

4004  
13.05  
V 889

**VOICES IN GENDER AND EDUCATION**

**EXTENDED ABSTRACTS RECEIVED**

**CONTENTS LISTING**



**Adams, Kate**

Girls Curtsey, Boys Salute: Denying gender a voice in recollections of primary school

**Anderson, Viv**

Voices rebounding off a glass ceiling

**Arizpe, Evelyn**

Responding to a "Conquistadora": Readers talk about Gender in Mexican Secondary Schools

**Arnesen, Anne-Lise**

Inclusion and Exclusion Processes in School: Cultural Tensions in Social and Institutional Practices

**Attar, Dena**

Gender and literacy in close-up: a situated view from the Fact and Fiction Project

**Beloff, Halla**

Curricula Vitae: Miss Brodie and Dr Spark

**Bird, Elizabeth**

A Carrying Voice?: Women's Studies in the United Kingdom 1975-1995

**Blind, Ellacarin**

"Nomadskolan"-The nomadic school - A boarding school system for Saami children in Sweden.

**Bravette, Gloria**

From silence to revelation: an African Caribbean 'womanist' perspective

**Brine, Jacky**

The regionalized state and working class women

**Browne, Naima & George, Rosalyn**

'Are you in or are you out?' An exploration of girl friendship groups in the primary phase of schooling

**Clegg, Sue**

Gender and disciplinary discourses in HE

1. Gender  
2. Education

**Clouder, Lynn**

Multiple Voices, Multiple Selves: Narratives of a Student in Higher Education

**Coate, Kelly**

"She wasn't clever enough to be a lesbian": Coming out, Personal Experience and the Feminist Classroom in the 1980's

**Cohen, Michèle**

Without polish, the rough diamond does not shine: Changing ideals of education and the construction of the gentleman in eighteenth-century England

**Connolly, Paul**

Young Children's Voices on Boy/Girlfriends and (Hetero)Sexuality: A Critically Reflexive Account of the Role of an Adult, Male Researcher

**Dillabough, Jo-Anne**

The Study of Gendered Identities and Experiences in Education: A 'Simple' or 'Provocative' Question or Method?

**Doherty, Nida Home**

An emerging feminine discourse in educational theory

**Dutt, Shushmita**

Choosing a Better Tomorrow: The Role of Training and Education in the Agenda for Change

**Eagleton, Mary**

Provoking the Personal: Vociferous Voices in the Teaching of Women's Studies

**Earle, Wendy**

Do Boys Need Relationship Education?

**Epstein, Debbie**

Macho in the playground: football, fighting and the construction of heterosexual masculinities in the primary school

**Epstein, Debbie & Unterhalter, Elaine**

Gendering Education for Reconciliation: 'Femininity', Memory and Silence in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report

**Epstein, Debbie**

Disciplining and Punishing Masculinities

**Francis, Becky**

Lads, Lasses and (New) Labour: 14-16 year old students' responses to the 'laddish behaviour and boys' underachievement' debate

**Francis, Becky**

Modernist Reductionism or Post-structuralist Relativism: Can We Move On? An evaluation of the arguments in relation to feminist educational research

**Fraser, Wilma & West, Linden**

Some Women Speak Martian Too, Some Men Speak...

**Fuller, Mary & Dooley, Pauline**

It Takes your Breath Away: issues of voice and empowerment among girls educated in boys' schools

**Goodman, Joyce**

'Voices of authority': Sarah Austin (1793-1867) and National Education

**Griffin, Christine**

Discourses of Crisis and Loss: Theorising the "boys' underachievement" debate

**Hallden, Gunilla**

Young girls' voices in narratives about a future family life. Alliances with the children and positioning of the man as "The Other"

**Hammer, Merril & Paechter, Carrie**

Her Mother's voice: auto/biography within the family

**Howie, Gillian & Tauchert, Ashley**

Odd Fellows: The Female Subject of Academia

**Hughes, Gwyneth**

Towards a gender inclusive science curriculum: students speak about acceptance, rejection and reconfiguration of dominant discourses of science

**Jackson, Sue**

Challenging Voices: mythical discourses and invisible pedagogies - appropriating Bernstein for women in HE

**Kansy, Helga**

A Bilingual Voice in Gender and Education: In the Twilight Zone of Nowoman's Land

**Lenz Taguchi, Hillevi**

Power and Freedom in the usage of pedagogical documentation in Swedish preschool practice – poststructural readings.

**Letherby, Gayle & Marchbank, Jen et al**

Empowering and Enabling or Patronising and Pressurising?: opening dialogues with marginalised voices

**Lind, Ulla**

The apples of Eve - from the apple's point of view - or "To be eaten or not to be eaten? That's out of the question!"

**Lunn, Pam**

Integrating Gender, Faith and Learning: women's mid-life passage

**Morley, Louise**

Organising Feminisms: The Micropolitics of the Academy

**Morris, Jeanette**

Managing women: Caring, commitment and collaboration in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago.

**Odih, Pamela & Knights, David**

Personal Finance Education within Schools: a Rational 'Subject'. In Search of a Non-Dualistic Feminist Alternative to Masculine Pedagogical Projects

**Ohrlander, Kajsa**

Construction of Children's Need of Wage-earning Mothers.  
Control and emancipation of women within discourses on children's needs in Sweden in the 70th.

**Öhrn, Elisabet**

Contemporary Swedish gender research and debate: some reflections

**Parker-Jenkins, Marie et al**

Opportunities, Access and Social Exclusion: Young Muslim Women and their Career Aspirations

**Phillips, Angela**

Boy Villain: Girl Victim.

