privacy, and later expose it to the general interests of the nation in a form of commercial offering. The creation of the theatre play, which invites the audience to come to know social origins of intimacy, is taking place simultaneously with academic research of the transformation of actors' identity, as they offer themselves as channels for voices of female embodiment captured in patriarchal permissions of expression. The question in focus is: how did the experience of "becoming a woman" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) reformulate identities of the actors-co-authors, if the common ground for all Serbian women is - recognizing femininity through pain (Bogavac, 2002). All collaborators involved undertook activities in the series of workshops that dealt with topics such as: feminist movement, medical aspects of curettage, reproductive health and personal experience of women who underwent an abortion process. In addition to informative sessions, we offered the actors a laboratory as well (Sesame approach) within which they could redesign themselves into something different: asexual, liminal, sensual, inanimate, placed into the underworld and reborn, in order to allow them to investigate a Dionysian loss of individuality. The fact that female intimacy is transposed by men on the stage, increases perception of the oppression of female sexuality and highlights how her body is penetrated by the social norms. She is disciplined for the common good and achievement of beneficial demographic trends. "How deeply does the society need to enter the womb in order to become satisfied" (actor/co-author of the Play, personal communication, February, 2015).

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³ This paper is a part of the research project undergoing realization at the Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, "Models of assessment and strategies for improvement of quality of education" (179060), supported by Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development RS.

This paper is an attempt to describe the methodology we used, envisioned and created in order to depict and conceive processes which male actors/co-authors went through during the making of the play.

Keywords

female sexuality, gender, learning, becoming, ritual

INTRODUCTION

Monster and hero are locked in a shared space between the natural world and the social world.

(Lewis & Kahn, 2010, p. 6)

This visual essay is an attempt to incorporate voices of the two authors, a man and a woman. It is a result of an investigation of the process of making of a theatre play. We had numerous roles: researchers, friends, workshop facilitators, audience and learners. The result is alchemy of the stereotypically feminine attributes: poetic, corporal, spacious and slow, and masculine: rational, linear, defined and active. This inquiry was, and still is, a journey through the landscape of movements, images, myths, theories, and effects toward the possible fusion of what is considered to be feminine and masculine. This transformative process is reflected in writing and in the chosen research methodology that was a sort of an experiment on how to transport research from a rational and conscious activity into the realm of imagination, and to grasp what is known as implicit learning through the corporal and the unconscious. The paper aims to present a process of the research methodology that invites an exploration of the process of becoming through creating space for embodied memory and imagination to emerge, since the notion of becoming implies an understanding of the body as a process that “relies upon connectedness and mixing rather than singularity and separation” (Blackman, 2008, p. 122). The writing is an attempt to investigate the concepts that are behind the conscious choice of abandoning the mainstream research methodology and trying to create conditions for embodied imagination to be part of inquiry.

The imagination is not a set of fixed images of self and other but rather an active diagram between the contingencies of pre-subjective affect and the common notions of a rational, cognitive subject. Poised between visceral reflex and rational reflection, the imagination is a resonance between sensations and sense, cognition and affect, criti-

cal distance and sensorial immanence. In short, the imagination is the sensation of thoughts becoming. (Lewis & Kahn, 2010, p. 2)

But how is imagination revolutionary? How can learning that relies on and invites imagination, go beyond personal and become socially engaged? Lewis and Kahn (2010) introduced the concept of *savage imagination* “that moves against existing forms of Power, opening up the possibility of new possibilities via the intensification of new embodied and embedded relations” (p. 5). It has liberatory dimensions and is not simply an illusion, rather it is a “real material force that always excessive, going beyond the bounds of existing knowledge and thought, presenting the possibility for transformation and liberation” (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 99). Imagination can be a portal to move through a socially constructed identity and cross the boundaries from the familiar to the unknown and dwell in unfixed subjectivities. It holds capacity for construction of self and others and it moves from one being, to non-being into emergence of a new being. Through the agency of the body, imagination emerges together with the movement. This transition is potentially transformative - but not through a critical analysis of one’s view or perspective (Mezirow, 1990), but through the embodied enactment of imaginative world. “A poetic image can be a seed of a World” (Bachelard, 1971, p.1).

Creative processes, such as theatre play production, is a fertile field for *imaginative learning*. The play itself questions social and political disciplining of the female body and sexuality through the male voice. For the actors it could be a space for *becoming-woman*. Deleuze argues that the central role in the constitution of Western thought is sexual difference and to go beyond this structure one must exit out of gender (Batra, 2012). “Thus, the inequality of men and women can only be overcome by a more fundamental change in the way our existence is structured. Becoming-woman, then, must be viewed as an essential step toward a transformation of who we are and, thus, as revolutionary” (Batra, 2012, p. 65). The premise behind this argument is that identity is not something fixed, rather it exists in virtual space, it is fluid and in constant becoming. Thus, we believe that for the actors, through the encounter of what they are not - women, the process of becoming is intensified. Becoming-woman (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) does not mean development or liberation of what is considered as feminine. This understanding is too narrow and it reclaims existence of binary oppositions. It “unnecessarily limits the possibilities of thinking of gender as a form of multiplicity that is in a constant, though not necessarily radical, state of change, or becoming” (Linstead & Pullen, 2006, p. 1288) Deleuze and Guattari (1987) explain becoming-woman not as a transforming oneself into opposite state of being. “The Deleuzian becoming is the affirmation of the positivity of difference, meant as a multiple and constant process of transformation” (Braidotti, 1994, p. 111). Becoming-woman is a process of a development of no-

madic consciousness - floating identity, existence in between. However, the conception of becoming-woman is being criticised for its political neutrality and the risk of defining woman as otherness, thus keeping her in subordinate position. Braidotti (1994) argues that the new forms of female subjectivity imply transformation of the very structures and themages of thought. We trust that this political act is possible through a learning process and engaging what stands for “otherness” in educational setting - playing with “irrational monster”. This learning process that preceded the investigation will be explained in the next section.

HOW DID WE DO IT?

Imaginative act is an intersection of the sensual, corporal, mental and social and as such it was a space for clearance - non being – and the birth of a new and changed being. In the Sesame workshops (Female sexuality, Feminine archetypes and the Rebirth of Dionysus) we offered a space for the actors to work with movement, voice, objects, drama, music and stories.

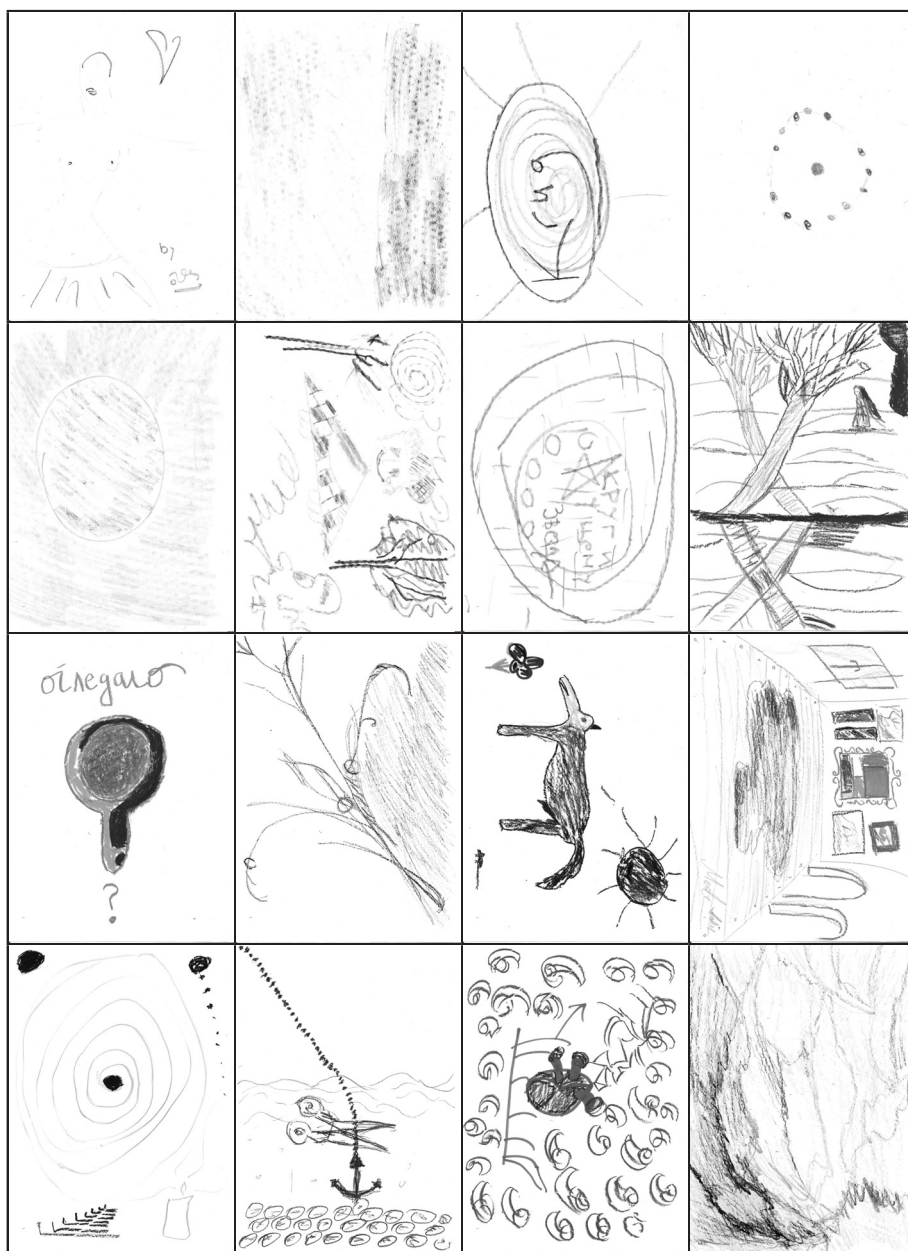
The emphasis of the Sesame practice is on the creative and expressive use of the imagination through drama and movement and on the way that the process is being facilitated for the participant. The expressed creativity is not judged, analysed or interpreted verbally and the goal is not an artistic product. The importance lies in symbolism and how symbols address the needs of participants at a deeper level. Imagination and creativity are invoked through the medium of art and play so that archetypal images and symbols are embodied and hence acknowledged in the unconscious psyche. (Batzglou, 2012, p. 12)

We experimented with a learning environment that would allow the actors to become irrational and move beyond logic and linear ways of knowing. They could journey to the indeterminate zone of between and betwixt - during the Dionysus workshop they were asked to perform a symbolic ritual of sacrifice of what they consider to be rational in order to be in the unknown and unfixed by focusing on the sensual experience. Lewis and Kahn (2010) postulated that “political struggle is organized around the killing of the monster in order to overcome alienation” (p. 6), where monster is understood as the irrational, corporal and instinctive. They borrowed a term *ontological hygiene* (Graham, 2002, p. 60) to name this social procedure in which a monster is discovered so as to be expelled from the community, or tamed through colonial or pedagogical efforts. In our workshop we wanted to do the reverse process: to enable the irrational, sensual and erotic to become alive through

embodied imagination. This act is potentially revitalizing on an individual, but also on the social and political level once it becomes alive in a public space. From a feminist perspective, this action could be interpreted as transforming educational setting that supports what is typically considered to be masculine ways of knowing, into space for what has been historically excluded as women's way of knowing. In a patriarchal world irrationality has to be tamed and controlled, and education is one of the powerful instruments to achieve that. By intertwining the concept of monster with feminist interpretations we can argue that becoming-animal and becoming-women are both acts of crossing the boundaries of social norm, which potentially extends one's identity.

Monstrous animality is gendered female, indicating a sense of connection between patriarchy, anthropocentrism, and superstition. Medusa was once a beautiful young virgin who participated in the cult of Athena. Poseidon, who could not resist her beauty, brutally raped Medusa, which led to her ultimate banishment as a monster. If, as Julia Kristeva argues, women are the original strangers, then Medusa is the ultimate foreigner. (Lewis & Kahn, 2010, p. 26)

Learning is a homecoming for what has been expelled as inappropriate returns, and "a somewhat Dionysian rejuvenation of life that allows for transgressing the habitual limits" (Semetsky, 2011, p. 1). The process of learning that implies a change in identity encompasses liminal phase in which what has been certain is now lost and a person is encountered with unfamiliar and obscure. "A becoming is neither one nor two; ... it is the in-between, the border or line of flight (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 293). Learning is preceded with a sense of lost and decomposition of one's sense of self, therefore an invitation to leave the safety of rational knowing can be experienced as threatening. This can incorporate destruction and psychological death.



Picture 1: Actors' drawings during the workshops⁴

⁴ The drawings are published with the consent of the authors i.e. study participants.

But the question is: how to make *becomings* that were happening during creative process tangible? How to communicate them to potential readers? How to explain spaces in between that are contaminated with what we used to be and what we are becoming? “Learning from experiential encounters produces a shock to thought; this ‘knowledge’ can only be felt experientially” (Semetsky, 2011, p. 5). Our intention is to make visible different ways of knowing which are outside of what is considered to be mainstream education. In order to do so, we had to invent new research methodology informed by feminist epistemology, namely we had to penetrate *logos* with *eros*. Code (2007) claims that the white Western philosophy, from its written genesis, has positively evaluated the hierarchical division between the rational and the irrational, where only those who belong to the rational “circle” can expect appreciation and respect. Cognition is under the influence of the ideas of positivism and reduced to memory and thinking, and those who learn represent the disembodied minds that attain knowledge outside the context and their own subjectivity, and this is exactly what had a huge impact on the design of learning theories and “clinical removal” of emotionality and corporeality from education. One of the most obvious examples occurs when learning content is being filtered from its affective dimension and brought in a “cognitively pure” and polished form that omits the natural steps in construction of knowledge (Kort, Reilly & Picard, 2001, p. 1), such as: making mistakes, countering new and old in a conflicting manner or deconstruction of the inner reference frame with fear of loss, sadness of leaving the known world and *Weltsmerz*, etc.

When we observe the experience through the prism of feminist epistemology, we must wonder about the meaning of domination of rational over the emotional and physical. Although the theory of experiential learning, otherwise the most common in the discourse of adult education, is being viewed as liberating, it reproduces unequal gender relations through emphasizing the cognitive, conscious and active, which is being attributed to the masculine principle above the emotional and physical - the feminine principle. In mainstream education experience does not exist if it is not being categorized, explained, evaluated, formulated in the factual manner and brought by the scrutinized rational analysis. Physical and emotional is what is being excluded from education most often, or at least marked as insufficient for “serious” learning.

By doing this research we wanted to allow polyphone realities to be recognized and appreciated as equally valid; therefore we followed the non-linear research path and tried to create structure of this writing that echoes multiplicity of being and knowing. We gave up on the epistemological purity in order to be congruent with the creative process and the main topic of the play. The research process is a geography of sensing, thinking, receiving, connecting and becoming. It is born through the

marriage of the imperative to produce and the obsessions with liminal and erotic. The experiences will be re-visited through documents, poems, photos and actors' voices as sources and ways of knowing. It is a philosophy applied through artistic practice that enables philosophical thought to be reborn. The research is an attempt to work in a flat dimension (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) where multiple concepts and experiences simultaneously appear. Further writing is an explanation of how research was conducted, bearing the above in mind. We did not present the results, but we tried to justify the approach to learning and doing research.

THE APOLOGETICS FOR THE METHODOLOGY

“Before the After”

At the beginning of the process of creation of the theatre play “The Red” we took an ethnographic approach, sometimes simply observing and sometimes observing while participating in the process. In the end we became a part of the troop of 20 men actors, listening to their comments, watching their acts, perceiving their moods, group dynamics, *feeling* their states and sharing the common space of becoming. In the initial phase we conducted several semi-structured interviews with actors investigating their “baseline condition”, listening to their initial narratives of reflections on female sexuality and abortion, their implicit constructs of “nature” of gender and most importantly, trying to understand segments of their identity related to their role - channelling the feminine embodiment. We wanted to conduct similar interviews, during and at the end of the process, in order to investigate possible subjectively attributed changes of the male actors' identities. However, in the midst of our research and after many days spent in creation of the play and talking with actors, we came to know that in this way we were to dig the thin layer of surface, ending with a very few bits of dust while missing the deeper realms.

Being changed ourselves, we became the researchers and the researched, perceiving our states in connection to the process we wanted to understand. Depending on the positions and paradigm of the reader of this text, one can say that we almost used anti-methodology, or, on the other hand, that we liberated research.. We decided to dramatically change our approach and gave birth to several “data collection” ideas, examining the process that played between depths of archetypes (Sesame workshops) and identities, and heights of the artistic, just to find ourselves crossing into the state of, not scientific, nor proto-scientific but post-scientific.

As the time passed, we came to conclusion that the main changes actors were experiencing, that the learning “results”, were not the knowledge, not the cognitive and rational, but *rather an inner sub/unconscious processes we previously referred to as*

becoming. All the other results: changes of attitudes about abortion, female complexity etc., seemed to be just the manifestation of the former. During the workshops and informative sessions that actors had with feminist academics, lawyers, doctors and women that went through abortion, they went beyond “pros” or “cons”, and entered the realm of cognitive and emotional dissonance, trying to embrace the effort to understand, rather than flow in the process of determinative knowing, achieving, and according to one of the actors “attitude free state”, in which he felt “the difficult state of women going through curettage” (actor/co-author, personal communication, June, 2015). During the process we organized Sesame approach workshops where the described process went further. They experienced a loss of factual, cognitive knowledge and attitudes, and we offered them temporary loss of identity and flowing in the Dionysian drama of being amorphic, being in the underworld, being alternative, being just senses, not-being and being reborn.

We tried to devise a methodology to bring mentioned *becoming* to the surface which would make it somewhat observable. In order to do so we had to relate philosophical concept of becoming with less abstract and more, in terms of methodology, applicable psychological construct. So, for research needs we related (“operationalized”) it with the construct of implicit learning. Bougue’s and Semetsky’s (2010, p. 115) interpretation of Deleuzian notion of becoming seems to provide a justifying argument for relating the two: “Experience cannot be limited to what is immediately perceived; still, the Deleuzian line of flight or becoming is real even if ‘we don’t see it, because it’s the least perceptible of things’”. Similarly, Frensch and R  nger argue that “Implicit learning appears to be a fundamental and ubiquitous process in cognition.” (2003, p.13), while general definition of implicit learning implies that it is “learning of complex information in an incidental manner, without awareness of what has been learned” (Seger, 1994, p. 163). Being both fundamental and hard to perceive at same time, implicit learning seems to be an adequate cognitive analogue to Deleuzian becoming.

We wanted to know whether and how this “real... but least perceptible” (Bougue & Semetsky, 2010, p. 115) learning experience led to implicit learning during the making of the play and asked ourselves how to get information about the process that is *sub/unconsciousness* and related to abstractness that underlies “a structure of a complex stimulus environment” (Reber, 1989, p. 219). Many researchers for practical reasons utilized operational definition of implicit learning, describing it in terms of product - implicit learning takes place when individuals are unaware of what they learned. Also, in many studies, different data type of measures has been proposed to bring the deep learning outcomes to the level of awareness such as verbal reports and forced-choice tests. Studies investigating implicit learning have often shown, among other things, that participants cannot verbally describe what was ex-

perimentally proven to be learned in implicit manner (Frensch & R nger, 2003, p. 14).

Bearing all this in mind, we decided to change our methodological approach in both aspects of data collection and interpretation, and go into a new phase. We also shifted from the original plan to interpret learning effects in the reference frame of SII model (Bulajić, 2013) with an alternative of asking the participants to reconstruct the model while interplaying it with their perceived learning experiences. While going through significant learning occurrences ourselves, we abandoned our traditional methodological views, and thought what to do *a posteriori*, that is after the transformation we felt.

“The After”

As we moved away from the idea to interpret actors’ verbal statements for the reasons explained, we decided to indirectly approach the implicit learning that might occur, in several “stages”, and using space and imagination.

Stage 1 – Mapping Reminiscence. At the end of the process of creation of the theatre play we organized a laboratory in order to facilitate states and memories of experience regarding changes that actors/participants underwent. We used facilities at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade but utilised space in a more metaphorical manner to facilitate the states actors experienced in the past. After preparatory non-verbal activities inspired by the Sesame approach, our collaborators guided participants through several rooms, where each had a function to rekindle emotions and memories reminiscing the process of the play creation and implicit learning. In some rooms participants had a chance to dwell with their eyes closed feeling smells, sounds and shapes that they encountered before and during the play creation and the workshops. In some they would see photos of locations and visual objects reminding them of the past process, while in others they were offered to take up simple reflection provoking activities similar to Zen garden (Picture 2). We aimed to provoke re-experiencing the past in participants hoping to bring to their awareness that what was implicit in their learning.



Picture 2: Reflection process⁵

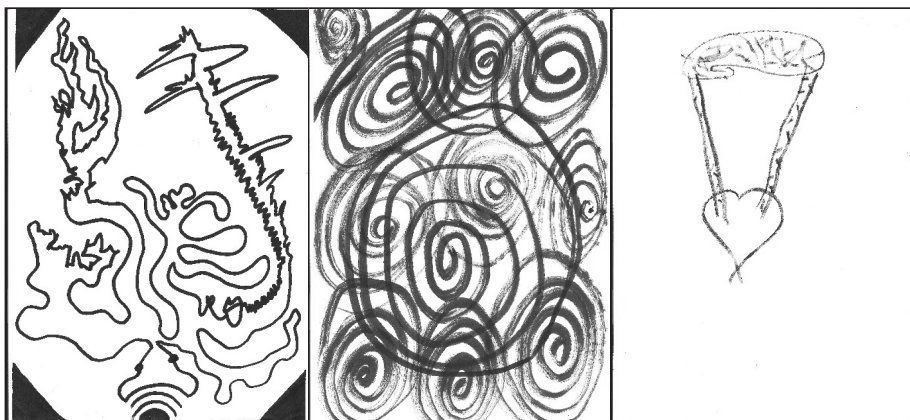
We relied on visual-spatial cues to provoke memories as we were using recent neuroscience hypothesis which implies that space and memory are intertwined and that spatial memory cues serve as a sort of filing system, especially for episodic memory (memory of time related occurrences or events), which organizes memory traces scattered throughout the cortex via hippocampal region (Groh, 2014).

... memories that are not themselves spatial may still be indexed by the spatial location that the original event occurred in...” and image of known space or even its imagining “... may cause a flood of memories to return, unleashed by the familiar sights and sounds ... where the remembered events happened... Spatial location may be the filing system of the brain, keeping related memories grouped together and retrievable where you need them. (Groh, 2014, p. 200)

Stage 2 – Expression through drawings. When actors finished “revisiting” their experiences in Mapping Reminiscence Laboratory we asked them to draw the changes that might have occurred as a result of conscious as well as implicit learning. We wanted to avoid asking them to describe what they felt they learned verbally but

⁵ The drawings are published with the consent of the authors i.e. study participants.

rather used drawings as a mediator between the unconscious changes and conscious verbal reporting of them. We utilized the cognitive notion of mental representation: enactive, iconic and symbolic (Bruner, 1964), where iconic representations such as images ontologically and evolutionary precede emergence of symbolic representations such as language, and as implication, are easier to facilitate and retrieve from undefined states to the conscious mind. So by using iconic as a transition to the symbolic (p. 3), i.e. to verbal expressions, we believed we could override the issues concerning validity of simple oral reporting of actors who had undergone the laboratory experience. Following this sort of the Ariadne's thread, we went into another stage, asking the actors to tell us the meaning of the drawings they made. In other words, we asked them to draw by (re)experiencing the process conducted via Mapping Reminiscence Laboratory (Picture 3) and later, to reflect on it, by verbalizing the messages imprinted in the drawings.



Picture 3: Drawings produced after the Mapping Reminiscence Laboratory⁶

Stage 3 - The maze of the SII model. We used SII typology/model of learning (see Bulajić, 2013 that synthesises Piaget's constructivism, Despotović's views on the constriction of the knowledge process (1997), aspects of the systemic approach (Roeders, 2003) and views on transformative learning and Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance (1962a; 1962b). The model was briefly explained to actor/participants as a sort of a reference frame for their verbal and diagrammatic explanations of the identity changes that they subjectively thought to have experienced. They were offered to redraw and recompose the model while simultaneously explaining what changes they underwent. Using model drawing was inspired by the work of

⁶ The drawings are published with the consent of the authors i.e. study participants

educational psychologists who were investigating the benefits of use of spontaneous diagrams in problem solving and instruction (see Uesaka & Manolo, 2007). Stated in Piagetian terms of learning, actors also accommodated the model as an alternative to simply assimilating their experience into it. The SII model represents typology/description of the process of learning and consists of dynamic relations between: insignificant learning, no learning state, expansive learning, transformative learning and maladaptive (transformative) learning. It explains how this learning is occurring in terms of cognition and motivation, thus implying learning tendencies in which the system of knowledge, in terms of its attributes of self-sustainment and auto-transcendence, interacts with two dimensions/continua of new information: *consistency* with the system and subjectively attributed *importance* of the information determined by an individual (Figure 1).

So, even in the final stage of interpretation and generalization of results, we restrained from doing it as distant and objective researchers. We asked the participants to conceptualise, abstract and generalise (where applicable) experiences they reported on, by showing them the SII model of learning. We invited them to use the model when helpful, and to go beyond the model and/or change it, when they felt like doing so.

By having the actors/co-authors of the play become both the participants and the co-authors of the research itself, and by participating in the preparation of the play ourselves, researching from within and ourselves being involved in the rituals of becoming, we felt something like Malevich's White Square painting (*White on White*, 1918), with imprecise outlines that cancel background and foreground, the end and the beginning, thus re/withdrawing borders between research, researchers and the researched - *giving birth* to a new feeling of space rather than *reproducing* the old frames.⁷

⁷ The graphic representation of the model, originally published in (Bulajić, 2013) is reprinted by the permission of the author and the publisher: © 2002 Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy.

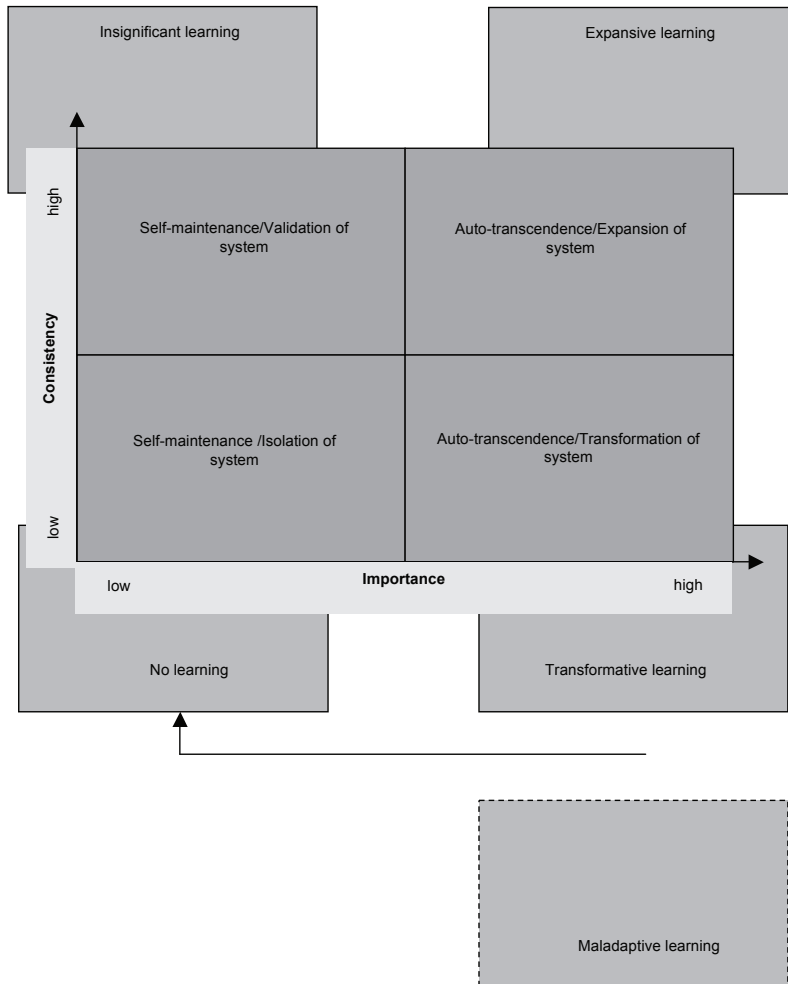


Figure 1: System – Information Interaction Model (SII Model) and Learning (Bulajić, 2013, p. 18)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

During the educational activities, we were not politically neutral, but had a clear standpoint. The dilemma that we faced was how to communicate our feminist perspective on female sexuality and abortion without reproducing power relations in the micro situation, but to make space instead for different voices and multiple perspectives. However, the whole process of making performance was very sensitive. Another concern coming from the presented work is how to overcome the elitism of micropolitics of liberating difference-in-itself (Cull, 2009), when only few selected actors are there to experiment with their identity, and to pursue the macropolitical goals of feminism (Cull, 2009), having in mind the reality of the women in Serbia?

The research dilemma that emerged through the process is related to the possibilities of representation of the research result. As observers and participants of the process, we had an impression that each phase of research had been losing the richness of experiences and bodily sensations, but gaining theoretical framework through the interpretations done by the actors and later on by us. The research process was “the taming of the shrew”, namely it was domestication of the *chthonic* through clarification of what once was part of corporeal realm. Although our intentions were democratic by including the actors in the formulation of the theory and model, we irretrievably invited what is considered to be masculine. Without any doubts, we did gain new insights about the learning process and transformation, but still it was impossible to grasp this vital implicit learning that was expressed in small changes of their breathing patterns or the way they look at their drawings. However, some authors claim that “drawing might involve an emotional intimacy to narrate experiences from sincerity, credibility, authenticity, and vulnerability” (Madrid-Manrique, Marín-Viadel & Siegesmund, 2015, p. 3). The activity of drawing and mapping that was part of the research procedure possibly enables the actors to escape from linear analysis of their learning path.

The biggest concern that we face as adult educators was the possibility that learning / becoming / transformation of identity did not happen, or at last not as an exalting experience. Perhaps they focused on the construction on their character and if there were some changes, they were in the realm of strictly professional development. Engagement in drama and acting can bring changes but they can happen in tissue and slowly grow over time. The work on performance for some of them was like planting a seed, for others it was light of liberation and possibilities, and many of them just stayed in the resistance phase. This question will be elaborated in more depth in another paper. The present paper was an attempt to problematize and politicize research methodology and offer insights to the reader about new possibilities of “data collection” that have its origins in drama and theatre. We would not advise

you “to do it at home” since it requires lot of trust and it is applied to a very specific situation.

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GENDER APPROACH ISSUE IN STUDENTS' RESEARCH PAPERS³

Abstract

The issue of gender is a challenging one for researchers working in different scientific fields. In this paper, we analyzed approaches to gender issues in research papers in the field of Andragogy. The paper presents the results of the analysis of students' final research papers – defended at the Chair of Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. The aim of the analysis was to determine whether, how and in what context these papers open and treat gender issues. The study included the following tasks: 1. To identify how many of the analyzed students' research papers are directly focused on the exploration of gender issues; 2. To identify courses in andragogy curriculum to which these papers belong; 3. To identify the way in which gender issues are tackled when the topic belongs to other and different subject of the research; 4. To identify how the methodological procedure addresses the issue of gender; 5. To identify how the analysis of research results and recommendations of the research approaches the problem of gender. The subject of analysis of our paper were not final papers of students who particularly deal with gender in their research; only six of the 72 papers could be classified as belonging to that category. 52 papers which presented research of different phenomena in adult education introduce the problem of sex and set up the research problem in the context of gender with more or less success. The purpose of this paper was to detect weaknesses in the treatment of gender issues, to consider the possible causes and recommend ways for intervention to prevent adult education from being a generator of gender stereotypes.

Key words

gender, andragogy, students' research papers

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³ This paper is a part of the research project undergoing realization at the Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, "Models of assessment and strategies for improvement of quality of education" (179060), supported by Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development RS.

INTRODUCTION

The field of adult education is greatly sensitive to gender issues. On the one hand, variety of prejudices and social discrimination of women are reflected in various aspects of accessibility of education to women, and on the other hand – adult education itself serves as an instrument that generates the differences between men and women.

Many data sources, ranging from various statistics about differences between men and women in the field of education, to scientific research papers searching for reasons, causes and consequences of this situation serves as a proof. The situation of “women’s issues” in the field of education can be recognized in a series of points on a continuum whose negative end is the “sickness of society”, while the positive are “forces, health and durability of women” (about another types of possible continuum, see: Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1989, cited in Maksimović, 2012). Various women’s emancipation movements shift the focus to the issue of women in education to “health and strength” of women and its authentic powers that education can and should support. Research has sufficiently shown how the problem of women in education (what women *cannot*) is the result of a “social disease”, but there is not enough research on the “health, strength and power” of women and how to use these in education for the benefit of the feminine. At the same time, an equal threat to the quest for authentic answers about “women’s power” is carried by both – concepts that see it with the exclusion of gender differences (as a repressive strategy that preserves social inequality), and those who are prone to glorification of gender difference (more about glorification of gender difference, see: Milivojević, 2004).

The delicacy and social actuality of gender issues requires special commitment to this issue in the field of social sciences and humanities (Ostrouch-Kamińska, Fontanini & Gaynard, 2012; Vieira Coimbra, 2012). One of the proofs that the gender issue has not reached the required priority or not in a way that deserves, are academic studies at universities in Serbia that rarely directly include the gender issue in their curricula. Some small attention is given to gender issues in certain special courses at BA, MA and PhD level (e.g. elective courses: Gender Studies in Sociology and Religion and Gender, or Men’s Studies - Anthropology of Masculinity in Ethnology and Anthropology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade). The only master’s program in gender studies exists at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade.

The subject of our analysis are the final research papers of students who have attended a study program of Andragogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. The study program of Andragogy has no special courses on gender issue at any level of study, but gender issues are explored in the framework of various andragogical

disciplines (about the study program of Andragogy, see: Pejatović, 2010). One way of understanding approach to gender issues in adult education and methods of representation and treatment of this issue is the analysis of the final research papers of students of andragogy.

METHOD

Student's research papers are the subject of content analysis in our research. Since the aim of our research is to determine how gender is treated and explored in the student's final papers, as well as which gender differences are being sought in the research of various phenomena of learning and education, how and in what context contemporary issues and perspectives on gender research in adult education are open, all final papers represent a sample of our survey – it total 72 papers.

In 1979 the Faculty of Philosophy established BA, MA, and PhD studies of andragogy. BA studies were completed by submitting a bachelor's graduate thesis. The program of study was reformed in 2006 by introduction of Bologna standards and principles. Among other major changes, Bologna standards and principles introduced the final papers instead of graduated thesis. In the final papers, phenomena are researched in a less complex way than in the former graduate thesis; final paper has a smaller volume than graduate theses. According to this new program, the number of subjects in which it is possible to write the final paper is 26 out of total 41 at the undergraduate studies. In the period from 2010 to 2015 three generations of students graduated under this program and 72 final papers were defended. This article is an attempt to give an insight into the interest in gender issues in students' final papers, the extent to, and the way in which it is explored and treated.

We applied the descriptive method in this research, within which we applied the technique of content analysis in the process of data collection. We followed whether, where and how gender issues appear, starting from theoretical approaches to the chosen research problem, through the subject, objectives, tasks, hypothesis, variables, sample and analysis of those results (constituting 8 units of analysis). Presence of the gender issue and its treatment was monitored in all these units of analysis. We sought to register whether the issue of gender is represented or not represented, and how it was treated in these different contexts. Special attention was paid to the analysis of the research results obtained in the students' final papers and the possible implications of these results to improvement of various aspects and elements of understanding of gender issues in adult education. The instrument that we used is a protocol for content analysis which was made for the purpose of our research.

Given that there are no gender issues in the program of andragogy studies, either as an elective or as a compulsory course, it is not surprising that out of the 72 final papers, only six were directly related to the gender issues. This minimum representation of gender issues in final research papers is unevenly distributed by subjects. Problem and themes are appearing in four cases: one is working in the field of andragogy communications and media, which explores the types and content of TV shows that women consume; one in Management and Marketing in education, which explores the assessment of the quality of educational activities and content of informative material of LGBT associations; one final paper is in the field of Family Andragogy, which researches differences in the socialization of children of both sexes. Finally, Social Andragogy as an area that explores adult education in specific and difficult life situations clearly evokes interest among students on gender issues, as the remaining three papers belong to it. They are related to the understanding and experience of gender equality in the labor market, the prejudices of professionals in providing educational support to women victims of violence and to studies of adult education as support to promotion of LGBT rights.

Regarding the fact that in 20 research papers gender was not taken into account in any way during the research of different andragogical phenomena, the subject of our further analysis is not 72 student research papers but 52 papers. Those 52 papers belong to different andragogical disciplines: Andragogical Didactics, Andragogy of Work, Adult Learning, Organization of Adult Education, Vocational Adult Education, Social Andragogy, Family Andragogy, Management and Education, Human Resource Development, Andragogy of Leisure, Andragogy of Communications and Media. In all of these papers the issue of gender is not consistently and continuously treated in all units of analysis, and the consequence of that is that gender in some research papers appears only in certain units of analysis, as it is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Presence and treatment of gender issues in 8 units of analysis

	Units of analysis	Represented	Not represented
1.	Theoretical approach to research problem	14	38
2.	Research subject	6	46
3.	Research objective	6	46
4.	Research tasks	32	20
5.	Research hypotheses	25	27
5.1.	- General hypotheses	3	49
5.2.	- Special hypotheses	24	28
6.	Research variables	44	8

6.1.	- Independent variable	19	33
6.2.	- Control variable	25	27
7.	Samples	51	1
8.	Analysis of the results	37	15
	TOTAL	52	

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

Phenomena in which students are interested in the field of Andragogy contained in these research papers cover all academic fields in Andragogy, starting from General Andragogy, History of Andragogy and Comparative Andragogy, to the Management and Adult Education, Andragogy of Work, Andragogy of Leisure, etc. These different research problems are certainly sensitive to gender issues in a different way. In the first unit of our analysis – *theoretical consideration* of these various andragogical phenomena, the question of gender is present in only 14 papers. The remaining 38 papers remained in a sample of our research because the gender issue arises in some of the later units of analysis (in tasks, hypotheses, variables, sample...). There are several reasons for such a small number of papers that show interest in the gender issue in the theoretical formulation of a research problem. The theoretical approach to the problem of research commits students to the analysis of the theory and major research findings on the key phenomenon of their research. In the theoretical approach to the research problem, sex appears as more or less significant in relation to key research problem. The interest and importance depends, on one hand, on the sensitivity of the key research subject to differences between men and women, and on the other hand, depends on the differences that are confirmed or implied by analyzed results of relevant research. However, when the theoretical approach to the problem of research raises the question of gender, there is no creativity, no in-depth qualitative analysis of the differences between the sexes. There, students perform a dual reduction in access to studying gender issues. Firstly, gender issues come down to the question of the differences between men and women and, secondly, the differences are based on stereotypes. One looks up for the differences, but they are shown in the categories of “less” or “more” rather than what is and why it is authentically different. The result is that the gender issue has a different status and importance in all further units of analysis.

It has already been noted that gender issue is *subject of research* in the six final papers. In the remaining 46 papers, subject of research (which is the second unit of analysis) refers to adult education phenomena that attract the attention of research students, such as training for human resources development, vocational training,

active labor market programs, vocational education, and barriers to participation, school management skills, communication skills, education of elderly and more. It has been noted also that key research phenomena show different levels of sensitivity to gender issue, but the latter is not in any way raised within the framework of a research problems in the remaining 46 papers. Guided by the same logic, the students did not incorporate gender issues in the *research goals*, which are the third unit of our analysis.

Only when we get to the field of *research tasks*, we are closer to operationalization of various key aspects of key research problem. It is here that one most frequently encounters the researcher's attitude to perceived complexity of the phenomenon that is explored, its key dimensions, and directions in which one will seek to look for the answers for "theoretically opened" questions. In some papers, the research tasks for the first time reveal researchers' attitudes about the meaning of gender issues in the analyzed research problem. In a significant number of papers it appears later, it is postponed, in defining the *research hypothesis*. Not infrequently, the contents of tasks and hypotheses only reveal that encounter with gender issues can be expected not before defining the *research variables*. And in research tasks, the task must be clearly defined, logical, and by itself must contain approach to gender issue. A clear conclusion about how much and in what way the researcher is interested in addressing gender issues in theoretical and empirical analysis of the main research problem can often be made when the fourth and fifth unit of our analysis (tasks and hypotheses) is seen in the light of the sixth unit of analysis (defined research variables).

There is insufficient consistency between the tasks defined and formulated hypotheses. From the already mentioned total of 52 papers in which gender appears in some unit of analysis, in 32 papers it is in the tasks of research. Out of the 32 papers in which the gender is in research tasks, 25 of them consistently methodically define the hypotheses outlining expectations in relation to gender presented in tasks. It happens that in some research papers gender is included in tasks, but it appears in the research hypotheses, and vice versa –but not in the tasks. This discrepancy between tasks and hypotheses in relation to gender as a problem that is being pursued in connection with the main research problem is sometimes the result of the chosen research methodology, and sometimes of unjustified inconsistencies in the implementation of methodological procedures. One of the weaknesses in defining the hypotheses is that the direction of the relationship between the studied phenomenon and gender is not defined. It is stated that connection exists, but there is no statement about the manner of connection. It is crucial to define the research hypothesis and for the researcher to reflect on the "background" of the defined hypothesis and expectations of connection between sex and the studied phenomenon. Researchers should ask themselves a clear question and find clear answers to the

question of why and on what basis it is assumed that there may be differences in responses between women and men. In defining of hypotheses, the factors that could lead to the existence of differences in the responses of men and women should be strictly controlled.

In the sixth unit of our analysis which treats the problem of variables, position of gender is very variable. In a significant number of research papers, gender as a problem appears for the first time in this unit of analysis. Taking into account all research papers together, gender occurs as a variable in 44 research papers. Out of these 44 papers, gender figures as the independent variable and 19 papers, and as the control variable in 25 papers. In both cases, both as an independent and as a control variable, gender is not treated independently. In research, there is a construct which includes a set of other important characteristics, usually called bio-socio-demographic-work characteristics in all research papers. This position of gender defined in an independent and a control variable is partly the reason for absence of gender in the above-mentioned hypotheses, tasks, as well as the theoretical approaches to the research problem. When the gender issue appears as a control variable, most problematic is the fact that it is often considered in the set of all variables, and the same (deserved) importance is not given to each research result. When it appears "incidentally", as was the case in most of the papers, it is counterproductive because not all the methods and techniques of data analysis used for the analysis of other data in papers are used. On the other hand, the forthcoming analysis of research results will reveal that importance given to the gender most often depends on the proportion of variance that gender carries within all the above characteristics.

There is a sampling problem in research papers. To create the *sample*, which is the seventh unit of our analysis, simpler techniques and methods are chosen and selection of samples usually depends on the variety of available technical and material possibilities for the realization of research performed in the final papers of students. The construction of the sample often limits the opening of research questions because disproportion in gender, age, level of education occurs. Due to inadequate sample surveys (e.g. more women in the sample, than men) students often give up on research of gender issues. There are few quota or stratified samples which provide the necessary structure, or other types of samples that allow a significant generalization of the findings. Most of the research was actually performed on so-called convenience samples which are actually the reason why, primarily, the control variable cannot be treated with the proper and necessary statistical significance. Convenience samples are partly the reason why some elements of bio-socio-demographic-work characteristics are excluded from the analysis and left as a hypothesis for further research. Also, the sample size is determined in a manner that meets the minimum statistical requirements, so that sample variation, which would enable more signifi-

cant research of bio-socio-demographic-work characteristics, are not possible in the work of this scope and depth.

Analyzed research papers mostly belong to empirical-positivist paradigm, they are quantitative and they are deeply resting on existing traditional, patriarchal methods that do not involve the ways of perceiving the world by women (Ostrouch, 2008) and do not take into account the diversity of experiences of men and women (Harding, 1987, cited in Ostrouch, 2008). The feminist research perspective is not mentioned or accepted explicitly or implicitly in any of the analyzed papers and especially not in the definition of the research approach based on relevant gender theories. It has already been mentioned that in the first unit of our analysis - theoretical consideration, there is no theoretical discussion about the meaning of the sex for the considered crucial phenomena of the research, and there is no discussion about its meaning within the feminist concepts (or feminist frameworks). Traditional positivist methodology is also applied in the research offered by the six papers that directly deal with gender issues. These papers explore some problems related to traditional roles assigned to women (for example, mother, wife), or, the special role of women in certain social phenomena (for example, the labor market, media). Traditional positivist approach is pursued from the beginning, from setting up the problem, and all the way to the analysis and interpretation of the results. In the remaining 46 studies which are dealing with the research of various phenomena, sex is introduced as a variable with the assumption that some quantitative differences in the results between men and women will be established. Research not based on feminist paradigms and theories rests on established differences as the main findings. These findings are placed in the function of explanation and understanding of the key research phenomenon as the evidence of different perceptions, different motivations, different attitudes, different assessment of the phenomenon, different achievements between men and women. Research ambitions of students are ending here. The issue of gender for all 46 researchers is equally relevant as the age, occupation, place of living, nationality, ethnicity and other included "control variables". Objective indicators do not receive interpretation they deserve. In recent years, special attention in courses of methodology is given to qualitative research. At the MA and PhD level, qualitative research is a separate course. Lately, a significant number of students in their work applies qualitative research. Gender is more sensitive to qualitative research approaches and better encompasses assumptions that we can make and may say something not only of the existing differences, but the reasons for these differences. Qualitative research gives a chance to explain these differences and to substantiate the research hypotheses and expectations in a better way (Heiskanen, 2008). Therefore we can say that the qualitative or participatory action research is perhaps the best methodological choice for research of gender issues be-

cause through such surveys researchers can reflect their own "images" about sex and gender. None of the techniques or methods of the research, not even qualitative, can provide by itself approaches that we want. Qualitative research methods can only be a good instrument in the function of verification of the hypothesis of different theoretical concepts, among which are the feminist.

The proof of the absence of feminist paradigm in the research analyzed here is confirmed by selection of instruments that are used by students. In the selection of research instruments the question of the "benefits" of instruments to better express female perspective is not even raised. The most commonly used research instrument was a questionnaire, which actually represents a combination of several types of instruments – in addition to questions; they also contain a number of descriptive scales. The content of the questionnaire is related to dependent, independent and control research variables, the aforementioned bio-socio-demographic-work characteristics of respondents: sex, age, occupation, education level, family structure, etc. Although all the questionnaires included the questions of various types, there was a greater degree of structure of content in them – primarily through the dominance of closed-ended questions and combined. The scales are commonly used for measuring relationships, values and attitudes. Within the analyzed group of papers descriptive scale dominates – especially Likert scale. Most of the students' instruments are created for the purpose of their research. There are almost no papers that provide information about the procedures and the control of the metric characteristics of instruments.

In the presentation, analysis and interpretation of research results the issue of gender appears in 37 out of 52 research papers. In 15 research papers the results obtained on the connection between the gender and researched phenomenon are not analyzed, although the gender was found in some of the units of analysis: tasks, hypotheses, variables. Hence the subject of our further analysis is the 37 students' research papers. In the analyzed papers, processing of the received data, different statistical methods were used. And as for the number of research papers, those belonging to the field of descriptive statistics and those which fall within the domain of inferential statistics were represented (Matović, 2007). From the group of descriptive statistics, statistical techniques to describe the characteristics of the distribution of the collected data and those that establish connections between phenomena were used. In order to describe the characteristics of the obtained frequency distributions, measures of central tendency (most used arithmetic mean) and measures of variability (mostly standard deviation was used) were calculated. From statistical techniques that determine the relationship between phenomena, mostly contingency coefficient is calculated, and then the Pearson's linear correlation coefficient. Within inferential statistics chi-square test for determining the significance of differ-

ences between frequencies, and t-test for significance of differences between arithmetic mean were mostly used. Analysis of variance was used as more complex form of statistical analysis.

Analyzing how the problem of learning and education is connected with gender, both in theoretical approaches and analysis of andragogical phenomena which are researched, and especially in methodological designs of the empirical and qualitative research, it is not unexpected that the level and quality of the *results* (which is eight unit of our analyses) obtained opens up further questions about gender issues in learning and education, rather than giving a clear answers to the defined research tasks. Research papers remain at the level of perceived tendency and none of them further search for more significant research of variance or the share of gender in the researched phenomenon. Thus there are quite a number of papers that, aside from noting that the differences are not found or are not relevant, remain at the level of concluding that the hypotheses were rejected or have not been confirmed, without wondering about the cause of this condition. In the research papers there is a tendency that only connections for which a significant correlation is found are important, and that the absence of correlations with the research phenomena of the study as the result is considered to be a result of minor or no importance. Such treatment indicates the attitude that is already given to gender issues in the theoretical approach to the phenomenon being studied. Out of the 37 analyzed papers in 24 results related to gender issues are interpreted. The remaining 13 papers only find that there is no connection between sex and studied key phenomena. In the paper where data analysis and interpretation of the results on the connection between sex and studied phenomenon is given, it is mostly saturated with current social norms and expectations of male and female status. That is usually interpreted as there being no difference between men and women in relation to the studied phenomenon. The issue of gender is shaped by the gender issues because the results show that women evaluate phenomena, things and situations colored by what comes from their stereotypical roles in society. On the other hand, the researchers also interpret findings exactly from that position, taking into account the current framework of social expectations of male and female roles in society. Closed vicious circle of marginalization of gender issues in adult education is deepened as a product of gender insensitive researchers and a constructed stereotypical gender identity of adults. The question is – if the analysis of the research results could be independent from the other parts of the research, would it be possible, and would it be enough, to problematize gender issues in the analysis of the obtained results?

Where the data analysis and interpretation of the results on the connection between sex and researched phenomenon is done, it is generally burdened with stereotypical concepts, social norms and expectations related to male and female

status/role/position. The established difference between men and women is most often interpreted in this context in relation to the studied phenomenon. The general impression that emerges from the analysis of all the studies is that if the introduction of variable sex in research is not problematized in the gender context, the production of stereotypical approach to sex differences is indicated. This approach is counterproductive, because instead of deconstruction of stereotypes in research papers, such approaches to sex are further strengthening and deepening them. The issue of gender is interesting to most researchers until the results show that women and men assess phenomena, thing and situations differently. On the other hand, the researchers also interpret results exactly from that position, taking into account the current framework of social expectations of male and female roles in society. Research which does not confirm the differences between men and women treats this results as less valuable and important, does not analyze and interpret them further. These approaches deepen closed and vicious circle of marginalization of gender issues in adult education which is produced by the insufficiently gender-conscious researchers, and on the other hand, firmly constructed stereotype of gender identities of adults who participate in research.. Chart 1. presents the vicious circle with critical points responsible for generating stereotypical approach to gender issue in andragogical research.

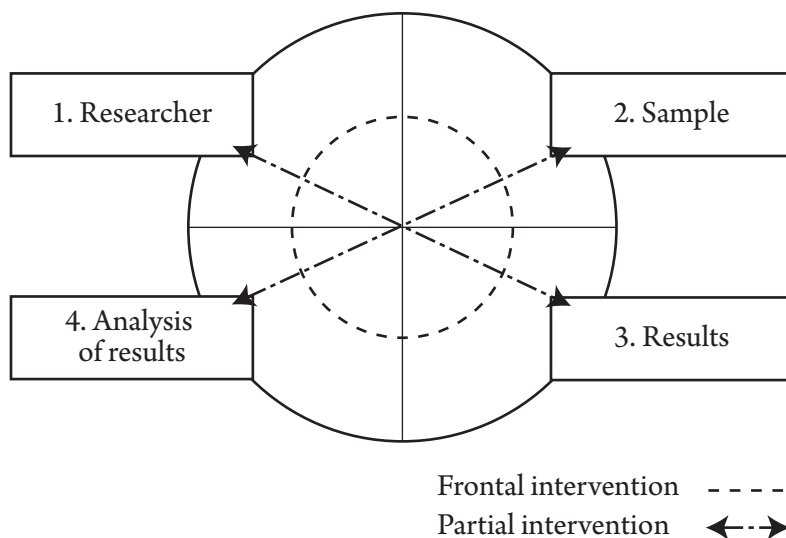


Chart 1: Points of stereotypical approach to gender issues in andragogical research and possible types of interventions

The first critical point in the research is a researcher him/herself, their theoretical approach to the main research problem and a way of how they introduce the issue of gender in their research. Theoretical analysis of key researched phenomena, in the case of our analyzed final papers, indicates that gender issues are not directly included. When in later stages of research gender was involved, it became differently relevant to our researchers depending on their attitude towards gender issues. The irrelevance is reflected in construction of unattractive research hypotheses that reduce gender issues to the question of presence of differences between males and females, initial biological differences, without a clearly explained and projected social construction about the possible meaning and consequences related to main research problem.

Further support to stereotyping in this vicious circle is provided by the research sample, in two ways. First, in the construction of a sample for research of main andragogical phenomena, the students do not provide the necessary representativeness of the sample which would encourage them to deeper venture into gender issues. On the other hand, the instruments do not contain parts or aspects which are, as planned by research, sufficiently gender sensitive. The instruments rather provide projection of a constructed stereotypical gender identity among respondents than open up the possibility of searching for the authentic characteristics in the responses of different sexes. Important here is indirect knowledge, about the presence, quantity and type of prejudices of women and men about themselves, as well as research which is derived from an analysis of all these student papers. However, what is more important is the question about why this is so, and what is to be done about that.

Presentation of research results most simply reveals the researcher's attitude on gender issues. The presentation ends just with a statements about differences or statements about lack of differences. Actually, the way of presentation of results shows that researchers are more driven by "research inertia" when they involve the problem of sex in their research than by the interest for research to provide information about gender issues.

Last key point, the analysis and interpretation of results, just confirms and deepens the stereotypes instead of deconstructing them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The lesson learned from the analysis of students' research papers (whose main research is not gender issue) has several key points:

One dilemma arises – what kind of mentor intervention should be taken: whether gender issues should be partially included in various students' research

which undoubtedly leave space for these issue to be researched in other andragogical phenomena or is we should suggest specific research papers on this topic. Both approaches are possible, but as the analysis of 72 student papers showed, both of them lack with necessary fundamental education in the field of gender issues starting at the BA level. Adult education will not benefit if our students start developing the capacity and competencies to research gender issue only at the MA and PhD levels. Gender issues can hardly be subsequently integrated as new knowledge, understanding and subsequent awakening. In this sense, it is difficult to ensure that elective, optional and mandatory courses and specializations, provide "ex-post wisdom". What was in 1985 recommended by Ann Oakley about overcoming sexism in sociology - that sexism in sociology cannot be overcome just by bringing women into the various subareas of the discipline, rather the various domains of sociology need restructuring (Oakley, 1985, according to: Annandale & Clark, 1996), is still an entirely current and unresolved issue today. Moreover, at the beginning of our study, practices that exist in our faculties regarding the gender education suggested that solution that was criticized as counterproductive in 1985 was just being chosen.

Gender issues in curriculum, relevant for research in the field of education at all study levels, should be a general, initial "filter" or a prism through which from the very beginning, the contents of different andragogical and other scientific disciplines, are refracted. Gender issue is not separate knowledge, but knowledge that deconstructs prejudices and stereotypes about male and female differences and seeks for the authentic characteristics of both sexes.

Another dilemma that can be opened relates to the question of whether it is possible to make research gender sensitive by interrupting the "vicious circle" at some critical point, or whether an intervention in this uncovering should have frontal character. By analogy to the above mentioned dilemma (introducing special courses on gender or systemic approach to the curriculum in relation to gender issues), in relation to the interruption of the "vicious circle" two options, two questions, can be offered: first, whether separate intervention in certain research segments/points in the whole of the research circle is possible and sufficient or, secondly, if it is necessary for the intervention for provision of gender sensitivity to be frontal and systematically presented at various points of research.

If we are considering the option where gender interventions can be introduced into the particular points/stages/segments of the research, the main question is at which of the four critical point can the circle can be interrupted in order to ensure that gender issues will be treated in an appropriate manner? Furthermore, what is the key point of the circle and what different values different points can have? Also, the question of reversibility can be opened: what is the very last moment when gender issues can be brought into the research and the effects of the ambiguities in the

theoretical approach to the research problem could be amortized in that way? The question can be reversed: if the researcher decides to introduce the intervention in a very beginning (in the first point), in the theoretical approach to the problem, is that sufficient guarantee that the further research course “is under control”? If we choose the option of interrupting the circle, from the standpoint of gender issues it is reasonable to ask what the strongest or the weakest point in a research circle and to make (chose) a right key point for intervention is. This approach can be considered just as much reasonable as introduction of gender course in traditional curriculum.

If gender issues in research are introduced in a systematic way, this implies a frontal introduction of intervention in all research segments starting from the theoretical approach, through hypothesis to interpretation of results. Such a possibility could be provided by a curriculum which is in its complete content and outcomes gender sensitive and supplies researchers with necessary competencies.

The subject of analysis in our paper, we point out, were not final papers of students who deal with gender in their research. Only six of the 72 papers could be classified as belonging in that category, but more by the selected research problem than by the manner in which the research was conducted. Finally 52 papers which presented research of different phenomena in adult education, introduced the problem of sex. If we apply standards needed for gender research, most of these papers would remain somewhere in the middle – they would discover the differences between the sexes without gender context in which differences could be understood. On the other hand, setting of clear requirements for the inclusion of a gender approach in exploring the key student's research subjects, would lead most of the researchers to exclude this very important question from their research designs. In order to make autonomous appropriate choices, students should be additionally supported, enlightened and encouraged about gender issues through their curriculum.

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GENDER, ACADEMIA AND POWER

CONCEPTIONS OF FEMINISM, MACHISMO AND SEXISM IN FINAL YEAR GRADUATION STUDENTS OF THREE DIFFERENT COURSES OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

A Portuguese Exploratory Study

Abstract

Giving the importance of a gender sensitive approach in the formation of future professionals in different areas of social sciences and the common misconceptions about terms like feminist thinking, gender mainstreaming, gender equality, among others, this study explored final year graduation students' conceptions about feminism, machismo and sexism. It was a survey research that used a structured questionnaire with both closed-ended items and open-ended questions, asking participants to define the aforementioned terms. Content data analyses of the semantic data showed that very few students identified machismo and sexism as forms of social oppression and discrimination based on biological sex, and in some cases feminism was seen as opposed to machismo, or as an activist retrograde movement intended to overvalue women and underestimate men. Discussion of results highlights the importance of helping future graduates in developing critical thinking to be better citizens and professionals.

Keywords

feminism, machismo, sexism, gender lenses, critical thinking

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INTRODUCTION

Education as a tool for empowerment will only be effective when organizations, educators and students discuss all issues and analyze the world of them own and around assuming a critical thinking. Following the thought of the Brazilian andragogist Paulo Freire (2002), it is not possible to be a facilitator of effective and positive changes in others if the person who has the responsibility to educate or to foster the process of empowerment –by the learner’s acquisition of knowledge –personify the oppositemodel as a human being. Such need of internal awareness about own limitations and biased perceptions and potentially distorted actuations, either as citizens or professionals, is certainly the first step to personal growth and professional development of future graduates in social sciences, being critical thinking a permanent requirement both in teacher training and practices and in students’ learning challenges.

Perry’s (1970) pioneer research done with Harvard faculty members and students in the United States more than forty years ago revealed that learners’ growth toward reflexive thinking was intrinsically connected with teachers’ capability of reflection and with the level of complexity required in examinations:

This study reminds us of the development dictum that growth depends upon interaction. (...) It also reminds developmental researchers of the need to examine the student and the teacher simultaneously. Perry might call this the Janus approach, looking in two directions at the same time. (Sprinthal & Collins, 1994, p. 520)

Knowledge of critical discourse analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2009) – considering the term ‘discourse’ here as a category for designating particular ways of representing particular aspects of social life (Fairclough, 2001) – and the correspondent competence of scrutinizing reality, should be requisites for those who study or teach social sciences. In what concerns the discussion of the effects of gender social order, it seems this has not been the case in Portugal due to the absence – among other omissions that form the *null curriculum* (Eisner, 1985) in the universities – of a critical gender analyses in the curricula of most higher education courses of public and private institutions (Vieira, 2007; 2009; Toldy, 2011; Oliveira, Saavedra, Neves & Nogueira, 2013). Because of that students finish their courses with more specialized knowledge (structured information), but not necessarily more aware of explicit and subtle forms of social discrimination, which prevents them from deconstructing various forms of oppression, being probably unable to uncover learnt harmful messages disseminated by (dominant and dominated) persons and groups. Without such awareness related to the unequal distribution of power between men and wom-

en, which leads to different forms of social inequality in several domains of action, future professionals will certainly be very inefficient in designing interventions to combat problems and to empower people, both at an individual or group level.

SOME OF THE OBSTACLES TO CRITICAL THINKING (ABOUT GENDER ISSUES)

We could expect that students of human sciences or students of social sciences would be (almost intrinsically) critical thinkers. However, our experience of more than two decades as college teachers tells us that students tend to be resigned and seem not to be used to question theories and to confront authors' reflexions or investigations' conclusions with their own doubts, convictions and life experiences. Queries seem to be more likely to be silenced than stimulated in schools and even at the university, and this process of conformity will probably continue through their professional (and personal) lives. Is this not a contradiction considering the mission of education in a broad sense? We believe so and Weill try to present five hypothetical reasons why students are probably not being encouraged enough to be critical thinkers during their schooling including their trajectories in the university.

- a. Formal education institutions continue to be hierarchically organized, according to a traditional and vertical structure, and transmissional teaching methods are the most used in classrooms. Current models of teaching and evaluation of success, even in the universities, tend to reinforce the conformity of the learners more than their active involvement in learning tasks (Oliveira, 2015), due to the importance given to the content memorization which permits students to present the 'correct answer', most of the time resulting in the reproduction of what is memorized from the books and the teacher's speeches and materials prepared for classes.
- b. Universities (as most schools) continue to support positivist *status quo* – *one size fits-all science and one size fits-all curricula* (Formosinho, 2007) – and teach and do research mainly within the so-called mainstream science (see Eagly & Riger, 2014, for the case of psychology), which tends to give less visibility to data from minority groups, from people with less voice and economic power, from research conducted in natural settings³.

³ Eagly and Rider (2014) in their analyses about the common critique that psychology is androcentric admit that although "psychology did undergo the important transition from positivism to postpositivism that swept through sciences in the second half of the 20th century (...) psychology's postpositivism retains the core principles prioritizing hypothesis testing, causal analysis, and theory building" (p. 698) due to the requirements of ensuring internal validity of data.

Because of that, it seems that there are ‘some’ issues with ‘universal’ importance (the nomothetic approach in science) and ‘other’ issues more restricted to ‘some groups of people’, from ‘other nations’, involving ‘marginalized persons’ (the idiosyncratic approach). Such ideas of the ‘otherness’, associated mainly with data gathered through ‘soft science methods’ (interpretative research), may create in students the conviction that they are not included in such persons and groups (probably living far away, and not inside their homes or in the neighbourhood).

- c. Talking about ‘strange (social) issues’ in formal curricula may be seen as a political act perpetrated by the teacher (Giroux, 1991), being supposedly more dangerous than advantageous in promoting critical thinking in students. In this case such issues seem to appear as an appendix to the curriculum and the teachers/educators who introduce them along with formal content are usually considered audacious or activists. Beyond that, different opinions in group discussions could be seen as difficult to control and may give rise to difficult dilemmas of the educators, forcing them to express opinions that they probably prefer not to convey. But, are these issues new ones? In fact, they are very old issues (e.g., discrimination, oppression, segregation, ostracism) that need to be urgently addressed with cleaner lenses and with political intentions of provoking positive social changes.
- d. Language continues to be a vehicle of masked neutrality, and if students are not used to explore some concepts with the purpose of uncover their meanings, they will probably avoid such terms, due to ignorance, fear of misuse or unawareness. According to Holmes (2011),
 - Gender is one particular type of social meaning, one aspect of social identity conveyed, usually indirectly, by particular linguistic features, which may, of course, concurrently convey other meanings as well (p. 602).

Discussing those meanings and their implications on people’s lives must be crucial in order to promote awareness towards social justice and fairness for everyone. Talking about gender is not simply (or necessarily) comparing sex differences, and gender should be phrased and deconstructed as a source of inequalities and asymmetries for both men and women, impinging upon their choices and creating for both clearly divergent life paths (Derks & Ellemers, 2016). This process of unravelling the language power –and possible sexist camouflaged meanings– is only possible if teachers and students give some attention to symbolic systems, that is, to the ways societies represent gender, use it to articulate

the rules of social relationships, or construct the meaning of experience. Without meaning there is no experience; without processes of signification there is no meaning (which is not to say that language is everything, but a theory that does not take it into account misses the powerful roles that symbols, metaphors, and concepts plays in the definition of human personality and human experience (Scott, 1986, p. 1063).

- e. The notion of 'respect' in the curricula inspired in humanistic values usually implies a certain cultural essentialism by which cultural differences are seen as fixed, as definitively established, with students encouraged to respect them (Silva, 2000). But because such differences are always rooted in inequalities of power, 'tolerating them' or 'respecting them' could be an erroneous approach if the goal is to help learners question the social order and the processes that maintain asymmetric relations and unfairness. Students' and teachers' openness to diversity, the valorisation of others no matter their social and cultural origins, their self-implication in the desired changes and the recognition of the subordination processes – including the misuse of the power of knowledge – should be some of the core values of a humanistic curriculum committed to a critical analyses of social organization.

Other arguments could be presented here to support our visions about how to effectively promote the complexity in thinking in students as they go through learning challenges and as they grow older. Studies developed in different countries (e.g., Chickering & McCormick, 1979; Oliveira, 2015) and with decades of time lag all go in the same direction: it is crucial to actively involve students in questioning the world and its multiple problems in order to help them be aware that such problems are also theirs; training the ability of assuming their own and others' perspectives (perspective thinking) in classroom debates will foster their autonomy as thinkers; the use of dilemmas related to real situations to promote discussion could be a good strategy to involve students – and teachers – in learning together, becoming the learning opportunities really transformative in nature.

METHODOLOGY

The elaboration of this chapter involved a survey research conducted in the end of school year of 2014/2015 with final year graduation students from three courses of Social Sciences in the University of Coimbra, Portugal. This is a public university and it is located at central north region of Portugal. The courses covered

are all ministered in the Faculty of Psychology and Sciences of Education, which is one of the eight Faculties that are part of the University.

Participants

The convenience sample of our study was composed of 144 volunteering students, and its distribution by sex reflects directly the underrepresentation of men in some areas of social sciences: 11 male and 129 females. Their ages range from 21 to 38 years-old, with a mean age of 21.9 years. In the sample, 43.6% were students from Psychology, 33.8% were studying Sciences of Education and 22.3% were from Social Service. All the students were completing the first cycle of studies (graduation), according to Bologna's process, which is equivalent to three years of post secondary formation, granting them a diploma.

Instrument and procedure of data collection

To collect data, a self-administered questionnaire with three open-ended questions (Part I) and four closed-ended items (Part II) was conceived, which was first subjected to a small pilot study to mainly perform the narrative analyses of the sentences (phrasing), their meaning, the order of subjects, etc. The first three questions asked participants to freely define the concepts of sexism, machismo and feminism. In order to control the 'order effect'⁴ the three terms do not appear always in the same order. The first three questions of the second part were constructed according to a five-point Likert-scale, from (1) Totally Disagree to (5) Totally Agree, and asked students to express the degree of their agreement with the following sentences: I am a sexist person; I am a feminist person; I am a 'machist' (macho) person. In the last item students were invited to indicate how they evaluate themselves as models of citizenship for others, from (1) Very Much Unsatisfied to (5) Very Much Satisfied. Anonymity of the respondents was ensured and the questionnaire took about 15 minutes to complete. Data were collected by the researchers at the end of the class in the Faculty and participants answered individually and in person to questions contained in the instrument.

⁴ This is an effect that may contribute negatively to internal validity of data and results in the fact that subjects could be influenced by the order of questions (Vogt, 1993). To avoid this problem it is suggested to alternate the appearance of the terms in the questionnaire (equivalent to counterbalancing in factorial experiments).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Due to the disproportion of sexes in the sample, any statistical inference based on data should be read with caution. Quantitative results were analyzed using IBM SPSS software (version 21) and semantic data obtained in open-ended questions was interpreted through a content analyses procedure, with no intentions of quantification of answers but only to elicit possible trends in responses.

A tentative comparison between the answers of male students ($n=11$) and female students ($n=129$) to the closed-ended questions, using non parametric test of Mann-Whitney, revealed that: girls scored significantly higher than boys in rating themselves as 'feminists' ($p=.032$); boys scored higher than girls in rating themselves as 'machists' ($p=.002$); both sexes tended to evaluate themselves equivalently in being 'sexist persons' ($p=.753$); male students scored higher than their female colleagues in evaluating themselves as models of citizenship to others ($p=.016$). Although these results may not be a surprise considering previous research (e.g., see Derks & Ellemers, 2016, under review), it is interesting to observe the differences between the sexes in citizenship self-evaluations, showing that women tend to under evaluate themselves when it comes to expressing their self-confidence (Maccoby, 1998), when compared to men, even though the concept of citizenship was taken in a broad sense.

Content analyses of data permitted to detect intriguing and mainly incorrect conceptions of machismo, feminism and sexism portrayed by students' answers, the first term acting as a framework from which the other two were defined. It (machismo) was also the best defined concept among the three proposed.

How do you define machismo?

Beginning the analyses with the proposed definitions of machismo, most of the students answered according to a descriptive level of thinking without going into a deeper reflection. Among other answers, participants identify it: as a predisposition to consider men superior to women in terms of rights and responsibilities; as a social order that ascribed more status and power to men than to women; as a form of subjugation of female sex to males, and a reinforcement of patriarchal values and rules in public and private spaces; as an evidence of learned 'macho' power over women and a guarantee of the traditional division of gender roles (the 'breadwinner' *versus* the 'fairylike housewife'); as an old concept, already dated, that denies equal opportunities to both sexes; as a perception that men are stronger than women in terms of physical and psychological attributes (the 'stronger sex' *versus* the 'whiny sex'); and as the opposite of feminism:

Machismo is the same as feminism, but in this case, men occupy the place of women. (Female student, Social Service, 22 years-old)

The terms machismo refers to a movement contrary to feminism through which men express their superiority towards the women and the society in general. (Male student, Psychology, 24 years-old)

A man has attitudes connoted with machismo when he defends that woman should be at home cooking, taking care of the children and of her husband. (Female student, Sciences of Education, 21 years-old).

Among the 140 answers obtained less than 10% of the students use the term discrimination of women associated with machismo, and none express its relation with the problem of gender violence which has unfortunately been on the daily agenda in Portugal⁵. Also, the unfairness in terms of achieving the equality of rights for women was not questioned. Signs of inequality were identified in the answers with terms as old-fashioned stereotypes, asymmetric gender roles, and unequal power and rights (including smaller salaries), but a critical analysis of the consequences of machismo for individual life of women and also men was completely ignored in students' definitions.

How do you define feminism?

The term feminism revealed a greater heterogeneity of participants' definitions in comparison to the previous concept, and in this case some female students presented their definitions and expressed their defense of what they believe are the feminist principles. As it was expected due to previous research (although its limited external validity due to reduced number of participants) with Portuguese experts and faculty members (e.g., Vieira, 2011), final year graduation students also tend to talk about feminism only in terms of activism or a movement for the defense of the rights of women, never mentioning the epistemological basis that inspires the critical feminist approach to society and to mainstream science, that aims at promoting a better world for all. It seems that epistemology has been given "negligible attention" (Eagly& Rider, 2014, p. 698) even in textbooks on methods of teaching psychology and other social sciences, which may explain partially this lack of knowledge in future professionals. Also curious is the association of feminism with a moment in history of the women's fights for their rights (like having access to formal schooling,

⁵ The problem of gender violence has been huge in Portugal during the years of economic crises. According to data available, in 2015 twenty-nine women were killed by their male partners in 'crimes of passion' (available at: <http://observador.pt/2016/01/05/29-mulheres-mortas-mapa-da-violencia-domestica-portugal/>).

voting, working outside the home, participating in political decisions, etc.), giving the impression that it is located in the past, possibly confined to some decades of 20th century and not extending beyond that.

The following excerpts were taken from the answers and reveal clearly the degree of (lack of) knowledge of our participants about the term under analyses:

Feminism is a term that refers to actions and ideas that have the intention to privilege females. (Female student, Sciences of Education, 23 years-old)

The term feminism has some nuances and problems, like extremism, but I considered myself a feminist. (Female student, Psychology, 22 years-old)

Feminism consists of giving more emphasis and privileges to women, having mainly females as its representatives, with the goal of showing their pride for being of female sex and with the explicit intention of having attitudes against males. (Male student, Psychology, 23 years-old)

Feminism is synonymous with 'female power', which is necessary to impose the women in society and in decision-making processes. (Female student, Social Service, 21 years-old)

Feminism means to have ideologies too much centered on women, no matter their mistakes, and to defend at any cost positions against men without understanding them, and force society to see male as inferior than they are. (Male student, Sciences of Education, 22 years-old)

In general, some of the better definitions of feminism presented by students seemed to involve more reflection than those related to machismo, but such greater proneness to write longer and wordier answers is in our opinion related to the reaction triggered by the term feminism and its common impact on public opinion. People of both sexes tend to react to such term and it is common to hear the phrase: "I am not a feminist, but...". Among the problems identified in the responses of the students it is possible to outline: the fight between sexes for their own and equal rights; the struggle for the equality of social opportunities; the combat to end stereotypes and prejudices that prevent women to be as visible as men in certain domains of action; the expression of a certain emancipation of women who do not want to be subjugated to men. In most of the definitions the terms sex and gender were used as synonymous revealing that for students to talk about gender order and gender-related issues is solely compare the two sexes. The dichotomy embedded in their

analyses of reality seems to be purely descriptive, making them not completely able to detect the effects of asymmetries in power relations between men and women. Such superficial thinking prevents them from being critical observers of the “various mechanisms that protect the advantaged position of men over women, and limit opportunities for social change” (Derks & Ellemers, 2016, p. 3). Also, these definitions tend to evidence that students think that principles of feminism are all concerned with women and their problems, ignoring or devaluating men’s problems, as if it is a battle in opposite direction to what is conventional, but this is not true. Because “another world should be possible”⁶ (Oliveira et al., 2013, p. 812), the apparent neutrality and objectivity of science and scientific knowledge are questioned by feminist agendas, drawing attention to the problems that oppress and penalize women but also men.

How do you define sexism?

The concept of sexism also elicited many divergent opinions from the students and again beyond the acknowledged dichotomy and the fight between both sexes for their rights and place in society, some participants equated it with sexuality and abnormal sexual behavior. It was also associated with an ideology related to the supremacy of one sex over the other, or a movement that has such a goal. Only 8.6% (n= 12) of the respondents affirmed that sexism is a form of discrimination that marginalizes persons on the basis of their biological sex and ascribes stereotypes related to attributes and roles. Surprisingly there were also few answers that expressed that sexism is a positive thing:

Sexism is when we have equality between the sexes (males and females), when there is equivalence in terms of attitudes, values, opportunities, duties and rights. (Female student, Sciences of Education, 22 years-old)

Sexism is the tendency to defend the rights of both sexes. (Male Student, Psychology, 23 years-old)

Sexism is the valorization of gender questions. (Female student, Social Service, 22 years-old)

In the context of our professional responsibilities as faculty members, with a long experience as teachers, researchers and part of the university staff, the conclusions that are possible to draw from our students’ reflections about machismo, feminism and sexism are not as unexpected as it may seem at a first glance. Probably,

⁶ A slogan from the *World Social Forum*. Available at: <http://www.wsfindia.org/> (accessed at 15th, January, 2016).

there are equivalent opinions among professors, but such a study is yet to be done. For now the main conclusion we can draw from our results – which are not representative and should be seen only as exploratory in this field – is that it is urgent to reflect on curricula, in order to rewrite the formation of Portuguese social sciences professionals in a gender inclusive manner.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: WHAT FOR A GENDER SENSITIVE APPROACH IN CURRICULA?

We are living in a society characterized by a kind of *benevolent* (or modern) *sexism* – to use the term described by Glick and Fiske (1999) – where it is assumed that everything is already conquered in terms of gender equality and social justice, where women's political activism motivated by feminism is seen as outdated and empty of ideas, content and purposefulness, and where the themes that forced women but also men to fight for a better world are not included in the main curricular concerns, even in teaching and researching in social sciences. This creates increased difficulties to deconstruct with different generations the several forms of social oppression and discrimination based on biological sex because when learners think they are being *just modern* they may continue to be in fact really retrograde and sexist.

The experience of learning is mediated by ideas, philosophies and personal concepts about life and humanity (Lourenço & Ferro, 2002). Language has crystalized masculine archetypes that influence valued social role models, and it conveys some 'invisibilities' that cause the learner's ignorance about those things that are not named. The way we speak influences the way we think, the way we feel, and the way we act (Ferro, 2014). If students (and teachers) are not used to talk about sexism, feminism and machismo in their preparation as future professionals, how could they become attentive observers of situations of linked discriminations?

According to Giroux (1991), it is time to 'desacralize' the curriculum, to challenge petrified notions of what is worthy to enter in the classroom, to confront the myths of neutrality, and to question the universality of well-established facts, knowledge and values. The intrinsic connection between ethics and education should be the axis to design a 'gender sensitive curriculum', instead of a 'gender-neutral approach', that allows the students and their educators to "recognize that at different times and in different circumstances one might be required to adopt opposing strategies in order to eliminate gender bias" (Houston, 1994, p. 131). Because old problems of society continue to be unfortunately the contemporary ones, but perhaps with 'new outfits', we close this chapter quoting the French essayist Hélène Cixous (1991):

One cannot not speak of the scandals of an epoch. One cannot not espouse a cause. One cannot not be summoned by an obligation of fidelity. (p.vii)

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MARIE-PIERRE MOREAU¹

GENDERING STUDENT PARENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Abstract

Although there is a growing scholarship about student parents, this group remains broadly under-researched. Moreover, extant studies tend to focus on student mothers and rarely compare their experiences with those of student fathers, despite evidence suggesting that being a student parent is a highly gendered experience. Drawing on a corpus of 40 semi-structured interviews with student parents enrolled in English universities and a theoretical framework informed by feminist sociological theories, this paper ponders upon how similar or different the experiences of student fathers are compared to student mothers'. It analyses the gendered ways in which the research participants negotiate the demands associated with their multiple commitments, in a societal context where men are still expected to be the main breadwinners and women retain the main responsibility for care and domestic work.

Key words

student parents, higher education, gender, England

INTRODUCTION

Despite a growing scholarship about student parents (e.g., Brooks, 2012, 2013, 2015; Danna Lynch, 2008; Marandet & Wainwright, 2010; Moreau & Kerner, 2012, 2015; Moreau, 2016), this group remains broadly under-researched. Extant studies tend to focus on the experiential level and, in relation to gender, concur in suggesting that being a student parent is a gendered experience, as well as one which is subjected to the influence of other identity markers, such as class and ethnicity. However, limited comparison of the experiences of student mothers and student fathers has been conducted so far.

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This paper attempts to address this dearth of comparison by contrasting the ways in which both gender groups negotiate the demands associated with their multiple commitments, in a societal context where men are still expected to be the main breadwinners and women retain the main responsibility for care and domestic work (Crompton et al, 1999). It also considers if/how student fathers' narratives provide evidence of the erosion of the male breadwinner model (Crompton et al, 1999) or, on the contrary, hint to the reproduction of traditional gender arrangements. The first section introduces the methodological and theoretical framework in use, while the second section describes the societal and policy contexts against which student parents' experiences unfold. In the third section, the paper looks at the main findings from extant research before turning more specifically, in the fourth section, to an analysis of student fathers' experiences. It concludes with a discussion of the findings.

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The data discussed in this article originate from a research project funded by the Nuffield Foundation, as part of its Student Parents' and Women's Education research programme (Moreau & Kerner, 2012). Original data were collected in a sample of ten English universities, based in various parts of the country and with various levels of prestige. A desk search preceded the fieldwork phase to gain some general background information and to identify the provision in place in relation to student parents in each case study institution, with some of this information then used as a probe during the interview phase. Following that, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted with university staff, all based in support services, and with 40 student parents. Interviewees also completed a short questionnaire, to collect some information on their socio-demographic background and to gain a general sense of how satisfied they were with their experience of university. Once consent had been gained and access negotiated at institutional level, calls for volunteers were circulated in each participating university. The research team endeavoured to interview a diverse sample of students in terms of gender, socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, age, level and mode of study, subject and family circumstances, although this was met with some mitigated success (e.g., crucially for this paper only two male students were interviewed, despite repeated attempts to achieve a more gender-balanced sample). All participating students had in common to be a parent to at least one child under the age of 12 living in their home. The interviews were recorded and transcribed by a professional agency and imported into a qualitative data analysis software package (NVivo). The transcripts were subjected to a thematic and dis-

course analysis (for details, see Moreau & Kerner, 2012), with key themes derived from the original research questions, from the interview questions, and from the repeated readings of the transcripts.

This paper draws on sociological understandings of work and education informed by feminist theories (Connell, 1987; Crompton, 1999; Le Feuvre, 2002) and acknowledges the constant interaction between the macro-social (i.e. national policies and cultures), the meso-social (i.e. institutional policies and cultures) and the micro-social levels (i.e. biographical trajectories) (Crompton, 1999). In addition to this broad theoretical framing, this paper is informed by sociological studies of higher education (HE) exploring gender and other equality issues (e.g., Archer et al, 2003; Burke, 2013; David et al, 1993; Edwards, 1993; Leathwood & Read, 2009; Morley & Walsh, 1996; Read et al, 2003; Reay, 2003), including research on student parents which has emerged since the late nineties (Brooks, 2012, 2013, 2014; Danna Lynch, 2008; Hinton-Smith, 2012; Marandet & Wainwright, 2010; Moreau, 2016; Moreau & Kerner, 2012, 2015). This body of work concurs in highlighting the range of issues experienced by this group (i.e., childcare, financial, well-being and retention issues) and often points to their gendered dimension. However, it has rarely proceeded to a comparison of student mothers' and student fathers' experiences, leaving masculinities unproblematised as a result, as well as risking reproducing a view of student parents which collides parenting with mothering. There may be several reasons for this lack of comparative perspective. Women have been traditionally associated with care and remain to this day its main provider, inside and outside academia. Their entry into HE on a large scale is relatively recent and the literature highlights how sexism prevails in the sector, particularly for women from Black and Minority Ethnic and working-class backgrounds (see, e.g., Bates, 2014; Savigny, 2014; Wennerås & Wold, 1997; Young-Powell, 2014). As a result of women's dominated positions, many feminist researchers have focused on this group in their attempt to challenge academic subject cultures and epistemologies which take masculinity and heteronormativity as the norm and to make women's experiences visible – a long-lasting feminist endeavour. In addition, in countries where statistical data on student parents are available, women tend to represent the vast majority of student parents (NUS, 2009). For this reason and possibly because of the complicated relationship between men and care work, student fathers can be particularly difficult to recruit – an issue encountered by the research team in the original project on which this article draws. Yet exploring femininities *and* masculinities matters. First, it is consistent with a theoretical view of gender as relational and dynamic, in which gender categories are social constructs which only exist in relation to each other. Second, men play a key role in the reproduction of gender inequalities. In relation to this point, the feminist approach retained in this paper acknowledges 'the privileged po-

sition from which men operate within the existing gender order' (Mills et al., 2004, p.359) and, in particular, the 'glass escalator' (Williams, 1992), which benefit men in various spheres of society, including in the labour market and in HE (Crompton, 1999, 2007; Leathwood & Read, 2009). Third, despite the privileges associated with occupying a position of masculinity, many men will experience domination during their lifetimes, in line with an approach to identities as multiple and to power relationships as intersectional, they do not subscribe to a hegemonic type of masculinity or because of their 'other' identities, such as class.

As I write these words in anticipation of the 2015 ESREA Gender Network conference, I realise that this conference paper is only a starting point to a wider discussion of masculinities and femininities, parenting and academia. Like others, the research team has struggled in interviewing significant numbers of student fathers. While the narratives of the student fathers discussed in this paper are as rich and informative as those of the student mothers, the research team managed to interview in larger numbers, it is also very clear that further research targeting this group (as well as their female equivalent) is needed so that a more comprehensive picture of the gendering of student parents' experiences can be established.

NATIONAL AND SECTOR-SPECIFIC BACKGROUND

For several decades now, English Higher Education has been concerned with widening participation and lifelong learning (DES, 1987; DfES 2003; National Committee of Enquiry into Higher Education, 1997; Robbins, 1963). However, this agenda rarely acknowledges the presence of student parents in HE. Previous analyses of national and institutional policy and media texts found that student parents tend to be invisible (Moreau, 2016). Besides, despite the growing presence of student parents in HE, the association between academic excellence and the 'default' construction of the HE student (as White, male, middle-class, young, full-time, able-bodied, and child-free) has persisted. Concerns for widening participation and other equality matters have also increasingly taken a back seat, as neoliberal constructions of universities as 'entrepreneurial' or 'managerial' have gained in prevalence (Nikunen, 2014; Olssen & Peters, 2005).

The advent of neoliberal regimes of governmentality, combined with the widening participation agenda, has profoundly transformed HE cultures, and been associated with deep changes in the demographic composition of the staff and student population as well as with the increased stratification of the sector (Shavit et al, 2007). Discourses of the managerial university, combined with long-lasting Cartesian ideals (Descartes, 1996[1641]), have positioned care and relations of de-

pendency beyond the boundaries of academia or, at best, at its margins (Fraser & Gordon 1997; Grummell et al, 2009; Lynch et al, 2009). Students are now often constructed as ‘independent learners’ (Leathwood & Francis, 2006) and economic rational subjects (Grummell et al, 2009), while simultaneously facing tightening regimes of surveillance and work intensification (Gill, 2009).

While family, as an institution, seemingly bears little commonality with academia, these institutions share however two patterns: they are characterised by a division of work which is highly gendered, and have been described as ‘greedy institutions’ (Coser, 1974; Edwards, 1993). The discourse of intensive parenting which now prevails in the Global North requires that parents invest considerable time and energy in their offspring. In England, where parenting has traditionally been constructed as a private matter, parents receive limited support in recognition of their role, while also being increasingly subjected to regimes of surveillance (another point of similarity with academia). Like the ‘managerial university’ discourse, this discourse is highly gendered as this extensive parental investment is primarily expected from mothers (Danna Lynch, 2008; Douglas & Michaels, 2004; Hays, 1996).

The coincidence of these two discourses contributes to the explanation of the important challenges experienced by student parents identified in the literature, as they struggle to reconcile two areas of their lives which are constructed as separate and oppositional. However, it remains to be seen whether the experiences of student mothers and fathers are comparable and how gendered the effects of these discourses are.

STUDENT ‘PARENTS’ OR STUDENT MOTHERS?

Student parents represent a very diverse group. However, research on this group (or maybe more accurately on student mothers, who constitute in many studies the large majority, if not the totality, of research samples) has revealed the prevalence of a number of issues which contribute to many student ‘parents’ experiencing a sense of struggle (Leathwood & O’Connell, 2003). The time-related conflicting demands attached to their dual status have been found to be prominent (Brooks, 2012; Danna Lynch, 2008; Wainwright & Marandet, 2006), as this group is often time-poor and struggle in reconciling the demands of family and academia (and often of paid work, a common occurrence among this group; NUS, 2009). These findings also characterise the student mothers interviewed as part of the original project on which this paper draws. The student mothers (38 out of the 40 student parents we interviewed) talked extensively of their quest for a ‘balancing act’, as they attempt to coordinate ‘discordant times’ (Moss 2004).