**Phoenix, Ann & Pattman, Rob**

Constructing self by constructing the 'Other': 11-14 year old boys' narratives of girls and women

**Pratt, Simon**

Against the Odds: A study of the identity formation and socialisation of older male adolescents

**Preston, Rosemary**

Gender, education and poverty

**Quinn, Jocey**

Listening to "the ladies who lunch": Discourses of gender and pedagogy in Higher Education



**Raphael Reed, Lynn**

Re-searching, re-finding, re-making: Exploring the unconscious as a pedagogic and research practice

**Rath, Jean**

Weaving Many Voices: A Layered Account Of Educational Experience

**Reay, Diane**

"Dim dross": Marginalised women both inside and outside the academy

**Redman, Peter**

'The discipline of love: negotiation and regulation in boys' performance of a romance-based heterosexual masculinity'

**Rhedding-Jones, Jeanette**

Foreign Voices: academic women and postcolonial English

**Robinson, Wendy**

"Less Intelligent and Lacking in Edge"? Female Pupil Teachers and Academic Performance

**Sánchez Bringas, Ángeles**

Culture and reproductive practices in Mexico City

**Siann, Gerda et al**

Plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose

**Sibbald, Ann**

A Personal Reflection of the Room at the Top Programme

**Skelton, Christine**

'Becoming macho': Infant boys, masculinities and schooling

**Smedley, Sue**

Men teachers: alternative perspectives

**Stepulevage, Linda**

Gender/technology relations: complicating the gender binary

**Swadley, Margo**

The voice on voicing in management? What women managers say about speaking out in the office

**Tett, Lyn**

Education's for other people - Voicing gendered experiences of participation in higher education

**Tu, Sheur-er**

Patriarchy and the Situation of Women in Higher Education in Taiwan

**Turner, Eileen**

College Equal Opportunities Policies :Words and Meanings

**Watts, Ruth**

Working and speaking for the dispossessed: a network of female reformers of the nineteenth century

**Webb, Sue**

'Speaking on behalf of...' Exploring gendered constructions of the authoritative voice in research with adult learners in higher education

**Weiner, Gaby**

Feminism, Gender and Teacher Education: a European Dimension

**Wenniger, Mary Dee**

The Changing Voices of Higher Education

**Whitehead, Stephen**

A desire to be: the pursuit of the masculine subject

**Wilson, Fiona**

Appraisal, Identity and Women Academics

## **Girls Curtsey, Boys Salute: Denying gender a voice in recollections of Primary School**

*Kate Adams, Faculty of Education, University of Strathclyde.*

A survey requesting at least three memories of Primary schooling produced a database of almost 200 respondents who attended primary schools in Scotland between 1907 and 1989. All types of school were represented, from small village or island establishments to large urban mixed schools. The bulk of the data was collected by e-mail from all categories of staff in two universities. With the benefit of hindsight, people recollecting primary school offer opinions on how the curriculum, discipline, etc. have been or should be improved since their day but this paper marks only silence on the issue of gender. Why should this be so?

The danger of analysing memories is encapsulated in Dewey's belief that "*the conscious adjustment of the new and old is imagination*" (quoted in Greene, 1996). This has two potential effects. One is to use mature knowledge to suggest that an advanced awareness was already present during primary school. Examples of this include a physicist describing / explaining the intricacies of the gas lighting system which existed in his village school, and a doctor reflecting on the poor hygiene of children's 'biological spills' being covered by sawdust and left lying in the classroom for the rest of the day. The other is the emergence in narrative of adult values which have been selectively neglected in western societies in the past because they were seen to be female focused as against the traditional male focused qualities that characterise a patriarchal society. Jodi Marshall's (1994) analysis of these values and qualities is not about distinction and separation but the opposite, but complementary, forces which characterise existence. The underlying themes are:

Independence / Inter-dependence

Focus / Openness

Control of the external world / Cycles of change and renewal

Questing outward / Looking within

Marshall summarises her viewpoint thus: "*There are qualities to which our culture has limited access, because they have been systematically suppressed.....Now some women and men are realising that our suppressed heritage is still largely untapped, and that public world values are often distorted as they are male values pursued in isolation*" ( 1994:168)

Marshall's lists of male and female values were used as a tool for the first analysis of the data. As might be expected from a sample from predominantly university employees approximately 10% of the female respondents showed independence and self-assertiveness as a quality along with 20% of males. Women expressing 'controlling' views accounted for only 2% of responses while men accounted for 12%.

Interestingly, rebellion against a past teacher's control provoked a stronger reaction from both sexes. The two values which produced the highest number of responses from both females and males were traditional 'female' values as described by Marshall but they are now both highly valued within some spheres of higher education. These were Interdependence and Reflectiveness or 'Looking within'. There is sufficient evidence of this to suggest that while the initial incident recalled may be true, the interpretative comment has often been influenced by the person's life experience and learning since the event.

These types of recollections are similar to 'constructed knowledge', one of five epistemological perspectives identified by Belenky et al.(1986) as useful in categorising how people perceive and respond to the challenges and problems they encounter in their lives.

The five perspectives are silence (denial of voice), received knowledge (reliance on the voice of external authorities), subjective knowledge (tuning into one's own intuitive voice), procedural knowledge (faith in the voice of reason) and constructed knowledge (integration of voices). These five perspectives provided a tool for a second stage analysis of the data.

High intensity stories are said to reflect their importance in a person's history and numerous examples of long-standing anger attest to the impact of seemingly small incidents in the lives of young children on adult views about equality and justice. Some of these are gender related but while the anger about punishment injustice leads to criticism of behaviours in the past, statements about gender often criticise the loss of a particular advantage to one sex, which had been traditional. Gender stereotypes were used extensively by teachers as a social control mechanism but the division of tasks, playgrounds, etc. is more often reported as received knowledge than as a topic which ought to be re-constructed. In the same way the automaticity of the sole male on the staff being the headteacher is never challenged. Gender stereotyping is not overtly problematised in reflections.

Clothing as a defining feature of gender occurs more frequently in female memories than male mainly through memories of individual teachers. This is the one area where the default setting is female. Gramsci's influential theoretical writings about cultural hegemony and resistance are central to understanding how the cultural is implicated in the maintenance or disruption of forms of power. It is significant that clothes which were associated with the power of the teacher were more often those which in fact marked their subservience to male rules. Male memories of school clothing are more concerned with short or long trousers being the mark of growing up and perhaps the fact that most young boys now wear long trousers means that resistance is reducing the subservience of childhood.

Walkerdine & Lucey (1989) analyse subjectivity in terms of competing irreconcilable and contradictory discourses. Identity is thus always understood as an incompleteness - a struggle and a process. If Gilligan's (1982) metaphor of voice is applied to this process, then 'finding' one's voice is an ongoing effort to let go of things that limit the capacity to hear and really speak. The findings of this study would suggest that in value terms, some women are learning to speak more assertively and that some men are learning to hear more sensitively.

Belenky, M., Clinchy, B., Goldberger, M. & Tarule, J. (1989) *Women's Ways of Knowing* New York: Basic Books.