It is a constant balancing act and you can't ever win. If I dedicated as much time to my studies as I wanted to, I would be neglecting my child. If I dedicated as much time to my child as I wanted to, I would be neglecting my studies. (Katherine)

I find that I don't have enough time to do the stuff that I need to. So, in the time that I am at home, it is really difficult because, obviously, the kids don't go to bed until half seven, eight o'clock, which is the time I basically get to do my work. (Stephanie)

Adding to this sense of struggle are the financial difficulties that many experience. Like their England-based childfree counterparts, student parents have to pay some of the highest tuition fees in the world, while having higher outgoings (partly due to the high costs of childcare provision) and limited availability for paid work. This, as well as the progressive replacement of grants by loans (Callender & Wilkinson, 2003), and the limited benefits and financial support available to student parents (with exception of the Childcare Grant, which covers a percentage of childcare expenses up to a threshold but is restricted to UK/EU undergraduate full-time students in low-income households, thus excluding many of the groups in which student parents concentrate), contribute to compound a sense of financial struggle. This constituted a prevailing pattern among the student mothers interviewed in the original study on which this paper draws, although some considerable diversity was also noted in terms of socioeconomic background, sources of income and family arrangements (see also Hinton-Smith, 2012).

So the financial side of it is huge, yes. I find I am really struggling, constantly worrying about money. I am just hoping that, at the end of this, I will be able to get a good job and not worry about money anymore. (Natalie)

A third dimension of this sense of struggle, linked to the time and financial issues discussed above, relates to the physical and mental well-being of student parents. Extant research has highlighted that occurrences of stress, anxiety, depression, exhaustion and illness are widespread among this group (Gerrard & Roberts, 2006; Marandet & Wainwright, 2010). All of these were also prevailing patterns among the student mothers we interviewed (Moreau & Kerner, 2012).

I've been suffering a bit with depression recently, which is a bit of a pain... the university counsellor seemed to be of the opinion that I just needed to manage my time better and there was nothing really wrong with me and kind of sent me packing. (Natalie)

STUDENT FATHERS IN ACADEMIA: CHRISTOPHER AND ALFREDO

As noted earlier, most of the research exploring student parents focus on student mothers, whether this is a deliberate intention or a result of the difficulties encountered in recruiting student fathers (as was the case in this study). Despite the many attempts of the research team to recruit a diverse population of student parents, including in terms of gender, only two male students were interviewed (compared with 38 female students).

To facilitate an understanding of the narratives of these two student fathers ('Christopher' and 'Alfredo' -not their real names), providing some biographical information is helpful. Christopher is a 38-year-old, White British student enrolled full-time on a PGCE² programme, in a post-1992 university located in the South of England. He lives with his wife, who works full-time and often stays away several nights a week for work purposes, and their three children (aged four, four and six). Christopher's first career was in IT. He took a career break shortly after the birth of the twins, a decision which was based, he explained, on high childcare costs and the fact that his wife was on a higher salary than him. During his career break, he became the Chair of the PTA (Parent-Teacher Association) at his older child's school. Following this experience, he decided to go back to education and to study for a PGCE at the local University (for which he receives a bursary). Like Christopher, Alfredo is a full-time bursary student. He studies towards a PhD in Business in a pre-1992 institution based in the North of England. He is 33, identifies as White Portuguese and lives with his wife and their two children (aged 2 and a newborn), in campus accommodation. His older child attends the university nursery. His wife is not currently employed but plans to start a PhD in the near future. Alfredo is in part-time employment (security nightshift on campus).

Asked about being a student parent, both admit to a number of difficulties. Christopher describes going back to university as

... daunting to begin with, how I could fit in with a different group of not only young people but there's one other guy out of 20 on the course so the majority, a couple of mums there as well so they're quite good to talk to, so generally I've had no problem with it really.

He also mentions finding it difficult 'to fit everything in'. Work placements in particular, a key component of the PGCE programme, were a problematic component of his programme of study as he needed to find a placement close enough

² Postgraduate Certificate in Education, leading to teaching.

to home so that he would have the time to drop his children at nursery/school before reaching his placement school. Uncertainties related to family life (for example, children sickness) were also described as problematic, with child sickness not taken into account by his institution when calculating his attendance. Alfredo's situation makes things slightly easier to manage as he lives on campus, is enrolled on a PhD programme (which grants him the flexibility that Christopher lacks), and benefits from the support of a spouse who has held professional jobs but is not currently in employment. Both express a sense of 'othering' as parents who have to battle their ways in an academic culture whose rules and expectations are geared towards the childfree students as, as fathers, they do not completely fit the figure of the 'bachelor boy' (Hinton-Smith, 2012). In addition to this, Christopher mentions a sense of being in a minority, as a mature student and a father, which he feels has occasionally resulted in stereotyping ('... a lot of people are assuming that because I'm married and have a wife, then she's at home looking after the children').

However, their identity as male students who are also fathers is also framed in positive terms. This maybe emerge with the greatest clarity in Christopher's account, who mentions how he receives lots of attention from the staff and has found the university very accommodating in terms of his own needs (e.g. ensuring that he is placed in a nearby school or that he can park his car on campus, despite policies specifying that students are not allowed to do so). The overall benefits of being a student parent are also emphasised: 'you're more clued up', says Christopher. Similarly, Alfredo stresses the level of support he receives from his supervisor.

It's a really positive experience at university, yes I have, the tutors are really encouraging because they know my background and they are very respectful, definitely, from all of them really, when I offer my ideas at the seminar, they really do listen to them, I don't know whether it's because my age or they know what I've done in the past, I don't know but yeah, whether it's because I'm one of the only two guys on the course but yeah, very positive really. (Christopher)

... my supervisor, she is incredible, just because she's a good mum and a good family person, and she knows, she gives us a lot of support, but that's just because of her situation, really. Again, it's not policy. (Alfredo)

This contrasts with the prevailing pattern identified among the student mothers in our study and those of others, who felt marginalised and whose commitment and academic abilities were sometimes challenged due to their dual status. In that respect, Lauren's narrative (also a PhD student) offers an interesting contrast with Alfredo's when she describes her supervisor's attitude.

I don't think I get any support for being a student parent, I would get grudging acknowledgement but it's in this: 'Oh yes, I suppose you'd have to go to that wouldn't you?', not really good enough, not really focused on the task. 'Come on now lady, you're edoing a PhD, where are your priorities?' is what I feel is the line, so you have to pretend and get round it.

Thus, while both Christopher and Alfredo identify a number of challenges attached to their male, parent and mature student identities, none of them express the acute sense of 'struggle' that is so widespread among their female counterparts, whether it is in relation to managing the discordant times of being a student and a parent, to financial difficulties or to the emotional turmoil expressed by many of their female counterparts. As far as the first aspect (time) is concerned, both admit to being time poor and Christopher mentions 'a little added pressure' attached to his dual status. However, they still manage to find some leisure time, in contrast with many of their female counterparts (such as Kelly: 'I don't do anything apart from my children, uni and the house... there is no time to myself. There is absolutely none'). While both narratives invoke an element of juggling conflicting priorities, this is again in short contrast with the intense juggling undertaken by many of their female counterparts. Financial difficulties are mentioned but both insist that they are not in a difficult position financially. It is worth reminding here that, as well as a bursary, Christopher's household benefits from his wife's salary, and Alfredo combines a PhD bursary with some occasional part-time work. He is also housed in campus accommodation which is competitively priced compared with the private housing sector and their childcare needs are limited due to the availability of his wife. It is also worth mentioning that, in contrast with Christopher's and Alfredo's matrimonial arrangements, many student mothers are single parents, with poverty a widespread occurrence among this group (Hinton-Smith, 2012; NUS, 2009). Last, guilt and the emotional turmoil experienced by many of their female counterparts are absent from their narratives. In contrast, student mothers such as Holly (see below) go to length to discuss feelings of guilt, stress and frustration as they fear that they are not being 'good enough' students nor mothers due to their restricted availability (see also Brooks, 2014).

I feel like I am always compromising in both areas. I am always compromising in everything, I feel that my husband is great but I am not giving enough time for him, I am not giving enough time for the kids, the kids need the time, my husband needs the time and they'll try and take it whether I want to give it, whether I feel able to give it or not, and the number of times you end up trying to write an essay with a child on your knee and it just gets

a little bit silly particularly when the child is trying to look up a football club on the internet at the same time! (Holly)

DISCUSSION

The apparently neutral figure of the student parent hides significant gendered differences. On the one hand, the narratives of Christopher and Alfredo highlight the fraught relationship between care and academia which also characterises the experiences of their female counterparts. However, on the other hand, neither of them seems to experience a sense of struggle as acutely as many of the student mothers do, whether it is in relation to juggling discordant times, to financial difficulties or to their emotional, physical and mental well-being.

Understanding these gendered differences require a multi-level analysis which considers macro-social, meso-social and micro-social factors (Crompton, 1999), for example taking into account the discourses of parenting and higher education which have currency in contemporary England. Despite significant shifts in policies and attitudes, the current context for student fathers and student mothers remains framed by the model of the male breadwinner, with women still bearing the main responsibility for care and domestic work (Crompton, 1999). The narratives of Christopher and Alfredo highlight that the arrangements in place in their home are not typical of the strong version of this model, suggesting its partial erosion. Both have female partners who have been in professional roles (one of them still is and brings the sole salary of the household, the other envisages to do a PhD in the near future and has been in professional jobs). However, both men also benefit from the support of their female partners in ways most student mothers do not. Alfredo's female partner is not currently in employment, while Christopher is the main child carer during the week but relies on childcare structures and school from 8am to 6pm. Cleaning is also notoriously absent from their account and, in the absence of a third person involvement, is likely to be undertaken to a significant extent by their female partners (again, in contrast with what has been observed in the case of student mothers).

I just don't have time for [housework], that's one thing that gets neglected and is the biggest cause of stress between us... It's my priorities, the house is last on the list. (Christopher)

This is a far cry from what most student mothers' experience (Nesha, for example, explains: 'My husband is the stereotypical guy that just doesn't do any housework, avoids childcare at all costs. Comes in and says, "what's for dinner?". I've been

trying for five years to work on it and I am giving up'). There is also a sense that the support received from partners goes beyond the practical: while many student mothers express some tensions with their male partner as a result of their engagement in higher education, Christopher declares: 'I'm lucky, I've got a wife'. What also appears from these accounts is that the female partners of student fathers are more likely than the male partners of student mothers to adjust their lives to accommodate their partner's needs (see also Baxter & Britton, 2011; Mason & Ekman, 2007) and to retain the main responsibility for care and domestic work, often with very limited changes in the gender division of domestic and care work (Alsop et al, 2008; Brooks, 2012; Edwards, 1993). This needs to be related to the wider gender order (Connell, 1987), in which women's other commitments are seen as acceptable as long as they do not compromise their role as main carer. Ultimately, the status of Christopher's wife as main breadwinner appears fragile and circumstantial. Despite being the main breadwinner, *her work* situation is presented as a result of *his* situation ('My wife's obviously the one working, she has been for the last couple of years because I stopped working anyway... the idea is when I go back and earn again, then she'll reduce her hours...'), suggesting that his wife adjusts her working patterns depending on his needs and aspirations.

As well as the persistence of the male main breadwinner model, discourses of intensive parenting (in reality of intensive mothering, as it is mothers who are principally expected to dedicate endless energy and time to raising children) contribute to explain why the acute sense of guilt experienced by student mothers is absent from the narratives of student fathers. As argued by Grummell and colleagues, 'care is not only a set of social practices but a strongly gendered one with deep moral connotations' (2009, p. 194), with feelings of guilt experienced by student mothers deriving from compliance and constant loyalty required from them by two greedy (and gendered) institutions (Coser, 1974; Edwards, 1993).

Such differences in the narratives of student mothers and student fathers also need to be relocated in the discursive context of contemporary academia. As I have argued elsewhere (Moreau, 2016), academia has a long history of excluding those without the right body and background. While some discourses and ideals have lost currency, others persist to this day. So is the case of the Cartesian ideals who have contributed to the shaping of modern science and educational institutions, and ultimately to the exclusion of women, particularly mothers, children and other non-privileged groups from the most legitimate sites of knowledge production. Admittedly, cultures of higher education have considerably transformed since the 17th century. New subjects, epistemological paradigms, pedagogical practices and organisational structures have emerged. Some segments of the academic worlds are more welcoming to non traditional students. However, academic excellence has remained

associated with the figure of the White, middle-class, heterosexual and childfree male. Besides, the entrepreneurial university has been described as masculinist due to the expectations placed on its members (e.g. in terms of working times, short-term availability and geographical mobility) and of the association between masculinity and academic leadership (Grummel et al, 2009; Morley, 2013). Women, particularly those with caring responsibilities, may struggle to fit in as care work continues to be mostly undertaken by them. To quote Grummell et al, 'the new capitalist academy... imposes expectations of performativity that only a care-less worker can fully satisfy' (2009, p. 12). Christopher's and Alfredo's male status, though, confer them a position of privilege (visible for example in their narratives, when they discuss the level of attention and support they receive from staff and how they successfully manage to negotiate certain rules and practices, when it comes for example to getting a parking space or a work placement in a suitable school), even if they occupy a minority position. Their parental status does not hinder their association with academic excellence, in contrast with some of the student mothers involved in the original study on which this article draws - for example, Lauren (see earlier quote). Nor does their parental status hinder their association with being a good parent.

By drawing on interviews conducted with only two student fathers and with 38 student mothers, this article only intends to be a starting point to a discussion of the relationship between gender, parenting and academia. It is also clear that, as in the case of student mothers, student fathers' experiences are clearly affected by other identity matters, such as race, class and sexual orientation, and that further research is needed to explore this. These findings also show that, as student mothers are more likely than student fathers to struggle in combining the dual demands of being a student and a parent, and to experience financial difficulties, as well as emotional and health issues, they are also more likely to suffer from austerity budgets and resulting financial cuts as they tend to be in greater need of support. In particular, the widespread closure of university nurseries and the benefit cuts which have taken place over the past few years are likely to affect women first.

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WHO IS WHO IN FACULTY MANAGEMENT IN SERBIA? *A Concise Gender Analysis*³

Abstract

Gender analysis of managerial staff at most faculties in Serbia is based on considering power as an unavoidable element and aspect of gender equality and on enlightening the multiple roles of (adult) education and learning in assuming managerial positions at these institutions, which is directly linked to possession of power. The analysis has indicated the existence of two basic tendencies. The first one refers to the identified traditional division of labour and it becomes evident when sexes of deans are related to the group of sciences the faculty belongs to. The other observed tendency implies maintaining traditional roles of men and women and this tendency is particularly evident when tasks performed by vice-deans are analysed. One of many relationships of education to the results obtained by the gender analysis in the paper is: why education that leads to the same professional positions of men and women at faculties, fails to preserve the same opportunities for occupying managerial positions.

Key words

gender equality, gender analysis, continuing education, faculty management

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³ This paper is a part of the research project undergoing realization at the Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, "Models of assessment and strategies for improvement of quality of education" (179060), supported by Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development RS.

BASELINES OF THE CONDUCTED GENDER ANALYSIS

Gender equality through the prism of power

Conducted gender analysis of managerial staff at accredited faculties at state and private universities in Serbia relies most directly, both by analysing the set objective and the method used for its implementation, on understanding of the construct of “gender equality”. Already when clarifying the first part of the stated syntagm, that is, the term “gender”, it is pointed out that it “is not only a socially constructed definition of a man and a woman”, but also “a socially constructed definition of relations between the sexes”. The construction contains an unequal ratio of power with male domination and female subordination in most spheres of life (from the definition by the Council of Europe, according to: Petrušić, 2007). Considerations of gender (in) equality, which we had the opportunity to find in literature, are almost as a rule, accompanied by remarks about the necessity of redistribution of power possessed by men and women, that is, its redefinition, as a necessary condition for improvement of gender equality. Joanna Ostrouch-Kamińska and Cristina C. Vieira state that the main obstacle “with a ‘gender sensitive analyses’ of reality” is that of “gender... commonly associated with an unequal distribution of power between men and women” (Ostrouch-Kamińska & Vieira, 2015, p. 1). It is therefore no wonder that the search for understanding of gender equality, in addition to highlighting the necessity of equal representation and participation of both sexes in all spheres of private and social life, particularly stresses the possession of power in acquired opportunities for participation (Milošević & Rančić, 2011, p. 54). Including “female and male interests and experiences in developmental programmes in all political, economic and social spheres so that the benefit for both men and women is equal and inequality is not renewed (re-established)” is also stated as a necessary precondition for moving towards the path of equality (UN, 1997, cited in Petrušić, 2007, p. 23-24).

Differences in understanding of social roles of men and women are most commonly recognised within four distinct and hardly separable contexts: *social* (“different expectations from social roles of women and men: a man as head of the family and the one who earns; a woman as one who gives birth, nourishes and cherishes (children and the old)”), *political* (“differences in the ways in which women and men gain and share power and authority...”), *educational* (“differences in opportunities for acquiring education and different expectations from girls and boys...”) and *economic* (“differences in career opportunities, finance control and other productive values...”) (Petrušić, 2007, p. 15-16). The specified differences in all four contexts can be brought down, on one hand, to differences in opportunities to build and gain power due to different opportunities to acquire education, develop a career, control finances, etc. and on the other hand, to differences in types of power, when they gain

it, in which the previously listed factors have a hand, but so do different expectations from social roles of men and women, differences in types of power and authorities, as well as differences in valuing the gained power and authority in men and in women. According to Petrusić, differences in valuing are most directly associated with the acceptance of the male role and its related expectations and power, as the norm for society as a whole, and thus become the measure of achievement and power for women, who are successful or powerful since they have met the expectations related to the male role, or their success and power remain unnoticed or taken for granted (and thereby cease to be success and power).

However, bearing in mind the women included in the sample of our analysis, rather than talking about the issue of having or not having power, it is far more appropriate to talk about types of power women have, in comparison to their colleagues, by holding managerial positions in educational institutions where the highest levels of education are obtained, and which are, at the same time, scientific institutions with numerous research centres.

Education in its multiple roles

Apart from being related to the issue of power with regard to gender equality, our analysis also has a significant and multiple support in education. In this paper it appears in multiple roles. First of all, both education and learning as lifelong processes occur in the case of both sexes included in our sample as necessary ways and channels of getting hold of positions in managerial departments at faculties and of performing functions of deans and vice-deans. In addition to formal education, both non-formal education and informal learning surely played an inseparable role in their career building and getting hold of the positions. Candidates for deans and vice-deans had to meet numerous and complex requirements placed upon their professional and career development. The candidates continuously met the requirements through their professional and career development along with necessary and dominant support of education and learning primarily during various stages of adult age. Although the beginnings of this development can be placed in childhood and youth, its most significant characteristics were, nevertheless, shaped and developed with the help of different adult education and learning modalities. We could say that a high level of development of both professional and key (transferable) competences is needed in the form of outcomes, that is, effects achieved in the course of this lifelong process. The path and requirements placed in order to pass through all the stages in the development are the same for all candidates regardless of sex. Following this stream of thought, we arrive to the role of education and learning in gaining power contained in managerial positions at faculties. It should further mean that,

regardless of sex, people in leading positions in these institutions have the same type of power. Whether this is so, we will try to establish through gender analysis.

Power and decision-making are largely becoming more significant when they are placed in a context of education and power, which is the case when we talk about faculties. In this section we raise the issue of the role of education and learning, but not in gaining power, but in using it. The fact is that not all professors become deans and vice-deans during their working life, but some of them are considered more appropriate for these roles. It is assumed that they will *be able to* manage well numerous resources and events which are part of the organisation such as a faculty, then a university in a broader context, and in an even broader context academic community with relevant social partners and social processes. Yet one more role of education stems from the fact that it represents the main area of work and largely exceeds the job description of university professors even when they hold managerial positions. In this case, one should not ignore that professors are, in addition to working with students at different levels of studies, creators and implementers of different programmes of nonformal development for professionals.

Multiple roles of education and learning related to holding leading managerial positions at faculties are in the range from preconditions for work to work effects of this staff. Briefly put, education and learning take an indispensable place in professional and career development of university professors in general, as well as of managerial staff, then they contribute to gaining power by taking over these functions, they act on the use of power while performing them, and education represents a basis of the job professors do, and management and decision-making are also related to the activities of an educational institution, which means that the entire context in which management takes place can be characterised as educational. In the listed ways education and learning make the basis of power as a necessary element of gender equality, while at the same time they represent special factors and effects within the analysed issue.

THE AIM AND THE METHOD OF THE CONDUCTED GENDER ANALYSIS

The aim of this paper is to conduct a gender analysis on a sample of managerial staff of accredited state and private faculties at most universities in Serbia.

Gender analysis can be carried out by using different methods and techniques of data collection and processing, with the main aim to “understand/explain relationships between women and men, their access to resources, their activities, as well as constraints they face” (Uprava za rodnu ravnopravnost Republike Srbije, 2008).

The problem to be analysed in this way is seen as a result of the existing policies, while gender analysis results can be the basis for creating new strategies and policies to regulate a certain area (Brozović, 2012). The range of the analysis we conducted go to the level of analysis of the existing situation, with an emphasis on considering how finding are interrelated with adult education.

The gender analysis model we applied is most similar to the Harvard Analytical Model. As stated by March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay (2010) "The Harvard Framework was designed to demonstrate that there is an economic case for allocating resources to women as well as men... It does this by mapping the work and resources of men and women in a community and highlighting the main differences" (p. 32). The Harvard Analytical Framework, as a grid (matrix) for data collection, has four main components: The Activity Profile - Who does what; The Access and Control Profile - Who has access and who controls the funds (resources); Influencing Factors - The differences in the gender division of labour, access, and control; and Checklist for Project-Cycle Analysis - To assist to examine a project proposal or an area of intervention from a gender perspective (p. 32-38).

By taking into account the basic premises of the gender analysis method and the Harvard Analytical Model, we used the protocol for gathering information including the first three components of the model. We tried to give answers to the three questions: who (with regard to sex) does which jobs in faculty administration departments; who has access to funds (resources), profit and opportunities; and who controls the funds (resources), profit and opportunities?

It is easy to notice that the questions underlying the gender analysis are closely related to the previously discussed issue relating to the possession of power. They are also, first and foremost, closely related to learning, adult education, performing work roles and tasks and career development and achievements reached within them, as necessary preconditions for carrying out the profession of professors, and for their appointment to the observed positions in the organisation.

Based on the documentation available, the gender analysis included the management sample from eight state universities (University of Belgrade, University of Arts in Belgrade, University of Nis, University of Kragujevac, University of Novi Sad, University of Defense in Belgrade, University of Pristina with headquarters in Kosovska Mitrovica and State University of Novi Pazar) and nine private accredited universities (Alfa University in Belgrade, European University - Belgrade, Megatrend University, Educons University - Novi Sad, Metropolitan University, University Business Academy - Novi Sad, Singidunum University, Union University and Union University - "Nikola Tesla"). The data were collected and analysed for 100 faculties (departments) of the state universities and for 70 faculties of private universities.

On the basis of the prepared protocol, the data were collected via universities' and faculties' websites during the period from the last ten days in March to the first week of April 2015. While designing the protocol in the table form for data collection, the three questions asked about the gender analysis of the management were taken into account.

RESULTS OF THE GENDER ANALYSIS – OVERVIEW AND INTERPRETATION

Gender analysis of management positions of faculty deans

We will start the overview and analysis of the research results with the review of who, with regard to sex, at the state and private institutions occupies and performs the dean duties.

Table 1: Deans at the state universities relative to gender

Universities	Deans at the state universities	
	Males	Females
University of Belgrade	25	6
University of Arts in Belgrade	3	1
University of Nis	11	2
University of Kragujevac	8	4
University of Novi Sad	12	2
State University of Novi Pazar	6	4
University of Defense in Belgrade	1	0
University of Pristina with headquarters in Kosovska Mitrovica	8	2
Total:	74	21
Proportion:	3.52	

The data from Table 1 indicate that there are three and a half times more male deans than female deans at the state faculties in Serbia included in the research. The disproportion, in terms of the shown domination of male deans, is particularly noticeable at University of Novi Sad (6), University of Nis (5.5) and University of Belgrade (4.17). The proportion is to a certain extent more favourable to female deans at the private universities in Serbia.

Table 2: Deans at the private faculties relative to gender

Universities	Deans at the private accredited faculties	
	Males	Females
Alfa University in Belgrade	4	2
European University, Belgrade	2	2
Megatrend University	9	1
Educons University, Novi Sad	7	4
Metropolitan University	2	1
University Business Academy, Novi Sad	3	1
Singidunum University	4	5
Union University	4	1
Union University – “Nikola Tesla”	6	2
Total:	41	19
Proportion:	2.16	

We can say that among the deans at the faculties of the private universities there are twice as many men than women. The largest disproportions were noticed at Megatrend University (9), University Business Academy, Novi Sad (3) and Union University – “Nikola Tesla” (3). However, unlike the identified situation at the state universities, where there is a larger number of male deans at all of them, in the group of the private faculties we have found one with equal number of male and female deans (2 : 2, European University, Belgrade) and one where the number of female deans is larger (proportion – 1.25, Singidunum University). Viewed collectively, for both the state and private universities, the proportionate representation of male and female deans is 2.87 in favour of men, who are, therefore, about three times more numerous than women.

The data presented have already paved the way for answers to the three questions on which we based the gender analysis by indicating who, in the most cases, performs the leading function at faculties. Nevertheless, more detailed answers can be given by taking an insight into the dean job description. Very important provisions for the role of the dean are found in the *Statute of the University of Belgrade*, in which, inter alia, it is stated that: “... The Dean shall be the first man of the faculty, its manager and managing body” (Statute of the University of Belgrade, 2015, p. 45). More detailed dean job descriptions can be found in faculty statutes. We have singled out from the *Statute of the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy* some of the tasks performed by the dean. Among them are: “... to organise and manage the Faculty; represent the Faculty; ensure the legality of work ... of the Faculty; establish working bodies for more efficient performance of duties within his/her jurisdiction;

... be responsible for conducting teaching and scientific activities of the Faculty; propose the basis of business policy; propose the annual work programme and the financial plan; ... initiate and propose solutions on issues of importance to the performance of activities of the Faculty; perform mandatory authority in relation to allocation of financial resources within the defined financial plan; make decisions in the field of labour relations; ... sign diplomas..." (Statute of the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy, 2014, p. 58).

The excerpt from the dean job description certainly indicates that the dean is "the first man of the faculty". His/her powers and responsibilities spread into several directions: he/she represents the faculty in the external environment, proposes and implements the faculty business policy, performs tasks related to teaching and scientific work, allocates the financial resources, performs tasks related to labour relations of employees, as well as tasks related to students. Power is, therefore, linked to activities and policy of the faculty, financial and human resources (employees and students), and power is also "taken out" from the faculty and shown in the immediate and wider environment.

The question which arises in this part of the discussion is: if learning, (adult) education, previous work and career development qualified both women and men for the titles of full-time professors at faculties, what is it then in the operation system of higher education institutions and universities that leads to the appointment of such a large number of men as deans? And the question which immediately arises from the one previously asked is why do we recognise even at faculties different expectations from social roles of men and women, differences in distribution of power, in career development and in abilities to manage finances and other resources? It seems that in the analysed cases learning and (adult) education still hardly lead to gender equality. We can say that women who are deans have, in fact, met the expectations that the society has of men in terms of career development and possession of power, and that they operate in the environment very similar to the families with a traditional division of roles, which means of power, too. It would be interesting to analyse in the future the relation between the construct of power which is more suitable for women and opportunities to take dean positions.

In order to go further into the initiated overview we are going to analyse the data indicating at which faculties men appear as deans, and at which faculties women appear as deans.

Table 3: Men and women as deans at certain faculties

The sample of faculties where men are deans	The sample of faculties where women are deans
Faculty of Economics, Belgrade	Teacher Education Faculty, Belgrade
Faculty of Security Studies, Belgrade	Faculty for Special Education and Rehabilitation, Belgrade
Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade	Faculty of Philology, Belgrade
Faculty of Sport and Physical Education, Belgrade	Faculty of Pharmacy, Belgrade
Faculty of Mathematics, Belgrade	Faculty of Biology, Belgrade
Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade	Faculty of Agriculture, Belgrade
Faculty of Civil Engineering, Belgrade	Faculty of Music, Belgrade
School of Electrical Engineering, Belgrade	Faculty of Arts, Niš
Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, Belgrade	Faculty of Education, Jagodina
Faculty of Medicine, Belgrade	Faculty of Hotel Management and Tourism, Vrnjacka Banja
Faculty of Electronic Engineering, Nis	Faculty of Environmental Protection, Novi Sad
Faculty of Engineering Sciences, Kragujevac	Faculty of Foreign Languages, Belgrade
Faculty of Information Technology, Belgrade	Academy of Arts, Belgrade

On the basis of the selected examples from Table 3 it is easy to notice that men as deans are heads of faculties which belong to the fields of economics, political sciences, security, medicine, mathematics, information technologies and to the almost entire group of faculties combined under the name of “technical-technological sciences”. Women are deans at the faculties related to the fields of arts, educational work, care of persons with special needs, foreign languages, agriculture, biology, pharmacy, environmental protection and providing services in the field of hotel management and tourism. The differences in the selected fields point to differences in the possessed power, and it seems to us that they point even more to the persistence of the traditional division of labour, the division into male and female occupations. In terms of occupations, expectations referring to men go, or better to say persist, in the direction of performing tasks related to finances, politics, security, as well as to different types of engineering jobs. As for women, one can expect that they are

accomplished through practice of art, education, care of people with special needs, food production, medicine production, as well as jobs related to providing services in the field of hotel management and tourism. When we look at the listed fields to which activities and occupations belong they seem almost identical to those we find within families with the traditional division of roles. It seems as if the traditional family division of roles was transferred with the help of education to the context of higher education. What we would like still to mention is that within our analysis we have come across the cases where women are deans at faculties which (still continue to) prepare students for the so-called “male” occupations. Thus, for example, at the: Faculty of Economics (Kragujevac), Faculty of Sciences (Novi Sad), Faculty of European Business and Marketing (Belgrade), Faculty of International Economics (Belgrade), Faculty of Applied Security Studies (Novi Sad), Faculty of Information Technologies (Belgrade), Faculty of Civil Engineering Management (Belgrade) and in several similar cases dean functions are performed by women.

Gender analysis of management positions of faculty vice-deans

We are going to look now at what else can be further said about gender equality and division of roles and power by the part of the analysis which covered distribution of vice-deans at the faculties included in the sample.

Table 4: Distribution of vice-deans relative to sex at the faculties of state universities

State universities	Vice-deans for finances		Vice-deans for teaching		Vice-deans for science		Vice-deans for international cooperation		Other vice-deans	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
University of Belgrade	19	3	16	17	14	10	2	1	Vice-dean 6 Specific 4	Vice-dean 7 Specific 0
University of Arts in Belgrade	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Vice-dean 8	Vice-dean 3
University of Nis	8	3	11	6	9	4	0	1	Specific 3	Specific 3
University of Kragujevac	6	3	5	10	5	4	0	0	Specific 3	Specific 1

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University of Novi Sad	10	1	10	9	6	4	2	2	Specific 2	Specific 1
State University of Novi Pazar	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
University of Defense in Belgrade	/	/	0	2	1	0	/	/	Vice-dean 1	/
University of Pristina with headquarters in Kosovska Mitrovica	/	/	2	4	3	0	1	0	Vice-dean 9	Specific 4
Total	43	10	44	48	38	22	5	4	Vice-dean 24 Specific 12	Vice-dean 10 Specific 9

Among the vice-deans at the faculties of state universities in Serbia we included in the analysis there is one and a half times larger number of men (proportion – 1.6). Attention should be drawn to fact that vice-deans are proposed by the dean and that they perform “managing and decision-making tasks within the scope authorised by the dean” (Statute of the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy, 2014, p. 59). This is yet another fact in favour of the claim about the significant power wielded by deans.

When it comes to the vice-deans, we have identified several types of vice-deans, whose position names indicate the types of tasks they are responsible for and they manage. Thus one can differentiate from vice-deans for: finances, teaching, science, international cooperation, general type of vice-deans and specific types of vice-deans (which includes individual cases, such as a vice-dean for I degree studies, for II and III degree studies, for postgraduate studies and continuing education, for cooperation with industry, for investments and cooperation with industry, for quality assurance, etc.). It is interesting to look at the distribution relative to sex within certain types of vice-deans.

Men are dominant among vice-deans for finances, where there are four times more men than women (proportion – 4.3). They are also more numerous, almost two and a half times, within the category we named a general type of vice-dean (proportion – 2.4), then as vice-deans for science (proportion – 1.7), then among specific types of vice-deans (proportion – 1.3) and slightly as vice-deans for international cooperation (proportion – 1.25). Women outnumber men only as vice-deans for teaching (proportion – 1.09). It is apparent that the data relative to sex, obtained via

the analysis of managerial positions of vice-deans, indicate multiple-point gender inequality. Among the vice-deans there are more men than women, then they are more often in charge of finances or have a broader scope of tasks as a general type of vice-dean and are more often in charge of scientific work at faculties. Greater numerical representation and sectors they run point to possessing a greater degree of power of men as vice-deans in relation to their women colleagues. Women as vice-deans are only in greater numbers responsible for teaching issues, for what actually happens “in-house” and can be linked to work with and care of youth, that is, students. When it comes to men vice-deans, gender inequality follows the line of male dominance shown by their numbers and by their dealing with tasks closer to power (finances, scientific work), whereas women vice-deans deal with tasks within the domain of traditionally expected roles.

Such conclusions are supported by the distribution of tasks we encounter when it comes to the specific type of vice-deans. And in this case, women are more often vice-deans for certain levels of studies, for organisation of professional practice, and partly for quality, whereas men as vice-deans are responsible for investments and cooperation with industry and/or with foreign countries.

At the faculties of private universities there is a considerably smaller number of vice-deans, so we are not going to present the results obtained by the conducted analysis in the form of a table, but we are going to describe them. The total number of vice-deans at these faculties is 43. Among them there is an almost equal number of men ($f=22$) and women ($f=21$). The identical number appears when it comes to vice-deans for teaching where there are 13 vice-deans of both sexes each. However, what should be first and foremost taken into account is that at the private faculties we have not found a single vice-dean for finances, which is understandable, since finances are managed by the owner. Thus, holding vice-dean positions at these faculties refers to other areas of work, where they include, in addition to teaching, science (the ratio between men and women is 4:5), international cooperation (0:1), then vice-deans of general profile (4:2) and of specific profile (1:0). In the cases mentioned the number of vice-deans is too small to make certain generalisations and discuss trends. However, it is evident that when there is no position of a vice-dean for finances, men start in larger numbers to occupy the position of vice-dean for teaching. Thus at the private faculties their numbers are equal to those of women. By looking collectively at the positions of deans and positions of vice-deans, these findings support the claim that men occupy managing positions in a considerably larger number, often performing managerial roles within the positions which, based on our analysis, were shown to be to a great extent “female”.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

By following the basic aim we set for the research presented, which implied conducting the gender analysis on the sample of management of the state and private faculties at most universities in Serbia, we were searching for answers to the three questions: who (with regard to sex) does which jobs in faculty administration departments; who has access to funds (resources), profit and opportunities; and who controls the funds (resources), profit and opportunities? The most concise answer to all three questions would be: when positions of deans and vice-deans are analysed, it is men who, undoubtedly, in considerably larger numbers than women, perform the selected managerial roles, and above all, those implying access to resources (both financial and other resources), profit and opportunities. Within such a type of roles we can highlight as examples deans, vice-deans for finances, the general type of vice-dean, vice-deans for science, for investment and cooperation with industry. It is certainly not difficult to link all of the above mentioned roles to power, on which, as an important element and aspect of gender equality, we based our analysis.

In addition to power, we also based the analysis on the relationships established between (adult) education and the occupation of managerial positions at faculties. We have observed a multiple role of education and learning in relation to gaining power by performing managerial functions. The distribution of roles ranges from those that make preconditions and continuously set requirements for professional and career development of university professors, through roles in the development of management competences, then in exercising power while performing managerial functions, to the professor job description, the basis of which is education (on three levels of formal education and in continuous development of professionals in a particular field) and through education as a context in which professional work and institution management take place.

When it comes to managerial positions at faculties, in relation to gender inequality, two parallel tendencies were noticed. The first one refers to maintaining the traditional division of labour, which was observed through the greater representation of men deans at groups of faculties where students are trained for the so-called “male” occupations and common cases where women are deans at faculties which train professionals in the fields of “female” occupations. The second noticed tendency points to the persistence of the traditional division of roles between men and women in managerial positions at faculties, so men appear as deans in considerably larger numbers – as those who implement the institution policy and present it in public, as well as vice-deans for finances, that is, as people who direct finances and who are responsible for them. Women as vice-deans are more numerous in the

group of vice-deans for teaching, hence as people who take care of youth (students) and mostly of “in-house” activities.

The results obtained represent neither newly-created nor previously unknown situation, nor the situation peculiar only to Serbia and neighbouring countries, but more precisely, as Svenka Savic draws attention to it, the fact “that over the last twenty years the research at home and abroad showed that presence of women in science at universities and in general in the academic field is smaller, less diverse and more different from the presence of men” (Savić, 2015, p. 7). Such different presence is not without an impact on learning, which contributes to the persistence of different expectations from men and women when it comes to occupying leading positions at faculties, and furthermore makes men more represented in these positions, and thus, as we could see, more “powerful”. Bearing in mind the offered models, we come to yet another interrelation between learning (education) and occupying managerial positions at faculties by men and women. Also, when it comes to the interrelation between occupying leader positions at faculties and adult education, the question that arises is that of professors’ preparedness to perform the tasks these positions imply. For the time being the situation that obviously prevails with certainty is that mastery of managerial competences is assumed. However, it maybe emphasises a need for professional development in this area that could contribute to decreasing the identified gender inequalities.

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GENDER RELATED OBSTACLES IN HIGHER EDUCATION⁴

Abstract

The paper presents the gender related obstacles female students encounter during higher education studies in Serbia. It focuses on gender based inequality in educational opportunities, not from the point of unequal access to education, but from the point of disadvantages female students face during their schooling that make it harder for them to fulfil the requirements and obtain the diploma, disadvantages that subsequently have consequences for their carriers. It briefly presents the current situation in high education in Serbia in general, and more specifically it focuses on the data on the level of its gender sensitivity - both of the educational policy and practice. It then provides the results of the research among female students in Novi Sad University and their view on this topic in more detail.

The research was conducted at the University of Novi Sad among 150 female students of social sciences and humanities. The students' answers provide an overview of a large number of issues that they observe as their disadvantages or as the difficulties that they face during their studies that are specific to their gender. They range from very personal matters, such as single parenting and raising a child or negative self-image and a lack of self-confidence; through high number of those that are born out of cultural expectations of a woman and that lead to discriminatory barriers – “glass ceiling”; to those that are much more general and influenced by situation in the society, mostly concerning insecurity, unemployment and poverty. As the research focused on educational barriers it presents a number of answers concerning discriminatory practices in higher education, among others including the derogatory messages that female students receive, different treatments based on their gender, gender insensitive use of teaching methods and unsupportive environments.

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⁴ This is paper is a part of the research project “The quality of educational system in Serbia from the European perspective” (179010), supported by Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development RS.

The paper concludes with practical recommendations for achieving the higher level of gender sensitivity in university education that would lower or remove those specific obstacles for female students.

Key words

Educational gender inequality, gender based educational obstacles, higher education

INTRODUCTION

Special attention in this paper is devoted to observing the influence of the educational system's perception of gender roles on that person's experience of higher education process and outcomes. There is a growing amount of the literature about gender related obstacles in higher education based on research done in the poorer countries with the high level of patriarchal attitudes toward women (Al-Jaradat, 2014; Egenti & Omoruyi, 2011; Banerjee, 2013; Williams, 2014). The research presented in this paper was conducted in Serbia, a country "in transition" - European country negotiating the EU accession, with the recent history of wars and problems such as high unemployment and high level of corruption or deteriorating conditions for the full exercise of freedom of expression (European Commission, 2014). Together with other aspects of a Serbian society, education is in the period of transition from traditional (with aim to create a "versatile personality") to modern and "European" values (development of 21st Century Competencies). This process is both praised and critiqued by society in general, it is recognized as a necessity, opportunity, threat, even all together (Vukičević & Đermanov, 2014). The main aim is to analyse the way that high education system, necessarily influenced by the society where it belongs, places obstacles based on student's gender identity.

Gender is an inherent component of the human identity perception. Regardless of whether the person's perceived gender identity and the physical sex they were assigned at birth do or do not coincide, the person has an idea his/her gender identity. Sex is a biological category by which we differentiate humans as 'female' or 'male'. Gender is a social and cultural term subjected to different interpretations and conditioned by the cultural milieu within which it is defined. It describes persons' 'masculinity' or 'femininity' depending on a social construct of a certain society in a certain time. Gender as a social construct is susceptible to changes over time, though they are slow and difficult to influence. It includes traditional gender based roles and a number of stereotypes and prejudices about gender suitable behaviours, attitudes and life styles. Famous anthropologist Margaret Mead offered the basis of this

theoretical concept in her book "Sex and temperament in three primitive societies" (Mead, 1935).

Therefore, the first step towards assessing progress towards true gender equality requires an understanding of the social construction of gender identity or what it means to be a woman or a man in a particular context, which in turn is reinforced by the prevalent idea of a) what roles are appropriate for men or women to perform in a given context; and b) how what is done by women and men is valued, socially and economically (Subrahmanian, 2005). Gender regime, the configuration of gender relations within a particular setting, determines social status and obligations of the individual arising out of his or her gender role. This regime permeates society as a whole and is present in all of its segments. The studies about gender regimes do not only contribute to understanding of the position of women and men, their relationships and permitted or illicit behaviours in the society, but they also expose hidden forms of social oppression in all segments of society (Jarić & Radović, 2011).

Education is recognized and identified as a mediator and an instrument for achieving social change and influencing the development of consciousness. Education can act as a multiplier for the opportunity to realize human rights - particularly health and employment, as well as the right to equality between the sexes (Wilson, 2004). On the other hand, education can also spread and strengthen prejudices and thus influence the development of patterns of thinking and behaving in a particular community. Empowering education develops in its participants the understanding of how their gender, race, class and other aspects of their identity limit their life opportunities, but also the knowledge of how they can overcome these limitations (Rao & Sweetman, 2014). The basis of gender-sensitive education is the creation of conditions for the maximal development of each individual student, providing equal opportunities and critical examination of existing discriminatory patterns. The results of the research that will be presented in this paper especially emphasise the necessity for creating and supporting a higher level of gender-sensitivity in high education system in Serbia. This recommendation is based on the belief that gender inequality in education is at the same time the cause and the consequence of deep-rooted inequalities in society, and that it is necessary to actively, consciously and explicitly create an education that will be equal in all its aspects, and thus in the long run contribute to the achievement of gender equality and in society at large.

GENDER EQUITY IN SERBIA

Gender Equality at Policy Level

Gender equality has become the part of the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, adopted in 2006. One of the articles, number 15, states that the State shall guarantee the equality of women and men and develop equal opportunities policy. Gender equality is also protected by the Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination, adopted in 2009. The bodies for gender equality exist at all levels of government - national, regional, and local (Đurđević-Lukić, Radoman & Tadić, 2013; Jarić & Radović, 2011). The Law on Fundamentals of Education System (2009) defends the right of every person to education without discrimination, segregation, violence, abuse, and neglect, based on their needs and interests, without any obstacles to change, continuation, and completion of education and lifelong education.

Analysis of policy about gender equality, gender rights and gender sensitivity in education shows significant presence of relevant regulations and bodies. On the other hand, analyses of their application at the practical level, for example local, regional and national law enforcement or practical achievement of gender equality in rights to education, rights within education, and rights through education (Subrahmanian, 2005) is far from ideal.