Gilligan, C. (1982) *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Greene, M. (1996) *A re-reading of Dewey's Art as Experience*. in Olson, D & Torrance, N., (eds) *The Handbook of Education and Human Development* Blackwell

Marshall, J. (1994) *Re-visioning organisations by developing female values*. in Boot, J., Lawrence, J. & Morris, J. (eds) *Managing the Unknown by Creating New Futures*. London : McGraw Hill

Walkerdine, V. and Lucey, H. (1989) *Democracy in the Kitchen?* London: Virago

## **Voices rebounding off a glass ceiling**

*Viv Anderson*

*Leeds Metropolitan University*

### **The context**

In the literature, particularly in Britain, it is assumed that the glass ceiling is something which applies to women - that invisible barrier in organisations through which they may not pass. However, the Department of Labor's Glass Ceiling Commission in the United States has a much wider view, acknowledging, for example, that disabled people are under represented in better paid managerial and professional jobs and are over represented in lower paid and operator jobs (Hart 1997). This organisation clearly also accepts that black and ethnic minorities are also affected by the glass ceiling (Cheng, 1997; Russell, 1997).

Most local authorities have well developed equal opportunities policies as indeed does the one in the study being reported in this paper. It also has a long established equal opportunities unit and a women's committee. However the literature suggests (and the current study confirms) that to a large extent these initiatives have not impacted significantly on women's prospects for senior management (e.g. Halford 1992).

A diploma in Local Government Women Management Development, has been running for 5 years as a partnership between a local authority and a large new university. This is an accredited programme of study at undergraduate level 3, aimed particularly at women in the Local Authority who are below the glass ceiling (as identified by that particular authority).

There are three strands to the diploma: a taught element which includes sessions on personal development, background information on local government issues and career development; a ten day work placement; and a reflective practice assignment. For the assignment, the women maintain a journal throughout their time on the Diploma which is both a factual diary or history of their time on the programme, and a set of reflections on their experience of their journey over the period of study. In this way the women have an opportunity to synthesise their experience of work and learning and fit it into appropriate theoretical frameworks.

### **The study**

This paper will present the findings of a research study which explores and theorises the relationship between gender, management progression and positive action training. The research questions focus on the women's perceptions of the diploma in management in local government with reference to their personal and professional lives and the changing relationships between the two. Qualitative questionnaires were completed by 25 women and follow up in depth interviews were held with 21 women, across the four cohorts of the course. The following areas were probed in some depth:

- perceptions of barriers to career progression
- the women's definitions of broad conceptions of Glass Ceiling
- the women's definitions of the Glass Ceiling within the Local Authority
- organisational cultures and sub-cultures within the authority
- personal and professional change and the course.



The initial analysis of the data is consistent with the literature which currently exists in each of these areas. This study attempts to go beyond this, however, to make sense of the relationships between these areas in order to gain a greater understanding of the lived and worked experiences of the women in the study. To this end, in the paper and in the conference session, metaphor will be used to develop a framework of the personal and professional on which to map the women's perceptions of the effect of the glass ceiling, as defined by them, the barriers they face in career progression and the contribution the course made to different aspects of their lives.

In this session, which will be interactive, I would like to discuss aspects of the research which are exercising my mind:

- The relationship between researcher and 'researched' – how do you do justice to the voices of the women without drowning them out by theorising?
- How useful is metaphor as a means of gaining deeper understanding of process?
- How can women in large organisations get their voices heard in order to make a substantial difference to the glass ceiling, rather than making the few dents in it, which seems to be the situation at present?

I intend to use the women's voices in the discussion in order to maintain constant links with the data, the theme of focus being a recurrent one throughout this project, not only in research terms but in the women's descriptions of the place of the course in their lives.

*I always tell people it was my turning point...my perception of things and my view of things that's how it got better...I was able to focus...it built up my self esteem, it built up my confidence...a whole new perspective.*

### **References:**

Cheng, C. (1997) Are Asian American employees a model minority or just a minority? Journal of Applied Behavioural Science Vol. 33 Issue 3 September p.277-290

Halford, S. (1992) Feminist change in a patriarchal organization: the experience of women's initiatives in local government and implications for feminist perspectives on state institutions in Savage, M. & Witz, A. (eds) Gender and Bureaucracy. Blackwell

Hart, M.A. (1997) A not-yet-even playing field Across the Board Vol. 34 Issue 10 Nov/Dec p.56

Russell, M. (1997) Beyond 'sell outs' and 'race cards': Black attorneys and the straitjacket of legal practice Michigan Law Review Vol. 95 Issue 4 Feb p.766-820

Viv Anderson is a senior lecturer in the school of Professional Education and Development at Leeds Metropolitan University where she has worked for almost ten years. She previously worked in community education and in the equal opportunities field. Her first interest in higher education is in access and widening participation. Most of her current work involves

management development and personal development and she works with local authorities, the private sector and the voluntary sector.

## **Responding to a “*Conquistadora*”: Readers Talk about Gender in Mexican Secondary Schools**

*Evelyn Arizpe, Ph.D.*

*Researcher in education, free-lance writer (no institutional affiliation at present)*

In Mexico -as in most countries- social and educational practices present students with approved responses to historical or fictional characters in literary texts and this response will usually be centred on the gender of the main character(s). Although these responses are many times resisted or subverted by the students, they tend to remain unexpressed because there are few spaces for them to be heard. When they are expressed, they reveal young people's deep-rooted concerns and anxieties about gender issues. This paper presents the results of a study on gender and reading in secondary schools which also attempted to provide a space where Year 8 students' voices could be heard. This was achieved through informal interviews with twenty students on several adolescent novels, one of which relates the adventures of the little known historical figure of Maria de Estrada, the only woman who fought alongside Hernan Cortes during the Conquest of Mexico.

The paper draws from poststructuralist and feminist criticism, together with reader-response theory in the analysis of covert and overt structures of students' discourse. Analysis of the qualitative data is based on three related aspects: **1) conceptions about gender that are brought to and taken from the reading; 2) the power relationship between the reader and the text; and 3) the expression of response.** The purpose of this paper is to highlight the findings in relation to the particular story of Maria de Estrada.

A number of issues around feminism and masculinity (ie. femininity, *machismo* and homosexuality) were raised during the interviews by the interviewer and by the students themselves. They revealed the **conceptions** about gender roles, relations and conventions that these students were bringing to their reading. These conceptions were inextricably linked to their own experience as gendered subjects and, as this experience seethed under the surface of their more formal approach to the text, it sometimes erupted, pushing through and overthrowing set responses, demanding to be heard. *Rebellion, freedom, strength and hope* were some of the words that came up again and again. As these experiences were spoken and listened to, and as the story and character of Maria de Estrada challenged or supported them, students began to take a more critical view of their own and others' understanding of gender.

The **power relationship** between the readers and the text differed not only according to gender but also to the type of school (government or private). Students whose experience of reading had been limited because of socio-economic conditions were unsure of their abilities to engage with the texts and slow to voice their own opinions. Students who had more control over their reading (as a result of having more possibilities of individual choice in terms of libraries, purchasing power as well as private spaces to read) were able to question the text and the approved response with more confidence. This was particularly evident in the group of boys from the private school whose responses reflected a security in the knowledge that the future would provide them with the agency available to adult, upwardly mobile, heterosexual males in Mexico.



The **expression of response** revealed the influence of other voices on the students' response. In the first place, the voices of their peers: the interaction between the participants -which included supporting, interrupting, hesitating, teasing and contradicting- was different according to whether the groups were single-sex or mixed. In the second place, the voices of their parents/families: these were the basis for the young people's experience as gendered subjects. Last but not least was the school's voice, which dictated how a text should be approached but was for the most part silent on the subject of gender. The study showed how the official literature curriculum for secondary schools in Mexico supports the traditional male-female dualism through the prescribed texts and by allowing little or no space for students to discuss their concerns about gender issues.

In the final section of the paper, it is suggested that because the preconceptions about gender are constantly subjected to modifications by media, education and life experiences and because students were found to be conscious of shifts in gender patterns, it is possible to find ways in which alternative texts and characters -such as Maria de Estrada- can be presented and discussed so that the teaching of language and literature can be a means for empowering all students to be both critical and vocal readers.

## **Bibliography**

- Arizpe, E. (1994a). *Reading Response: The Reading Processes of Adolescent Reluctant Readers*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- Arizpe, E. (1994b). "Whose Spanish? Language and Literature in the Secondary School in Mexico", in Hayhoe, M. and Parker, S. (eds) *Who Owns English?*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Arizpe, E. and Arnot, M. (1998). *Adolescent Masculinity: a handbook of school investigations*, School of Education, University of Cambridge.
- Arnot, M. (1998). *Masculinity and Schooling. The Final Report, Project Arienne*. School of Education, University of Cambridge.
- Brown, L.M. and Gilligan, C. (1992). *Meeting at the Crossroads. Women's Psychology and Girls' Development*, London: Harvard University Press.
- Davies, B. (1989). *Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Davies, B. (1993b). *Shards of Glass*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Gilbert, P. (1987). "Post Reader-Response: The Deconstructive Critique", in Corcoran, B. and Evans, E. (eds) *Readers, Texts, Teachers*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, pp. 234-250.
- Gubb, J. and Arnot, M. (1998). *Boys in School: power, identities and anxieties. Research Finding, Project Arienne*, School of Education, University of Cambridge.
- Gutmann, M.C. *The Meaning of Macho: The Cultural Politics of Masculinity in Mexico City*, unpublished manuscript.
- Lather, P. (1991). *Getting Smart. Feminist Research and Pedagogy Within the Postmodern*, London: Routledge.
- Millard, E. (1997). *Differently Literate*, London: Falmer.
- Rogers-Cherland, M. (1994). *Private Practices. Girls Reading Fiction and Constructing Identity*, London: Taylor and Francis.

- Sarland, C. (1991). *Young People Reading: Culture and Response*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Tannen, D. (1994). *Gender and Discourse*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thomson, J. (1987). *Understanding Teenager's Reading*, Melbourne: Methuen.

## **Inclusion and Exclusion Processes in School: Cultural Tensions in Social and Institutional Practices**

### *Senior Lecturer*

*Anne-Lise Arnesen*

*Oslo College*

*Faculty of Education*

*AnneLise.Arnesen@lu.hioslo.no*

*Pilestredet 52*

*N- 0167 Oslo*

*Tel: +47 22452201*

*Fax: +47 22452135*

*E-mail:*

### *Introduction*

This paper draws on a research project on Student Differences and Marginalization in School with Special Reference to Gender and Social Background conducted as an institutional ethnographic study (Smith, 1987). International feminist and critical social theory research have in different ways provided invaluable contributions to understand social orderings based on gender, class and 'race' and processes of academic or social exclusion in school (Blyth and Milner, 1996; Taylor, 1991; Weiler, 1991; Mirza, 1992; Walkerdine et al, 1998; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Connell, 1996, Ôhrn, 1998). However, generally speaking, the plethora of educational research on marginalization have in recent years been devoted to the particular, the subjective, identity and the lifeworlds of the students or teachers. The particular classroom situations and the actors subjective accounts and experiences have become the central focus and the end product of the research. The collapse of 'grand theories' and dismissal of research which traditionally viewed experience and subjectivity as invalid or merely as material to be transformed into abstract categories and concepts within a framework of all-encompassing theories, seems to have had the effect that few attempts have been made in later years, at least in the Nordic countries, to bring the small narratives into a search for connections to institutional relations of power and ruling extending the observable, the local and the construction of meaning.

Furthermore, relatively little attention has been devoted to the complexity of processes of marginalisation due to contradictions which are embedded in social and institutional practices and in the subjective and collective experiences of active actors in a particular social setting. Hence, I am attempting to explore these complexities by focusing on tensions between processes of inclusion and exclusion (Booth, 1996) and the interrelatedness between local social activities and experiences and institutional and discursive practices of power.

### *Theoretical considerations*

I take processes of exclusion and inclusion to mean processes embedded in dynamic social and institutional practices which will influence or determine students' participation in, perception of and experiences of being part of the mainstream school (Booth, 1996). The 'cultural' is pointing to social and collective aspects of discursive practices and organisation which have significance for inclusion and exclusion of individuals and groups in school (Foucault, 1977/95). 'Culture' is referring to generalising and generalized organisation of everyday life in school and socially shared mental representations (Dijk, 1991). In this paper, I focus in particular on the tension and disjunction between desire (collective values and goods: e.g. belonging to a social community) and 'actual reality' (contradictory institutional tension between inclusion and exclusion: e.g. equality as sameness and grading).

### *The design of the study*

Institutional ethnography as outlined by Dorothy Smith (1987) is a methodological inquiry strategy which try to put together the actual, local social practices and experiences of active subjects and the extra-local institutional relations of ruling. The particular local situations in which particular people act and experience is taken as an entry for inquiry of a particular phenomenon, from which extended inquiries and analyses can be carried out, to trace how the local and particular are embedded in institutional relations and ideologically organised (Smith, 1990).

The material reported here was collected from observation in three schools, including informal discussions and recorded qualitative interviews with students of 13-15 years of age and their teachers. Written student narratives of school histories of events of significance to them were also collected. The material was taken from the formal and informal everyday life of the schools.