Gender Equality in Practice

Literature, report and research analysis shows that the normative level concerning the regulations in the field of gender equality in Serbia is more developed than the level of their implementation in the practice (Jarić & Radović, 2011). The research about the attitudes on gender equality within the higher education system in Serbia (Džamonja-Ignjatović, Žegarac, Popović & Duhaček, 2009), recognizes that there is a number of documents, laws, and strategies, to which Serbia refers concerning the gender equality in the last decade (The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women – CEDAW, adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly; Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing Declaration, adopted in 1995; together with the national documents such as: National Strategy for Improvement of the Position of Women and Advancement of Gender Equality, Gender Equality Act, Millennium Development Goals). Nevertheless, political and educational practices are rarely based on the same principles as those documents. The authors quoted other contemporary researches - Bačević et al., 2010 - and their conclusion is that in Serbia the educational materials and programs are anachronistic, discriminatory, and contribute to the stereotypization of gender roles. This is especially true concerning academic programs, as they are based

on highly insensitive materials and language. One of the results of the mentioned research (Džamonja-Ignjatović et al., 2009) shows the example of gender inequality in professional opportunities. Even though gender structure of students at various departments is unequally distributed by – the number of female students being higher in humanities and the number of male students in natural sciences – comparison with the proportion of gender representation among the university professors indicates that the relationship between men and women does not follow the initial gender distribution.

High Education in Serbia

Higher education system is organized through private and public, state funded, universities. In order to obtain a working permit and a valid diploma, they have to have an accreditation licence conferred by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development. Higher education studies can be divided into two categories: academic studies and applied/vocational studies. Serbia started the reform of educational system to adjust it to Bologna Process in 2003 and this process was supported when a new Law on Higher Education came into effect in 2005 (Slavković & Kita, 2009). The leading principles of current legal framework are: harmonization with the European higher education system and promotion of academic mobility of teaching staff and students; participation of students in governance and decision-making, in particular in matters relating to teaching and quality assurance; quality assurance and efficiency of studies; unity of teaching and scientific research and/or artistic work (The Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2005). Despite all the improvements achieved in this process, there are a number of challenges and needs that the system still has to face in order to achieve adequate quality. European Commission report “Higher Education in Serbia” (Tempus, 2012) lists some of them: the need to harmonise further the Law on Higher Education; creation of an overall education strategy for the next five-ten years; reform of the higher education system funding, measures of student improvement, mobility and recognition, strengthening of the links between science and teaching.

Gender Related Obstacles in Higher Education

As argued in the previous chapters, Education is seen as a tool for a widespread and long-term change in social norms and expectations concerning gender. It can also be argued that education is one of the most important tools for achieving personal independence, autonomy and desired level of personal development. Authors Egenti and Omoruyi (2011) list a number of research projects that confirm

the benefits of education as an “avenue for people to meet or satisfy variety of needs”. They especially highlight the necessity for continuing higher education as a means of acquiring knowledge that will enable the individual keep up with the rapid social, cultural, economic, political, industrial and technological changes taking place in the environment in which the individual finds himself (Kazeem, 1998; Olomukoro, 2005, as cited in Egenti et al., 2011). This is particularly important for marginalized, disadvantaged and disempowered groups, for whom education can present one way out of their situation. Recently, world-wide research has shown an increase in numbers of women pursuing higher education programs, and therefore it has become significant not to understand this increase as an indicator of achieved gender equality in education in general (Subrahmanian, 2005). Wilson (2003) underlines that addressing the right to education, without addressing rights in education and through education may mean compelling attendance in education that may be of limited use and relevance to increasing equality between the sexes.

In order to achieve gender sensitivity in all mentioned aspects of educational process it is necessary to discern specific obstacles that might make it harder for women (as a group for whom sometimes even approach to education was or still is denied historically or discouraged socially) to participate and which might not be explicit and easily visible for outside observers, or even for the female participants themselves if they have accepted the current status as the “natural” or “normal” as it reflects the situation in their culture. One of the most common obstacles is poor socioeconomic status – that affects not only women’s opportunities to enrol, but also their aspiration or desire to seek further education (Egenti et al., 2011). Second group consists of a number of obstacles, which women state prevent them from gaining full membership in academic life, and they all are child-related. As a result of these obstacles, women encounter childbearing/childrearing problems, research dilemmas, a willingness to leave the academy, and denial of tenure and promotion (Armenti, 2004). Armenti’s study shows that educational policies rarely acknowledge that women’s life cycle is different from men’s and they are based on men’s life trajectory. Third group of the most relevant and influential obstacles, based on gender, concerns the educational process itself and the level of its gender sensitivity. This aspect covers a wide area and when it is consciously planned and realized it includes, among other elements, gender sensitive language, communication and interaction, constructive, supportive and non-discriminatory verbal and nonverbal messages about gender, fair and equal expectations and support; usage of materials that are free of gender stereotyping and provide empowered women role models, etc. Research shows that this aspect in practice often presents obstacle for women as teacher education mostly still does not include any goals concerning the development of gender sensitivity and therefore they simply and unconsciously reflect

societal norms – often patriarchal ones. Awareness of gender issues and respect of the right to be different in all aspects of education will impact the attitudes and behaviours of the new generation and create conscious and educated women and men who will be the bearers of social change and the creators of a new society on the foundations of democracy and human rights.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study was to map the female students' experience of higher education, in terms of gender-discriminatory obstacles (their type, volume and intensity), in an institutional academic context, and examine the sensitivity of the students to the recognition of these obstacles. The key question that the study sought to answer was: do female students recognize gender based obstacles in their own academic environment and do they associate those obstacles with unequal and discriminatory studying conditions? Specific objectives of the research were to evaluate the psychometric properties of the constructed instrument (rating scale) on gender-based obstacles in an academic context (instrument acronym "GBOAC") and examine the connection between predictor variables (academic and socio-cultural characteristics of the students) and the students' perception of gender barriers in the formal and non-formal curriculum. It is assumed that the students' perceptions of the presence and prevalence of various forms of gender discrimination in the academic context differ, in the same way as female students differ in the level of sensitivity to identifying manifested and implicit forms of gender inequality.

Population and sample

The population for the research consists of students from the University of Novi Sad, at all three levels of study (undergraduate, master and doctoral studies). Target group for the research are the female students in the academic and scientific field of social sciences and arts and humanities. The sample includes 153 female students, which approximately corresponds to (5%) of students enrolled in 2014/15 year in the mentioned academic areas that are traditionally and predominantly chosen by female students. In addition to the differences among research participants concerning their chosen academic discipline, individual student profiles also differ in a number of other academic and socio-cultural characteristics. The research includes following controlled indicators of students' academic characteristics: age, study level, area of study, academic achievement and source of funding for the studies. The set of sociodemographic characteristics includes data about the socio-eco-

nomnic status, ways of obtaining financial income and their living conditions, previous education, working and residential status of parents, marital and parental status of the respondent.

Instrument

Within the nonexperimental quantitative research design, descriptive methods and techniques of interviewing and scaling were used. The used instrument was a questionnaire that had been constructed for this exploratory research. In the first part of the questionnaire, students were asked about their socio-demographic and academic characteristics. The second part of the questionnaire contains two scales of assessment that have been constructed within the framework of this pilot research. The first scale measures the perceptions about the gender-based stereotypes, discriminatory practices and obstacles with respect to the education and career in the broader macro social context. The second scale refers to the recognition of gender-based obstacles in the narrow micro-environment - institutional academic context. Both scales include four point scale of answers, Likert-type, ranging: (1) *Strongly Disagree*, (2) *Disagree*, (3) *Agree*, (4) *Strongly Agree*. The questionnaire was administered in the form of the electronic questionnaire and in the traditional paper-pencil form.

Statistical analyses

Data were analysed using IBM SPSS statistics software package 21. The standard methods of statistical description and inference statistics were used. The descriptive analysis was based on the indicators of the frequency and parameters of central tendency and dispersion for indicator variables in the study. The statistics inference methods that were used are: factor analysis, principal component analysis (Hotelling); Cronbach alpha; T-test, ANOVA and Regression analysis.

RESULTS

Metric characteristics of the scale: gender-based obstacles in an academic context (GBOAC)

The scale (GBOAC) consists of ten items - indicators of gender-based obstacles in formal and implicit curriculum of academic studies. The answers range from "*Strongly Disagree*" (1) to "*Strongly Agree*" (4) in a way that a higher score on the scale indicates: a reinforced presence of gender inequality and discriminatory

behaviour in higher education, and a higher level of sensitivity in a students' recognition of such practices.

Analysis of the characteristics of the scale included the assessment of the parameters of frequency, central tendency and dispersion of the results on individual items and the direction of items. Using factor analysis of the structure of the first principal component (Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis), it has been established that the three items are negatively correlated with the main subject of measurement. After the adjustment of the opposite direction items, additive scale was constructed. Theoretical range of value response at the summary scale ranges from 10 to 40. The reliability (Cronbach's Alpha) of the summary scale is (0.78). The following items have the highest validity and correlation with the overall scale: *Professors are generally more accepting of the views and opinions of male students, than of female students* (0.68); *Professors more often expect female students to refrain from confrontation and critical thinking, than male students* (0.63).

Based on the initial statistical data about the scale of gender-based obstacles in the academic context (Table 1) it can be seen that female students, in general, recognize gender discriminatory behaviour in the academic context, and that there are significant differences in their individual assessments of certain forms of gender biased behaviour in formal and implicit curriculum. This conclusion is based on the following parameters: a) the student answers range from a minimum value of 10 (denial of the existence of gender-based obstacles) to a maximum value of 34 (high presence of gender inequality) and b) the average score on the scale ($M = 19.09$) is on the border between denial and affirmation of gender-based obstacles in academic education, with high dispersion of results around the mean value ($SD = 4.95$).

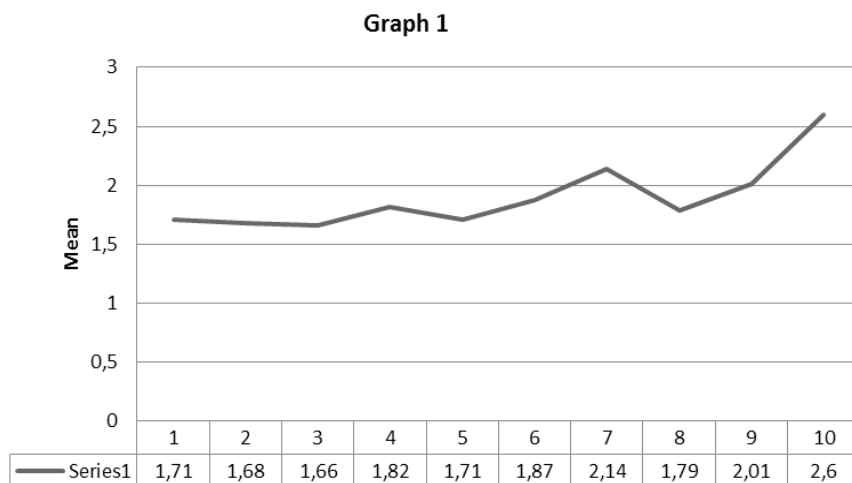
Table 1: Descriptive indicators for the scale Gender-based obstacles in the academic context (GBOAC)

N	Number of items	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
153	10	10	34	24	19.09	4.957	24.574

Score Distribution (Graph 1) shows major differences in the students' perceptions in all ten items. The average value of item range from $M = 1.66$ (*Professors have equal tolerance for male and female students concerning fulfilment of their academic obligations*) to $M = 2.60$ (*Use of a gender-sensitive language in education is desirable because it contributes to raising awareness of the equality between women and men*). Variability in confirmative responses on all items is high - above 0.70.

The highest differences in students' perceptions were observed in the following statements: *During my studies I have heard discriminatory or offensive statements about women from a professor* ($SD = 0.96$); *Some professors prefer inferior to confident*

behaviour in female students (SD = 0.92); Use of a gender-sensitive language in education is desirable because it contributes to raising awareness of the equality between women and men (SD = 0.99).



Graph 1: Gender-based obstacles in the academic context - scale

Note: Series1 – Mean value of items on the scale (GBOAC); min =1, max = 4

Based on the analysis of the individual items of the scale of gender-based obstacles in the institutional academic context, indicative data are determined by the four-point scale. The content of two items concerns dimension of interaction-communication in the educational process, and the other two concern program-content dimension of teaching.

In the first dimension of interaction and communication, the alarming fact is that during their studies, the third of the respondents (27.8%) have experiences gender discriminatory statements (*During my studies I have heard discriminatory or offensive statements about women from a professor*).

A claim which (35.3%) students confirm (*Some professors prefer inferior to confident behaviour in female students*), indicates a presence of authoritarian behaviour in professors' interaction with the students and of a traditional gender stereotype about the place of women in society.

The third argument, though its content belongs to the program-content dimension of teaching, also reveals the traditionalism and gender inequality in university teaching, implied in content and materials. The following statement - *In the*

course literature the women are mainly presented in the roles associated with housework, nursing and care – was agreed with by (38.1%) of female students.

The fourth argument which is based on students' perceptions is related with the use of gender sensitive language in the classroom. A significant number (56.2%) of female students in our sample considers that - *the use of a gender-sensitive language in education is desirable because it contributes to raising awareness of the equality between women and men.*

Annotated findings are significant, both in terms of identifying the various forms of gender-discriminatory behaviours and patterns, and from the aspect of raising awareness about the traditional gender regimes and the inequalities in the wider academic environment.

Predictors of the students' experiences of gender-based obstacles in the academic context

The assumed connection between the students' perceptions of gender-based obstacles in higher education and individual student characteristics was checked by multiple regression analysis. In the regression model, the independent variables (academic and socio-cultural characteristics of the students) were predictor, and student perceptions of gender-based obstacles the criterion variable. Table under the number 2 presents the main results of this analysis.

Multiple correlation coefficient ($R = .431$) indicates a positive correlation in the expected direction. Independent variables explain (19 %) variance in perceptions of gender barriers ($R_c^2 = .115$; $MS = 57.332$; $F(12, 138) = 21.458$; $p < .001$). Based on the effects of partial contribution of variables (β coefficients) their specific influence is visible, differentiated by size and by the direction of impact. Of all the variables included in the regression model on a statistically significant level, four variables explain the differences in the students' perceptions. A mother's education has the highest proportion of variance explained ($\beta = .26$, $t = 2.78$, $p < .001$), followed by studies level ($\beta = .24$, $t = 2.08$, $p < .005$), financial means ($\beta = .200$, $t = 2.23$, $p < .005$) and academic achievement ($\beta = -.19$, $t = 2.06$, $p < .005$). Other variables were not significant predictors of students' perceptions of gender obstacles.

Table 2: Results of multiple regression analysis: the academic and socio-cultural characteristics as predictors of recognizing gender obstacles in the explicit and implicit curriculum studies

Model *R = .431; R ² = .186; Rc ² = .115; S = 4.671; MS = 57.332; F (12, 138) = 21.458; p < .001					
Predictors	B	SE	Beta (β)	t	P
1 (Constant)	16,090	3,593		4,478	.000
Age	-.720	.889	-.087	-.810	.419
Place of residence	.034	.475	.006	.072	.942
Field of study	-.254	.389	-.054	-.653	.515
The level of study	2.029	.975	.240	2.081	.039
Academic Status	-.948	1.093	-.073	-.867	.387
Academic achievement	-1.147	.556	-.186	-2.061	.041
Father's education	-.932	.823	-.106	-1.133	.259
Mother's education	2.550	.916	.257	2.784	.006
SES	-1.186	.688	-.137	-1.723	.087
Living conditions	.582	.410	.119	1.421	.158
Financial means	.874	.393	.201	2.225	.028
Parental status	2.414	1.920	.109	1.257	.211

Notes : Summary of models*

Header: R- coefficient of multiple correlation; R² -coefficient of multiple determination; Rc² corrected coefficient of determination; SE - Std. Error; MS-mean square variance; Fisher F-test to determine statistical significance; p - level of significance;

Columns: B-partial contribution; (β)-standardized regression coefficient; Student's t- test for determining statistical significance; p- level of statistical significance;

Criterion Variable: summary of scale (GBOAC)

Predictors: (Constant), Age, Place of residence, Field of study, The level of study, Academic Status, Academic achievement, Father's education, Mother's education, SES, Living conditions, Financial means, Parental status

Mother's education, level of study and the financial means are positively associated with the criterion variable. These results show that with increasing level of mother's formal education, the students' sensitivity to gender discriminatory behaviour is growing. The correlation in the positive direction is determined with the students' level of study. Students at higher levels of studies (MA and PhD) have higher scores on a scale of recognizing gender obstacles ($M = 23.45$) than the undergraduate level students ($M = 18.16$). The financial means are the third important factor in explaining the differences in perceptions of female students. Employed students, who are also at higher levels of study, are more sensitive to gender-based obstacles ($M = 21.19$), than students financially supported by parents, at lower study levels ($M = 18.59$). The factor that also affects the differences in students' perceptions is their academic achievement. This factor is negatively correlated with sensitivity to

recognize gender-based obstacles in the academic setting. The results showed that female students who achieve lower academic performance (marks below 8; $M = 19.67$) and female students with outstanding academic performance (9-10; $M = 19.28$) are more sensitive to gender inequality in the academic environment than the students who achieve relatively high results (8-9; $M = 18.43$).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The analysis presented in this paper is a part of the research results obtained in the first phase of a broader research of gender inequalities in the institutional educational environment. The presented results, related to the perception of gender-based obstacles in the academic environment, should be viewed together with the fact that this is a pilot study whose aims were primarily focused on the construction and verification of measuring instruments and mapping the female students' experience of higher education, in terms of gender-discriminatory obstacles. Another important circumstance in the context of interpretation and generalization of research results is a specific sample. A sample of this study was intentionally selected according to the criteria of students' involvement in academic field of humanities, predominantly enrolled by female students. The research has not covered students in the field of STEM disciplines, which is much more often in the focus of other studies about the gender discrimination in higher education.

Although the research findings cannot be generalized, due to the aforementioned limitations, they are significant especially in view of the differences in the students' sensitivity to recognize gender obstacles. The research has confirmed the assumption that the students' perceptions about the presence and prevalence of various forms of gender discrimination in the academic context differ and are influenced by socio-cultural and individual characteristics of respondents. The connection of predictor variables with students' perceptions is in the expected direction and accentuates the existence of two matrices of social factors – one that encourages, and the other that discourages the gender equality. The strongest predictor of students' perceptions of gender-based obstacles, as demonstrated by our research, is the mothers' and students level of education. The results of this research should also be considered in light of the fact that it is conducted on a sample of respondents who will most probably, given the choice of academic field of study, continue their professional career in the field of education, as a future teachers in primary and secondary education.

The results invite further efforts to raise gender sensitivity in the educational processes. Gender-sensitive education system has a role to facilitate access to quality

educational opportunities for all students regardless of their gender and to develop their personal potential in a stimulating environment with the use of methods and materials sensitive to differences and individual characteristics. The aim of gender-sensitive education is to create conditions for the optimal development of each individual student and, equally important, to encourage them to critically examine existing gender discriminatory attitudes and behaviours and offer them different approaches and role models. The challenge of gender-fair women's Higher Education should be the transformation of women's lives as well as the transformation of society itself (Banerjee, 2013)

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WORK SATISFACTION AND CHALLENGES IN SCIENTIFIC CAREER – WOMEN’S PERSPECTIVE³

Abstract

The main goal of the research was to explore factors that would improve Serbian female scientists’ work satisfaction. Ninety female scientists filled in the questionnaire. General factors that would improve work satisfaction are: *Improving human resources and relationships, Creating fair and effective management and relations with superiors, Providing technical resources, Increasing salary, Professional improvement support, Modernization and application of scientific work, Establishing transparent, consistent and fair system rules, and Promoting gender equality.* Concerning gender-related factors four categories emerged: *Overcoming legal and social obstacles related to pregnancy and child-care, Achieving respect and equality, Change in attitudes and procedures in case of harassment, and Changing social image through personal efforts.* Participant rarely pointed out to the concrete cases of gender-based discrimination, except for less mentoring and more non-scientific work received.

Key words

women, science, STEM, work satisfaction, discrimination

INTRODUCTION

Although the number of female scientists has been increasing in the last decades, it continues to lag behind the number of men in most countries (Ellis, 2003;

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³ The paper is the result of the projects Identification, measurement and development of cognitive and emotional competences important for the society oriented to European integrations (grant number 179018) and Description and standardization of the modern Serbian language (grant number 178021), both funded by the Serbian Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development.

Fox, 2010). For example, in the United States, women still represent less than 10% of the full professors in mathematics, statistics, and physical sciences and less than 5% in engineering, and only in social sciences are women more than 20% of the full professors (Fox, 2010). This results in the lack of human resources in the fast developing fields of science and engineering, on one hand, and social inequity in access to and rewards for professional participation in these fields, on the other.

FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S SCIENTIFIC CAREER

Aside from individual factors, such as interests, values and self-esteem, which of course do not develop in a vacuum, but are rather effects of complex social influences, many wider social and organizational factors contribute to smaller numbers of women in science. Despite generally promoted belief that scientific careers are "open to talent", many studies showed that females are indirectly prevented from choosing scientific career (especially in STEM disciplines – Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) from an early age.

Even if they overcome barriers from the primary, secondary school and studies, related to teachers' and wider public beliefs and values and self-concept (Aranson, Quinn & Spencer, 1998; Diekman, Brown, Johnston & Clark, 2010; Smith, Pasero & McKenna, 2014), and decide to pursue a scientific career, women come across many socially imposed obstacles. Studies showed that there is bias against women in recruitment – both male and female professors rated the male applicant as significantly more competent and preferable to hire than the (identical) female applicant, and they offered the male applicant a higher starting salary and additional career mentoring support (House of Commons, Science and Technology Committee, 2014; Sonnert & Fox, 2012). In the early stages of academic careers, usually between the ages of 25 and 35, researchers are offered only short term contracts, which represents barrier to job security particularly to women who are considering starting families. Finally, even today in the developed countries, women are more likely than men to take a career break for parental leave and when they want to return to appropriate work they may find their competences out of date. Furthermore, for women in academia, there is an additional problem of their having no recently published papers to ensure a base for their reputation (Ellis, 2003).

Regarding organizational factors, Fox (2010) explored Frequency of discussion, i.e. the frequency of ideas exchange with colleagues and mentors, Aspects of position and home unit, i.e. characteristics of human and material resources at work, and Characterizations of home units, i.e. organizational climate. In her study women reported that they had fewer opportunities for ideas exchange than their male col-

leagues, they had a significantly lower sense of inclusion in their home units and lower recognition from faculty and they gave significantly lower ratings for access to equipment. Moreover, women were significantly less likely than men to characterize their home units as: informal (compared to formal), exciting (compared to boring), helpful (compared to unhelpful) and creative (compared to noncreative). Some other researchers also pointed to the scientific environment being male-dominated, highly impersonal, and individualistic (Suresh, 2006). In addition to that, women are likely to get more administrative chores than their male colleagues and to earn less than men even if they are equally productive (Hill, Corbett & Rose, 2010).

As for the job satisfaction, it is determined that negative departmental culture, lowered advancement opportunities, unjust faculty leadership, and lack of research support are mostly related to lower work satisfaction of women in academia, compared to that of men (Hill et al., 2010). Other studies point to the negative correlation between job satisfaction and women's perceptions of both formal and informal discrimination, i.e. unequal access to hiring, promotion, equipment and resources, and gender derogation (Settles, Cortina, Buchanan & Miner, 2012).

In this paper we focused on social and organizational factors that influence women's scientific careers and their satisfaction with the work. The main goal of this research was to determine the level of work satisfaction of female scientists in Serbia, defined as the way they feel about their job and whether they like it, and to explore the social and organizational factors that would contribute to greater work satisfaction. Specifically, we focused on gender-related factors that would lead toward female scientists' greater work satisfaction and possible cases of different treatment because of gender. Finally, we discussed the obtained results in the light of specificities of sociocultural context in Serbia.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Ninety female researchers and scientists from different towns in Serbia, aged between 26 and 68 participated in this research ($M=34.17$, $SD=7.98$). Majority of them were doctoral students (42.2%) engaged in diverse scientific disciplines and employed at universities (86.7%). In the Table 1 one can see the structure of the sample according to the degree and scientific discipline, as classified at Serbian Universities.

Table 1: Sample structure

Degree	Scientific discipline				<i>Total</i>
	Humanities and social science	Natural science and Mathematics	Engineering and Technology	Medical science	
Bachelor	0	1	1	0	2 (2.2%)
Masters	5	1	3	3	12 (13.3%)
PhD student	12	13	12	1	38 (42.2%)
PhD	8	8	12	5	33 (36.7%)
Other	1	1	2	1	5 (5.6%)
Total	26 (28.9%)	24 (26.7%)	30 (33.3%)	10 (11.1%)	90 (100%)

Data collection and analysis

After a short explanation of the purpose of the study, participants filled in online questionnaire specifically created for this research, which consisted of 20 questions – Likert-type scales, multiple-choice and open ended questions. Besides sociodemographic variables, we collected data on their career path (how and when they opted for scientific career, what challenges they came across, what support they received etc.), motivation for scientific career, work satisfaction, factors that would contribute to greater satisfaction, and potential examples of gender- related mal-treatment.

For this paper we analyzed only answers on several questions, according to the main goals presented previously. Descriptive statistics and qualitative content analysis, i.e. thematic analysis, were performed, as suggested by Kuzkartz and Mayring (Kuzkartz, 2014; Mayring& Brunner, 2010). Answers to open ended questions were analyzed inductively – we applied open coding and developed first order categories according to themes⁴ that emerged during the constant reading and comparison. During the second phase we decomposed primarily developed categories, established new relations between categories and subcategories, so they can better explain the phenomenon. Finally, in the phase of theoretical coding, we compared categories obtained through this research with findings from previous, international

⁴ Notions of themes, categories and factors, as well as subthemes, subcategories and sub factors will be used interchangeably.

studies and, keeping specificities of sociocultural context in Serbia in mind, offered viable interpretations of the observed phenomenon.

RESULTS

General work satisfaction improvement factors

In general, participants stated that they are relatively satisfied with their work (on the 1 to 5 Likert scale, $M=3.54$, $SD=.91$). However, the thematic analysis of participants' answers on open ended question yielded eight categories, i.e. factors that would contribute to greater work satisfaction. In the Table 2 these factors and the frequencies of their mention in all ninety questionnaire are presented:

Table 2: Work satisfaction improvement factors

Categories	f (219)
Improving human resources and relationships	34 (16.0%)
Creating fair and effective management and relations with superiors	33 (15.1%)
Providing technical resources	24 (11.0%)
Increasing salary	18 (8.2%)
Professional improvement support	14 (6.3%)
Modernization and application of scientific work	14 (6.3%)
Establishing transparent, consistent and fair system rules	13 (6.0%)
Promoting gender equality	5 (2.3%)

* Since participant could have mentioned several factors, which they usually did, the numbers do not sum up to hundred percent.

The category with most participants' statements was the category *Improving human resources and relationships*, which gathered statements that reflect the need for larger number of better qualified, professional employees, on one hand, and better social relationships with colleagues, on the other. Participants pointed out that they are overloaded with work, both scientific and that related to teaching, as in following examples:

Sanja⁵: *"We need more staff hired in our department, because we are currently understaffed. With current work overload, there isn't enough time for personal and professional development."*

Lidija: *"I would like to have more team members and less engagement in lecturing."*

What bothers them even more is their overload with marginal, non-scientific activities, such as administration and organization activities, as described by Marta and Jelena: *"I would like to know what exactly is my field of activity in my job, and not to be used for operations (I may say chores) that are not my area of expertise, and most of the time beneath my level of education."* *"I feel that my potential is not used in adequate and most productive way, because I do administrative chores."*

When it comes to relationships with colleagues, better cooperation, team work understanding and communication between the staff are pointed out. Some of the values and habits regarded as undesirable, but often present, are: envy, competitiveness (within the team), interference of private and professional (e.g. *"Letting personal relationships and frustrations affect work environment"*), drinking, insulting language about women etc.

The category *Creating fair and effective management and relations with superiors*, refers to the need for transparency and fairness of management policies in, *inter alia*: labor division, allocation of financial resources, employment and promotion, which is associated with a large group of statements that indicate a need for more democratic decision making process. Our participants emphasized that the voice of all scientists must be heard, regardless of their age or status in academia. That declaration implicitly revealed a lack of employees' involvement in all project issues, as well as possible unfairness of management, as explained in the following statements:

Mila: *"It is necessary for every scientific institution to ensure the same voting rights for all their members and researchers in office meetings, especially when it's deciding on our rights and status."*

Iva: *"It is necessary to have my opinion heard and respected if it provides adequate arguments."*

One of the subthemes referred to the relations with individual superiors. Our participants stated that better communication and higher level of correspondence with superiors would contribute to greater work satisfaction. The need for a clearer

⁵ Participating in the research was anonymous, but for the purpose of presentation of the results we used fictional names.

direction in project leading, more efficient work organization and research finalization have been also emphasized.

Statements included in the category *Providing technical resources* testify about unsatisfactory work conditions, among which most frequently mentioned were: request for larger offices, better equipment, availability of software and accessibility of literature. Majority of participants' descriptions consider inadequate work space as their main concern, as the following statement shows:

Nevena: *"I work in an office of ten square meters, with two computers, with eight other colleagues. I would like to have my own desk, computer, work space. Also, I would like not to have to use my private laptop, camera, and mobile telephone for the purpose of the job."*

Along with the issue of technical resources, scientific earnings were also described as insufficient in participants' answers. Descriptions within the category *Increasing salary* revealed profound displeasure with the incomes, as presented in the following example:

Sanja: *"We need higher salaries!"*

Under the category named *Professional improvement support* participants considered the existence of more opportunities for additional education and professional improvement by experiencing (foreign) scientific communities and practice through various study visits, training courses, conferences and scientific centers. The support that the respondents seek is primarily of material nature (more grants for PhD students attending conferences, more funds for conferences, and similar). As an obstacle for scientific development they have also mentioned the lack of information on the seminars and projects abroad and the insufficient promotion of values referring to continuous improvement, lifelong learning and excellence. A typical example is:

Milena: *"Possibility to visit foreign scientific communities through the study visits that my University would support. Opportunities for additional education with final examinations that would check the quality of what I've learned."*

The category *Modernization and application of scientific work* relates to the necessity of more developed type of scientific projects, by which participants understand modern, interesting, inspiring and useful types of projects, as opposed to current old fashioned and irrelevant projects. Some of the given recommendations for providing that kind of working environment were: *connections between science and*

industry, scientific cooperation with universities worldwide, to be more open to novelties, projects applicable to Serbian reality and relevant for the society. Desire for the change of current application of scientific work in Serbia, i.e. its disconnection with the economic and social needs, is reflected in all descriptive segments included in this category.

The category *Establishing transparent, consistent and fair system rules* points to the obstacles in the scientific career path associated with existing system, national or University-level rules. Participants listed following issues as most important: *constant changes of advancement conditions and time limits within which it is required to achieve results, lack of transparency of procedures and decision making process, pressure when it comes to promotion, inappropriateness of contracts and job insecurity.* All these system factors demotivate scientist, as explained in the following example:

Jovana: “Regular changes of advancement conditions and timeframes demotivates me and prevents me from planning my career on time and doing creative work.”

Aside from that, several participants stated they would be more satisfied with their work if the level of nepotism and corruption, which are present in all structures of the society and thus in science, decreased.

Finally, in the answers of five participants we could have recognized explicitly noted theme of gender equality, which we subsumed under the category *Promoting gender equality*. Those statements only emphasize the need for equality of women (especial in technical sciences) and respect for women, without deeper explanation of issue.

Gender-related work satisfaction improvement factors

After the thematic analysis of factors that would contribute to greater work satisfaction of scientists in general, we focused on gender-related specific factors that would contribute to better position of female scientists and greater work satisfaction. In the following table four derived categories with the frequencies of their mention are presented:

Table 3: Gender-related work satisfaction improvement factors

Categories	f (27)
Overcoming legal and social obstacles related to pregnancy and child-care	12 (44.4%)
Achieving respect and equality	7 (25.9%)
Change in attitudes and procedures in case of harassment	5 (18.5%)
Changing social image through personal efforts	5 (18.5%)

* Since participant could have mentioned several factors, which they sometimes did, the numbers do not sum up to hundred percent.

Descriptions related to pregnancy and child-care were subsumed under the category *Overcoming legal and social obstacles related to pregnancy and child-care*. Participants most frequently talked about insufficient financial support during the maternity leave. They also pointed out to the rigidity of rules regarding the organization of doctoral studies and work and promotion procedures which does not acknowledge the fact that someone took maternity leave – as stated by Jelena: “*Firstly, the time for PhD thesis does not prolong during pregnancy, as the labor contract does. So, I have one year less to finish my dissertation than my male colleagues. That could improve. Secondly, some of the courses, that are elective, could simply be paused for a year, as it is done at Western Universities. That way, there would be no pressure or guilt for not being there to give lectures that year.*”

This category also reflects the general attitude of scientific community and wider society towards pregnancy and women with children, which is visible in the lack of collegiality and understanding for family obligations presented in many descriptive segments. Proposals for the improvement of pregnant women and mothers' status that our participants offered are: *work from home, flexible working hours, work verifiable accorded to efficiency, financial incentives for child-care, laboratory access at any time, day care within the institution, or company, etc.*

For most female scientists, *Achieving respect and equality* indicates a chance to overcome existing prejudice and stereotypes about women, reflected in statements such as:

Sofija: “*Respectable women should have decent manners, gentle character, good work habits, obey the rules... Women who don't fit to this model evoke repulsion, and almost aren't considered as females.*”

Nina: "Women get reverence for being good organizers, problem solvers, and fine workers in pre-set conditions, but not as creators (of conditions)."

Those statements emphasize the need for more equal opportunities (better jobs and projects assignment) and respectful attitude toward women in academia, from the side of both colleagues and wider public.

The category *Change in attitudes and procedures in case of harassment* shows lack of confidence in legal protection when it comes to case of harassment. Participants pointed to the need for greater legal protection, and women's education about legal system in terms of protection from abuse. They emphasized the necessity of having an "opportunity to report sexual and verbal harassment", and to "have awareness of having somewhere to report it". The responses such as Vesna's: "Any kind of harassment, or irregularity, should be accessible for report" implies that there is a number of irregularities that haven't been understood as legally problematic by (male) majority, and that cannot be easily proved and reported, which results in impossibility to fight against them in a regular, systemic way.

In addition to changes of legal procedures and practices and women's better knowledge of their own rights, there is a necessity for changes in behavior and response of (scientific) community, as stated in the following example:

Ana: "When it comes to situations that are discriminatory in terms of gender, community is explicit in its disapproval of discrimination, but isn't as coherent in drawing any significant moves, which can be interpreted in a wrong way, even as a type of implicit approval of that discrimination."

Finally, in the category *Changing social image through personal efforts* the obtained findings indicate that a change could only come through female scientists' hard work and after excellent results, along with female greater inclusion and participation in science and in the media, as explained:

Sandra: "Hard work, excellent work results, media appearance."

Contrary to the previous three categories which imply expectations from the system, society or scientific community to engage in the improvement of working conditions for female scientist, here some of the participants reject any support from the outside and express a belief that only through personal efforts and models of professional behavior they can achieve better status and therefore, greater work satisfaction.

Gender-related different treatment at work

After exploring the main general and gender-related factors that would contribute to greater work satisfaction, we explored the frequency and type of potential maltreatment based on gender differences. When asked about concrete cases of maltreatment only because of their gender, participants rarely pointed out to the concrete examples of different treatment. Only 16.7% of participants mentioned that they experienced less mentoring and more additional non-scientific work because of their gender. When asked about specific experience of discrimination at their work place, following findings emerged –participants believed that they are taken relatively equally seriously as men (on the 1 to 5 Likert scale, $M=3.78$, $SD=.92$), that working conditions are relatively equally suitable for men and women ($M=3.53$, $SD=1.1$), and that gender inequality during recruitment is relatively rare ($M=2.67$, $SD=1.05$).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this research we aimed at revealing work satisfaction of female scientists in Serbia, gender-neutral and gender-related organizational and social factors that would contribute to their greater work satisfaction and possible cases of different treatment at the work place because of gender. The obtained results indicated that our participants are relatively satisfied with their work, although there is a lot of room for improvement of their status and satisfaction. Eight general complex factors that would lead to greater work satisfaction were derived. Two most frequent, *Improving human resources and relationships* and *Creating fair and effective management and relations with superiors*, reflect the utmost importance of interpersonal relationships and management quality for work satisfaction, which is a finding consistent with previous research (Fox, 2010; Hill et al., 2010; Suresh, 2006). Second relevant issue is financial support – our participants would be more satisfied with their work if they had higher salaries, more opportunities for financially supported professional development and better technical resources. Although the theme of unequal access to equipment appeared in previous studies (Settles et al., 2012), in this case the accent is predominantly on the lack of technical resources for all, regardless of gender, which is mostly the consequence of low level of investment into science in Serbia. The themes of creativity and excitement, outlined in previous research (Fox, 2010), appeared also in this study within the category that we named Modernization and application of scientific work. Our participants would be more satisfied with their work if the projects they are engaged on were more modern, industry oriented and socially relevant. One of the ways to achieve this would be through exchanges and

cooperation with colleagues from other countries, on one hand, and through more rigorous and fair evaluation of projects, on the other. More specifically, our participants pointed to the need of establishing transparent, consistent and fair system rules and procedures by the Ministry, Universities and other respective bodies in all phases of scientific work – from the application and implementation to the evaluation of projects, promotion and employment of scientific staff.

As for the gender-related work satisfaction improvement factors, four obtained categories reflect the need for changes in formal and legal procedures and rules, on one hand, and values and attitudes, on the other. Female scientists would like to be more protected when it comes to parental leave and harassment and to be more respected in scientific and wider community. However, only every sixth participant stated that she had experienced any kind of gender-related discrimination and in general, and they indicated that working conditions are relatively equally suitable for men and women. This can be interpreted as a sign of the insignificant presence of gender-based discriminatory practices at Serbian scientific institutions, as compared to experience from other countries (House of Commons, Science and Technology Committee, 2014; Settles et al., 2012; Sonnert & Fox, 2012), or as a sign of the lack of sensitivity toward subtle forms of discrimination. Themes that refer to general work satisfaction improvement factors, especially those related to interpersonal relationships and management might embrace some gender-specific subthemes, but in most cases they are not perceived as typical only for females. One of the reasons could be the fact which some participants underlined, that they work in the teams consisting of women only, so they were not able to compare their position to that of male colleagues. Another reason might be their narrow understanding of gender-based discrimination and tolerance toward some practices (e.g. additional non-scientific work or exclusion from decision-making) as if they were affecting both men and women and not only women. Finally, we can assume that our participants are so dissatisfied with the status of science and scientists in Serbia in general, that the gender-specific factors of work dissatisfaction are perceived as the second-order reason for concern.

From the findings presented in this paper we can conclude that there is a high need for improvement of the position of scientists in Serbia in general and introduction of some system, organizational and social changes that would result in better status of female scientists and consequently their greater work satisfaction. Some of these changes require significant financial resources (e.g. higher salaries or better technical conditions), while others suggest changes in organizational culture and wider public values. Although in the times of social transformation and economic crisis the first type of change seems unfeasible, adult education specialists could contribute toward greater awareness of the need for positive organizational culture and

toward improvement of team work and managerial competencies of scientific staff through seminars and trainings that would be supported by higher-order scientific bodies.

Finally, we should point to some limitations of this study and provide recommendation for designing the future studies. For the future studies a larger sample would bring about more reliable results and possibility to compare groups of participants according to the scientific discipline and thus to determine whether some differences exist, as pointed in international studies (House of Commons, Science and Technology Committee, 2014). In addition to that, including male scientists as study participants would enable us to draw more reliable conclusions about gender differences in overall work satisfaction and work satisfaction improvement factors, i.e. to determine which factors are really gender-neutral and which are gender-specific. The last limitation is related to the choice of data collection procedure – application of in-depth interviews or focus groups would yield better understanding of subtle subthemes that were only briefly addressed in this paper. However, this research can serve as a starting point for some future studies on the status of female scientists in Serbia, since there were no similar studies in our context in the past.

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EXPLORING MASCULINITIES

MASCULINITY, INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS IN A FAMILY AND CARE *Men learning care in adulthood*³

Abstract

One of the most important development tasks of middle adulthood is a change of relations towards aging parents and a necessity to determine new rules of functioning in a role of an adult son. An adult man has to face up with the problem of declining his parents' strength, and the main virtue of this period, according to Erikson, is a concern with sensing and realizing the need to take care of others.

An important factor that makes the realization of this development task difficult or even impossible is a strongly internalized traditional masculinity stereotype which is the effect of men's gender socialization, experiences connected with parents' relations, mostly negative role model of the father, stereotype of a femal care-giver rooted in culture, and patriarchal gender contract which is accepted and commonly used in everyday life.

The article is a presentation of research results based on group and individual interviewes, the aim of which was the description, the analysis, and the reconstruction of ways of adult men's understanding and acting in Poland, also in the context of a role of an adult son of aging parents. Our research confirms the importance of those problems and the fact that care and quality of contact with aging parents are in their own right gender specific, gained through learning, also in adulthood.

Key words

masculinity, family relations, masculine care, gender socialization

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³ The text was written on the basis of the research results published in: Chmura-Rutkowska, I. & Ostrouch, J. (2007). *Mężczyźni na przełęczu życia. Studium socjopedagogiczne*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”; Chmura-Rutkowska, I. & Ostrouch-Kamińska, J. (2010). *Współcześni dorośli mężczyźni w roli synów starzejących się rodziców*. In E. Głowacka-Sobiech, J. Gulczyńska (Eds.), *Mężczyzna w rodzinie i społeczeństwie — ewolucja ról w kulturze polskiej i europejskiej. Volume II. The 20th Century* (pp. 201-213). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.

INTRODUCTION: THE ETHICS OF CARE

Family as a social institution and changes which it undergoes constitute a part of a wider context of social relations and processes. According to sociologists and pedagogues, in the modern society we can observe a breakdown of a big family and the contemporary human being has a limited network of mutual family relations (Dyczewski, 2002). Wrzesień claims that contemporary intergenerational relationships and the generation change are, first of all, modifications of relationships of authority – division of social roles, redefining systems of norms and values, changes in behaviour patterns and in the management of mechanisms of social control (Wrzesień, 2003). In psychologists' view, the need to make changes in intergenerational relationships arises in certain moments of life and development, and it especially concerns middle-aged people. One of the most important developmental tasks of this period is a change in relationships with ageing parents and the need to work on new principles of functioning in the role of adult children, facing the problem of their parents' getting older and weaker.

In the research study carried out by Ostouch-Kamińska and Chmura-Rutkowska (2007), an attempt was made to describe, analyse and reconstruct the way in which adult men in Poland understand and act, among others, in the context of fulfilling the role of the son of ageing parents. The main problem focused on the experiences of almost fifty subjects of focus group interviews and biographical interviews, who were aged between 35 and 40 and who had definitely left the period of youth and became middle-aged, which meant a change of life perspective concerning their former experiences and the awareness of life limitations (Oleś, 2000). The basic virtue of this developmental stage is, according to Erikson (1997), care expressed in the sense of need, responsibility and activities aiming at satisfying the needs of another human being. Taking care of another person in an active way is a basic and necessary feature of each positive and deep interpersonal relationship.

On the basis of his own research and a critical analysis of some of the work done by Kohlberg, Gilligan proposed a theory according to which differences between men and women in the practical dimension of concern and care are a reflection of differences in moral reasoning, which on the other hand, are the effect of gender socialisation. Moral reasoning of women, in Gilligan's view, can be specified as "the ethics of care", in which moral development is determined by taking responsibility and emotional involvement in interpersonal relationships. Socialisation and education of men results in developing "the ethics of justice" in them, which is connected with impartiality as well as acting in accordance with abstract rules and principles (Tong, 2002). Female "ethics of care" is expressed not only in their sensitivity to emotions, needs and interests of people whom the woman is related to but also

in following these feelings in performing particular actions. At the same time, men's indifference to other people's needs and lack of concern for their fate is justified and rationalised in our culture in many ways.

THE SHAPE OF MASCULINE CARE

According to Goldberg (2000), in western culture a "real" and "normal" man is well trained in suppressing warm feelings for others. He has problems both with recognising and expressing them as well as with taking actions resulting from these impulses. This also makes men unable to recognise emotional signals given to them by close people who need their support. If they receive them, they do not know how they should react to them. And if they know, they often do not do anything due to the masculinity script, which limits their freedom of emotional expression. The metanalysis of research carried out by Eagly and Crowley (1986) proved that in western culture, in which the role of the man is specified by such virtues as strength, courage and chivalry, men are likely to help others when extremely difficult conditions occur. Female willingness to help is, however, based on long-term involvement and responsibility. In educating boys, a lot of emphasis is put on such features and behaviours which prove that they are courageous and strong. In androcentric culture such spectacular achievements are symbolically and practically appreciated more than long-term everyday care, support and concern.

As many research studies show, in the family, the practical everyday dimension of concern and care for the ill, children and the elderly is fulfilled by women (Titkow, Duch-Krzysztozek & Budrowska, 2004). This is, among others, due to the fact that women's responsibility for the house includes also care, i.e., satisfying various needs of family members. This care is expressed in activities which constitute an integral part of the list of female duties called "household chores and responsibilities", which has been formed in culture for a very long time. Men's share in these duties, including that towards their ageing parents, is small or non-existent.

MEN'S RELATIONS IN THE FAMILY AND LEARNING CARE

Helping others and the quality of relations with ageing parents has its gender specificity. Despite the fact that many Polish research studies on the support of elderly people do not take into account the gender of the helper, other research studies, concerning the division of household chores, unambiguously show that taking care of elderly and disabled people in the family is the domain of women. Women

devote on average 2 hours and 27 minutes to taking care of elderly and disabled family members and men - 1 hour and 40 minutes (Titkow, Duch-Krzysztozek & Budrowska, 2004). Is it similar in the families of the respondents? – this is one of the questions which we wanted to answer in our research study. We wanted to find out what relations men have with their ageing parents, how they contact each other and in what way they take care of them, what role they play in their lives.

One of the developmental tasks of middle-aged men is a change in relationships with ageing parents and the need to work on new principles of functioning in the role of the son (Oleś, 2000; Brzezińska, 2004). There is a gradual exchange of roles between parents and children. Men have to face the problem of their parents getting older and weaker. This is a difficult situation, especially in the son-father relationship: the son must stop idealising his father's alleged strength and the father must accept his new dependence on the will of his son in situations where he needs help and support (Schon, 2003).

Working out a new dimension of relations with parents is difficult for adult men for another reason: in their childhood they were usually deprived of close contact with fathers – they experienced their fathers' physical or psychological absence (Eichelberger, 1998). Fanning and McKay (2003) claim that the first and the best relationship for boys in the family is the relationship with their mothers, while the worst and the stormiest one is their relationship with fathers. The authors mention a research study carried out among 7239 men in which almost no-one admitted that he had had a close relationship with his father, while almost all of them considered their relationship with the mother as better or more pleasant and less problematic.

Due to our social, economic and educational systems, most boys have difficulties with experiencing the stage of late childhood, in which they should identify themselves with their fathers and create bonds with them. Eichelberger (1998) claims that boys' adult lives are affected by being "betrayed" by their fathers. Fanning and McKay point out that particular stages of the psycho-social development are not complete: in early childhood there is a separation from the mother, which provokes the feeling of regret; in adolescence rebellion and alienation occur; early adulthood (twenty, thirty years old) is characterised by immaturity, lack of confidence and becoming distant from the father; thirty- to fifty-year-olds have a natural desire to create bonds again but they cannot satisfy this desire due to lack of such a bond in childhood (Fanning & McKay, 2003). It is often too late for that because of early mortality of men. Thus they create new bonds with mothers and they have little in common with the fathers present in the family.

On the basis of his research study, Biddulph claims that about 30% of men do not talk to their fathers, the following 30% evaluate their relations with fathers as difficult – their visits usually end with arguments, and the remaining 30% have rela-

tions which are not totally emotionless, but still they are rather boring, superficial and the topics they discuss rarely go beyond matters such as “lawnmowers”, as the author describes it. Only about 10% of men are friends with their fathers (Biddulph, 2004). In the author’s opinion, in this way, most men are devoid of access to “the culture of men” and the masculinity tradition of older generations, and as a result, there are no chances to build new relations with ageing fathers.

CONSTRUCTING MASCULINE CARE

On the basis of the respondents’ answers, it can be noticed that in most cases relationships with parents become loose with age but we cannot talk about their conscious transformation into new relationships. Most respondents live in the same town as their parents and they visit each other regularly, i.e. on average, once or twice a week. They also meet during holidays. A few of the respondents live with their parents or parents-in-law. Those men who live far away from their parents admit that they rarely see them – mainly during some celebrations. Sometimes they phone each other:

FGLM: *We contact each other by phone, **personally during holidays**.*

FGLM2: *We visit my parents only during some holidays – now Easter or Christmas. Apart from that, they visit us more often than we them. They have a car so this is not a problem for them.*

BLM5: *This is **very little time**. Practically nothing⁴.*

Some men, it seems, stay in touch with their parents from a sense of duty rather than because of tradition or the need for closeness. They do not derive positive energy or strength from them.

W4: *I try once a week because, well I don't deny that I also **prefer these relationships of children and ... grandparents**, closeness with grandparents with whom my children are in touch every day. We try to make it on Saturday, at least for a while, they meet each other. Apart from that we meet less and less often, I mean talk.*

In group interviews, none of men mentioned their fathers. They usually talked about parents as a whole. If the word “father” occurred, it was only in the context of providing information that he is dead. It was similar in biographical interviews.

⁴ FGLM2 – focus group interview, man no. 2; BLM5 – individual biographical interview, man no. 5

The fathers of three respondents were dead, another talked about his parents as a category. Only one of the respondents made references to contacts with his father:

W5: I meet my father more often than my mother ... And I've wanted to tell him what I feel many times, you know. Although, I miss him very much. And recently, I've become aware of how much I miss him, his presence. When I don't see him, I don't miss him. But when I see him somewhere at my work, we talk a little bit, not on a particular topic, we just have a chat. But he always avoids talking. He, he, he avoids it. He has nothing to talk about to me, you know.

This statement only confirms the sad results of the research done by Biddulph which revealed that there is no need for contact with the father and his presence in the life of an adult man. The lack of references to the father in the remaining interviews may suggest that this subject is too difficult and still not thought over or that for an adult man, an ageing father is still, first of all, "his wife's husband" and the grandfather.

It was characteristic for group interviews that the subjects made references to relations and contact with their parents-in-law more frequently than to their own parents. Relationships with parents-in-law were usually evaluated as neutral or negative. It was more often a woman who initiated meetings with the older generation, as it was natural for her to maintain contact with her own parents. Only one man admitted that he regretted that his contacts with parents were rare and not intensive, other respondents did not express such feelings.

"The responsibility" to take care of parents was more often taken by women in the family – sisters or wives, which perpetuates the cultural stereotype of care as women's "duty". When asked about the quality and form of contacts with parents, men usually referred to their financial support and help with taking care of children. It is worth emphasising that the respondents treated their parents' support as obvious:

M1: I have a good contact with parents, we don't need to help each other financially because we can get by and they can manage as well. But it happened sometimes that they helped me. I don't remember it know, but it happened. But, as far as typical dependence is concerned, that I give somebody something, it didn't happen. These are normal, natural family arrangements. My sister is supported, she has a crazy life, she can't handle it and parents help her.

The subjects, except for three of them, could not say anything about help offered to them by parents. The question about the form of such help was surprising

for them, they got embarrassed and quiet. They also had a difficulty in specifying the importance of parents in their lives. They most often thought about it for a long time, were quiet and referred to their childhood or to culturally grounded concepts of what role parents should play in their children's life.

W4: *They are for sure authorities.... and big ones. This is what one learns at home ... Respect, authority.*

They do not talk to their parents about their problems: usually because they do not want to make them worried, they want to solve their problems themselves or with their wives, or because they do not feel such a need. They are more likely to talk to their parents about children than about themselves. If they help their parents, this help is usually connected with everyday activities:

W1: ***I drive her, because she is already a 74-year old woman. I am always at her disposal as far as transport is concerned. I help her with cleaning before holidays. I am not close to my mother now.***

We could notice "reflexive" attitudes of our respondents to their relationships with parents only in a few cases. They were connected with care for the quality of their everyday functioning and their development in the period of old age or their emotional well-being:

W2: *In the world in which I live at present, my mum can't have the last word because this is impossible. As a result, she suffers a lot. I try to neutralise this suffering in a way. I sometimes adjust to her opinion, sometimes suggest the opinion **so that she could be happy.***

W3: *My mum wants to work for me. I keep thinking how to make this work, I don't know, shorter. I know she feels needed because she is our aide and **this is also important for me psychologically.***

Fulfilling the role of the son in a new diminution and in a period of life outside of childhood is not an easy task. It requires reflection, which most of the respondents are not ready for yet. The respondents view the lack of understanding between them and their parents at this stage of life not only as a result of a generation gap but also as a consequence of accelerated social and cultural changes, which are taking place in Poland nowadays:

W2: *My mum doesn't solve problems in reality because there has been a turning point in my mum's life, in the life of all of us. **The world has changed. My mum is ingrained in a different world.** My problems,*

which I have today, overwhelm my mum totally (...) This is not a generation gap. This is a gap in maturity, different system of reasoning...

Individual interviews respondents declared that when they were in their parents' age, they would like their contacts with children to be better, more open and friendly. What is interesting is that these declarations did not depend on the quality of present relationships of the respondents with their parents: both those who evaluated their contacts with parents as very good and those who claimed that their relationships with parents were not the best and were less important for them, wanted to have better contact with their children:

W3: ... Well, I'd like to. I'd even like them to be better.

W5: *My family is the most important, isn't it? The one which I've created and I don't want to break it down or something, or... for me, parents play a marginal role. **I want my children to have contact with me.***

One of the respondents, who has frequent contacts and close relationship with his mother (the father is dead), emphasised that he was afraid he would not be able to establish a similar relationship with his son. In his statement he showed confusion and lack of knowledge about how to establish relationships with parents:

W2: *I had some reflections two ... two weeks ago when I was looking at my son. I thought that when I got older than my mum and he would be my age, I'd like him to have such an attitude towards me as I do to my mum. **I would like it very much and I'm afraid that he won't have it.** I'm afraid it won't happen.*

CONCLUSIONS

The above statements prove that the sphere of establishing relationships with ageing parents is neglected in the reflections of middle-aged men. There are a few reasons for that. The first group of reasons are undoubtedly the changes in the structure and functioning of modern families, resulting from the political and economic processes as well as social and cultural changes, which accelerate generation changes in Poland as well as the increase in individualisation in family relationships. The next group constitutes the patriarchal sexual contract, accepted and commonly applied in everyday life, in which female partners take most responsibilities connected with care for other family members under the influence of cultural and indirect pressure. Another very important group of reasons are men's socialisation experiences aim-

ing at independence in which the importance of developing interpersonal skills, the need for support and focusing on people are neglected. What is connected with it, is a strong internal stereotype in which the responsibility for taking care and giving help in relationships with older and disabled family members should be taken mainly by women. Men's socialisation experiences are also connected to their relationships with parents in childhood and adolescence, which affect the contacts of adult sons with their parents or result in lack of such contacts. The final reason can be the level of happiness in one's own family and marriage. As Liberska (2003) proved, people who are happily married positively evaluated their level of adjustment to ageing parents, while a marriage breakdown had a negative influence on the acceptance of the situation in which parents get older need care.

The most distinguishing strategies of dealing with taking care and developing relationships with ageing parents which occurred in the respondents' statements are "superficial engagement", "entanglement", "escape" and "reflective choice". In biographical interview the subjects referred to particular emotions and actions towards their parents but in group interviews the topic of relationships with parents was treated by the respondents superficially, in the context of help, services and goods provided by one side. It can be assumed that this showed the stereotypical view of ageing parents rooted in our culture, in which parents play mainly the role of guardians and supporting grandparents.

B. Harwas-Napierała (2003) believes that men who "experience their lives" only in families of elementary structure are deprived of a wider range of experiences which can be gained in broader family relationships, e.g. the opportunity to learn sensitivity to other people's needs – parents or older relatives. Lack of reflection and understanding of this fact, on the other hand, deprives men of the chance to fulfil an important developmental task, which is according to Erikson (1997) an activity expressing a creative attitude, connected generally with care for others. The inability to adjust to ageing parents and work out a new dimension of this relationship may disturb the normal individual development and delay the possibility to move on to the next stage of development, in which there are other tasks to complete.

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BARRY GOLDING¹

CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE MEN'S SHED MOVEMENT IN CHANGING PERCEPTIONS ABOUT LEARNING BY OLDER MEN IN COMMUNITY SETTINGS

Abstract

This paper critically reflects on the role of the Men's Shed Movement in changing perceptions about learning by older men in community settings in the two decades since 1995. This reflection is timely, given the rapid growth and global spread of this remarkable grassroots movement. The movement is distinctive and of interest in gender terms in that it emanated from decentred, informal, grassroots, interdisciplinary practice and sharing of 'subjugated knowledges' (Foucault, 1980), more typical of feminist knowledges, rather than from higher order academic knowledge or government policy, and in the company of mainly older men. It is less than two decades since the first Men's Shed was created in a community setting in Australia (1998), and only one decade since the first Australian Men's Shed gathering (2005). By mid-2015 there were over 1,400 Men's Shed organisations operating worldwide, 30 per cent of which were outside of Australia, mostly in New Zealand the UK and Ireland, but with Men's Sheds also starting to open in Canada, Sweden and Denmark (Golding, 2015a). This paper briefly explores five main intersections involving older men's learning and wellbeing through men's sheds. These intersections include learning about gender, age, place, wellbeing and pedagogy. Each of these five areas of intersection are critically examined, framed around the way the Men's Shed model informs and challenges broader adult learning theories and practices. The paper then draws together each of these reductive strands by critically reflecting on the way Men's Sheds lend themselves, using Haraway's (1988) epistemology, to examination as a gendered, situated, complex, holistic and emotional phenomenon. Importantly and counter-intuitively the paper suggests that learning by older men in community

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settings is enhanced when learning is not named and embedded in a masculinist, relational activity in which men feel at home in the community with other men.

Key Words

men's sheds, learning, community, older men, wellbeing

INTRODUCTION

A previous paper by Golding (2013) explored how Men's Sheds in community settings might point to a way of radically rethinking older men's informal learning in community setting. The previous paper anticipated a very rapid growth of the Men's Shed movement, with the likelihood that new Shed-type models to enhance men's wellbeing would "spring up in other national and cultural contexts, both in new and existing community sites, in some cases by another name in languages other than English" (Golding, 2013, p. 5), which has since occurred. Golding (2015a) has since identified that while the movement began to gain traction in Australia from 2005, the first Sheds for men in community organisations emerged as early as 1993, with the first *Men's Sheds* being created from July 1998 with a particular acknowledgment of men's agency created in social, local and situated community contexts in the company of other men (Golding, 2015b). There were only 20 Sheds with *Men* in the organization name before 2005. In the two years, global growth and spread has continued, with 30 per cent of the 1,416 Sheds open to May 2015 now open beyond Australia (Golding, 2015a). With a growth rate in the number of Sheds globally of around 20 per cent per year, most of the new Sheds are springing up in Ireland and the UK, but with several now open in Denmark and Sweden.

The current paper seeks to briefly explore five main intersections with learning through Men's Sheds, to do with gender, age, place, wellbeing and pedagogy. The paper uses aspects of the chart that Haraway (1988, p. 588) uses to emphasise what she describes as a false dichotomy between ways of thinking about the world, to focus on the way that Men's Sheds position themselves oppositionally to conventionally structured fields of service provision and academic knowledge. It highlights the way Men's Sheds, as Haraway posits in relation to feminism, emphasise, share and celebrate local knowledges. There are some fascinating resonances here between the way older men not in paid work seek to explore, define and describe themselves and their Shed-based experiences separately from women, and the way women seek through feminisms to be liberated from a stultifying world of universal rationality defined only by the workplace and a world largely defined by men.

CALLING IT *MEN'S SHED*

Golding (2015a) teased out why calling it a *Men's Shed* was (and sometimes still is) such a 'big deal' for many communities, service providers, community workers and governments in Australia, calling a community organisation a *Men's* space before the first such Shed in 1998 was too hard and contentious. There is evidence from recent Shed start-ups in England and New Zealand that putting the word 'Men' in the Shed organization name has been a step too far. Some organisations have instead called it a 'Community Shed' and a very small number are operating as Women's or 'She-Sheds'. Several are being set up as environmentally oriented 'Green' places and spaces as workshop-based extensions of existing tool reuse and recycling cooperatives. Others are being configured on quite recent and relatively radical Makerspace² (Wikipedia, 2015) or Dutch Repair Café³ (Repair Café, 2015) models that embody entrepreneurial, workshop-based principles, not directly related to the origins of Australian Men's Sheds and necessarily gendering the workshop space. Both these newer models are premised on 'free' meeting places dedicated to people (men and women) repairing and recycling things together in community settings. Several of these newer models, being more radical, spontaneous and environmentally motivated, are more attractive to younger men *and women*, whose motives, though workshop-oriented, are more likely to be related to new technologies and materials and the use of internet-based communications platforms. Early indications from Sheds being planned during early 2015 in Sweden and Denmark are also suggestive of significant accommodation of the Australian Men's Shed model to fit other local, national, cultural and gender values and imperatives.

Research into fatherhood and family services from the UK in 2000 provides a neat and relatively simple way of investigating and explaining the difficulty of naming and positioning the Shed as a *Men's* space. Summarising research by Ghate, Shaw and Hazel (2000), Ruxton (2006) in a report for Age UK, identified three types of gender strategies adopted by centres that provided services for older men:

... the '*gender blind*' (where men and women are treated the same);
the '*gender-differentiated*' (where men and women are treated differ-

² Wikipedia (2015) noted that a makerspace (also referred to as a hackerspace, hacklab, or hackspace) is a community-operated workspace where people with common interests, often in computers, machining, technology, science, digital art or electronic art, can meet, socialize and collaborate. Hackerspaces have also been compared to other community-operated spaces with similar aims and mechanisms such as Fab Lab, Men's Sheds, and to commercial "for profit" companies such as TechShop.

³ Repair Café (2015) noted that "The Repair Café was initiated by Martine Postma. ... [the first Repair Café opened] in Amsterdam, on October 18, 2009. ... [prompting] Martine to start the Repair Café Foundation [registered] on March 2, 2010. ... Since 2011, the foundation has provided professional support to local groups in the Netherlands and other countries wishing to start their own Repair Café."

ently) and the *agnostic* (which has no identifiable approach to working with men). ... [W]hile the first two [are] more effective, *having a strategy [is] more important than what the strategy [is]*. Rather than be prescriptive, [it is better for] providers of services for older people [to] develop a strategic approach to working with older men that is appropriate to their individual circumstances and the needs of their communities. (Ruxton 2006, p. 8)

Men's Sheds challenge the acceptance by many service providers in health, aged care, welfare and adult education that it is fair to treat all men and women in the same way (i.e. using 'gender-blind' strategies), while also providing other compensatory services mainly for and by women (i.e. providing 'gender differentiated' services only for women). By doing so, *some* men's needs may not be properly accommodated. More importantly, such 'gender blind' strategies effectively mean that many older men are not even recognized through service provision as being gendered.

What the Men's Shed model does that is different, indeed revolutionary and transformational, is still too difficult for some service providers and countries to accept and adopt for three main reasons. Firstly, they would be using (and arguably reinforcing) the attraction of a stereotypically male-gendered activity (Men's Sheds) in order to help some men, particularly older men and other men not on paid work, to be empowered and to look after themselves, each other and their local community. Secondly, the service provider would be put 'at arms length' by fundamentally changing the power relationship, from older men being dependent clients, customers, patients or students of the professional or 'service provider', to their becoming active and equal participants in a community activity. Instead of the provider servicing the client from a deficit model, the Shed environment itself becomes *salutogenic* (health promoting and giving), and the men became agents of their own transformation.

Thirdly, the Men's Shed model is based around bottom up informality, approaches that can be anathema to increasingly top-down, outcome driven service organisations and governments. There is no place for mateship, happiness and friendship in such dry and clinical models of top-down 'delivery'. Men's Sheds work precisely *because of* the informality and homeliness of the setting and the activity, not in spite of it, particularly because the informal aspect is not prescribed or named. The benefit to men occurs because of and *in spite of* there often being few professionals or programs. In some ways, it is this transfer of power, from females as professionals to men as shedders that many women, some men and some communities find most confronting, confusing and difficult to acknowledge and sanction.

GENDERING THE SPACE AND THE SERVICES

While apparently simple, the Men's Shed model, Golding (2015a) suggests, developed progressively through widespread practice and local experimentation. The 'huge mind shift' for professionals and governments involved accepting that *some* men were disadvantaged. It was premised on the deliberate male gendering of *some* services and spaces, and required some women to 'stand back' to provide an opportunity for shedders to develop agency in those spaces and to practice and share their diverse masculinities. Each of these conceptual hurdles, the risk of feminist and community backlash and the management issues they provoke have clearly posed too high a barrier to Men's Sheds development for some men, women, governments, nations and communities, particularly outside of Australia.

It is useful to return to the discourses of the mid-1990s, the time in Australia that the first Sheds were opening (without *Men* in the name) to identify how and why it had become acceptable to name *some* men as disadvantaged and men generally as a legitimate target group in relation to both their health and learning. In 1986 an Australian report (Better Health Commission, 1986, p. 21) identified 'quite remarkable gender differences in health status in this country,' with similar differences reflected in most world nations, but noted that there had been 'no formal efforts to develop goals, targets or national strategies for the health of men' (p. 21). It is remarkable to note that three decades later only two nations have since instituted national men's health policies: Ireland and Australia. Despite consistent disparities in boys and young men's educational outcomes in most developed countries and concerns about men missing from learning in the UK since 1999, only Australia, albeit briefly, has acknowledged boys disadvantage in policy terms.

Weaver-Hightower (2003) provided clues as to why a male perspective tends not to be heard, pointing out that gender studies often excludes a male or masculinist perspective and takes place in an ambivalent culture that feels threatened by a critical look into the traditional masculine role. In Australia and other developed nations, health, aged care and adult and community education, in which Men's Sheds arguably are primarily conceptually located, have tended to be women's sectors. Unsurprisingly many men who are treated as customers, clients, patients and students in such sectors tend to feel patronized. The widespread 'gender blind' model of 'service provision' has tended to be top-down, based on a vain '... hope that existing services are meeting someone's needs and if they're not meeting women's needs they're presumably meeting men's needs' (Duckett, 1992, p.162). While adult education has legitimately provided gendered places and spaces for women to develop their work and non-work potential in most nations since the 1970s in many developed nations, it had been widely assumed that men were only interested in vocational training.

Very little thought or effort had been given to what older men wanted and needed to learn to create and broaden their identities, including masculinities, *as men* on the company of other men beyond their working years and lives.

MEN'S SHEDS AND OLDER AGE

The dilemma identified above is that it is that while being taken as the norm has conferred certain privileges on men as a group, older men nevertheless exhibit relatively poor health status and low adult education participation in most developed nations, and tend to shy away from formal, discretionary learning. Ironically it has been women who have often been first to draw attention to and attempt to address these disparities and deficiencies for and on behalf of older men. As an example from the aged care sector, the first well-documented Shed for men ('The Shed' in Goolwa, South Australia) was created in an aged care setting, inspired by a community female health worker, Maxine Kitto. Kitto's insightful words about The Shed in the Goolwa Heritage Club, below (Kitto, 1996), were written in 1996, more than two years before the first Men's Shed (with those words in the Shed's name) opened at Tongala in Victoria in July 1998 (Golding, 2015a). For context, the Heritage Club provided services to aged people to enable empowerment and quality of life while residing in their own community.

Kitto confirmed in 1996 (with extra information added in square brackets in early 2015, by the now Maxine Chaseling) that:

The concept of The Shed was developed from three sources of knowledge.

1. I attended a National Conference in March 1986 entitled "Linking Men's Services", a conference on community services and issues relating to men (LMS, 1996). I was in a minority group of [5 female amid 300 male] community workers. [At that stage] the vast majority of community and health workers [were] aimed at assisting women. The "macho" image of "I'm alright mate" was still evident, especially in the minds of funding bodies.
2. I observed the custom of men driving their wives to the Club for services and then waiting in the car park. With up to a dozen men in the car park, unless they had previously met, there was no social interaction. They usually read the paper, with every man keeping to the territory of their own car. The same wives of those men soon became widows who we supported and provided transport. The women inside the Club were healthier than the men in the car park.

3. My third key source of knowledge was my Dad. I grew up in an average Australian family where Mum's territory was inside the house and Dad's territory was the shed. Dad still knows where every jar of nails and screws, or hammer and saw belongs in his shed. It is where he feels comfortable, it is where he continues his role as the handyman, the fixer, the craftsman, and it is where he goes to get away from it all (Kitto, 1996, p.1).

Maxine Kitto's astute and powerful observations about her inspiration for The Shed confirm that they were based on a combination of three sources: professional knowledge, everyday observation and personal/family experiences as a woman and daughter. Kitto's other words, below, were penned in 1996, two years before the first community Men's Shed was created. They remain very relevant to the Men's Shed Movement several decades on.

The Shed is a program aimed at promoting good health through empowerment for older men. The Shed provides an environment in which retired men are motivated to retain their skills and social interactions with other men. ... The Shed has far outgrown the original aims of the program and has become a key focus in educating the community as to the value of older men. The men have become confident and felt social respect, and the Shed program has branched out creating [other] programs and interest groups. ... The Shed Project is a strategic health promoting resource, to ensure older men retain their role of productive and valued community member, preventing taking on the role of "sick person". This strategy has been very successful, regardless of the fact that we have no funding for the program. ... The Shed program ... started to soar to success when a group of men came to me and demanded that I tell them what's expected of them in the shed. "What do you want us to do?" I was astounded and told them so. "I'm a woman, how in the world do I know what goes on in sheds. The shed is there. You blokes sort it out", and they did. I had thrown them a challenge and suddenly it opened the door. They could do what they wanted, and what they wanted was to help others. They took on the role of breadwinner, Mr Fix-it, craftsman, inventor, and the roles grew, expanding in different directions.(Kitto, 1996, p.2)

Alison Herron is one on many women who have since undertaken research into Men's Sheds. The key findings in Herron's thesis (Herron, 2007) based on data collected from both a Men's Shed and a visual arts project are powerful and par-

ticularly instructive about repositioning leisure more positively in discourses about learning and ageing. In acknowledging the leisure value of the Men's Shed in her conclusion, Herron was critical of problem-oriented and deficit-based approaches to aged care. She concluded that the Men's Shed incorporated:

... many well-recognised principles about serious leisure ... [demonstrating] that leisure can be a powerful means of enhancing ageing well. Serious leisure can focus on older people's strengths and capacities ... and contribute to life purpose and meaning. It can also reopen doors to a world that can close in as people's health, mobility and meaningful social roles are under threat. Such a leisure model has far more potential for promoting ageing well than the traditional aged care model on which most services to older people are based. The aged care model is problem-oriented and deficit-based. It focuses on dependency needs, assuming that the level of independence of older people is the most relevant measure of health and well-being. [These] findings indicate that there is potential scope for the arts, leisure, and aged care fields to provide a more stimulating and developmental range of creative programs, so that older people can have more opportunities to lead enjoyable lives that provide them with meaning and purpose. Instead of delivering mediocre programs to meet minimum standards, service providers should be supported to be innovative and inspirational in finding ways for older people to age well, no matter what their situation. (Herron, 2007, p. 156)

MEN'S SHEDS AND PLACE

The overriding importance of place is captured in many aspects of the Men's Shed concept and practice. Almost all Sheds include both the word 'Men' and a geographical place within the organisation name, and some include the word 'Community' as well or instead. There is huge pride associated with the location of the Shed, the community it serves, the identity of its 'shedders', as they self describe, and also the sign outside. In many cases shedders wear apparel including caps with distinctive logos including the Shed name. Simultaneously, the purpose of the Shed is deliberately downplayed or omitted in favour of the provision of a welcoming place where men participate without obligation. While the intended mission or benefits may be about health and wellbeing, informal learning, community connection, friendship and production of goods or services to the community, and while the activity is usually based around a range of activities including woodwork, metalwork or gardening,

not naming these activities or benefits arguably frees up men and the Shed organisation to creatively respond to the interests and needs of the men, not to 'key performance criteria' or deliberately anticipated 'outcomes'.

Unsurprisingly, the most consistent finding from men's shed research conducted in both Australia (Golding, Brown, Foley, Harvey & Gleeson, 2007) and Ireland (Carragher, 2013) is that men 'feel at home' in the shed, enjoy contributing and positively enjoy informally learning and mentoring in communities of hands-on practice.

MEN'S SHEDS AND WELLBEING

It is no coincidence that the 'cradle' and timing for the earliest Sheds for men in community settings was in the Australian state with the most active and earliest development of men's health policies by 1996. While Australian physical and mental health statistics for men were understood to be concerning by the mid-1990s, the men's movements at that time had great difficulty getting traction. As Macdonald (1997) put it, the men's movement was struggling hard '... to be educated by the feminist discourse, to find a way to be liberated from what can be seen as a culture of oppression' (p.262). There was a concern within the early Australian Men's Health Movement of the late 1990s, articulated eloquently by Macdonald, later to become an influential Patron of the Australian Men's Shed Association, that '... men had not found a way out of the pathologising discourse around many men which impedes mental health' (Macdonald, 1997, p. 262). Macdonald sensed at that time that there was:

A real danger that we men, while being fair to feminist agendas and acknowledging the truths in much of what is said about men and masculinity, can also succumb to cultural invasion and see ourselves, in a non-salutogenic or unhealthy way, through feminist eyes. (Macdonald, 1997, p. 262)

Macdonald (1997) set out his resistance to the prevailing:

... pathogenic preoccupation and vision of biomedicine, looking for what is broken in order to fix it ... together with the dominant paradigm in mental health which emphasises unresolved sexual tensions (often male), [and] feminism's understandings of the destructive impact of patriarchy [which] combine with an emphasis in some parts

of the men's health movement on a "wounded" male culture to effectively emasculate men. (Macdonald, 1997, p. 261)

Wadham, Bentley and Booth (1995), three male presenters from the South Australian Health Commission at the (1995) National Men's Health Conference in Australia, had pleaded for the men's movements at that time to develop:

... a masculine discourse or critique [that] would discuss masculinity in its diversity [realising] the practises that constitute the male and the effects of those practices, intended and unintended, and ... illuminate the oppression of other, including other males by dominant forms of masculinity. (p. 217)

Quoting Seider (1989, p. 21), Wadham *et al.* (p. 218) suggested that:

[By] exploring the cultural roots of our history, we are not simply meeting the challenge of feminism, but we are learning to define what we want and need for ourselves, individually and collectively, in a world where we dare to appreciate without being punished.

Wadham *et al.* (1995, p. 214) identified the three main men's movements at that time: the mythopoetic, spiritually bound male rediscovery groups; the male action groups (including 'dads-in-distress', and pro-feminist men acting as masculinist apologists. Wadham *et al.* regarded each of these movements as 'potential distractions to the development of a serious Men's Health Policy'. In turn, they argued for a '... social constructionist approach to men's health [that] does not intend to 'destruct' masculinity but to deconstruct it and build on the humane and positive elements of men' (p. 216). They concluded that the '... responsibility of taking control of men's health, both individually and collectively, ultimately lies with all men'. (Wadham *et al.*, 1995, p. 219). On each of these counts, the Men's Shed Movement would appear in the two decades since to have ticked many of their desirable 'boxes', but for mainly older men. Given that the median age of Australian shedders is 70 years, Men's Sheds, on average, are not meeting the needs of many younger men.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT MEN'S SHEDS AND OLDER MEN'S PEDAGOGIES

Broadening the scope of this paper and the implications of men's sheds for other socially constructivist learning practices in community settings, Golding (2014) suggested that:

Quite apart from their role in aligning with many of the social determinants of health (Macdonald, 2014), men's sheds might be seen ... as one of many convivial, post-institutional alternatives to formal learning, and perhaps a welcome signpost [that] a more inclusive and progressive education is beginning to emerge for some older men. (Golding, 2014, p.32)

Foucault (1980) would apply the term 'subjugated knowledges' to what older men share and learn informally through community men's sheds, in that they are amongst many other local, regional, vernacular and naïve knowledges at the bottom of the conventional learning hierarchy. As Muncey (2010, p. 44) might put it, what men celebrate through their personal narratives in community men's sheds, might otherwise be regarded as '... non-serious ways of knowing that the dominant culture neglects, excludes, represses or simply fails to recognize'. Just as 'feminist theory emerges from and responds to the lives of women, ... because it is grounded in women's lives' (Rienharz, 1992, cited in Muncey, 2010, p. 45), so too might new insights into masculinist theory emerge from the lives of men in the company of other men.

With these insights I return finally to Haraway's (1998, p. 576) contention that 'no insider's perspective is privileged, because all drawings of inside-outside boundaries in knowledge are theorized as power moves, not moves towards truth'. Spender (1985) had made similar claims a decade earlier, arguing that the core of all feminist ideas is the realization that no single truth or authority or method can lead to the production of pure knowledge. It would appear logical to reflexively ask whether Spender's (1985) and Haraway's (1998, p. 581, 583) call for feminist objectivity as *situated and embodied knowledges* might apply equally well to *situated masculinist knowledges*. If the answer is in the affirmative, then masculinist '... accountability might also require a knowledge tuned to resonance, not to dichotomy' (Haraway, p. 588). Also, masculinism might be similarly productively broadened to be '... about a critical vision consequent upon a critical positioning in unhomogenous gendered social space' (Haraway, 1998, p. 598). That the masculinist agency men have stumbled upon and seek to exercise in this social space of the Men's Shed at any age is both conservative and radical in these terms is not a contradiction. As Haraway (1998, p. 593) emphasized, 'Acknowledging agency of the world in knowledge makes room for some unsettling possibilities'.

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WHAT MEN DO NOT SPEAK ABOUT

Sexualized Violence During War and its Consequences

Abstract

Experiencing gendered war violence is not easy for anyone, but because of gender stereotypes and norms, it seems unthinkable that also men suffer of sexualized war violence. With known masculinities theories – especially Bourdieu’s “masculine domination” and Connell’s “hegemonic masculinity”, this article likes to explain why speaking about sexualized violence during war is quite difficult und how and why adult education can and should intervene in (post-) conflict areas. The article strengthens the visibility of survivors of sexualized war violence, but also shows on a theoretical level the problems and difficulties caused by gender norms in wartime (men as warriors, women as victims) for overcoming this taboo.

Keywords

gender-based violence, war violence, masculinities

INTRODUCTION

When violence is spoken about in terms of war reporting it is often gender coded. Men are usually portrayed as warriors who get captivated, tortured and murdered. Women and children on the other hand are mostly perceived as civilians. Associated with the above acts of violence are other specific kinds of torture such as rape, sexual enslavement or similar acts. It is believed that these acts of sexual violence would not happen to men. Or are they just not spoken out?

The fact that they are not spoken of raises the question: why is it still a taboo to speak about male victims of sexualized violence during war? Sexualized violence

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during war has been the subject of discussion for decades (especially since the events in Rwanda and Yugoslavia). Nevertheless, even the UN-resolution 1325 says that “especially women and children” have to be protected from sexual violence (UN Security Council, 2000).

To overcome the silencing of male victims the paper argues that there are a lot of implications in masculinity theories to explain the silencing. So the main questions of the paper will be why men remain silent about their experiences of violence and what the consequences for these men are, with the help of two theories on masculinity. However, looking to the masculinity theories can be only the first step. In order to overcome the silencing there must be another understanding of gender roles in society – especially in post-war-societies. This is not only a task of formal education, but also – and even more so – of adult education.

To provide a better understanding I want to briefly define sexualized violence during war without intending to shock with details. Following this I want to consider the theories of Bourdieu and Connell which are relevant for further discussion. It would go beyond the limits of this paper to discuss the theories entirely, which is why I shall focus on the homo- and heterosexual dimension and the connection between masculinity and violence. Continuing on with these theories and focusing on this issue provides information that will lead to answers to the initial question. At the end I would like to stress out the implications and tasks for adult education.

WHAT DOES SEXUALIZED VIOLENCE DURING WAR DIRECTED AT MEN ACTUALLY MEAN?

To find out what sexualized violence during war directed at men means, it has to be clear what the term sexualized violence actually means. In this I am guided by Mischkowski’s definition (2005). In many academic and practical discourses on this topic you will find the terms “sexual violence” or “rape” instead of “sexualized violence”. Both terms emphasize the sexual component of the abuse, whereas “sexualized violence” stresses the instrumental utilization of the sexual component. According to Mischkowski, the term “sexualized violence” shifts [...] the focus on the sexual nature to the actual act of violence. Sexualized violence is a form of violence, which deliberately attacks the most intimate area of the person. Its aim is the demonstration of power and superiority by humiliating and degrading the other person” (Mischkowski, 2005, p. 16). Thus, sexualized violence can be seen as a form of torture.

There is a wide and diverse range of research concerning sexualized violence during war directed at women: On a theoretical, practical and empirical level it has

been analyzed why sexualized violence occurs, what it does to those affected and how they should be treated, what legal consequences have been developed and how the victims themselves feel about it. It has been discussed which terms should be used, which concepts of femininity and masculinity should be applied, which are the roles of women, men and other agents - especially who the victim and who the offender is - and how the events were reported. Usually, these phenomena were discussed with a distinct division of the genders in which women would be the victims and men the offenders, although the latter are hardly included in any analyses (for details to all points: Buchwald, 2013). If men are mentioned as victims of sexualized violence, they are called "secondary victims" (Folnegovic-Smalc, 1993, p. 219) or you will find a footnote indicating that the number of those affected is so small, that it will be ignored (Buchwald, 2013).

Only few authors deal with wartime sexualized violence directed at men, and they are worth mentioning here: Zarkov (2011) and Loncar, Henigsberg and Hrabac (2010). Zarkov points to the difficult situation of male victims in media reports (Zarkov, 2011) and Loncar *et al* interviewed affected men after the war in former Yugoslavia and developed systems to classify the experiences (Loncar *et al*, 2010).

When comparing wartime sexualized violence directed at men with that directed at women it becomes evident that they differ on numerous levels: in the act of violence, in its framework and in its aims.

While women are in most cases raped but are rarely victims of the cutting off of secondary sexual organs, men are more likely to be forced to perform sexual acts on other captors and suffer from castration or the abscission of genitalia. There are various contexts in which women suffer from sexualized violence during war, ranging from captivity and so called rape camps to public assault. In the case of male victims this remains unclear. However, the acts of violence directed at men usually do not take place in public (Buchwald, 2013).

The objectives that offenders pursue are open to speculation. Sexualized violence directed at women could result in pregnancy and thus lead to ethnic destruction. Objectives of sexualized violence directed at men could be the destruction of the victim's sensation of masculinity due to his homosexualization (Zarkov, 2010).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Of course one can look at phenomena such as torture and sexualized violence during war from various perspectives, for example violence studies, psychology and gender studies. But since I refer to male victims I am going to use critical men's studies, even though they do not explicitly relate to war or (sexualized) violence. The

theories that I am using are “Masculine domination” by Bourdieu and “Hegemonic masculinity” by Connell. Both theorists provide different approaches that can be applied to the context of sexualized violence during war. At this point aspects of the homosocial and heterosocial dimensions as well as the role of the body and the role of violence shall be considered.

Bourdieu’s “Masculine domination”

Perhaps it is too generous to call Pierre Bourdieu a masculinity theorist, especially because he did not see himself as one. Nevertheless, his work on male hegemony is one of those still widely used for critical men’s studies. Bourdieu is better known for his habitus theory, which clearly also plays a role in male hegemony.

According to Bourdieu male hegemony is the paradigm of all hegemony (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 216) and is largely shaped by the habitus. Due to the strong influence of the incorporated habitus male hegemony is perceived as natural. Symbolic violence is crucial for male hegemony. This power is not physical power, but rather a way of ensuring the social hierarchy and hence can be compared to structural power by Galtung. Therefore, its major purpose is to guarantee that male hegemony will not be questioned. In this way symbolic violence influences the social system and is influenced by it at the same time.

This cycle proves that male hegemony and symbolic violence need one another and would not function by themselves. This cycle that cannot be broken brings Bourdieu to the conclusion that male hegemony is immutable.

He believes that the body serves as a reminder and as a gendered reality. Thus, gender attributes are written in the body by social rites such as the cutting of hair. In social situation they remind of the other’s gender.

The center of Bourdieu’s theory, however, is constituted by the so called “serious games”. These have both a homosocial and a heterosocial dimension. The homosocial dimension is characterized by the fact, that only men can participate in the serious games. At the same time all men have to participate due to their gender. “Their obsessive desire to prove their masculinity forces them to take part in the serious games” (Buchwald, 2013, p. 26)². Men do not realize that they participate in these games, although they are a part of them. According to Bourdieu war is the serious game par excellence.

The heterosocial dimension of the serious games shows in the fact that women are capable of recognizing the serious games and understanding both their meaning and consequences. Nonetheless, they still cannot break the serious games

² Original: “Die zwanghafte Anspannung ihre Männlichkeit zu beweisen, führt sie dazu an den ernstesten Spielen teilzunehmen”

since they can only participate via representatives (such as husbands or sons) and therefore are not free of them either. Also, they do not question male hegemony as a whole, but accept this supremacy and contribute to their own victimization.

Bourdieu sums it up when he says “It is the greatness and the misery of men [...] the desire to dominate other men and secondarily women, as an instrument of the symbolic fight” (Bourdieu, 1998).

Violence is implied in the serious games. Since Bourdieu refers to war as the serious game par excellence, physical violence seems to be included as war involves physical violence in most cases.

Connell’s hegemonial masculinity

In contrast to Bourdieu, Raewyn Connell believes that masculinity and gender are open to change. This becomes obvious when looking at two aspects: Connell’s theory draws on four different types of masculinity, which means there is not only one true masculinity. At the same time one will not find only one hegemonial masculinity in a historical reflection, but a hegemonial masculinity depending on society and the ruling ideal of society. So how does Connell define hegemonial masculinity? In order to do this she uses three dimensions: power relationships, productions relationships and emotional bonding structure. These three aspects are reflected in the factors power, capital and heterosexuality.

These factors illustrate both the homosexual and the heterosexual dimension of her theory. The heterosexual dimension is characterized by the fact that these dimensions help to reveal and analyze masculinity. At the same time it can be used to differentiate the different types of masculinity. But what exactly does the differentiation mean? Connell’s theory assumes that an ideal type of masculinity exists which is used for orientation. Connell calls it “hegemonial masculinity”. Other types of masculinity, such as marginalized masculinity and subordinate masculinity, represent different levels with regard to the three categories of power, capital and heterosexuality. According to Connell the most common type of masculinity is that of complicity, which cannot realize the ideal of hegemonial masculinity but which benefits from the patriarchal dividend (the structural advantage). According to Döge (2000, p. 89), hegemonial masculinity therefore defines the “dominating Type of masculinity which does not have to be linked to a real person, but can represent a fictional construction. Hegemonial masculinity marks the dominating male gender project, which protects the existing gender hierarchy”³. A man’s aim is to realize this ideal.

³ Original: “den jeweils dominanten Typus von Männlichkeit, der keineswegs an eine reale Person gebunden sein muss, sondern ein fiktives Konstrukt darstellen kann. Hegemoniale Männlichkeit markiert das jeweils dominante männliche Geschlechterprojekt, welches die bestehenden Geschlechterhierarchie absichert.”

Another aspect playing an important role according to Connell is the body. After Connell the body constitutes a projection surface and is formed by exercise and muscle gain. In contrast to Bourdieu, Connell does not see the body as a ritually created reminder of the gender, but she believes that an active production of an ideal is necessary. Thus, the act of the production is more important than the ritually shaped habitus.