### *Stages of analysis*

The paper seeks to trace the phenomenon under scrutiny, marginalization, through a process in which the entry of inquiry is to explore how this phenomenon looks like, as it is experienced and described by various members and actors in schools in great detail (cf. an ethnomethodological approach, (Garfinkel, 1984) ). By taking the accounts and experiences of the various members of the school community, I am trying to find out how things are working and the social ordering of daily activities which have bearings on marginalisation of students. These accounts form layered narratives: the researcher's, the various teachers', the various students', as contrite and in as much detail as possible. Accounts of the organisation of the particular school class which is studied in much detail according to gender, ethnicity, language are provided, as well as features of teaching strategies and practices.

The later stages include a process of empirically and analytically tracing the institutional discourses, their historical roots and their organisation, which regulate and influence the events in the local setting but may not be observable to the actors. The attempts to extend the analysis is done in a way that directly seeks to trace these extended social orderings and the institutional relations of ruling as they emerge in and through the local.

### *Some conclusions*

Student failure and exclusion processes tend to be inscribed into cultural categories that may legitimate certain ways of action and also may work as concealments of gaps between 'reality' and cultural values. Segregated programmes particularly meant to solve problems of control and discipline, tend to be obscured by rhetoric to the effect of 'needs of the student' rather than the need of the school, also in cases where the schools obviously fails in their expressed intention.

Discursive practices among teachers about classrooms and students contain implicit meanings of valuation and devaluation that may have an impact on the relations to their students; affecting whether they think of them as 'real' and legitimate students of the class. Throughout the study, both explicit and implicit notion of social hierarchies have been displayed based on gender, social class, 'race', school attainment etc..

The organisation of textual practices (rules, routines, regulations, reporting, discourses) seems to throw light on how certain orderings of school practices are maintained in spite of observable failure in providing inclusive social and academic environments for learning, reported by both teachers and the students.

### **Bibliography:**

- Blyth, E. and Milner, J. (1996) Exclusions. Trends and issues. In E. Blyth and J. Milner (eds): *Exclusion from School. Inter-professional Issues for Policy and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Booth, Tony (1996) Stories of exclusion: Natural and unnatural selection. In E. Blyth and J. Milner (eds): *Exclusion from School. Inter-professional Issues for Policy and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Connell, R.W. (1996) Teaching the Boys: New research on masculinity, and gender strategies for schools. *Teachers College Records Volume 98, Number 2*, Colombia University.
- Foucault, Michel (1972), *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language*. Translated from French by A.M.Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, Michel (1977/1995), *Overvåkning og straff. (Surveillance and punishment)* (Oslo, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag).
- Garfinkel, Harold (1984), *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gullestad, Marianne (1992), *The Art of Social Relations. Essays on Culture, Social Action and Everyday Life in Modern Norway*. Scandinavian University Press.
- Holland, Janet, Blair, Maud og Sheldon, Sue (eds): *Debates and Issues in Feminist Research and Pedagogy*. Multilingual Matters Ltd Clevedon, Philadelphia, Adelaide in association with The Open University.
- Mac an Ghaill, Mairitin (1994), *The making of men. Masculinities, sexualities and schooling*. Buckingham. Philadelphia: Open University Press
- Mirza, Heidi Safia (1992), *Young, Female and Black*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, Dorothy E. (1987), *The Everyday World as Problematic. A Feminist Sociology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press



- Smith, Dorothy E. (1990), *The Conceptual Practices of Power. A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Taylor, Sandra (1991), Feminist classroom practice and cultural politics: some further thoughts about 'Girl Number Twenty' and ideology. *Journal of Theoretical Studies: Media and Cultures*, 11 (2), 22-46.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1993), Analyzing Racism Through Discourse Analysis. Some Methodological Reflections. In Stanfiels II, John H. and Dennis, Rutledge M. (eds.): *Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications. International Educational and Professional Publisher.
- Walkerdine, V., Lucey, H. and Melody, J. (1998) Class, Attainment and Sexuality in late 20<sup>th</sup> Century Britain. In P. Mahoney and C. Zmroczek (Eds) (forthcoming): *Women and Social Class*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Weiler, Kathleen (1991), Freire and a Feminist Pedagogy of Difference. *Harvard Educational Review*, 61 (4), 449-74.
- Öhrn, Elisabet (1998) Gender and Power in School: On Girls' Open Resistance. *Social Psychology of Education* 1: pp. 341-357.

**Gender and literacy in close-up: a situated view from the Fact and Fiction Project.**

*Dena Attar*  
*Fact and Fiction Project*  
*Research & Graduate School of Education*  
*University of Southampton*

The current "moral panic" in the UK about boys' underachievement rests largely on evidence showing a gender gap in literacy, for instance the gap between girls' and boys' SATS scores in English. There is now considerable quantitative evidence that such a gap does exist in the UK. Survey evidence also points to another kind of literacy gap, between girls' and boys' reading preferences (Hall & Coles 1996, Roehampton Institute 1996, Millard 1997). The facts that in general boys do not read as well as girls and read more non-fiction have been well publicised, but less is known about why and how this occurs, and whether these differences connect.

The Fact and Fiction Project was a two-year ethnographic study partly designed to address boys' under-achievement in literacy by reviewing their development as readers at home and in school, and in particular how they used fact and fiction texts. It was not set up to look at boys only, or at under-achievement in isolation. We approached literacy as a gendered social practice, looking at how girls and boys aged between 7 and 9 used a range of texts in various social contexts.

The research was based in four contrasting primary schools. Through observation, tape recordings, photography, text audits, questionnaires and interviews we collected data on the kinds of reading that go on at home and at school. Our focus was never on readers alone, or texts out of context, but always on the literacy events which bring readers, texts and contexts together.

The findings from different sites showed that each school's distinctive reading curriculum, formal and informal, was a significant influence. No single factor completely determined a child's orientation towards reading. Schools' own versions of the reading curriculum and the differential opportunities for reading they provided, along with pupils' assessed abilities, home backgrounds and gender, were all important factors. The affordances of individual texts also mattered at any one time. The gender politics of literacy came into focus when the meeting points of readers, texts and contexts were looked at in close-up.

In our data, teachers tended to notice boys' aversion to reading fiction where that applied, but did not tend to notice girls' aversion to non-fiction. Teachers in the case study schools were on occasion consciously adopting strategies designed to increase boys' interests in reading. Boys' perceived interests, such as football, were catered for officially in school as part of the reading curriculum much more often than girls' interests.