Connell closely links the term of violence to the definition of masculinity. Therefore, she says that "Violence is part of a system of domination, but is at the same time a measure of its imperfection. A thoroughly legitimate hierarchy would have less need to intimidate. The scale of contemporary violence points to crisis tendencies [...] in the modern gender order" (Connell, 1999, p. 84).

Connell interprets the threat of violence as stabilizer of systems of repression. "Connell's terms of violence are closely linked to one another: if one works it does not need the other one; however, if it does not work the other one will rebuild it" (Buchwald, 2013, p. 30)⁴. Hence, violence and masculinity are closely linked, as physical violence will be used to adjust the gender hierarchy to the current norm, if male supremacy is threatened.

Bringing them together

Both theories offer different perspectives and approaches in the context of wartime sexualized violence directed at men. Here, I would like to highlight three aspects for Bourdieu's and Connell's theory each.

Bourdieu points out that men are captives in the serious games due to their gender. They are forced to participate in the serious games as it is impossible for them to realize that they are participating in serious games. The acts of violence that were performed on them and the homosexualization connected to them lead to a situation in which men cannot speak about their experiences of violence. If they did speak about their experiences they would become vulnerable in the sense of the serious games. In the serious games men meet at eye level (reciprocal structure, Meuser, 2003). After speaking about their experiences of violence this would no longer be possible.

Additionally, speaking about the experiences of violence would not only interfere with the own position in the gender hierarchy, but would also disrupt the gender hierarchy itself. The attribution of the victim role would lead to the dissolution of symbolic violence. This would not be viable for the entire society and the gender relation would begin to totter. Of course, both processes are not conscious

⁴ Original: "Die Gewaltbegriffe sind bei Connell eng miteinander verbunden: funktioniert das eine, braucht es das andere nicht, funktioniert es aber nicht, so kommt das andere zum Einsatz, um das eine wieder herzustellen."

and knowing decisions, but rather subconscious behavior which is habitualized because of gender structure.

Bourdieu also offers a perspective on the offenders. Given that it is the man's aim to oppress women and men, this is indeed realized by sexualized violence. The scholarly discussion on sexualized violence also suggests that one of the offender's objectives is to oppress the victims and demonstrate their power.

Also in Connell's theory three connected aspects begin to emerge. The homosexualization of the victim automatically leads to an external ascription of "subordinate masculinity". This comes into conflict with the victim's aspiration towards the ideal of masculinity in terms of "hegemonial masculinity". If the affected spoke about his experiences of violence he would expose himself to the external ascription of subordinate masculinity and the realization of his ideal of hegemonial masculinity would only be postponed. Nevertheless, the inner conflict regarding this matter is maintained no matter what.

It becomes evident that the following factors for the construction of masculinity: "power", "capital" and "heterosexuality", are obliterated because of the assault. Therefore, the construction of the victim's masculinity is at risk. "Power" is taken away, since the offender is seen as the person that has power over the affected - at least at the time of the assault. As the victim is forced into sexual acts with a person of the same sex, "heterosexuality" is also taken away. "Capital" could be maintained since it is not directly connected to the act of violence. However, the assaults often include looting or they destroy the psyche of the affected to an extent that he will not be able to work which can result in the collapse of the economic capital.

Especially with regard to the post-war situation it becomes clear that the destruction of masculinity can result in a subjective threat to the gender hierarchy and thus to the system of repression. As a consequence the affected men could turn into offenders themselves in order to ensure their position of power and their heterosexuality by means of physical violence and sexual assault of women.

CONCLUSION

All in all, the reflection on both theories leads to different aspects that explain why it is so hard for men to talk about their experiences of sexualized violence. As a consequence of common gender hierarchy and its related ways of behaving, which are both seen as natural and are deeply rooted in us humans, the taboo still is not broken. The analyses of the theories provide a view on the effect mechanisms of gender relations as well as approaches to a reflection on victims and offenders.

The dilemma shown here shall in no way imply that this cannot be changed. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that the processes of change are very lengthy. The question of how to tackle such a problem remains open. If men refuse to speak about their experiences they cannot overcome the following post-traumatic stress disorder. They remain captives of their own experiences. However, forcing them to speak does not seem possible - or desirable - as this would not only reopen the wounds but also add to the problem (the socialized and deep-seated gender hierarchy) instead of solving it.

A solution to these difficulties can be a starched attention to gender roles and the problems of persistence of handling sexualized violence in (post-)conflict areas. Two different approaches can help to overcome these difficulties. The first one is that we need more gendered education – especially for adults. By talking about gender roles and socialized influences, the silencing of sexualized violence can be reduced. The survivors of war violence can be more easily motivated to talk about their experiences.

But to help them to overcome their posttraumatic stress disorder we also need much more knowledge and understanding for the problems of male victims. Until now there is always an attitude to deny male victims, but without accepting them and giving them opportunities to speak about it, there will be no change of gender roles in society.

In post-conflict times one can also see some kind of re-traditionalization in family relations. Sometimes men who suffered sexualized violence in war times use sexual violence against their wives or other women to “re-establish” their masculinity. Only with a gendered focus on adult education is it possible to overcome such a behavior. This gendered focus must include not only the possibility for a wide ranging gender definition, but also a protected space to talk about gender based violence – for all persons concerned.

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**GENDER IN
ADULT EDUCATION
PRACTICE**

GENDER DIFFERENCES AND ADULT PARTICIPATION IN LEISURE EDUCATION³

Abstract

Many of the defining dimensions of adult education are similar to those of leisure; especially the fact that, frequently, they are both freely chosen and personally meaningful. Additionally, both represent context for expression, development and improving of quality of life. As learning may occur in one's leisure, one can experience learning as leisure. There are, however, differences in how men and women experience educational involvement in their leisure. The aim of the study is to explore gender differences concerning participation in leisure education. However, findings on gender differences in leisure education participation cannot be easily explained. In relation to that, main assumption has been made that these differences should not be attached to value judgments. Therefore, the discussion is organized around what is known about present leisure activity participation and what possibilities open up in further understanding the differences between men and women and their leisure lives related to adult education participation.

Key words

leisure education, adult learning and education, leisure of adults, gender differences, educational research

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³ This is paper is a part of the research project undergoing realization at the Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, "Models of assessment and strategies for improvement of quality of education" (179060), supported by Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development RS.

INTRODUCTION

One of the fundamental binary oppositions in culture, and in nature as well, is male – female. Our documents (e.g. IDs, passports, etc.) include information about sex and thus subject us to simple categorization. As in the society in general, these trends are present and visible in adult education. Educational institutions, even on-line courses, collect data about sex of their students. Accordingly, almost all research and scientific inquiry that has a social dimension includes a question about sex or gender. In our opinion, a significant review of the options in asking above mentioned question is needed. In most cases, the respondents are put in a position to choose between male, female and other. Within this paper, we argue that gender should be understood more widely and clearly divided from the sex. However, the main objective of this paper is to put focus on the following questions: How come we ask questions about sex or gender within a research? How do we interpret the differences between males and females in the quantitative research results when they appear? Should we take into account gender of the scholar during the research process? We would like to offer the answer to the first question by inviting you to think about analogy with the difference between andragogy and pedagogy and/or the difference between men and women in educational process in general. One of the areas that many are concerned about is whether men and women learn differently and how they, as researchers or adult educators, should accommodate or celebrate this difference (English & Mayo, 2012). According to the philosophers of science we should seriously consider the hypothesis that sensitivity to gender and gender bias can play a positive role in science by generating a distribution of research effort. Such a sensitivity can be cultivated by male and female, feminist and non-feminist scientists alike (Rolin, 2004, p. 888). This argument answers the third question, but we will further elaborate on this topic as we present and critically analyze the results. In the discussion about gender in educational research, especially in the area of adult education, even more adult education in leisure time and community learning, we should be aware of differences between different kinds of knowledge and take into account that knowledge is politically and epistemologically grounded. Thus, we could agree that the most important feminist innovation in social science research is the turn towards a dissensus between “different groups and individuals with different social and cultural assumptions and different stakes” (Grebowicz, 2005, p. 994). Finally, this paper is a dialogue between male and female researchers. We transform personal texts through interaction with different theories and epistemological positions.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN LEISURE EDUCATION RESEARCH RESULTS

The aim of the paper is to explore gender differences concerning participation in leisure education. Many people today choose learning to be part of their everyday activities, be it either connected to their work or other aspects of life, like leisure. What is usually meant by leisure education in literature is a form of organized or institutionalized learning concerning participant's leisure. It is that participants either join educational processes where they learn about leisure (education for leisure) or they choose education as one of their leisure activities (education as leisure). In the first case, leisure is the content of learning, and in the second, leisure is considered to be a learning process taking place in leisure (Kacavenda-Radić, 2010, 2009, 2005; Sivan, 2007). Within this study the focus is on the second meaning, in particular, participation in adult education activities taking place in participants' leisure.

The paper draws on research results considering relationship between gender and leisure education participation, which are part of a wider research study, concerned with quality of leisure for adults, on one hand, and leisure education that they choose to participate in, on the other (Nikolić Maksić, 2015). The aim of this research was to examine connection between adult education and quality of leisure. Therefore, the sample within this study represented adults enrolled in various adult education activities in their leisure. The data collection occurred during June, 2013 and involved a variety of adult education institutions and adult learning providers, with different leisure and recreation educational activities for adults, in Belgrade, Serbia. The sample consists of 69% of women and 31% of men. The results of the study show that there are significant gender differences in regard to participation in leisure education activities of adults.

First of all, women report that leisure has greater personal importance for them, compared to men. Similarly, women confirm themselves to a greater extent through leisure activities, both in general and through being proactive, demonstrating creativity and showing commitment to specific activities they are engaged in. Also, statistically significant difference between men and women appears to be in the specific aspects of development. Women report that they mainly develop in the social, artistic and aesthetic aspect, and men develop more in cognitive and physical aspects. Similarly, when leisure satisfaction is concerned, women are more satisfied with the social aspect, and also the learning aspect (acquiring knowledge) in the leisure activities when compared to men. Furthermore, females prefer educational programs that are oriented toward the development of manual skills; such are arts and crafts courses where male participation is usually at lower level. When considering ways of participation in leisure education programs, women prefer to enrol in the

workshops, while men prefer lectures and series of lectures. Finally, men experience leisure education as fulfilment of certain goals, and on the contrary, women experience it as self-determination. Moreover, experiencing leisure education as self-determination is significantly low when men are concerned.

Above mentioned differences in how men and women experience educational involvement in their leisure are not to be easily understood and explained. Women are generally thought to be more social and more emotional than men. It is not unusual to find such explanations of gender differences within educational research and if we were to accept these explanations, the results from this study seem to confirm such general position. This especially refers to results concerning women's orientation towards developing social, artistic and aesthetic aspects of personality in leisure education activities, thus preferring educational courses that promote such development, and the results showing how women's satisfaction in leisure education participation is significantly higher when it comes to social aspect of enrolment. Similarly, the results showing how women value leisure in their lives and experience self-determination through leisure education activities to greater extent than men, can be seen as a women's natural or cultural based orientation towards leisure as opposed to work. Women are born or taught to find fulfilment in leisure as, due to their family and domestic obligations, they are not predetermined to pursue professional career, which is found to be central preoccupation of men's lives.

However, accepting these kinds of explanations, would not only be too simplistic, but it would also mean reflecting and reaffirming value judgments that come from androcentric (i.e., male-cantered) view of adult development, predominant in previous investigations within the work of leading developmentalists. Henderson and Allan (1991) argue that these studies focused on the developmental processes experienced by males, build on notions of individuation and separation of attachment figure, which led to observing women in regard to their maternal role, portraying them either as inferior to men, or referring to their developmental pathways as similar to men's. Within this paper, we argue that differences between males and females should be viewed as merely differences, and by no means should they reflect an evaluation (Henderson & Allen, 1991). Therefore, we agree with Henderson, Hodges and Kivel (2002) that "research that is solely descriptive or uses gender differences as the conclusion requires greater theoretical underpinnings" (p. 268).

DISCUSSION

Feminist studies in general and empirical research within leisure studies in recent decades has highlighted gender issues and has emphasized that, no matter the research approach, the findings of gender differences, need to be considered in the light of the fact that women (as men) today, (still) live in a patriarchal society. "Many feminists see patriarchy as a significant barrier to female participation in a range of leisure activities" (Best, 2009, p. 42). Therefore, many leisure activities are assumed to be inappropriate for women, while at the same time, patriarchy prescribes many activities as suitable for men. The consequence of that is, according to Best (2009), that leisure activities often provide a site in which men have to continually demonstrate their masculinity. It is likely that this would be the case when we are considering adult education programs for such activities. As our research study confirms, women find fulfilment in leisure activities more than men, and as patriarchal society determines roles that reflect masculinity and femininity in all aspects of human life, one of the assumed consequences is making male or female choices when it comes to leisure involvement. Namely, while we are able to acknowledge transformations "in the global feminization of the workforce and the rapid equalization between the two sexes (at least in richer countries) in educational participation and qualifications" (Philips, 1998 as cited in Arnot & Mac an Ghaill, 2006, p. 9), at the same time we are witnessing the continuities of sexual divisions. Among others, these include women's average earnings being less than that of men and women having less leisure time than men with housework and childcare still the primary responsibility of women (Segal, 1999 as cited in Arnot & Mac an Ghaill, 2006). Moreover, "the historical idea of a 'woman' induces the body to become a cultural sign, to materialize oneself in obedience to a historically delimited possibility, and to do this as a sustained and repeated corporeal project" (Butler, 1988, p. 522). In this regard, Henderson and Allan (1991) suggest that interpretation of gender differences should comprehend that "...the meaning of leisure, as a subjective interpretation of the social context, is the source of freedoms and constraints that regulate individual action" (Samhdal, 1988, Shaw, 1985a as cited in Henderson & Allan, 1991, p. 98), which "provides a focus for further examining leisure behaviour" (Henderson & Allan, 1991, p. 98). Accordingly, we find the term 'performative act' (Butler, 1988) an important element in analyzing the quantitative results of this research, especially when we consider learning to be a collective process where it is important to present outcomes to others.

Generally speaking, feminism, "...as a political ideology, a way of life, an epistemological stance, and a method for practice, renews continually a commitment toward inclusiveness of all women" (Collins, 1989 as cited in Henderson & Allan,

1991, p. 98). Namely, research efforts focusing on human rights above all within leisure studies, have shown that the issue of women and their leisure is closely connected with other biological and sociological characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, social and economic status, motherhood, occupation, and sexual preferences. In regard to the study results that we presented, among already mentioned features, the focus was put only on educational characteristics and the age of the respondents. For that matter, it needs to be acknowledged that we cannot know whether women are, or prefer to be, largely involved in the manual activities because of the possibility of subsequent earnings, given that most of the skills gained in such courses can later be charged for (since majority of these educational activities are leading to the certificate: massage courses, sewing and knitting, quilting, decoupage ...); or whether we can connect this fact to traditionally based female interests.

According to Henderson, Hodge & Kivel (2002), many authors suggest that the dominance of the market economy makes a female issue (as in the area of leisure, so when it comes to adult education) invisible, since it focuses on the needs of a healthy economy as significant when it comes to leisure, rather than a human rights issue and therefore neglects the gender issue. In this regard, the dilemma in relation to results is what really lies behind the fact that women experience self-determination in their leisure and to attach a greater importance to it when compared to men.

In addition, globalisation in the field of social science research has made it possible for a large number of papers from around the world (that is, different contexts) to enter the world's leading English-language journals in the field of leisure studies and thus contribute to the understanding of the fact that leisure may have a different meaning compared to the one dominant in Western world (based on a model of white race middle class male). Moreover, these studies have shown the relative nature of the well-known dichotomy between work and leisure. Thus, for example, research on women in refugee camps in Sudan (Russell & Stage, 1996, as cited in Henderson, Hodge & Kivel, 2002) indicated that there is a so-called "empty" time, which respondents perceive, neither as free nor as working time. In our research, the respondents were offered four different leisure meanings (Watkins, 2002), which enabled us to classify the respondents according to these categories. However, we were deprived of information about the wider context in which male and female participants form their leisure meaning. Moreover, it is impossible to tell whether making friends and social contact are primary motives for leisure education, as those are considered to be important motives for adult education participation. It seems fair to draw a conclusion that social motive that women often report to be important for leisure involvement (and thus for the leisure education enrolment) might be an expression of another need, probably yet unmet, rather than an expression of the fact that women simply prefer to socialize or show more social skills than men.

Therefore, it is important to analyze the differences between men and women in this study taking into the account the historical, social and political context of femininity and masculinity. Aforementioned definition of the “empty” time precisely describes gender perspective in the exile and situations of violence against women. In coherence with this example is the argument that women’s lives are in some cases so oppressed that it is impossible for them to experience any leisure at all (Shaw 1994). The ways of oppression can be different and multiple. For example, the anthropologist and feminist Žarana Papić (2012) mentioned that refugee woman across the ex-Yugoslavia, even in any nation, left their rich human identities, which became their lost past. Their femininity as multidimensional sociability was lost. The author called this kind of femininity ex-femininity (Zaharijević, Ivanović, Duhaček, 2012, p. 184). The war destroyed and changed the values, social relations, found the male political power. Even, the (re)established civil society in Serbia had been described with the term *cultural lag* (Ogbern as cited in Rot, 2012), which meant that only material basis transferred and copied, but there was no mental acceptance of the change. This indicates that women are still stuck in their traditional roles and are far from real decision making in the politics. After the wars the public adult education system was left to the rules of the free and self-regulated market and civil society. The new circumstances, on one hand, led to privatized adult education, especially as an activity of leisure time. On another hand, independent self-organized community movements have been seen from the adult learners’ perspective as untruthful novelties. It seems that cultural lag returned men and women to their traditionally given roles, where women try to escape their maternal role and try to find themselves, and men are constantly reconfirming their power in the knowledge society, the example of which is - taking part in intellectual activities in the leisure time, among other.

Further on, some of the studies that use longitudinal research suggest that elderly women often identify with the role of someone who experiences self-determination in leisure activities (Anderton, Fitzgerald & Laidler, 1995; Parry & Shaw, 1999; Siegenthaler & Vaughn, 1998 as cited in Henderson, Hodge & Kivel, 2002). In other words, experiencing leisure is also a question of identity. Following these findings, it could be that, within our research sample, women accept social roles and identity of someone who experiences the importance of leisure to a greater extent than men, which then reflects on their leisure choices.

What is additionally worth of considering when speaking of gender differences in general is that Western thought is mostly organized through supposed presence of dichotomies. The dichotomies such as: spiritual - physical, mind – body, rational – emotional, individual – social, seem to have taken gender features over time and thus created male – female dichotomy. Consequently, males are seen as rational, competing, with strong character and individuality, and on the contrary, women are

connected to being emotional, caring, and weaker in character and more opened for other people. In that sense, the useful concept for exploring gender differences in leisure studies and at the same time avoiding deepening these dichotomies is found in the so called - ethic of care. As Henderson and Allen (1991) argue the expression an "ethic of care" was first used by Gilligan (as cited in Henderson and Allen, 1991) to explain differences in psychological development of men and women, defining it as an activity of relationship, of seeing and responding to other's need. This is to suggest that most women follow a developmental path that focuses on commitment to others and define themselves in relation to others. Seeing the ethic of care as female phenomena in a way that women are socialized for it more than men is different from a claim that women are different from men just because they are women. Arguing that it constitutes a view of self, relationships and social order, ethic of care is not seen as a basis for differences where women are either superior or inferior to men, but rather a domain of moral development in which men and women extend their capacity for care and justice. Thus, caring is not a weakness, and it is not opposite to individuality, achievement and autonomy. In leisure studies, ethic of care is often seen as a constraining factor to leisure participation of women, as they often hesitate to get involved in desired activities, on the account of feeling guilty over being self-ish, if they take care of their needs and not the others'. Since this has been a strong moral principle that we were taught to comply with, it is quite possible that it influences our leisure choices and decision-making in regard to participation. In adulthood, and as they age and as their children have grown more independent, women may feel that time for themselves has finally come, and that can be the significant factor of women generally attaching higher value to leisure when compared to men.

In this brief analysis, we presented research results that point to gender differences in leisure education participation, and we have shown the different ideas and perspectives in order to reveal them and lead to their better understanding. We have argued that simplistic explanations of those differences are not only reductionist, but they express value judgments which, if being uncritically accepted, hold the danger of continually being reaffirmed. "Research about women and leisure continues to expand as meanings are examined from different perspectives" (Henderson & Hickerson, 2007, p. 591) and aspects such as globalization, economy, leisure spaces, and the intersection of age, race, class and ethnicity seem to be areas of great potential for understanding gender differences (Henderson, Hodges & Kivel, 2002). Therefore, it is important to include these different perspectives and aspects in analyses of research results, as that is how we can make the invisible and hidden, apparent and distinct.

CONCLUSION

In an attempt to avoid generalizations and simplistic explanations, so far, we have pointed out the possible ways of understanding results that draw on male and female differences in leisure research of adults in connection to their educational involvement. However, the given arguments must be treated as presumptions useful for making the hypothesis for the new empirical studies in the field of leisure and adult education. It seems that we deal with hidden knowledge pushed by actual power relations of patriarchal society. The research methodology and research process must empower. Furthermore, the research process in adult education needs to build an intimate space for the knowledge creation between all actors equally. As we have pointed out, most of the proposals for the new or alternative methodological approaches came from feminism. Feminist epistemologies accept stories of women's lives as legitimate sources of knowledge, and feminist methodologies embody an ethic of caring through the process of sharing those stories (Campbell & Wasco, 2000, p. 778). The qualitative data should complete quantitative results. Giving the voice to both men and women, listening and sharing their stories, will construct meaning of learners' identities in the societal context.

The quantitative results in this research show the existence of differences between men and women participation in educational activities in their leisure time. If we consider the EU lifelong learning policies, educational infrastructure in Serbia we have clear picture about educational possibilities. It is true that man and women make different decisions, but we do not know how come and why. Moreover, we do not know whether they passively accept different possibilities or they have dreams about something absolutely different. If we decide to go one step further do we know what happened with passive learning population? Finally, we are banishing plenty of options for expressing gender identity in the surveys, if we accept the possibility that there is one reality that exists and many views on it, and from different and unique identities. The research topic must be these identities and their reactions to reality. The useful approach in relation to gender differences can be found in queer studies, which explore matters of context, disposition, relationship, and language that shape heteronormative culture and the queer counterculture that variously contests and resists it. In this light, queer studies can inform transformative adult educational practices, that involve communicative learning processes and critical analysis concerned with being, self-preservation, expectation, becoming, resistance, affiliation, and holistic living (Grace & Hill, 2001). If we look back at the first thought about binary opposition male – female, queer theory rethinks gender/sexual binaries. Both queer theory and queer pedagogy argue that the process of making (sense) of selves relies on binaries such as homo-hetero, ignorance-knowledge, learner-teacher,

reader-writer, and so on. Queer theory and pedagogy place at stake the desire to deconstruct binaries central to Western modes of meaning making, learning, teaching, and doing politics. Both desire to subvert the processes of normalization (Luhmann, 1998). The postmodern perspective and politically valuable knowledge are the meeting points between feminist and queer approaches discussed in this paper. Those approaches were evaluated as the most appropriate for analyzing and rethinking gender in adult education. Bearing in mind multidimensional nature of identities, their political significance, and personal sensitivity, we argue that the sex of the researcher is irrelevant, but his or her queer identity could contribute the research process and knowledge creation.

In conclusion, Stebbins (2008) argues that, although gender differences are not always to be found in empirical studies of leisure (serious, casual and project-based leisure), it would be wise to treat gender as a “sensitizing concept”. He further explains this to be Blumer’s (as cited in Stebbins, 2008) term for basic social science ideas that help guide open-ended inquiry, which enables researcher to gather new data on the subject in question. “By asking ourselves if there are important gender issues in the activity we are exploring, we will avoid overlooking them when they are, in fact, there” (p. 61). Following that, from the point of view of this study, it seems important to add that when conducting educational research, and gender differences do appear, we should not discard them or easily make simple conclusions. It is fundamental to be aware as a researcher, as well as a practitioner in adult education, that learners have a variety of ways of speaking. Some of them include voice and some of them also include completing (dialogue), writing, and performing. Designated grades for participation, for instance, may be intimidating so educators or researchers might think of either inviting learners to assign their own grades for participation or encouraging them to participate in defining what active participation might mean in the particular educational and research context (English & Mayo, 2012). This would not only lead to promoting personal growth of the participants as active subjects and to creative group development organized around mutual sharing, but also to building an environment in which different voices matter and are heard. This is quite the opposite from interpreting of what appears to be a difference. In educational practice and research, we should be concerned with giving the voice to participants, rather than a search for a meaning. What this takes is listening and creating meanings together: male and female. Moreover, as educational researchers and practitioners, we must be careful not to use simplistic explanations to reinforce existing gender differences and should open up a possibility for transformation of the key terms. For this paper the traditional definition of leisure as place of freedom, autonomy, individual choices, self-expression and satisfaction has been transformed and understudied more broadly. The conceptualization of the leisure as political

practice is clearly controversial (Shaw, 2001, p. 186), but this perspective gave more opportunity for deeper understandings of educational actions in relation of gender.

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ADULT EDUCATION IN SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY ENGINEERING AND MATHEMATICS UNDER THE GENDER ASPECT

A Critical Overview of Programs and Strategies in Germany

Abstract

So far, gender segregation of professional careers in Germany has left something to complain about. Usually men choose well paid STEM professions, girls poorly paid “female professions”. One possibility to solve this problem could be to motivate women to choose a career in a STEM domain. The reason for the gender gap is primarily to be found in gender role stereotypes depending on the specific cultural backgrounds. They affect the way of parenting and teachers’ educational styles as well as structural variables of the educational system and thereby the individual development. As the latter is influenced by experiences, it seems to be possible to change career choices through educational programs. In Germany, there are currently a lot of initiatives to support girls who are interested in STEM subjects to incorporate their interests in career choices. In this article an overview of these initiatives is given and their theoretical base is analyzed. The gaps in knowledge are carved out and suggestions for further research are made.

Keywords

women in STEM, gender role stereotypes, special programs, career choices

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INTRODUCTION

In German public as well as in many parts of Europe and the USA, the problem of lack of engineers, skilled workers and craftsmen has been discussed intensively for a fairly long time. Over the range of German policies, suggestions how to solve this problem are focused on measures facilitating the immigration of qualified personnel from foreign countries. There are also considerations to solve this problem by motivating more girls and women to choose occupational trainings and study courses in a STEM domain. So far, gender segregation of professional careers has left something to complain about. Usually, girls and young women choose “female” courses of study and “female” professions, whereas men prefer the “male connoted” occupational trainings and “male” majors at university in STEM domains. If more women decided to choose a STEM profession, the shortage of specialized persons in these domains could be decreased. In addition, the gap between well paid “male professions” and poorly paid “female professions” could be closed.

Considering the reasons for the fact that girls and women are less represented in the STEM field, it might be assumed that men have higher aptitudes for mathematics and science due to biological factors. This assumption implies that these differences are fixed and that the scarcity of women pursuing mathematics-related careers is an inevitable fact. But this is not the case. There is no consistent evidence of a mean difference in mathematics or science ability for men and women (Kessels, 2012; Schoon & Eccles, 2014). Although in all European countries women are less present in STEM study fields, the distribution of women and men in STEM careers differs across countries. In 2009, only 10% of the graduates in the engineering sciences in Germany were female, and in mechanical and process engineering as well as in information technology their part was 19%. The situation in Western European countries is similar to that in Germany, while the female proportion in the Eastern European – former socialist – countries (especially Bulgaria and Rumania) is much larger. Also a look at the OECD states shows big differences between the countries. While the average part of female science students is 31%, there are countries where it is much smaller (16% in Japan, 23% in the Netherlands, and 24% in Switzerland). In Denmark, Iceland, Italy, and New Zealand already more than 35% of the women who begin their studies choose a science subject (Quaiser-Pohl, 2012). The reasons for the differences between these countries can obviously not be found in different biological factors but in their different cultures. Depending on the cultural background there exist different gender-role stereotypes that influence structural variables of the educational systems, parenting and teachers’ educational styles as well as the individual development (Eccles, 1994, 2014; Gottfredson, 1981).

Structural variables of the educational system which influence gender differences in career choices are first of all the curricula of a school system, the characteristics of study courses at university and efforts to support girls and boys by specific instructional methods. As we look at the different parts of women in MINT careers in different European countries it is obvious that the binding of technical subjects into the curriculum has an influence on the girls' choice of STEM vocations and university subjects. The larger proportion of women in technical careers in East and partly in Southern Europe is obviously due to the importance of technical subjects in the curriculum of these countries. The pupils of the former GDR attended a subject called Polytechnic in classes 1-10 and had lessons that were much more technical and math-intensive than those of the same classes in the GFR. In Poland and Italy, where the part of female graduates in MINT is relatively high, there are scientific courses in the curriculum of secondary schools (Quaiser-Pohl, 2012). The attraction of technology and science for women can also be raised by offering study courses of applied and interdisciplinary sciences at universities, e.g. informational economy, informational management or computer visualization (Ebach, Jesse, & Sander, 2005). Finally, single sex lessons in mathematics and science may also help to raise the interest of girls for these subjects (Kessels, 2002).

Gender-role-stereotypes are a central component of every culture. They determine which beliefs, goals, and behaviors are appropriate and inappropriate for females and males. Thus, they influence the beliefs and behaviors of parents and teachers. These beliefs include parents' and teachers' causal attributes for and their affective reactions to the child. Parents' and teachers' beliefs influence the perceptions of a child's competencies and interests, as well as their expectations of a child's success. Parents' perceptions and expectations influence their provision of the specific equipment, toys, and experiences for their children and, in turn, influence what skills the children get to learn and master exactly, as well as what their children come to enjoy or dread. As parents, teachers, and other significant persons are important models, they also will affect the development of children's own beliefs, goals, and their domain-specific identities and values (Eccles, 2014). Thus, gender-stereotype interests and self-concepts are influenced, too—indeed very early in life.

Girls generally underestimate their own competencies and self-efficacy, especially in regard to STEM- subjects (Wang & Kenny, 2014). Although in PISA 2003 only in 5 OECD states boys showed better achievements in mathematics than girls, they mentioned a higher self-concept in 42 states (Prenzel et al., 2004). In PISA 2006 boys mentioned a higher self-concept when it came to science even in those states where no difference in the achievement of boys and girls was found (Prenzel et al., 2007).

The career choices that men and women make are influenced by a calculation of the fit between a particular option, and - among others - a person's motivation, self-perception and expectation of success, as well as by the balance between the attainment level and the perceived costs of this option (Eccles 1994, 2014; Gottfredson, 1981). When making their choices persons consider less their absolute level of abilities than their preferences and values (Wang & Kenny, 2014). Young women tend to be more balanced in their ability profiles than young men. This results in a greater choice regarding professions, which might be one of the reasons why they are less likely than males to choose mathematics- or science- related courses and careers, even if they are good at mathematics (Halpern et al., 2007).

As motivations, self-perceptions and expectations of success can be influenced by experiences in one's surrounding, it seems to be possible to influence career choices through educational experiences and special programs. In Germany, there are currently a lot of initiatives trying to develop projects that are meant to support girls and young women who are interested in STEM subjects to incorporate their interests in career choices and finally integrate their decisions into study courses and engagement in the labor market.

We will give an overview of these initiatives, analyze their theoretical base, and show in how far there are evaluation results which allow drawing conclusions about the effects of the different measures yet. Summarizing, we will carve out gaps of knowledge and will discuss further research.

MEASURES TO PROMOTE GIRLS AND WOMEN IN STEM IN GERMANY

Measures to promote STEM among adolescent girls and women are manifold. In the year 2002, the German "Gemeinsame Wissenschaftskonferenz" (GWK), an institution that coordinates the policy of the federal government and the federal states in the fields of science and research funding, published recommendations for the tertiary educational sector in order to enhance the number of females in jobs and courses of study in science and engineering. The GWK reports on measures that implement these recommendations (GWK, 2011) and documents amongst others the points of intervention in the course of educational or vocational qualification, the target groups and the types of measures which took place in Germany during the period between 2002 and 2010. Data base of this study were collections of best practice examples done by the German federal states and several other data bases of organizations or institutions working in the field of education or furthering of women in the fields of STEM.

Schedule of intervention and target groups

Nearly half of the measures (44%) recorded in the GWK report (GW, 2011) were scheduled for the period of career orientation or orientation on courses of study, 17% aimed at supporting female students, 17% at supporting females during their further academic career, 11% were measures scheduled for the passage from university to employment, 6% specifically at the start of the university studies and 2% each aimed at women who returned to studies of STEM after a break, at women who were striving for a professorship or scheduled for several points of the academic or vocational career.

Target groups of the recorded measures were females, mostly secondary school students, whose interest in taking up a course of study in the fields of STEM should be promoted, who studied or had studied a STEM subject (85%) and multipliers, actors in the educational system like pre- primary and secondary school teachers, parents, university teachers or occupational guidance counselors who potentially influence the career decisions of the former group (15%).

As one of the criteria for measures to get into the sample of the study was that they explicitly aimed at raising the participation of females in STEM, most of the recorded measures were mono-educative, which means that only females could participate.

Most measures were scheduled for the period of vocational orientation and related to female secondary school students. Referring to the theoretical assumptions of the origins of the lack of women in STEM professions depicted above, this fact shows that the underlying explicit or implicit theoretical considerations of most of the adopted measures are that changes in the stereotypical career choices of adolescent girls - rooted in gender stereotyped interest, self-concepts and goals of young women - are the most important starting points to solve the problem. Regarding the strong empirical evidence for the fact that gender differences in interest in science and technology have their roots already in pre- and primary school age and that parents and other relatives as well as teachers are important socialization agents in this field (Eccles, 2014; Endepohls-Ulpe, 2011, 2012), this perspective has at least to be extended and efforts to reach the multipliers working with younger girls have to be enhanced.

Types of measures

The above cited GWK study (GWK, 2011) identified 27 types of measures which were differentiated according to their “action strategy” which should be better termed “methodological approach”.

The types of measures most frequently adopted where “offers of information” (20%) and “courses, trainings and workshops” (19%) followed by “mentoring programs” (9%) and “integration in networks” (7%). All in all, 75% of the recorded measures could be subsumed as accompanying or context measures, which means that they try to change the behavior of females in the educational and vocational system, and only 17 % each were structural measures that aimed at inducing fundamental changes in these systems. In the following, the most frequently recorded types of measures will be discussed.

Offers of information

Most of these offers address female secondary school students of the 7th to 13th grade, age 12 to 19. They are designed as events lasting one or more days at universities which are conducted in the form of project days in cooperation with schools or which can be visited by students on their own, for example during their school holidays. Methods of intervention are lectures, visitations e.g. of seminars or lectures in STEM subjects, often combined with workshops where female students can have hands-on experience in science and technology. Information is also provided in form of print- or online-materials or websites which offer information about jobs and career paths. Topics can be the field STEM as a whole, or just specific subjects like information technology, engineering or mathematics.

The strategy of providing information on STEM subjects offered at university, giving an insight in courses and lectures as well as information on career paths and professions in this field is founded on the assumption that females have a lack of information on career chances, professions and subjects in the STEM area. Theories or models of vocational choice like e.g. those by Eccles (1994) or Gottfredson (1981) postulate that people look for studies and careers that meet important aspects of their self-concepts such as their masculinity or femininity, their personal goals and that they also balance anticipated costs and benefits of their choice. There is a lot of empirical support for the notion that subjects and careers in the field of STEM are both strongly associated with the male stereotype and have rather unattractive images which discourage young people from taking up STEM professions, an effect that is even stronger for females than for males (Dahme, Thaler & Pinault, 2012; Hannover & Kessels, 2004). Thus, the strategy of imparting knowledge on STEM subjects and professions, on career chances, and communicating a positive and non-stereotyped image of these subjects and professions seems reasonable.

Evaluation studies mostly conducted by the initiators of the projects indeed show positive effects on participants' attitudes against STEM subjects and professions. As information offers frequently are combined with activities that provide

practical experience (as for example peanuts, summer university at the Technical University Dresden), detailed results of evaluation studies will be documented in this section.

Courses, trainings and workshops

Offers in form of workshops/courses and information offers mostly address females in the period of career orientation and orientation on courses of study. These measures - often combined –last 3 -5 days, in which secondary school students visit universities and have the chance to acquire practical experience by conducting experiments (e.g. in chemistry or physics) or engaging in hands-on activities (e.g. LEGO-robot construction and programming).

Females tend to underestimate their own abilities especially in STEM subjects and career choices are determined to a high degree by beliefs about one's own subject related abilities (Eccles, 1994). Thus, from a theoretical point of view, providing females with experiences of success in dealing with scientific or technological problems seems to be an appropriate strategy to encourage them to choose courses of study or professions in these fields.

Evaluation studies on information offers and offers of courses and workshop mostly indicate that the measures are highly accepted by the participants (GWK, 2011). These studies also show that the measures are able to raise the participants' interest in STEM subjects. After participating in the measure, a high percentage of young women can imagine choosing a course of study in science or technology (e.g. Greusing, 2009; GWK, 2011). Programs are also able to strengthen the self-concept and self-efficacy in this field (e.g. Engel, 2004, cf. GWK, 2011). These effects seem to be stronger for or even restricted to participants whose interest in STEM and/or self-efficacy were already high at the beginning of the measure, which means that the measures especially strengthen those girls in their interests and choices and help them to keep them up.

Raising interest and self-efficacy in STEM are only preconditions for achieving the aim of enhancing the number of females choosing courses of study and careers in these fields. Unfortunately, studies of evaluation which are meant to show if the measures really contribute to solving the problem – that means if they can indeed influence the participants' choice of profession – rarely exist. Moreover, they are also hard to realize. Reasons for this will be pointed out in the discussion below.

Mentoring programs and the integration into networks

Mentoring programs are another popular measure found in this field recorded with a percentage of 9% in the GWK report. They are often combined with the attempt to build up networks in order to help girls and women to get into contact with female role models who are already successful in a STEM subject or a STEM profession. Therefore, building up a network (7%) and role models (5%) were in many cases mentioned together with mentoring programs.

The mentoring programs recorded in the study by the GWK (2011) spread over different phases of qualification. Mentoring programs within the phase of orientation for a study or for a job are the biggest part (25%). A little bit more than half (52%) of all mentoring programs offer support during studies, among these 11% focus on the start of the studies, 20% in the further course of the studies and 21% at the transition from college to university or to a job. 23% of the mentoring programs target women in further academic qualification (e.g. PhD).

The variety of the gathered mentoring programs ranges from e-mentoring to a very short-term (e.g. several days) support relationship up to programs that support for a longer time, e.g. over several phases of qualification, supplemented by several different offers of qualification (e.g. the provision of key competences).

Especially in the area of orientation for a study or for a job the term 'mentoring' is rather wide ranging. It mostly means a relationship between pupils and students while the latter function as role models. The intensity and the length of the relationship, however, differ very much. They range from one day, like taster lectures or taster occupational trainings, up to support over two years, accompanied by a variety of personal contacts and support measures, e.g. organization of internships and job placements and other extensive accompanying programs.

With regard to the theoretical foundation, mentoring programs are supposed to change STEM profession related attitudes by facilitating model learning and consequently deconstructing gender role stereotypes. They also try to focus on the achievement-related self-concept and on changing motivational variables which is in line with theoretical models like those by Eccles or Gottfredson (Eccles, 1994, 2014; Gottfredson, 1981). Especially practiced together with the integration into academic and professional networks, they are also consistent with the acculturation theory (e.g. Berry, 2005) arguing that women entering the particular culture of STEM professions and studies have to adapt to the norms and values of these culture in order to be successful, which is rather stressful for them. On the other hand, by targeting exclusively women mentoring programs evoke a kind of positive discrimination and thereby make the variable gender explicit and the underrepresentation of women in this field even more visible. This is not beneficial at all and does not reach the in-

tended aim, i.e. to deconstruct gender stereotypes with regard to STEM, but rather has the opposite effect.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Taking stock of the results of evaluation studies of the most frequently adopted measures of promoting STEM fields among girls and women, it can be stated that they definitely are effective on the level of attitudes. Studies show that participants' interest in STEM and their self-efficacy and self-confidence in these fields can be influenced in the intended way. Participants also feel better informed about jobs and courses of study in the field. This leads to a clarification of study or career plans (GWK, 2011), which can become manifest in being more confident in ones plans of studying a STEM subject or taking a STEM profession, but also in being sure that courses of study or professions in this field are not appropriate for oneself.

The fact that positive effects in the intended direction are stronger for females whose interest and self-efficacy in STEM were already high before participating in the measures shows that the intervention strengthens their interest and encourages them to continue with their plans. This is not unimportant, as there is a lot of empirical evidence that the social influences that girls and young women experience from peer groups, schools, parents, and social media are not very supportive for choosing a STEM career. They mostly impart traditional gender stereotypes which act against non-stereotypic vocational decisions (Ziegler, Schirner, Schimke & Stoeger, 2010).

This factor is also partly responsible for the fact that evaluation studies on the behavioral impact of the measures are difficult to realize and positive effects on the real choices and career paths of the participants are hardly to prove. Models of vocational choices like e.g. the Eccles model (Eccles, 1994) demonstrate that the process of career decision making is influenced by many variables which can support or hinder an engagement in STEM.

Statistical data on behavioral effects of the measures are also rare because evaluation studies conducted by the initiators of the programs are mostly formative, which means they aim at improving the measure, and not summative, which means analyzing the effectiveness with respect to the aim of increasing the number of women in STEM. To do this, long term studies with control groups would be necessary, with a pre-and post-test design and a follow-up survey asking for the real study and career choices of the participants. As financing of the measures in most cases does not include means for research, summative evaluations rarely take place.

In addition to these methodological problems of evaluation there are also general principles of the conception of measures that have to be discussed. In recent years, concepts and intervention programs that mainly concentrate on the gender

variable, which is definitely the case in mono-educative settings, are increasingly criticized. The fact that gender is explicitly accentuated as it is the central criterion to participate bears the danger that the measures dramatize gender. Concentrating on this single category may emphasize gender stereotypes and enhance their effects instead of defeating them (Budde, 2009; Budde, Kansteiner & Bossen, 2014; Faulstich-Wieland & Budde, 2008).

Advocates of this notion postulate to put the educational focus more on individual competencies and deficits than on social categories. This latter postulate is also compatible with the perspective of intersectionality. There is evidence that the combination of certain variables as ethnical origin or socio-economic status with gender is of great importance for career choices, and therefore should be considered when planning support programs in the STEM domain. Hayes and Bigler (2015) for example found out that female international post-baccalaureate STEM students stated that a career in STEM research provided them with means to fulfill their values, which was not the case for female American students. Else-Quest, Hyde and Linn (2010) stated in their META-Analysis of studies on cross national gender differences in mathematics that in countries where there was strong gender stratification in the society and in very poor countries surprisingly fewer gender differences could be found.

One possibility to master these conceptual problems could be to initiate more measures that focus on changes in the structures of the educational system, like curricula, courses of study, instructional methods or measures to change the scientific culture. A second starting point could be the implementation of diversity competencies as a compulsory subject in teacher education and advanced training at all levels of the educational system.

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EXPLORING GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PARTICIPANTS' MOTIVATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS IN NON- FORMAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES IN MOZAMBIQUE

Abstract

Non-Formal Education in Mozambique is considered to be one of the ways to open up opportunities for education and training for youth and adults. Mozambique has great gender disparities in post-elementary and vocational education. In this study, semi-structured interviews and life stories were used to explore gender differences in participants' motivations and expectations in Non-Formal Vocational Education and Training (NFVET) in Mozambique. Fourteen participants and six former participants of two NFVET programmes were involved in the study. The findings showed that both men and women acknowledge that NFVET programmes can help them to improve their life chances. However, there were clear gender differences. Women focus on improving the lives of their families as the main objective of participating in NFVET, while men prioritise their own professional growth. Men see their own needs as the family needs. In the discussion of findings a need to challenge gender inequalities in Mozambique is addressed.