Boys were observed taking up opportunities to pursue their own agendas, using texts in a range of different ways - networking, competing to announce knowledge, establishing friendship pairs and groups. In less official contexts, texts were often identified as gendered by both girls and boys, and boys openly disparaged girls' interests.

Using data from recordings of literacy events and interviews, this paper looks at some examples of eight and nine year old boys' and girls' interactions with a carefully chosen range of mainly non-fiction texts, both familiar and unfamiliar. The data revealed differences in the way children position themselves in relation to the texts, and differences in readers' resources in relation to the affordances of the texts: what they were able to draw on in the texts and what they could bring to them. The findings enabled us to raise questions about two of the approaches frequently recommended as helpful in raising boys' achievement - mobilising boys' stereotypical interests in the classroom, and emphasising non-fiction texts. They suggest that these approaches on their own do not necessarily lead to more sustained reading, and reinforce the need to keep in mind the social context of reading (Moss and Attar, forthcoming).

Looking at gendered readers and texts close up in this way also enables us to respond to the suggestion that boys are acquiring superior skills as multi-modal readers (Kress 1998) that will advantage them in the longer term. The project's findings showed that what children actually do with texts reflects their experiences and motivation in a complex way.

A close-up investigation which takes into account readers, contexts and texts together does allow us to explain the gender gap in literacy, though not simply, and can help suggest constructive and less simplistic ways to address it.

References:

- Hall, C and Coles, M. (1996) The children's reading choices project. Nottingham University Roehampton Institute, Young People's Reading at the End of the Century, CLRC, Roehampton
- Millard, E. (1997) *Differently Literate*, Falmer Press
- Moss, G. and Attar, D. (forthcoming) *Boys and Literacy: Gendering the Reading Curriculum*. in *School Culture*, ed. Jon Prosser, Sage.
- Kress, G. Boys' underachievement, *The Independent*, 11 June 1998.

### **Curricula Vitae: Miss Brodie and Dr Spark**

*Halla Beloff*

*International Social Sciences Institute  
University of Edinburgh*

This paper will explore traditional barriers to women's higher education and their outcomes considering two case histories, that of a fictional character and of her creator. Bars to their academic development and to the use of their skills, but not their wits, will be discussed.

Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* as a novel, film and play has entered the canon of C20 fiction and the eponymous heroine has indeed become a by-word for a certain sort of teacher. We know that she was based on a Miss Christina Kay who taught Muriel Spark and in her autobiography Spark has described aspects of her teacher's real life and her influence.

It is possible to consider Miss Brodie as one typical career woman of the inter-War period. Although grounded in the Presbyterian culture of Edinburgh, there will be those beyond Scotland who recognise some of their own teachers. The constraints against marriage and the bonds of gentility surrounding the profession, undoubtedly injured their spirit. However, these teachers did provide 'their girls' with an extra rich environment, beyond any national curriculum. Miss Brodie's enthusiasm for fascist leaders might be linked with her romantic fantasies within the rubric of the Authoritarian Personality. However, the girls remained immune to both temptations.

Muriel Spark herself, pursued a successful but idiosyncratic school career, achieving early recognition as a poet among her peers, her teachers, and the literary world. Lack of money prevented her from going on to Edinburgh University, although not her brother. She was steered to a secretarial course and work in several 'suitable settings', starting with a superior department store in Princes Street. Seeking experience of life, she followed a 'normal' feminine trajectory which included marriage, motherhood, emigration because of her husband choice and divorce.

Her middle career involved literary administrative work, ill-paid and unappreciated, while continuing a single-minded commitment to her identity as a writer - of poetry, literary analyses and eventually fiction. Her wider recognition came through the entirely democratic means of winning a short story competition.



In the later period, her prime, she has not only published some 30 books but received high acclaim, including numerous awards, an Honorary Doctorate from Edinburgh University and the order of DBE.

A social psychologist's commentary here would note the importance of a self-chosen social identity which can provide strong support from its reference group even without a face-to-face membership possibility. For both case histories, this can be considered to have been that of an intellectual, an observer of the social scene. The creation of such a worthy identity within a valued and respected in-group becomes an effective reward, in spite of years of lack of recognition by the mundane surroundings. This model of understanding, can be placed within Tajfel's inter-group theory and its revisions. The construction of such an identity takes place within ascribed group memberships, but extends to the self-selection of alternative achieved identities which provide more energy and commitment than plain conformity offers.

Many barriers, both structural and social have fallen and great frustrations alleviated. (Although now the economic one comes again to the fore, paradoxically under a Labour government.) Has the partial liberation involved costs? Some might suggest the creativity that can come from being placed outside the run of conventional ambition and career paths. The successors of Brodie and Spark should beware of losing the lateral talents and values of their fore-mothers.

Siann, Gerda (1994) Gender, Sex and Sexuality. London: Taylor and Francis

Spark, Muriel (1965) The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie. London: Penguin Books.

Spark, Muriel (1992) Curriculum Vitae. London: Constable.

Tajfel, Henri (1982) Social Identity and Intergroup Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### **A Carrying Voice?: Women's Studies in the United Kingdom 1975 - 1995**

*Elizabeth Bird*

*University of Bristol*

*Department of Drama: Theatre, Film and Television*

The paper will provide a preliminary report on research being carried out this year into the origin of Women's Studies in the UK in terms of how it entered the academy. The research looks at women's studies as a degree subject, both postgraduate and undergraduate, in both pre- and post- 1992 universities, and identifies when, how, and why the degree programmes came into being. Questions which were posed at the outset of the research included the relationship of Women's Studies to other subjects and faculties; the 'name' of Women's Studies as opposed to Gender Studies or Feminist Studies; the debates over integration 'versus' autonomy; multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary study; organisational and institutional structures; the sexual politics of the academy; the role of the market and student demand.

The paper will look at the period leading up to 1975, and the development of courses both for and about women from 1975 onwards, in the context of the early days of the Women's Liberation Movement. The rhetoric of struggle, of giving women a voice and of breaking silences, will be linked to the conference theme. How difficult was it for the women who introduced such courses to speak in their institutions, whose voices were raised in support and what sort of voices tried to shout them down? Once the courses were established did they help to break silences and to give women a voice? Which women, whose voices? How do the women who were responsible for introducing both new content, and new ways of studying, into the academy, feel about the process as they now look back over twenty years? Can women's voices now be heard in the academy or is it still a place where the dominant registers are bass, baritone and tenor? Has shouting down been replaced by shutting down?

The paper will begin with a brief discussion of the methods of research and invite comments on the tricky issues raised about institutional and individual confidentiality and anonymity. As the prime method of investigation has been one-to-one taped interviews there will be two 'soundbites' from the original data which will be selected to provide examples of strong voices in the context of a discussion about whether institutional pressures can lead individuals to ask that their voices be silenced or muted.

By the time of the conference, the field work for the research, which is supported by a grant from the Leverhulme Trust, will be largely complete. The UK fieldwork comprises interviews with over 30 women who hold or have held academic posts in British universities and were involved in the period from 1975 to 1995, and the paper will be the first attempt to analyse the data. There will also be comparative data from North America - Canada and the USA - based on a very recent trip, but this will not be analysed.

An attempt will be made to summarise the preliminary findings in terms of themes which seem to be emerging as dominant concerns:

- where Women's Studies sits in institutions, where it has sat, and how often the seats have been moved
- Women's Studies versus Gender Studies - current and past views
- the relationship to the women's movement
- why no Feminist Studies?
- the chimera of interdisciplinarity
- what happened to Feminist Pedagogy?
- 'contentious' issues - men, sexuality, cultural difference
- pros and cons of the 'marketisation' of higher education
- pros and cons of the RAE (Research Assessment Exercise)

Participants will be encouraged to provide their own 'stories' and to suggest ways in which the story might be modified or revised in the light of experiences in other places or institutions. As the period of the research ends in 1995, there will not be much exploration of the 'shutting down' question other than to report back very briefly from North America and on strategies which are being adopted in some institutions. Above all the paper will seek to thank all the women who have allowed their voices to be heard.

## Bibliography

AARON, JANE and WALBY, SYLVIA (eds) (1991) *Out of the margins : Women's studies in the Nineties* London The Falmer Press

BIRD, ELIZABETH *Interdisciplinary Ideals and Institutional Impediments : A Case Study of Postgraduate Provision in* LOUISE MORLEY and VAL WALSH (eds) (1996) *Breaking Boundaries: Women in Higher Education* London Taylor and Francis

BIRD, ELIZABETH (1996) *State of the Art: Women's Studies in European Higher Education* *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 3 (2) 151- 165

BOXER, MARILYN J (1982) *For and about women: the theory and practice of women's studies in the United States* *Signs* 7 (3) 661- 695

HINDS, HILARY PHOENIX, ANN AND STACEY, JACKIE (eds) (1992) *Working Out: New Directions for Women's Studies* London The Falmer Press

### **“Nomadskolan”-The nomadic school - A boarding schoolsystem for Saami children in Sweden.**

*Ellacarin Blind*

*Department of Saami studies*

*Umea university*

*S-901 87 Umea*

*Sweden*

*E-mail:Ellacarin.Blind@samiska.umu.se*

This paper deals with the questions how identity and ethnicity of Saami children have developed during their stay in a special Saami boarding school.

The Saami people live in the northern part of Scandinavia in Norway, Finland, Sweden and in the northern part of Russia. They are also the indigenous people in this part of Europe.

Since the 19th century the Saami people in Sweden have had a special boarding school system, in Swedish called “Nomadskolan” (“The nomads school”) It still exists, but is today called “Sameskolan”(“The Saami school”) There is only one boarding school left. The other ones are closed.

My study deals with the children of Saami people in Sweden who lived on boarding schools from 1950-1970. These boarding schools were built specially for the Saami children. The Saami children were in “the nomadic school” from grade 1 to 6 (age 7 to 13). The school included both education and living, so the children lived in this institution. The children were forced to live in this system because their parents were nomades, following their reindeers all round the year. During the summer they moved up to the mountain and during the winter they moved to the forest area in the northern part of Sweden. Having lived

on a boarding school for six years as a Saami child myself, I will bring to the thesis an "inside perspective". The aim of my thesis is to see how identity and ethnicity of Saami children have developed during their stay in a boarding school. Hence I want to raise questions like:

- In which way did the Saami children develop their ethnicity at the boarding schools?
- How did the children manage the separation from the family?
- Did the children loose their mother-tongue at the boarding school?
- What was the purpose of the boarding schools for the Saami children?

In my paper I also want to raise gender questions:

- Were the girls treated harder and more badly because of their sex?
- What reflections do grown-up Saamis have today about the period of living on a boarding school and do men and women have different opinions about this life experience?

Method: Life-history interviews with 24 informants aged 40-55 from 8 different nomadic schools in Sweden.

Key-words: Ethnicity, Saami children, boarding schools, gender.

## **FROM SILENCE TO REVELATION: AN AFRICAN CARIBBEAN 'WOMANIST' PERSPECTIVE**

*Gloria Bravette, PhD MBA  
The Business School  
South Bank University*

### **INTRODUCTION**

As I engage in personal enquiry exploring the context of my professional practice as an educator I find that I am being pushed to explore dynamic concepts such as *identity*, *gender* and *race*. This paper seeks to explore these concepts from my centre as a woman of dual heritage: British culture (culture of residence) and African Caribbean (culture of origin). I emphasise this point because too often as the 'other' in British society I speak not from the centre of my reality but from a place that is deemed to be 'acceptable'. Malik (1996) writes about how 'culture' has replaced 'race' in politically correct discourse. Thus I find myself pushed to talk about 'culture of residence' and 'culture of origin' rather than writing directly and openly about British culture being 'white' and African Caribbean culture being 'black' along with all that these two very political racial descriptors mean in the world. The focus of this synopsis of a fuller paper will be on silence as a social construct that makes issues such as race a taboo subject.

### **METHODOLOGY**

The data for this paper was collected through the use of personal and collaborative experiential action research and action inquiry methods. This involves me engaging in first, second and third person research as I explore the nature of my professional practice and the issues that arise for me. In the initial stages of my research, action research, as conceptualised by Kurt Lewin, has been my main methodological frame for developing theory from my practice. Action researching involves reiterative cycles of planning, acting, observing, and reflecting leading on to further cycles. Systematic engagement with my



practice through multiple cycles enabled me to identify the issue of silence in my experience as a problem leading me to identify means of breaking that silence as appropriate.