Key words

gender, power, inequality, emancipation, non-formal vocational education

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INTRODUCTION

The significant role played by women in developing the country's economy and in creating a stable social and cultural life for their families and communities has been recognized by the Mozambican government since the country's independence in 1975. National gender policies have consistently promoted equality between women and men. Important progress has been achieved in education and in the political domain, by increasing the participation of girls and women in education and by the increased inclusion of female interests in official decision making forums. However, despite these improvements, gender disparity in Mozambique remains high. Women, particularly from low income families, are still disadvantaged in many spheres of social life including education and training. This has a negative impact on their employment opportunities and it affects their socio-economic position and power in society.

Tvedten (2011), in a study about gender inequality in Mozambique, concluded that "legislation aimed at regulating gender relations has had little impact..." (p.24) and that women are still in a disadvantaged position. The problem of gender differences in education seems to be common in Africa, particularly in rural and poor families and communities. For example, a comparative study carried out by Shabaya and Konadu-Agymang (2004) in Ghana, Zimbabwe and Kenya showed that institutional and cultural traditions in these countries impede the participation of women in education. The study revealed a clear gender gap in educational attainment and concluded that the domination of men in African societies leads to the low social status of women and to the perpetuation of poverty not only in families but also in societies.

The aim of this paper is to explore the motivation and expectations that drive the participation of men and women in Non-Formal Vocational Education and Training (NFVET) in Mozambique. A deeper analysis is made of the reflections of former female participants about the usefulness of the skills acquired. This analysis from a gender perspective helps to gain understanding of the participants' and former participants' understanding of NFVET programmes.

The study was based on the following research questions:

- What reasons drive men and women to attend NFVET programmes?
- How do they expect to use the skills acquired after training?

In the sections below, we present the context of Mozambique followed by the analytical framework of the study in which the concepts of gender and gender inequality are highlighted as well as the practices of the emancipation of women. After that the methodology and the findings of the study are presented and discussed.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Mozambique has a population of around 26 million (World Bank, 2015) and is characterized by vast socio-cultural, linguistic and geographic diversity. In public discourse three areas of the country are distinguished: North, Centre and South. These regions have distinct socio-cultural and even political characteristics. The South is characterized by more developed infrastructures, financial and economic facilities as well as concentration of the political power. The Centre is often described as being dominated by the political opposition. The North remains rural; the predominant activity of the population is subsistence agriculture, fishing and small scale commerce. This region has a matrilineal tradition, while the Centre and the South are patriarchal. In terms of the socio-cultural order of the Bantu habitus, both the matrilineal North and the patriarchal central and Southern regions are dominated by men (Tvedten, 2011).

Men in Mozambican society have a privileged position, not only within families but also in the public domain, as a result of the traditional culture of discrimination against women. According to Santos, Roffarelo and Filipe (2015) approximately 60 percent of women in the country are illiterate. The implications of this illiteracy are also reflected in the employment sector where the participation rate of females in the formal labour market in 2013 was 26% compared to 75.8% male participation (UNDP, 2014).

Gender inequality is greater in rural areas and in the more traditional Northern region of the country. For instance, whereas 52% of girls in the Southern provinces attend secondary schools, in the Northern provinces this percentage is only 39 (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014). The main barriers are linked to "early marriage, girls' household workloads and sexual harassment in schools" (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014, p. 11).

In the area of Vocational Education and Training in 2011, the percentage of female students enrolled in basic and in medium technical vocational education was 32 and 36 respectively (Ministry of Education, 2012). Furthermore, gender inequality in vocational education is a long-lasting phenomenon, fundamentally related to society's traditions and culture which define that some activities cannot be performed by women. Mbele (2005) describes that women participating in Technical and Vocational Education and Training prefer training that leads to jobs that are considered to be appropriate for women, while men choose courses linked to the industrial sector. These differences reflect a gender-based division of labour as well as the low status that society attributes to women (Mbele, 2005). Socio-cultural and ideological factors shape the attitudes and practices of men and women in societies. In this sense, gender disparity must be examined within the broader system of social

interaction. In this study we explore male and female participants' perceptions and experiences in NFVET.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: GENDER, GENDER INEQUALITY AND THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Many people perceive gender as a notion related only to women and their concerns. However, gender is more than that, it is a concept denoting the roles and duties that are ascribed to men and women in our families, societies and cultures (UNESCO, 2003). Gender relations are socially constructed and will therefore be perceived and expressed differently in different socio-cultural settings (Tvedten, 2012). Gender roles are a set of attitudes and actions that men and women are expected to demonstrate within their society. Gender emerges within social interaction. According to Wharton (2012), gender inequality reflects a culture of domination between men and women. The social order tends to give its consent to the masculine domination which is visible in the gender-based division of labour. Traditionally, the labour market is reserved for men and housework is reserved for women.

Järvinen (1999), referring to Bourdieu, noted that gender inequality is maintained by a discrete power game in which the actors are both the dominant and the dominated. In daily life, men and women play their culturally assimilated gender-based roles which attribute power to the male's position. In general, there has been a collective interest to tackle the problems of gender inequality in Mozambique as an issue of human rights.

From the United Nations Decade for women (1976-85) onwards, the relevant role of women in the economic and social development of society and the dilemmas of women in low income families in developing countries were highlighted (Moser, 1991). Since this period, researchers have worked towards an understanding of the complexity of women's employment situation. "This has had an important influence on popularising income generating projects for women" (Moser, 1991, p. 84). These projects were extensively followed in developing countries, resulting in an increase in the presence of women in the informal sector, as in the case of Mozambique. Recently, research and policies have shifted focus to gender rather than women in isolation. The gender approach is a comprehensive approach that encompasses issues of voicelessness and powerlessness concerning matters related to institutions and the state. The issue of gender inequality in Mozambique is also approached from the agenda of women's emancipation.

The idea of the emancipation of women in Mozambique was strongly emphasised in political discourse, aiming to provide equal political and civil rights be-

tween men and women. It is rooted in the ideology of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), from the period of the struggle for Independence in the 1960s. According to Selerud (2008) FRELIMO “considered women’s emancipation a necessary outcome of the socialist transformation of society” (p. 18). In that period, women were invited to participate in the anti-colonial struggle and were incorporated in the *Destacamento feminino* (women’s military organization) during the war of liberation. After independence, the *Destacamento feminino* was transformed into a ‘non-military organization’ the *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* – OMM (Organization of Mozambican Women). Its main objective was the mobilisation of women to follow FRELIMO’s policies with the objective to contribute to the socialistic development of society (Selerud, 2008). OMM also played an important role in the adult literacy campaigns in the country, where around 40% of participants were women (Selerud, 2008).

OMM was created with the objective of the emancipation of Mozambican women. Its main activities emphasise the process of women’s mobilisation, participation and organisation in political activism as a transformative experience for women in the public and private domains of life (Disney, 2008). However, the emancipation of women from this perspective is limited, because OMM is not an autonomous women’s organisation, and the emancipation of women is viewed in terms of being a member of FRELIMO’s party. OMM works by involving women who are carrying out the proclaimed policies of FRELIMO (Krucks, 1983; Selerud, 2008).

Nevertheless, the ideology of OMM is linked to the emancipation of women and thus challenges the traditional gender division of labour and the culture of discrimination of women. Recently, with the emerging democracy, Mozambique ratified the main international and regional women’s rights protection instruments that approach the emancipation of women in a more comprehensive manner. Some of the important outcomes were the establishment of the Mozambican family code in 2004, which is guided by gender equality in matters of family law, and the creation of the law on domestic violence, in 2009. However, the existing habitus, rooted in traditional behaviour and culture and claiming the superiority of “men’s rights”, tends to hinder the emancipation and empowerment of women in Mozambique. Therefore gender inequality remains, even in education and training programmes. In this study issues of gender and social inequality are seen as being interrelated.

METHODOLOGY

This study is qualitative and exploratory, based on a gender approach to the analysis of NFVET. The study is part of a more extensive research project about

NFVET in Mozambique. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eleven male and three female participants with the aim of exploring their perceptions and experiences of NFVET. In addition, the life stories of six female (former participants) were collected to get a deeper understanding of their motivations, perceptions and experiences in NFVET programmes. The interviews were conducted in Maputo in March 2012 and July 2013 and life stories were collected in April and May 2015. The focus of the life stories was on the women's lives before the training, trying to understand the reasons that motivated them to participate in the training programme. According to Atkinson (2002), a life story is the story a person tells about the life he or she has lived, it results in a narrative essence of what has happened to the person, including the remarkable events, experiences and feelings of a lifetime. "By sharing our stories we can help other people to see their lives more clearly or differently and perhaps inspire them to change things in their lives" (Atkinson, 2002, p. 128).

The participants were chosen purposively, selected on the principle that they possess knowledge and experience about the topic of this study. In purposive sampling the events or specific people are selected deliberately, taking into account that they "are likely to produce the most valuable data" (Denscombe, 2003, p. 15). For the semi-structured interviews participants were selected from four different training specialties (sewing, car-repair, electricity and refrigeration) in two training centres in Maputo, while for life stories all six former participants of the sewing course were identified by the educator. They had finished the training between one and three years prior to the time the life story interviews were held. The life story interviewees were all females. Thus, the sample of this study consisted of eleven men and nine women, aged between 19 and 48 years.

The data were digitally recorded, transcribed and analysed. The data analysis was done thematically. Thematic analysis can be used in "different theoretical frameworks" (Brawn & Clark, 2006, p.81). In this study, the data transcriptions were organised according to the research questions, and were read over repeatedly to get a deeper understanding of what was being said by the respondents. In this process, initial codes were written down. According to Brawn and Clark (2006), analysis implies a continuous moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts of data and the analysis of data being produced. The coding process involves the recognition of important aspects in the data and encoding them (Boyatzis, 1988, quoted by Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The codes obtained were grouped and interpreted according to the entire data set and the research questions. The themes were generated from the data in this analytical process.

FINDINGS

The findings are aligned with the research questions. They are presented and discussed according to the themes identified. The themes are: improvement of skills and living conditions, extension of social networks, certification of informal learning and implementation of skills in income generating activities. In this paper, the organisations involved in the study are anonymised and the respondent's names in the life stories are pseudonyms.

Improvement of skills and living conditions

To understand the reasons that motivate men and women to attend NFVET programmes, the question: "what are the reasons that motivated you to participate in this training", was posed. The most common reason presented by the participants was linked to their need to improve their skills to be able to enter the labour market. One of the participants pointed out: *"I decided to participate in this course to improve my skills to get job"* (male, car-repair course). Another factor pointed out by the participants is the need to learn practical skills in addition to the generic skills acquired in formal schooling. They perceive that with general education only, the chances of getting employment are few. One of them said *"...general education is not enough nowadays, employers require additional skills"* (male, electricity course).

Participants are aware of the link between skills development, increased chances for self-employment and the improvement of their living conditions. The female participant's life story gives an example of her aspirations to improve her life:

"I am Elisa, 37 years old. I studied until grade four of primary education and left school because of the armed conflicts in my region. Life was hard. I used to sell different products on the streets. I knew that in this training Centre they provide training in sewing skills. ... So I enrolled myself. This will give me a new chance in my life".

Other participants perceived that their motivation for training was influenced by their closest social context. They were used to seeing their relatives doing the activity and they felt themselves inspired to learn the same skills, seeking to improve their lives. As one female respondent explained: *"... because I used to see my father and my brothers sewing... I think it will help, in just a short time I can change my life"*.

The need to improve one's living conditions linked to the problem of domestic violence as a result of the traditional male domination within households was also captured through women's life stories. Ema's story, quoted below, is one of them:

"I am 36 years old, I got married when I was 19, I completed only grade 6. Because I failed two times, then they said that I was too old but I was only 14. I failed two times because I used to work a lot at home and sometimes I could not go to school because I was tired. They transferred me to the evening classes, but my family didn't allow me to study in the evenings, so I dropped out. I have three children, my husband passed away three years ago. After he died I had many problems with his relatives. They wanted me to get out of my house because they believed that I was responsible for my husband's death, but he died because of the "doença do século" (disease of the century AIDS), he used to beat me and went to parties with other women.

I used to sell fruit near to my house and sometimes I worked in town, doing domestic work to help my children. ... But my friend said that it is better to attend the sewing course. ... I enrolled in 2011, I learnt a lot. ... After the training I worked with my friend, she helped me to buy a sewing machine. Now I can work for myself."

This story reports the combination of oppression and violence which many women face, also within the extended family. These aspects are rooted in the gender-based traditions that reinforce the discrimination of women and poverty.

Extension of social network

Participants also see training as a way to meet people, make friends and gain new life experiences. This insight emerged from the life story of a female former participant who had trained about one year before the interview took place. She could not find employment or self-employment, but she was happy to have found new friends in the training. This is her story:

"... I am Ana, 41 years old. I finished grade 8 in school. I participated in this course because I wanted to do something different. I am tired of always doing the same routine work at home. My husband did not allow me to do things outside my house, but now he has another family. I finished the training last year, but I could not buy a sewing machine to start my work, but it was good that I got to know many people, still now we visit each other."

Ana's story represents the situation of many women in Africa, particularly in Mozambique. Women are often prevented from participating in social events or simply from education and training. This reflects the cultural beliefs of their families and communities.

Certification of informal learning

In Mozambique, many people used to learn some practical skills from their relatives at home or from friends in the neighbourhood and sometimes they had the opportunity to learn skills in companies, as an internship. Nowadays however, people are required to present some "formal document", certifying their skills in the formal job market. Such a document can also be acquired through NFE. To get a certificate is one of the reasons for attending NFVET courses. A participant said: *"I was working in a company, I learnt a lot about refrigeration then they told me to participate in the training to get a certificate..."* (male, refrigeration course).

Another participant had the objective of improving his private business, as he said: *"I want to get a certificate for my work to be recognised, if possible to legalise it"*. This expectation is due to the fact that many people work informally without the required authorisation which is necessary for certain types of activities. Certification is one of the prerequisites for such authorisation to be officially granted.

The implementation of skills in income-generating activities

Participants expect that they will get employment or be self-employment after the training. Some participants (mainly men) also expected to continue their studies in formal education. In terms of employment, many participants recognise that opportunities for formal employment are few in the country, so they mainly consider self-employment. As one of them commented: *"I want to continue my studies in higher education, the training will contribute to this, because I can work for my friend... to pay my expenses"* (male, car-repair course).

Other participants see that formal employment can be the base for self-employment, as one of them said: *"I want to work for a company first, to acquire skills and gain experience for my own business, to be able to improve my life"* (male, refrigeration course). This idea was also pointed out by another participant who said: *"I want to do an internship, get employment... because to start my own business requires resources"* (male, electricity course).

The expectations of participants on the sewing course are also related to income-generating skills, but the majority of them pointed to informal work, home-based work, and they emphasised the need for the improvement of the collective life of their families. They expressed their expectations in the following manner: After the training *"I will do my work at home... I will receive customers, this will contribute to the improvement of our lives."* Other participant added: *"...I expect to work with my friend. ...I will be able to help my family, I will work and many people will ask for my services."* Female participants believe that learning will contribute to changes within their households, as one of them remarked: *"I came here because I want to change my*

life. ... I want to have my business at home to help my children ...” Women were focusing on two aspects: to do work at home and to improve the life of their families.

Thus, the main factors that drive men and women to participate in NFVET are linked to the need to improve their lives. There were differences between men and women regarding how these expectations were expressed. The women focused on the need to improve the economic situation of their families and the need to extend social relations, while for male participants other factors were important, such as: the need to get certificate, to get employment or to improve their current business activity. The participants, both men and women, emphasised the need to improve their skills to obtain income-generating work and the necessity to improve their living conditions. These issues are discussed analytically in the next part of the paper.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study focused on the factors that motivate male and female participants to attend NFVET programmes as well as their expectations seen from agender perspective. The findings show that the poor economic conditions in the participants' households strongly shaped their motivation to attend NFVET programmes. Both men and women highlighted socio-economic factors. Women point out the need to improve their living conditions and the need to make friends. This is influenced not only by a shortage of resources in their households, but also by male domination. For instance, a female participant reported that she participated in the training because she looked for a way to meet people as she was not allowed by her husband to leave her home. This constitutes a violation of the rights of a human being. According to Wharton (2012), the power of men in a society derives from the gender roles constructed and performed by that society. In general, these gender roles drive women to disadvantaged situations, especially in low income families and communities.

The male participants also expected to acquire vocational knowledge and skills to improve their current business or to get practical skills and they were particularly concerned about getting a certificate. These aspects lead to their empowerment and higher socio-economic status. While the motives presented by women were clearly related to the improvement of living conditions in their households. In African societies, women are strongly expected to take care of the family; this expectation also influences women's attitudes and choices. The findings of this study show that women participants attend training with a focus on the need to help their families, often putting aside their personal interests. In all their answers they did not mention themselves as the direct beneficiaries of the training, they emphasise the

collective. Some examples: "... *this will contribute to improving our life*"; "*I will be able to help my family*"; "...*to help my children*." This attitude was noted earlier by Preece and Singh (2005, p. 38) who pointed out that in many societies "women spend a lot of their energies in improving their families' quality of life".

In conclusion, socio-economic factors are the main reasons that drive men and women to participate in NFVET. However, men perceive that to improve the life of their families it is necessary to empower themselves first, by improving their knowledge and skills. Men see their own needs as the needs of the family. They see themselves as owners of the family. Thus, in their intervention the use of the individualistic discourse predominated. This conclusion was deduced from their answers in which ideas such as: "*I can work for my friend... to pay my expenses*"; "... *gain experience for my own business*"; "...*to improve my life*", predominated. Women emphasise the collective life of their households. This reflects the traditional gender bias that women are expected to perform domestic work and take care of the family, while men are expected to work out of the house and their position in the household is that of 'chief', and proprietor of their wives and children, including the properties (belongings) of the family. This is influenced by traditional culture and people's habitus in social interaction.

Thus, following Disney (2008) we can argue that the "gender-based division of labour in Mozambique continues to play a defining role in the relations of power and inequality between women and men" (Disney, 2008, p.1). It impacts on women's emancipation and promotes gender inequality, particularly in education and training, contributing to the perpetuation of poverty in families and in society. This is a general conclusion.

Finally, a remark should be made concerning the limitations of the present study. One of them is related to language. Data collection and data analysis were conducted in Portuguese, which is the second language of the interviewees. Later the data used in this paper was translated into English. In this process of bilingual transposition, some meaning and originality of the respondents' sayings may be lost.

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DO OLD WOMEN STUDY IN BULGARIA?

Preferred Methods of Training for Men and Women Aged 65+

Abstract

Bulgaria is a country with long standing traditions when it comes to encouraging gender equality. Active participation when it comes to receiving an education is not a right but an equal duty of both men and women. The activities and measures planned in the National action plan for the encouragement of the equality between men and women 2014 are an extension of the efforts of the Bulgarian institutions and organizations for the development and coordination of the state policy when it comes to the equality between men and women in all spheres of life, including education and skill-training. Learning throughout one's whole life is a continuous, deliberate process of knowledge and skill acquirement. It offers an opportunity for development to all age groups, in a varied context. Our legislation guaranties formally an equality between the genders and does not condone discrimination, but in practice some imbalance still remains. The goal of this research is to establish whether the adults of Bulgaria have the opportunity to learn and what the methods most appropriate for teaching them are. The focus of this research is adults over the age of 65. Subject of this research are the methods appropriate for teaching elder men and women.

Keywords

older women, policy, education and training

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INTRODUCTION

Over time, the trees become stronger and branch towards the river. Similarly, the wisdom and experience of women become deeper and wider with age. Therefore, older people must be respected and treated as the wealth of society.

Kofi Annan,
UN Secretary-General and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001
(Second World Assembly on Ageing Society)

Filling the aging of women with content through learning and education is fundamental for the future of Europe. After the end of an active professional life, individuals are confronted with the daily tackling of newer and bigger challenges. It turns out that older women remain excluded from the learning process in two ways: on one hand, women over the age of 60 participate less in training than other age groups. On the other hand, older women with low incomes and low level of education have limited access to such opportunities. This poses a risk of social exclusion of the target group, which increases the risk of health problems, reduced mental capacity, loneliness and more. Furthermore, insufficient training of older women leads to an increased likelihood of imposing on them a foreign and extraneous lifestyle.

Adult education was recognized as an important element of lifelong learning. Adult education is linked to returns in terms of improved civic participation, better health and better well-being of the individual. The Communication: It is never too late to learn (European Commission [EC], 2006) shed light on the vital contribution of adult education and social inclusion. The communication was followed by an Action Plan: It is always a good time to learn (EC, 2007). This policy is outlined in the Conference: Grundtvig, a decade of European innovation in adult education (The Adult education unit of the EC [AEUEC], 2010).

In these times of globalization and European cooperation, large roles in enhancing the competence of women in Europe are played by the European networks. The European Network was established in 1953 by non-governmental organizations directly related to the education and training of adults under the name of European Bureau for adult education. An example of a European network is the European Association for Adult Education (<http://www.eaea.org>), which in 1999 became an international organization. Another example is SEELERNETZ: educational project for adults and with adults (Technical University of Gabrovo [GTU], 2008) that shows how, through the creation of social communities unaccustomed to training and education, the elderly are included in the process of learning and education. The target group is supported in the process of acquiring the skills and encouraged to take part in public life and to contribute to the realization of social change. A research consortium from Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Greece and Romania analyses

the daily behaviour of the target group and presents a field-tested model with various applications.

One of the main principles of the European Union is the ban on discrimination on grounds of age. The Union's objective is to reduce the group of women at risk of poverty in Europe by 20 million through the Europe 2020 strategy (EC, 2010). Most affected in this group are women over the age of 50, who fall within the focus of the strategy. Enduring stereotypes and gender, coupled with age discrimination in the labour market, reduce the chances of older women for employment, training, career development and increase the risk for this group of poverty in adulthood.

The European Commission has taken action for social inclusion, in continuous employment, inclusion in the political and economic authorities for the decision-making in precisely this greatly discriminated group. There are initiatives promoting support for understanding of foreign languages and new technologies in order to enable older women to overcome the division in terms of information technology and improve personal and communicational skills, and their ability to manage their interests.

The inclusion of older women in programs for lifelong learning and the further developing of flexible retraining programs suitable for older women, taking into account their specific needs and abilities – is in order to increase the chances of employment of older women and keeping their life independent and active by sharing experiences with younger generations. There are new opportunities opening before older women to stay in or return to the labour market, to deploy their potential through new policies concerning employers requiring equal opportunities for employment, training, career development. Nowadays education of older women is positive, as it leads to improved quality of life, affects self-esteem, their sense of perfection and self-realization, while enabling more young people to benefit from the experience of adults.

But is this true in Bulgaria?

Planned activities and measures in the National Plan of Bulgaria for action to promote equality of women and men (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2014) are a continuation of the efforts of the Bulgarian institutions and organizations responsible for development and coordination of the state policy of equality between women and men in all areas, including education and training.

Bulgaria is a country with tradition in the promotion of gender equality. Legislative framework formally guarantees gender equality and non-discrimination, but in practice there are a number of imbalances. Bulgaria still lacks data on conducted

research on learning opportunities and differences in training methods of both sexes in adults (55-65 +).

METHODOLOGY

The benefit from education of older women should be linked to improving the quality of life in the following areas: mental and physical health; social work; increasing the sense of contribution and transcendence; personal growth - positivity and motivation.

The purpose of this study was to determine whether older women in Bulgaria have conditions to train and what the appropriate methods for them to learn are. We systematized on this basis the important issues to outline policy guidelines for future development and define recommendations for their solution.

To achieve the objectives are the following tasks:

- Codification of the basic theories and historical prerequisites for learning in the elderly.
- Review and analysis of the main requirements of the EU in adult learning, gender differences and discrimination, and study their impact on policies in Bulgaria. Analysis of the environment (the impact of external and internal factors), including European and Bulgarian legislation on learning in older women in Bulgaria.
- Comparative analysis and methods of study in elderly men and women. Clarification of major differences and the reasons for them.
- Systematization of problems and formulation of basic conclusions.

The subject of research is identifying appropriate methods for teaching older women.

The report presents the results of empirical research conducted by the method of the survey amongst a representative sample of older men and women (65+ years) from different regions of the country, including villages and towns of Stara Zagora, Sliven, Burgas, Kyustendil, Plovdiv and Sofia. The period of this study covers October 2014 – July 2015.

The achievement of the purpose and objectives of the study requires the application of a complex methodology and corresponding tools: primary and secondary study, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to collect the necessary information, empirical research methods. Quantitative research methods are related to quantification, measurement and presentation of reality in a statistical form.

The qualitative study is interested in understanding, interpreting and reaching the patterns of behaviour rather than the manner of their measurement. Used are empirical research methods, questionnaires and interviews with a sample in which the dependence of the test set can be observed. A questionnaire was developed to be completed by the participants studied. Difficulties in creating the survey were encountered when looking for an approach to make the terminology used understandable to the audience and at the same time to achieve its goal. The questions were grouped in several directions - time and duration of the conduct of the educational process, methods and forms of training preferred by the elderly participants and sources of information. It examined the correlation between gender and responses specific to individual sets of questions.

The questionnaire and privacy information and consent forms were given to 80 respondents (40 women and 40 men). In the selection of people to interview the intention was to ensure maximum chance/variety. The questionnaire was offered to the party agreeing to participate in the survey in a version that supports individual completion. However, in some cases, group completion was applied - independently of the respondents, and if necessary with the help of an experienced interviewer. All results from each group indicators were calculated by accumulating the responses of participants for each item in the appropriate level of the rating scale. The opinion of respondents was studied, with a critical approach was applied.

There are quotations of the results of empirical observations by other authors.

A comparative analysis of legislative and administrative documents was done. Through documents, the object of the study is positioned in a wider environment and this allows more information about the dynamics of consideration to be revealed.

Although the research was not implemented in the entire target group, interviews allow us to say that the data is representative of the whole population and enables accurate and fair reflection of the attitudes and opinions of people as a whole.

FINDINGS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Demographic structure

According to National Statistical Institute [NSI] (<http://www.nsi.bg>) data from Bulgaria in December 2013 the country's population is 7,245,677 people. The final census in Bulgaria in 2011 shows 7,364,570 people. Of these, 3,777,999 (51.3%) are women and 3,586,571 people (48.7%) are men, or 1000 men to 1053 women. According to data from the 2001 census, the population of Bulgaria was 7,932,984

and in 1989 - 9,009,018 people. The country's population steadily decreases, and the ratio of pensioners to population increases (see Table 1). Two-thirds of the reduction of the population (68.9%) due to negative natural growth, and a third (31.1%) - the external migration

Table 1: Demographic structure of the population in Bulgaria

Increase in population:	-5.5 /1 000 (2012)
Fertility:	9.5 /1 000 people (2012)
Mortality:	15.0 /1 000 (2012)
Life expectancy:	74.0 years (2012)
–men:	70.6 years (2012)
–women:	77.6 years (2012)
Age structure:	
0-14 years old:	13.4%
15-64 years old:	67.8%
Over 65 years old:	18.8% (2011)
Gender ratio:	
Total:	0.84 men/women (2009)
At birth:	1.06 men/women
Up to 15:	1.05 men/women
Age 15-64:	0.97 men/women
Over 65:	0.68 men/women

Age structure

The process of demographic aging, evident by the decrease in the absolute number and proportion of the population aged less than 15 years and increasing

the share of population aged 65 and older, continues. The share of the population aged over 65 years increased from 16.8% in 2001 to 18.8 percent in 2011. Almost a quarter of the population (23.7%) is over the working age - 1,747,717 people. The largest relative share of the population aged 65 and over is in Vidin - 25.5 percent, Montana and Gabrovo - by 24.0%, Lovech - 23.3%, and Kyustendil - 22.8%. The lowest proportion of elder population is in the districts of Blagoevgrad, Varna and Sofia (capital) - 16.0%.

The proportion of people above the working age is at a minimum among the males in urban areas (15.6%) and at a maximum amongst the women in rural areas (38.0%).

Territorial structure

The trend of urbanization is continuing - 5,338,261 people, or 72.5 percent, in the cities, while 2,026,309 people, or 27.5 percent of the population of the country live in the villages.

The largest number of the population is based in Sofia (capital) where 1,291,591 people are currently living, or 17.5 percent of the population, and is the smallest in the region of Vidin with a population of 101,018 people (1.4%). For the period between the two census polls in 2001 and 2011 there was only an increase in the population of the districts of Sofia (capital) – by 120 749 persons, or 10.3%, and Varna – by 13 061 persons or 2.8%. Differences in population by municipality are big - 39.2 percent of the population lives in 9 municipalities with population over 100 000 people. In 60 municipalities were counted under 6000 people – e.g. these are home to 3.1% of the population.

The country's population is distributed in 255 cities and 5047 villages. In 181 settlements there were no enumerated people. A fifth (21.0%) of the settlements have a population of between 1 and 50 people, and little more than a third (36.0%) of the settlements a population of between 100 and 500 people. One third of the population (33.6%) lives in the seven largest cities of over 100 000 people.

Standard of life of older people in Bulgaria

Although in recent years income has grown steadily, the growth in pensions lags. The balance of the state pension is deteriorating constantly, and the deficit in 2012 was over 50%, in other words, revenues from contributions cover less than half of the pension costs and the rest is financed from other budget revenues. The ratio of average pension to average net income levels that of 10 years ago, taking into account

the negative trend. The pension system is inefficient. Despite rising costs, pensioners really receive less than they received while working. Paid pensions are not high enough to provide a decent standard of life that even comes close to the one before retirement.

Educational structure of population

Education of men as a whole is slightly higher than that of women - the proportion of men with secondary or higher education is 63.6 against 62.4% in women. However, the females complete a tertiary education more often than men, and at the time of the census graduates were at 791.8 thousand. Women (22.3%) and men graduates were 556.9 thousand (16.7%). There are significant differences in the educational structure based on residence - nearly 3/4 of urban residents (71.6%) have completed at least secondary education, while with rural residents this percentage is only 40.3%.

Education in Bulgaria has several stages/levels, divided into groups by age:

- Pre - compulsory formal education for children from 5 to 7 years of age;
- Basic - compulsory formal education for children from 7 to 14 years old;
- Middle - compulsory formal education for children from 14 to 18 years of age;
- High (University) - optional formal education; Adult education - formal and informal; forms of training - through specialized courses, training centres and vocational training centres; workplace; its purpose is to improve and expand the professional skills of people over age 60.

In the normative documents and scientific studies the differences between training and education are clearly defined. Training is seen as one way impact of the teacher on the student, in which cultural and social stereotypes are learned, unifying personal specifics, while education builds personality. When under training a person is subject to impact, while in education, personality is seen as a subject of interaction.

Education is a set of teaching and learning of scientific knowledge and specific skills. It plays a role in growth, security, civic responsibility, equality and continuity of cultural values and traditions through the generations. Legislation in Bulgaria does not include a regulated system for the training of older people to acquire or improve key competences, since at this stage they are not part of a formal education and training. Formal education takes place in formal educational institutions and ends with a recognized diploma or certificate of qualification. Non-formal education is implemented through organizations and services, the purpose of which is to supplement formal education. Successful completion does not lead to the issuance

of generally valid document. The purpose of informal education is to serve a group of students as a way to achieve certain goals. Observations in practice shows that as an organization, methodology and practical realization adult vocational training now stands closer to traditional pedagogy than to professional andragogy. In some cases, there is even counteraction when it comes to innovation in education by impairing the implementation of well-designed programs and training tools that have proven their effectiveness and efficiency.

The main reason is the insufficient number of professional andragogists - trained managers, teachers, organizers, methodologists and other experts to apply Andragogic organization and methodology in adult education with a wide use of the latest information and communication technologies. Instead, it continues with the well-known lectures and group sessions in a traditional teaching style, which does not create stable andragogical connections and relationships between older participants in the training and qualification process.

Historical overview of the development of science in adult learning in Bulgaria

As for the appearance of Andragogy in Bulgaria, according to some historians, St. Kliment Ohridski started adult education as a form of specially organized activities. The first school appeared in Kutmichevitz in 9-10th century. The real beginning of professional andragogy in Bulgaria was the twentieth century – by creating professional schools for additional training.

History of women's education in Bulgaria

With the establishment of the first university - Sofia University in 1888, the struggle for admission of women to university education gained publicity. This struggle was originally started by individual women. Ekaterina Stoichkova presented a petition to the National Assembly in 1896 and received the support of the public and politicians, and even that of professors with more progressive views. Formal obstacle to the admission of women to higher education were of course differences between male and female secondary education (by content and years). After the unification of the girls and the male secondary education by number of classes and subjects, women gained access to higher education in 1901 (Daskalov, 2005).

At first women were only present as listeners and later as regular students. At that time there were women who had received higher education abroad and some of

them became bright defenders of women's higher education in Bulgaria. In 1924 the Association of women with higher education was born.

Outside the home, women were caught in very limited and unattractive career choice options. The typical occupation for educated women was teaching, where there were discriminatory regulations, such as the ban on married women to teach (1899). Some time ago in force and legally pledged was also the 10% lower pay for women. Based on current NSI data for 2013-2014, the bachelor degrees held by women were 52.7 percent of the student body, and the corresponding numbers at 53.7% at the master's and 51.2 percent at doctoral levels. Even today, women dominate the teaching profession, making up 85.0 percent of the total number of teachers.

Women approaching retirement age

Proper management of the aging population and the inevitable changes in society may contribute to a more stable economic and social policy. It is necessary to overcome the dominant political rhetoric that considers the aging population a social and economic burden for the society. It is essential that all active aging strategies on all levels of governance include gender and age. Globally, women's earlier retirement age compared to that of men makes their chance for career development even smaller. This in turn makes them vulnerable and dependent.

For women, in general, fewer learning opportunities are offered, especially for older people. This makes their adaptation to modern life very difficult. Professional training and development of new skills could help older women be adaptable and easily socialized. A key measure of the Commission in this area, covering all Member States, including Bulgaria, is the inclusion of older women in programs for lifelong learning and further development of flexible retraining programs, taking into account their specific needs and abilities. Measures are taken to increase the chances of keeping an independent and active life, sharing experiences with younger generations. A key tactic to reducing the poverty of older women is developing appropriate forms of formal and informal training, which could enrich their knowledge – of foreign languages, computer literacy, and grant them other practical skills.

At the end of 2004 the government of Bulgaria adopted a National Action Plan to promote equality between men and women in 2005. The purpose of this plan was to consolidate the efforts of individual institutions in implementing the policy of equal opportunities between men and women in all spheres of social and economic life. This includes activities in various areas, ensuring equal access to health services and education, as well as broad participation in making management

decisions, moreover, it also aims to raise public awareness and eliminate existing stereotypes about the roles of men and women.

Learning in adults is different from that in children. In children, it is oriented towards the teacher (also known as a pedagogical approach), while with adults it is oriented towards learners (andragogic approach), from one based on the rules of the teacher – to one based on peer relationships, negotiation and interaction. From the experience and the leading role of the teacher to the lead role of students and utilization of their experience. For these reasons, this process is: problem oriented; dynamic and diverse; oriented toward knowledge from practice as adults learn better by practicing; integrating old and new knowledge and experience, learning and thinking.

Learning in adults is based on:

- negotiation - rules of the group;
- dynamics - achieved through: individual and group work; lecture-type and interactive training (based on the interaction of the teacher with students, among the students, between students and software); changing activities and the composition of the participants in the sub-groups;
- sharing of individual and group responsibility - in adult education equal responsibility for the results bear teacher and student. This means concern from each and everyone for everything that happens in the classroom, mutual assistance and cooperation in the implementation of each academic task to be all up;
- dialogue - it is difficult to achieve because it is necessary to combine the listening with hearing and understanding, questioning and answering, respect for differences and openness to new ideas and different opinions;
- gender equality among students and the teacher and students - to the right of opinion, position, choice and expression;
- stimulating and positive creative atmosphere - based on mutual respect, commitment, trust, tolerance, openness, cooperation and mutual assistance.

Interaction between teachers and students and between the students themselves is essential in adult education. The conversion of the learner into the teacher's partner increases motivation for learning, this is achieved by using different methods, defined as interactive. The same methods can be used as active or interactive.

Participatory methods (Dewey, 1910) - associated with active learning, which uses a method of stimulation of students to do more than accept information from a teacher or textbook to memorize and reproduce (characteristics of "passive

learning”). Active are those methods that help learners to look at information differently, to reflect and rearrange.

Different methods for adult education can be grouped according to how you use them:

- Methods for gathering information (pyramid, avalanche, saving ideas, SWOT - analysis, flash, or turning round, light, consultation with cards)
- Methods for generating and aggregation of creative ideas (brainstorming, writing, brain maps, drawing idea)
- Discussion methods (discussion, panel discussion, aquarium, case studies, debates, ball bearing)
- Game methods (role playing games, simulation games, situational games, Games dramatizations)
- Methods and techniques for aggregating information (“three important things,” consultation with points dissonance divided poster)
- Methods for managing the learning process (presentation, a barometer of the mood)
- Methods used in vocational training (method of imitation, five steps method of leading text, project method, learning workshop).

The choice of method is essential for achieving the objectives of the training. It depends on how well the teacher knows the advantages and disadvantages of each method, what time has to fulfil certain training tasks depends on the group itself - how much is ready for the application of different methods.

The results of research into adult education in Bulgaria include the following aspects:

- Participation in various forms of training
- Access to information about training opportunities
- Barriers to reaching such training
- Access to information of various kinds

Why teach older women?

- In general, adult education doesn't aim to improve the chances for development work or career advancement. The adults are guided entirely by their intrinsic motivation.
- The most common reasons given for this intrinsic motivation in elders are:
 - acquire more knowledge in a field, which has always been of interest to them

- a better understanding of contemporary society and dealing with the turbulent changes
- maintaining an active involvement in social life and creative initiative
- to avoid isolation

The study, which is the object of this research report, makes a comparative analysis between different groups of adult learners and their commitment to the process. Women's participation in various forms of education compared to men is shown in Figure 1.

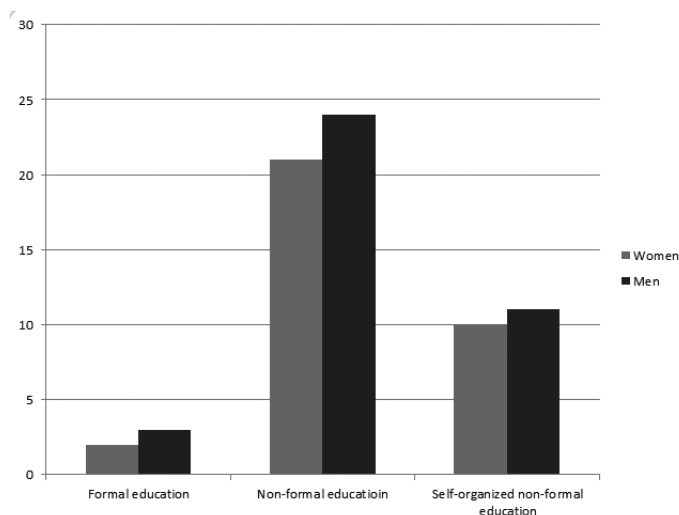


Figure 1: Women's and men's participation in various forms of education

Although the percentage difference is small, the data show that men are given greater opportunities for training and therefore their participation in both formal and non-formal education is slightly higher than that of women in their age group. The reasons for these slight differences lie mostly in public attitudes and perceptions of the traditional place of women in family and society.

In terms of search activity and participation in informal forms of training, determined primarily by their social function and well developed communication skills, women are ahead of men. . The bottom line of the exposed pattern is that women enjoy greater activity in these activities (Figure 2):

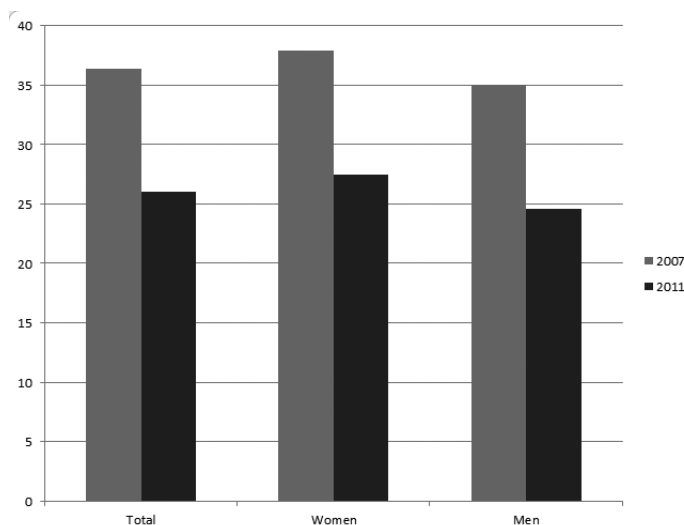


Figure 2: Levels of participation of the population aged 25-64 by the formal and non-formal education in 2007 and 2011

There are noticeable differences between those living in the countryside and those in the cities. The difference in the learning environment is based on a scarcer environment that the village can provide compared to the city: there are school closures, lack of business environment and jobs in general.

Specifics that define the expectations of this group of learners were found during the study conducted among representatives of both sexes aged over 60 about their preferences in the way of organizing and conducting trainings. The research examines the preferred time of training, the duration of the learning process, participants and sources of educational content, methods for teaching process. In terms of the preferences of those who participate in the educational process, both groups (men and women) rely equally on the teacher and representatives of the family, while for men this percentage (40%) is slightly higher than that of women (33.3%). Women trust and would be happy to participate together with a friend of theirs in the learning process (23%), while for men it is not as decisive (10%).

In terms of preferences for the timing of the training both groups generally prefer morning activities (over 58%), but women are not against the opportunity to attend evening classes. Motivation to participate in training compared seasonality shows a certain flexibility in women who would take part or participate in seasonal or session training (about one third of all training) when compared to men who would only participate or currently participate in courses with a specific duration (up to several months).

In terms of frequency and duration of the courses and training, men are more adaptable and would accept diversity in frequency and duration, as long as it supports better learning process. Women prefer less frequent (less times per week) attendance sessions (62.5%), while men surveyed, the number of sessions per week does not matter, it is important to have flexibility consistent with the material.

Regarding the venue/place of the training, representatives of both sexes prefer the traditional - classroom or training-hall as men would even prefer also a training at home (25%), which is twice the preference of women (12,5%)

When it comes to shape and organization of the learning process, women favour communication, sharing and group work, while men prefer the lecture approach. There is a highly concentrated selection of women for group training with less than 5 people. While men's selection fluctuates between almost all the forms of training, most again choose the group of 5 persons.

Preferred ways of remembering by men are Experimentation, Listening theory - watching performance - action with consultation - acting alone - performance assessment and Giving assignments. For women, the more pronounced is Before each lesson - recap after each lesson - a summary, as Experimentation is placed last in the rang. One in every four women chooses the presentation as a learning method, while only 6.7% of men prefer this approach in training. For them preferred lectures and discussions, as well as watching videos and other materials. Interestingly, almost 13% of men pointed at dancing as a learning method, and no woman has chosen it as an option. One in every five women preferred highly structured classes, in contrast to men with only 9%. However, leading in both sexes is a combination of different techniques and training methods.

The study of motivation and meaning of training (Figure 3) among the elderly shows that the opportunity to communicate and contact new people is a decisive motive for both women (30.5%) and men (26.7%). Following are the interest in the unknown (22.2% women and 13% men) and maintaining the level of awareness (21.7% women and 20% men). In general, both groups say that the opportunity to participate in training gives them a feeling of sufficiency:

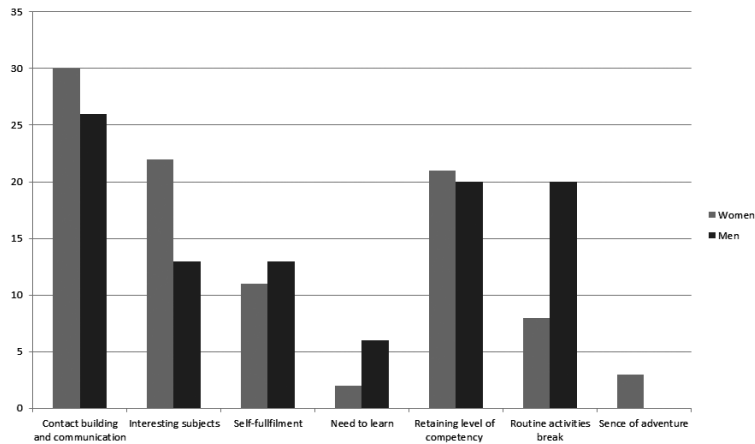


Figure 3: Motivation for training participation among the elderly

The study of the meaning of participation in training also shows differences between men and women (see Figure 4). In men, unlike women, motivation and rewards associated with the avoidance of exposure to an audience are absent:

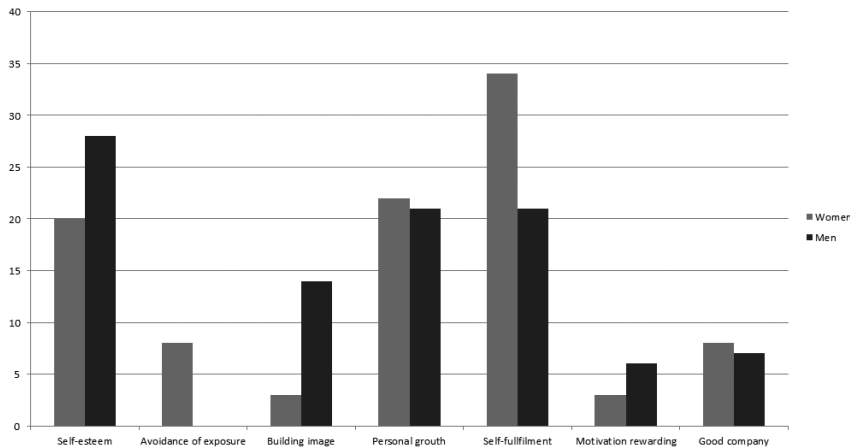


Figure 4: Perception of the meaning and consequences of learning for adults

The dependence of the attitude towards learning and age of respondents in the study is shown in the following Diagram 1:

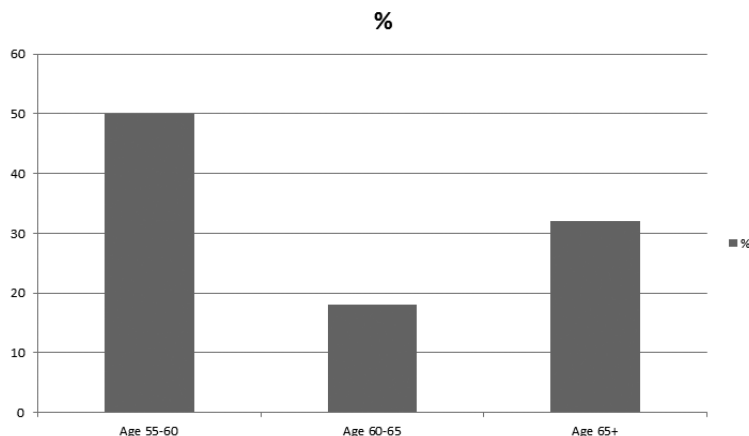


Diagram 1: The dependence of the attitude towards learning and age

The level of acquired education is in direct relation with the attitude towards learning in the age group above 60 years. In both men and women the people willing to train are over 90% people with university or college education, in the women's share the number of women with higher education is slightly larger than the share of men (66.7% of women and 57.2% of men).

When examining the relationship between the profession and attitudes towards continued learning, a strong link between the engineering professions and positive attitude to learning the elderly is generally observed. 71.4% of men and 43.5% of women, who volunteered to participate or have participated in the training as adults, are engineers by training and profession. Other professional groups (humanitarian services, culture, etc.) are either not covered or participate with up to 6.3%.

CONCLUSIONS

As a result of this research methods for the training of older women the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The urban environment provides larger and more varied opportunities for formal training compared to the opportunities that older women have in the countryside. Forms associated with formal training are more widespread in urban areas, but in rural areas the groups for informal learning networks sharing knowledge and skills find better support.

2. There are differences in the health status of older people and in particular older women in the representatives of rural and urban areas. In the cities, the health of older women is poor compared to that of women in rural areas and this is a limitation to participation in various forms of education.
3. Learning habits are generally lost or greatly reduced, the absorption of new technologies which are used for most educational activities and forms are foreign to older people and they hardly get used to them, although they have a desire to learn and use both in education and in their everyday life.
4. The financial situation of pensioners is not giving them an equal chance to learn as the rest of the population. Overall changes in the pension system should lead to greater independence of the pension system, more transparency, more freedom of choice when it comes to pensions, financial sustainability of the system and an adequate level of pensions that provide a decent standard of living pensioners.
5. Women in Bulgaria over 65 years of age are interested in learning and would participate actively in various forms, as long as they provide the conditions for free of charge learning. Men and women of this age group have different requirements for the training duration and timing. Some methods of learning are preferred by men and other by women. Men rely on traditional approaches such as lectures, discussions and sharing of experiences, and women are interested in active methods of learning by doing.

The greater involvement of women in educational practices for adults is associated with:

- a more rapid adaptation to changes
- a higher level of social integration
- more developed communication skills
- greater flexibility of brain processes and a presence of responses supporting adaptability
- it is scientifically proven that women are more sensitive, have increased activity in the right hemisphere of brain – the results of which is giving greater expression to their emotions to a greater extent enabling internal impulses which give precedence over rational response situations

Lifelong learning is a process of constant intentional acquisition of knowledge and skills. It provides opportunities for learning at any age and in diverse con-

texts. The active participation of acquiring education is not a right; it is the equal responsibility of women and men.

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THE ADULT EDUCATION AND TRAINING COURSES IN THE PORTUGUESE SOCIETY *A Look at the Female Presence*

Abstract

The Adult Education and Training Courses (EFA Courses) were developed in Portugal in 2000 to promote, “by reducing the qualification deficits of the adult population, a participatory and responsible citizenship as well as employability and social and professional inclusion” (Ordinance No. 817 of 27th July 2007, p. 4823). In this context, and since we are trainers and coordinator of these courses, we consider it appropriate for us to offer a characterization of the public attending these courses and, on the other hand, to offer an understanding of how our students assess them. In particular, and more specifically in the context of an ongoing research, we intend to look at and perceive the female presence in the EFA courses in Portugal.

To this end, we have set up, tested and validated a survey by questionnaire that we applied to adults of 6 classes of EFA courses, functioning in a night shift of a public school in Lisbon’s eastern area. The analysis of our data shows that only 8 of the trainees who answered the survey, from a total of 28, are female. They are women of a working age, and like most of them are actually working, we can say that they have to balance personal and professional life with school activities, within after-work schedules. This requires them to make additional efforts. Bearing in mind the general assessment of the courses, globally they mentioned they are satisfied and that learning is their most positive aspect.

In short, we emphasize the added value that the EFA courses have as (new) opportunities for adult women to lead a successful professional life, at present or later, and, in the words of one of our trainees, with “the [...] confidence [...] to perform the required tasks.”

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Keywords

Adult Education and Training Courses (EFA Courses), Portugal, access to education, equal opportunities

INTRODUCTION

In the current Portuguese society, the age of 35 years can be considered as a landmark or reference, and up to this age young people and adults have been considered “digital natives” (Prensky, 2001; Rocha & Cardoso, 2015). And for these “digital natives”, gender inequality seems to blur, as witnessed, for example, in education levels, in the dynamism and integration in the work and in the hierarchical structures. However, adults over 35 years still seem to be associated with a high degree of illiteracy, leading to less qualified labor functions. In some cases, it seems to subsist a trace of dictatorship lived until 1974, in line with a rooted cultural tradition of gender where women are sometimes positioned away from the world of work and are (exclusively) dedicated to household chores, which can be perceived as a legacy of an inequality of opportunities in the right and access to education in a country where the historical memory goes back to the New State (1933-1974). During that period, women were considered solely as mothers and housewives, and their role was to stay at home and take care of the household and the children, giving them the education that they were denied. However, in those days, according to the law in force at that time, “(...) to teach children to read, write and count it is enough to know how to read, write and count and to know how to transmit what is known.” (Sampaio, 1976). Also, the Constitution of 1933 establishes the principle of equality between citizens before the law but, in the case of women, taking into account “the differences of their nature and family as well” (Pimentel, 2008, paragraph 9).

A married woman had no right to vote, nor to hold political office or equal rights in the education of their children and, although the unmarried woman was a citizen with full rights, no women could access certain professions, such as in politics or in the judiciary and diplomacy fields, which was an evident sign of discrimination. As a result, Portugal had the largest European illiteracy rate and the ratio of illiterate females was 10 % above that of illiterate males.

Thus, women were stuck in a clearly subordination position and, despite some sporadic initiatives to reverse the situation, the process of achieving the equal rights and opportunities to which they are entitled only truly began after the establishment of a freedom regime in Portugal (by April 1974) and, afterwards, when the country became a European Union member state (in 1986). Back in 1974, only 25 % of the workers were women, only 19 % of them worked out of the house, and mar-

ried women represented only 12 % of the share of female workers, earning about 40 % less than men. (Directorate-General of Social Security, 2014, p. 28).

Women achieved the right to vote in 1975, but only in 1976 a maternity leave of 90 days was granted to all working women and the Directive 76/207/CEE of the Council, of 9 February, is approved, on “the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion and working conditions.” (Directorate-General of Social Security, 2014, p. 33).

Portugal begins to draw an upward path in respect to women: in 1980 the girls enrolment rate in education was higher than that of boys (40 % against 34 %) (Brown, 2003, p. 7) and, in 1983, it had the third highest rate of female employment in Europe for the age group of 25 to 49 years old. However, there is still an “unequal relationship for both sexes” (Brown, 2003, p. 8); for instance, the unemployment rate for women remained higher, and has still improved with the recent economic and social crisis.

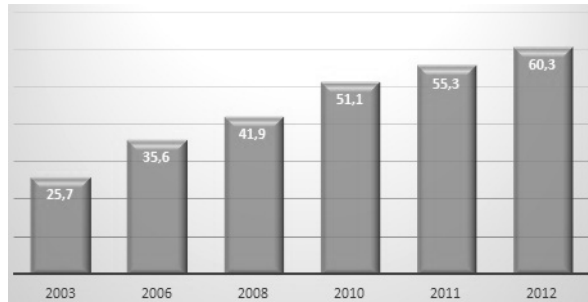
Contrary to expectations, presently, women’s “achievements in the labour market, at home, in the school discourses and in the society in general still cause concern” (Castanho, 2003, p. 8). An example of this is the lack of parity ratios in public office (Bettencourt et al., 2000).

Even though it is possible to associate the increase in the female activity rate with an emancipatory journey (Tavares, 2008, p. 584), some scenarios have known little change, namely: a) female labour remains cheaper; b) family responsibilities are still asymmetrically distributed; c) employers tend to penalise women, considering them as the only element with family responsibilities.

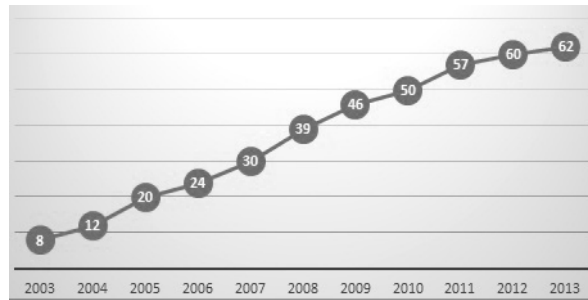
It is in this context that it is important to look for the presence of the women in the Portuguese educational offering, in particular those with family and work, which we propose in this text. We also aim at understanding the extent to which access to education and training, as well as to the economic and technological resources, can be translated into a more active and distinct role for women in the society.

PORTUGAL: A COUNTRY WITH (IN)EQUALITY OF GENDER?

Portugal is in a time of transition from industrial society to a networked society, and this highlights development indicators in different sectors, in particular regarding the use of Internet and broadband access (Graph 1 and Graph 2).



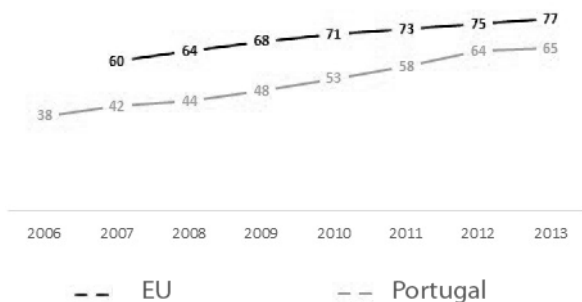
Graph 1: The use of internet in Portugal (%)



Graph 2 : Households with broadband internet connection (%)

Source: INE (2013)

The analysis of these two graphs allows us to witness a very positive percentage change, both on the use of the internet as on households, the latter showing an average annual growth rate of 22.7%, an indicator of “a tendency to a strong penetration of Internet based on broadband” (Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência [DGEEC], 2015, p. 13). Compared with the rate of use of the Internet in Europe (Graph 3), we perceive that the use of the internet in Portugal is closer to the average European levels. However, these numbers also show “that, under certain conditions, even when the degree of access increases, this could not be reflected directly in an increased use, as certain dynamics occur, specific to each country, which may explain the different rhythms of socialization in this technology.” (Cardoso et al., 2015, p. 100).



Graph 3: Internet users Rate (%)

Source: Eurostat

In fact, and although Portugal has “come to know a significant modernization process, translated into fields as diverse as (...) the feminization”, currently we are witnessing the association of “features and dynamics of modernity” with “traces of a more archaic society” (Cardoso et. al., 2015, p. 19), characterizing it as a “dual country” (Cardoso et al., p. 38). This duality is evident, for example, in the business, with a group of companies “strongly innovative, having highly qualified human resources, investing in new products and in multiple partnerships” and “coexisting with a set of non-innovative business structures, with low technological profile and little skilled labor” (Cardoso et al., p. 38).

Regarding women’s participation at work, although it has decreased in the last decade, decidedly high levels of employment have persisted since the early 21st century, recording “quite higher levels” compared to other countries close to Portugal in cultural terms (Cardoso et al., 2015, p. 53). This incidence, in full time work, across all social classes, even when the children are small, is justified by a dynamics of autonomy and independence of the Portuguese women, financial constraints, emigration and military mobilization of men (in 1960 and 1970). However, “many of the practices in the family (and beyond) maintain the contours of the traditional model of relationship between the sexes” (Cardoso et al., 2015, p. 70), namely: the participation of women in the workplace; wage inequality; the low rate of female participation in social and political life; the balance between work and family life – assumed to be essential for the country’s development, but that will require new perspectives and complementary efforts.

In short, Portugal still has gender inequalities that must be overcome. In this context, we should be concerned about the role that adult education can play on the road still ahead for the achievement of gender equality. In our view, we can also question if the adult education is already a locus of gender equality. Before we can enter

in a specific context, that of our teaching and research practices, we propose a look at the adult education in Portugal.

ADULT EDUCATION IN PORTUGAL

It is undeniable that “the low skill levels of the majority of the Portuguese population” (Cardoso et al., 2015, p. 41), and in particular of those who are old enough to participate in the labor market, is assumed to be an obstacle to a faster development for the network society. Thus, schooling and vocational qualifications are assumed to be a determining phenomenon “in the production of inequality mechanisms in Portuguese society” (Cardoso et al., 2015, p. 41) and reflect a weak business environment and low income by a wide range of its population. We think this scenario justifies an investment in the training of the entire population and, in particular, of assets and of women.

Even though the educational attainment of the younger population registers significant progress, the younger age groups remain poorly educated. It should also be noted that in that younger population, representing about 60% of graduates with a degree in higher education (Instituto Nacional de Estatística [INE], 2012), “women’s education levels of progress” (Cardoso et al., 2015, p. 41) appear.

In order to try to decrease the low educational ratios of the adult population and to be able to respond to the current economic and employment challenges, governments have made various efforts. However, we understand that these bets have mainly focused on education and training of young people, who have responded positively and massively. Nevertheless, and in an attempt to boost employment and reverse the current ratios, and as an “active employment policy”, three fields are implemented: employment, vocational training and rehabilitation, namely by the “Modular Training” curricular paths and the Adult Education and Training Courses (EFA Courses), the “second measure with the highest number of participants” (Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego [CITE], 2014, p. 49).

Still under a historical perspective, we can say that adult education has been the subject of several legislative changes since the early 20th century. Always regarded as “second chance” (Guimarães, 2011, p. 333), adult education has shown, from one government to the next, some development and growth efforts. In a more recent past, and only after formal education materialized in additional courses (in the 80s), recurrent education came to affirm itself. On the other hand, it could be seen from the 90s a co-responsibility and government awareness, as, for example, *The Literacy in Portugal. Results of an intensive and Monographic search* (1996), a work coordinated by the former Minister of Education Ana Benavente. At that time, the generational

gap, mentioned before, which triggered the inevitability of adopting a “new adult education policy” (Ávila, 2008, p. 325), was already evident. Also the international institutions, including UNESCO, corroborated this challenge confirming that “it was important for adult education to be gradually accepted in society” (Santos, 2013, p. 14).

Thus, together with following the Hamburg Declaration of recommendations on Adult Education in which, for example, adult education is considered as a right and duty of individuals, the various national governments have been trying to adapt the laws and practices towards lifelong learning (LLL) and training for all adults, in order to minimize the ratios mentioned before, in particular in the *Country Strategy Paper for the Development of Adult Education. An Educational Investment in the Participation of All* (Melo, Queirós, Silva and Ribeiro, 1998). This paper argues for “a general and accessible public network, oriented to the second chance on basic education”, encouraging partnerships and thus trying to articulate compulsory education and another approach based on the work of active groups in local communities. This document may not “be off the impact of the EU Guidelines” (Guimarães, 2011, p. 336), and it involved “a progressive approach between education and training” (Guimarães, 2011, p. 336), pushing for lifelong learning, in a joint effort between the Ministries of Education and Labor and Solidarity, and according to the EU recommendations.

Considering now, in more detail, the legislative and operational changes that were made, embodied in different works done and which have been pointed out, it is apparent that the aforementioned document (Melo, Queirós, Silva and Ribeiro, 1998) embodies the goals advocated by the EU within the adult education concerns, particularly with regard to lifelong learning, strengthening the idea of network as a “common area of regulation” (Cavaco, 2009, p. 336) and integrating the formal aspect (of compulsory education) and vocational training in charge (presumably) of popular education.

As a consequence of the strategic references outlined in the document of Melo, Queirós, Silva and Ribeiro (1998), mentioned earlier, which provided “a new adult policy (...) carried out by a dedicated structure for this purpose”, the National Agency for Adult Education and Training (in Portuguese ANEFA, *Agência Nacional de Educação e Formação de Adultos*) was established in 1999, with the following assignments: “the articulation of continuing education and training programs oriented towards the integration into the labor market”, “which included the design of education and training initiatives throughout life, reform of recurrent education (...) the preparation of recognition, validation and certification of competences by the 9th grade education” (XIV Constitutional Government Program, 1999, p. 32).

Among other initiatives, the Adult Education and Training Courses (EFA Courses) emerged, and they are of particular interest to us in this text.

Courses of Education and Training of Adults (EFA)

The EFA Courses emerged in 2000 as an alternative and response to adults' needs, within the government awareness that "raising the educational and professional qualification levels of the Portuguese population requires a strong commitment of the whole society, since sustainable development and the formation of 'social capital', in which contemporary societies are based, assume an increasing investment in the training of adults" (Official Dispatch No. 1083/2000 of November 20). The EFA Courses reflect, as a public offering, "the changes and the impact of a new policy (Barros, 2009a and 2009b) in the ways of thinking and acting of adult learning and trying to reverse the ratios of a underqualified and certificated population " (Melo, 2003, p. 37). However, in 2007, by the Ordinance No. 817 of July 27, the justification given for the creation of these courses is based on the promotion "to reduce qualification deficits of the adult population, participatory and responsible citizenship, as well as the employability and social and professional inclusion" (p. 4823). In 2011, and due to government and political changes, reference is made directly to its goal, i.e. to "adapt the framework of education approaches and adult education" in order to "ensure the population's access to qualifications and, simultaneously, the system's sustainability, through strict management of resources allocated to it." (Ordinance No. 283 of October 24, p. 4696)

Also in 2000, the EFA courses were only offered in basic education, because "Priority is given to active employees or the unemployed registered in the employment centers of the IEFP or indicated by other entities, including the beneficiaries of the minimum guaranteed income (RMG), those who are in retraining processes and employees in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs)." (Joint Dispatch No. 1083/2000 of 20 November, p. 18771) So, we can see that, and given the concern expressed in those laws to increase the level of qualification for the labor market, the creation of these courses has its focus in the public priority – citizens who could also contribute to the active life, providing them with technological skills. In 2007, and by the Ordinance No. 817 of July 27, the scope and extent of these courses is widened to secondary school. In fact, this gap existed at that time. Bearing in mind that basic education had opened up to this type of EFA courses in 2000, and that there also existed earlier alternatives for secondary education, recurrent education into credit modules was proposed (both in traditional and technological school branches). Thus, and in Article 1 of the mentioned Regulation, "the present law defines the legal framework of education and training courses for adults, hereinafter

EFA courses, of basic and secondary levels and levels 2 and 3 of vocational training”, according to “referential skills and training related to their qualifications within the National Qualifications Catalogue and grouped by areas of training, according to the National Classification of Education and Training Areas – similar to the existing Recognition, Validation and Certification of Skills (RVCC) and following the paths of dual certification” (p. 4823).

With regard to the pupils, in 2000, when these courses created, they were intended “for citizens aged 18 and above, unskilled or without suitable qualifications for entering in the labor market and who had not completed the Basic school of 4, 6 or 9 years.” (Joint Dispatch No. 1083 of November 20, p. 18771). Later, in 2007, and whatever the type and level of courses, all were intended to “people aged 18 years old at the starting date of the training, without proper qualification to enter or progress in the labor market and, primarily, those without the completion of primary or secondary education” (Ordinance No. 817 of 27 July, p. 4823). More specifically, “the candidates under the age of 25 years and being unemployed should be integrated preferably in dual certification EFA Courses”, and “the EFA courses that just give academic qualifications are intended, preferably, to active employees.” (Ordinance No. 817 of 27 July, p. 4823). It should be noted that the admission of candidates under the age of 18 years and provided they had entered the labor market could be possible, depending on an exceptional formal request to the authorities. The Ordinance No. 230/2008 of March 7 holds the same statements, adding just another condition, that “The EFA courses of secondary level, taught in daytime or full-time, can only be attended by adults aged less than 23 years.” (p. 1458) However, Ordinance No. 283/2011 of October 24 extended the access “for adults who held the 3rd cycle of basic education or the secondary level of education, who are aiming for a double certification; they can, whenever this appears appropriate, be developed only within the technological training component of the corresponding EFA course.” (p. 4696) Therefore, it can be concluded that, again, the concern to provide all these adults with the adequate tools and skills for the labor market is clear.

With regard to the curriculum, the courses of each cycle are regulated by an “integrative matrix” Key-Competences Taxonomy (Direção-Geral de Formação Vocacional [DGFV], 2006, p. 21), which allowed for both the construction and articulation of each Key-Competence Area. Thus, and for example for the secondary level, the taxonomy calls for a threefold function: i) to act as a guide and structuring framework for the recognition of skills acquired through uncompleted formal education or non-formal education and adults life experience; ii) to act as a plain device for the “curriculum design” of paths of education and adult education based on core competencies; iii) to act as a guide for the training of RVCC technicians and trainers

of the New Opportunities Centers (DGFV, 2006, p. 24). With an original curriculum design, the EFA courses can be divided according to:

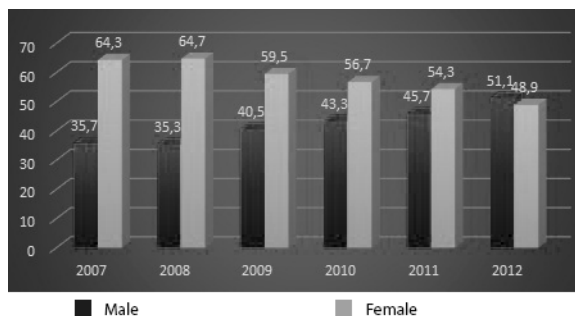
- a. the School cycle – Basic (1st, 2nd and 3rd cycle) and Secondary;
- b. the type - Scholar and Dual Certification.

Thus, the adult can obtain: a school certificate equivalent to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles of basic education and secondary education only if he or she meets the Competence Units (CU) / Short Term Training Units (STTU) of the key-competences areas; the qualification levels I, II, III and IV for the double certification courses (academic and technological). In this case, along with the school path, and aiming at meeting the EU's appeal with regard to the integration of the professional dimension, as well as of a civil society dimension, this offer is complemented by technological aspects in the areas outlined in the National Qualifications Catalogue. With regard to the EFA courses of basic level, these combine “the knowledge acquired throughout life” (Caramujo & Ferreira, 2007) with a self-directed learning, organized in four different key-competence areas. In turn, each area is decomposed into CU with 50 hours each: Language and Communication (LC), Mathematics for Life (ML), Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and Citizenship and Employability (CE), which can be added the Vocational Training (VT) for dual certification courses. With regard to EFA courses of secondary level, these are organized in three key-competence areas, each divided into STTU: Citizenship and Professionalism (CP); Society, Technology and Science (STC); Culture, Language and Communication (CLC), integrating Foreign Language and Technological Training (FLIT) for the dual certification courses, to which 200 hours of training in work context (TWC) are added, if the graduates no longer have a job activity in the area of the EFA course.

With regard to the assessment, the evaluation is only based on the assessment of the training. Indeed, summative assessment is excluded from the training practice as is defined by Ordinance 230/2008, being considered only for credit accumulation. The mode of assessment is thus formative assessment “that provides information on the development of learning in order to help on defining and adjusting processes and recovery strategies and deepening” (Ordinance 230/2008, p. 8). The validation of each STTU and subsequent certification of the course is done only with options “Validated” or “Not Validated”. That is, and as previously mentioned, summative assessment is not conclusive, nor is it seen in the traditional practice. It is also clear that Quantitative and/or Qualitative qualification is absent, as what is most important is the process of learning (Rocha and Cardoso, in press, p. 9).

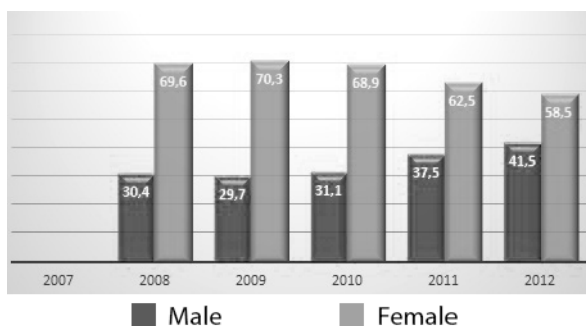
With regard to registration and certification (CITE, 2014), according to data provided by the National Agency for Qualification (in Portuguese ANQ, *Agência Nacional para a Qualificação*), it appears that from 2007 to 2012, the number of

women enrolled in EFA courses has declined, unlike the number of enrolled men (Graph 4).

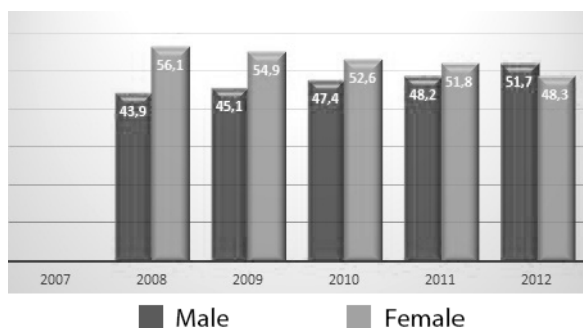


Graph 4 : Applications for EFA courses since 2007, by gender (%)
Source: ANQ (2013)

With regard to certification, and pursuing a look at gender, we can conclude that the total number of certified women is higher than men – 65.2% and 34.8% (Graph 5) –, although in partial certifications this is less significant – 51.9% and 48.1% (Graph 6).



Graph 5 : Total Certifications in EFA courses, by gender (%)
Source: ANQ (2013)



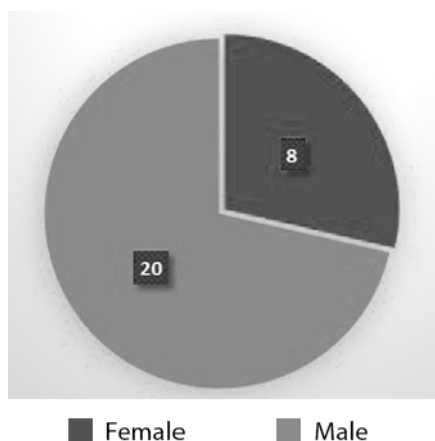
Graph 6 : Partial Certification in EFA courses, by gender (%)
Source: ANQ (2013)

METHODOLOGY

In the next section, we present a look at the female presence in EFA courses we coordinated and also in which we were trainers. To this end, we have set up, tested and validated a survey by questionnaire that we applied to adults of 6 classes of EFA courses, functioning in a night regime of a public school in Lisbon's eastern area. Methodologically, we opted for conducting an online survey to all students anchored in Google Docs. However, it was mostly completed in the classroom, being thus complemented by our observation. Regarding the data analysis, we have opted for descriptive statistics of closed questions and content analysis of open-ended questions, based on observations grids registered in Word documents.

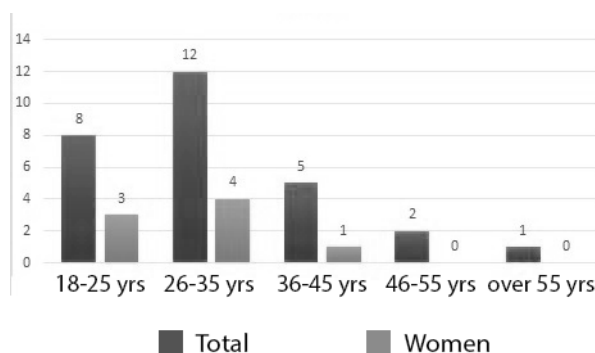
WOMEN IN PORTUGUESE EFA COURSES – DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The adults who answered to our survey are mostly male – 20, and only 8 female (Graph 7), of ages between 18 and over 55; these trainees are predominately aged under 35, including the women we taught (Graph 8).



Graph 7: Gender

Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)



Graph 8: Age

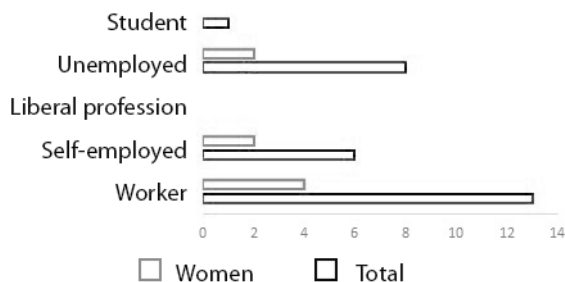
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)

In fact, and even if the two classes of the Course of Management Technical Support are heterogeneous, the three classes of the Course of Computer Science are entirely composed of men. Although some women had joined this course, the characteristics of this course (heavy workload, sometimes incompatible with work and family commitments) have determined their registration annulment. These results are consistent with the Portuguese panorama, which although has increasingly claimed to achieve equality of opportunities, and despite the efforts initiated in this direction, has not yet known the reverse of the trend of being a mainly male audience attending these adult courses.

In fact, the data now obtained in our study (with only 8 women) coincide with the national values (Graph 4). Along with the progressive reduction in the enrolment of adult females (2007-2011), the recent economic and social crisis that Portugal came across has made the situation worse, with women as the first target. Focusing on our study, if in the Basic Education and Management classes the women ratio was roughly equal to that of men, in computer classes there were only three women. In Portugal, whenever a crisis breaks out and there is a potential need to reduce jobs, women are always the first target of the employer when it comes to dismissals. With regard to equal rights in providing family support, although it has been subject to legislative change that grants equal opportunity to men, the practice goes against the will of the legislator. Thus, for people over 35 years of age, when it is essential to provide assistance to children, that obligation rests on women, which results in their temporary or even definitive absence from school.

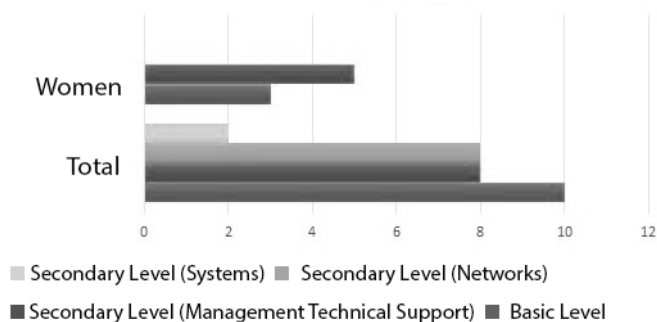
Thus, and in view of this finding, it is important to look for the female presence in the EFA Courses. That is why, in this study, we focus on the data of the 8 female respondents, analyzing it, however, in contrast with the overall results. Given the minimum age for admission to an EFA course – 18 years – and while the age range of the respondents varied between 18 and more than 55 years, women are concentrated in the age groups between 18 and 25 (3), only one in the range 36-45 years, and four aged between 26 and 35 years (Graph 8). This allows us to conclude of their maturity, since being in full performance of an active life.

In general, and contradicting the Portuguese national data, adults surveyed by us still do not have relevant qualification levels. Therefore, it is important to understand what their situation is regarding employment (Graph 9). And when inquired about this, we conclude that four are working on behalf of others, two are working on their own and two are unemployed (which could justify, in this case, the frequency of the course).

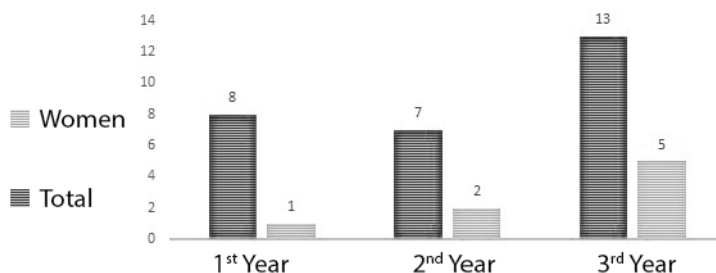


Graph 9: Situation regarding employment
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)

Looking now at the type of course attended, we can see that five of the eight women attended the Course of Management Technical Support (Graph 10), in the secondary level, 3rd year – five women – and 2nd year – two women –, and basic level – (Graph 11). We point out again that despite the initial enrollment in the two courses in computer sciences – systems and networks –the female trainees abandon them, as alluded before, due to the heavy workload and the nature of its content, combined with factors also already mentioned (the balance between personal, family and professional life). This fact allows us to conclude that the computer sciences still seem to be frequently and mainly associated with a male audience.



Graph 10: Type of course attended
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)



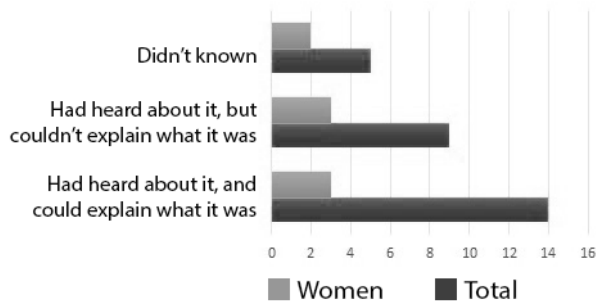
Graph 11: Year of the course attended
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)

We should recall that these courses have an average length of 3 academic years, and 5 of the 8 women who answered to our survey were already in the 3rd year (in fact, a few days after the application of our questionnaire they finished the

course). Then, we can consider that the experience of those trainees in particular may correspond to more consistent opinions about the functioning, constraints and valences of these courses, which we also analyse in this study. As such, the latest survey questions aimed at perceiving those aspects, enable each trainee to assess the course attended, an opportunity which until then had not had.

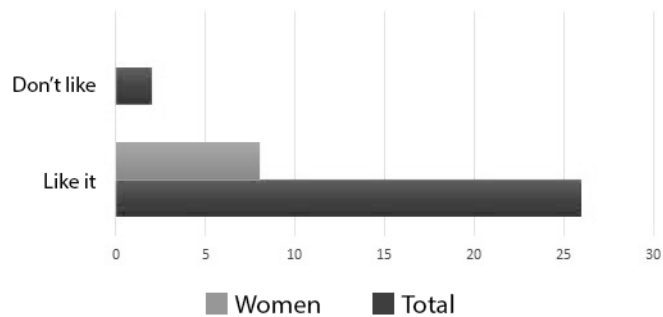
Another aspect should also be noted. Many of these women have decided to return to school without the employer's knowledge, for fear of the negative consequences, since inequality in wage and employment discrimination persist.

In this context, we started to inquire about the initial knowledge that they had of the course they were attending. We concluded that only two did not know what an EFA course was, while 3 had heard but could not explain what it was and 3 also knew what it was but said to be able to explain it (Graph 12).

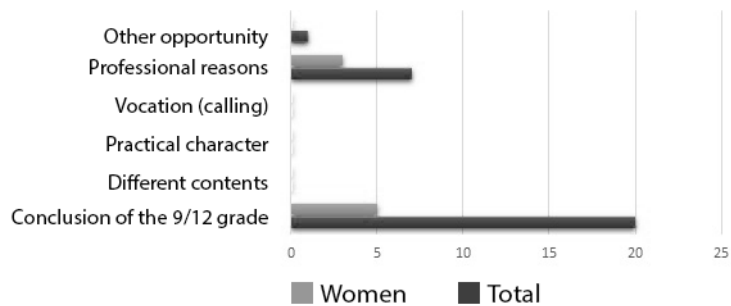


Graph 12: Previous knowledge of the course
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)

When asked about whether they liked the course they attended or not, the majority (6) said yes (Graph 13), and the main reason for attending the course, for five of them, is the completion of a level of education; for the other three the main reason has to do with professional purposes (Graph 14). In this case, and as for all the respondents, the values observed now are assumed to be important to the extent that, since this is a very specific type of course, and although at that time was not the only one available in the night shift, it is assumed as determining the adaptation to and the probability of concluding a new cycle of education.

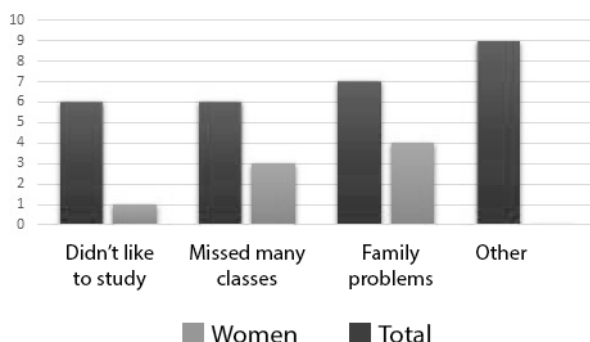


Graph 13: Appreciation of the course
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)



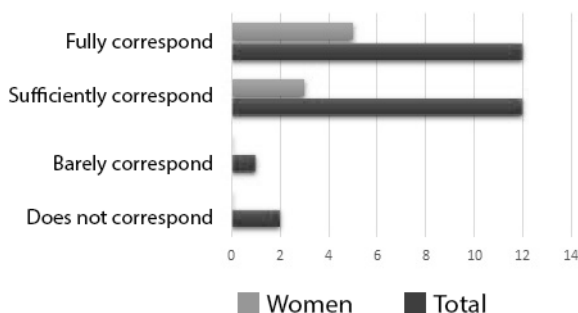
Graph 14: Reasons for choosing the EFA Course
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)

When asked about the reasons for their prior interruption of the studies (Graph 15), four women highlighted family problems and three the fact that they used to often miss classes a lot, and one said that she did not like to study. Thus, we can infer that all these adults share a past marked by a previous failure, which they are now trying to overcome with the most appropriate curricular path the Portuguese public education system offers them, adequate to their age.



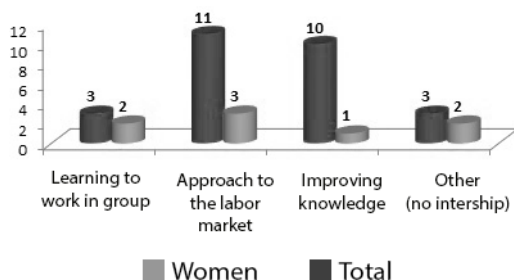
Graph 15: Reasons for prior school leaving
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)

It also seemed important that these adult pupils proceeded to the evaluation of both the course itself as well as each of its components. Thus, we find that both the course itself (Graph 16) as well as the basic training and technological elements fully or sufficiently correspond to most of their expectations, allowing us to conclude their appraisal for this opportunity, provided by the public school system in Portugal for adults to complete a school cycle.



Graph 16: Overall evaluation of the expectations on the EFA Course
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)

As for the most positive aspect of the EFA courses, and according to most of the trainees we surveyed, they highlight the act of learning. Regarding the internship, among the most positive aspects, three women referred to the approach to the labor market and two to the fact of learning to work in groups (Graph 17).



Graph 17: Internship's most important aspect
Source: Rocha and Cardoso (2015)

In short, what most pleased the women in the EFA course was learning, the acquisition of knowledge and the practical component (internship). In contrast, what they disliked the most was the lack of detail of some of the contents. A more thorough analysis, by type of EFA course, allows us to observe that the most important thing learned in the Basic Level EFA Course, which does not provide for Technological Training, was the basic training knowledge, as well as the specific content of Foreign Language and Citizenship. In turn, and regarding specifically the Technological Training, the answers focused on content and Short Specific Training Units of each course, namely Marketing and Human Resources.

Considering again the internships, the pupils of the Secondary Level highlighted some particular tasks linked directly to the area of the course. We emphasize by quoting the answer of an adult who wrote: "to have the confidence in myself to perform the required tasks", which allows us to conclude on the importance of this training component in a working environment. We should further reflect on this answer, since we would anticipate that, as adults, they had some prior knowledge of working in groups and teams. Hence, this result may be explained by no prior integration in the labor market or a personal insecurity that was overcome during the internship.

Finally, when asked whether they would recommend the EFA course to a friend or not, and because only one woman stated that she would not, we can emphasize the added value of this adult education and training opportunity in the Portuguese public school system.

Following the data presentation and discussion, hence concluded, we present some closing remarks in the next section.

CONCLUSIONS

Learning was the most relevant aspect of the EFA courses for the adults who participated in our survey, in particular the technological training fully satisfied their expectations. Probably because it has a more practical dimension, more connected to a working life that they already have or crave to have, and thus pushes them forward to an additional effort in the search for a better future. We are aware that this type of course, different from the traditional school path, previously attended by each of these pupils/trainees, requires, as just said, an additional effort, but it appears as one (or the) suitable response to the adult population. Nevertheless, we must emphasize that the night shift offer can not and should not be ignored, instead enhanced with new, different and broader curricular path implemented in view of adults' literacy and education. The effort that is required of teachers who teach the EFA courses should not be ignored either. Therefore, the training of teaching staff should be encouraged and complemented with the will of each teacher in realizing the dream of every adult in the desired success that they and all of us - as citizens and teachers - want.

In conclusion., one last remark in the quest for women's presence in the Portuguese EFA courses. Unfortunately, it is still far from being prominent, because of the low number of women who attend these courses. However, their assessment of the EFA courses is positive, since, despite being above the school age, their efforts in balancing family life, work and school, are clear and evident. This is a significant indicator of their drive to end a cycle of studies they did not complete before due to different factors.

Thus, aware of the precarious employment situation they sometimes face, and of the social instability repercussions of the economic crisis, the women in our study show themselves as persistent fighters, able to counteract all the vicissitudes, including family vicissitudes. It should be emphasized that the spirit of mutual help showed by the women together with a mostly female faculty has allowed them to realize their goal and dream: to achieve new skills in search of a better position in society.

And so, by believing in the potential of this adult education and training, an alternative and opportunity that (some) adult women have taken in Portugal to be and do better, we hope it will continue to be worthy of the attention of the political agenda, locally and globally.

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and Development

ISBN 978-86-80712-01-7