### **SILENCE AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT**

Engaging in personal inquiry enabled me to understand the extent to which I was in denial of myself as a woman of African Caribbean descent and the fear that I experienced at even acknowledging my Blackness within, for example, the University context where I work. As a result of this understanding I was to engage in repeated cycles of action research/inquiry as I challenged myself to break the silences which I increasingly experienced as being dysfunctional. Reviewing the literature around the subject of silence was to provide me with deeper insights into the complexity of my silences. An important realisation was when I identified my silences to be the result of my socialisation and the taboo, which exists around the subject of race and 'blackness'. Hofstede (1984) refers to culture as mental programming arguing that every nation has a considerable moral investment in its own dominant mental software. In relation to the individual's status to society the individual is penetrated to the very core by culture and grows into 'normality' quite unconscious of those colossal social forces that have shaped and moulded their personality. This was as true for me as a woman of African Caribbean descent living in British society, as it is for the indigenous population. If this is true, society, including its taboos, is very much present in the individual. Other scholars, notably Frankenberg (1993) and Thomas (1989), have also identified race as a taboo subject. Thomas (1989) highlights an important point when he notes that taboos operate on two levels: they both forbid action and also the reflecting on what is forbidden. This is no doubt the reason why I have found working with this subject matter such a difficult one, because even the thinking about the subject as been both painful and problematic.

The experience of the racial taboo was for me a denial of my 'black' self and the experiences of being 'black' in 'white' society. An example of the acceptance of this taboo, which quickly comes to mind, is claims of colour-blindness from white colleagues! As Black people we also have to claim our acceptance of this taboo as we also enter into a conspiracy of silence. In effect a conspiracy of silence has been agreed; a silence which while adaptive has a price (Dasberg, 1991). To acknowledge race and colour would be to acknowledge the reality of race relations in the society, the irrational feelings of superiority and inferiority, of privilege and oppression, of guilt and of shame.

This taboo is carried into the workplace where Penfold (1992) identifies 'conspiracies of silence' within professions as being commonplace: racism only happened prior to government legislation but now everyone's got equal opportunity policies; it (racism) is a thing of the past; the adoption of a 'we-they' attitude to racists; professional protectionism and the denial of racial feelings that hinder personal disclosure. We also have the 'no problem here brigade' with issues being pushed into the unconscious creating many more symptoms of ill health. The profusion of these claims and the eloquence with which they are often presented has often left me uncertain, isolated in the academy and therefore silent. Bowers (1992) voiced the opinion that "*the deviance manifested in victimisation (i.e. racism) and its corollary, the conformity of silence, are oppressive social forces ...*". Here we see identified an example of the forces, which pushes black people to perpetuate their own oppression by conforming through silence on issues, which are detrimental to their well-being. My experience shows that these behaviours are also common in the classroom and can result in a process similar to brainwashing in which individuals relinquish their own

identity and develop robot-like patterns of adaptive behaviours in order to maintain or gain acceptance. This acculturation process indicates the reasoning behind the strong motivation to identify with the culture of power and to reject a culture (race) which has been devalued by society. What is yielded instead is a process of internalisation where reality is de-realised through the conspiracy of silence leading to a spiral of shame, self-blame and alienation from self.

I acknowledge that there is a difficulty in speaking one's mind truthfully in a culture which conspires to deny and silence the knowledge of black people in the same way that white feminists would argue that their knowledge has been denied and silenced (Wooley, 1992). I also recognise that there continues to be a major challenge that I face: continuing the process of breaking out of silence (identified by Freire (1970) as the culture of the oppressed); exploring how to bring my whole self into my professional context; finding the courage to continue to face the '*strong social forces*' that would prefer for me to remain silent and silenced.

### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Bowers, L B (1992) Acting Out and the Dynamics of Victimisation, *Pastoral Psychology*, 41(1) pp23-30.
- Dasberg, H (1991) Why We Were Silent, *Israel Journal of Psychiatry & Related Sciences*, 28(2) pp29-38.
- Frankenberg, R (1993) *The Social Construction of Whiteness: White women, Race Matters*, Routledge
- Freire, P (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Penguin Books.
- Hofstede, G (1984) *Culture's Consequences*, London: Sage Publications.
- Malik, K (1996) *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society*, Macmillan.
- Penfold, P S (1992) Sexual Abuse by Therapists: Maintaining the Conspiracy of Silence, *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health*, Spring, 11(1) pp5-15.
- Thomas, D A (1989) Mentoring and Irrationality: The Role of Racial Taboos, *Human Resource Management*, 28(2) Summer, pp279-290.
- Wooley, S C (1992) Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas and the Enforcement of Female Silence, *Women and Therapy*, 12(4) pp3-23.

### **The regionalized state and working class women**

*Jacky Brine*

*Department of Educational Studies, University of Sheffield*  
*j.brine@sheffield.ac.uk*

In this paper I present a feminist perspective on the social and education policy of the European Commission. I shall argue that education and training (E&T) policies lie at the interface of economic and social policy and that these are directly related to issues of globalization, regionalization and the nation state. More specifically I will focus on 'the unemployed' who, within the framework of the European Commission's social policy, are targeted through post-compulsory education and training policies that are increasingly linked

to welfare policies and state benefits. These policies reflect a pathological discourse of unemployed people in which the problem of unemployment is seen as lying with the person rather than with the state or the global economic system. Women, especially working-class women, and more particularly working-class lone mothers (black and white) are stigmatized, pathologized and blamed for their unemployment, poverty and 'dependence' on the state.

Common features of globalization include economic and cultural globalization, global technology and global capital. The debate over globalization versus internationalization rests on the role of the state (Ohmae 1990; Hirst & Thompson 1996). Despite the forces of globalization, the state continues to act within the global economy and in the development of economic and social policy. However, as the state's control of the economy dwindles, so its hold on social policy increases - especially welfare and education. One effect of globalization is increased unemployment and insecure employment. Working-class women provide a never-ending global supply of the cheapest, most flexible, easily discarded labour. Reports show that the under-educated and those with low educational attainment are most likely to become the long term unemployed (OECD 1992). Furthermore, the long term unemployed are most likely to experience poverty and to be excluded from other areas of social, civil and political life (Ramprakash 1994). The racialized and classed gendering of the labour market, reinforced by welfare policies, increase the likelihood of unemployment amongst working-class women.

Regionalized blocs such as the EU are seen as both a reaction to, and a constitutive part of, globalization (Brine 1999). The dominant discourses in their construction are those of economic growth and peace. There has been a shift from the original concern with economic growth and external peace to that of internal peace - peace within and across the member states. Powers are shifted from the nation to the regionalized state and are hotly contested. The transfer of powers are accompanied by the construction of a European community that is linked to new concepts of identity, citizenship and inclusion, and in including some states and persons, this community constructs excluded 'others'.

The welfare state plays a key role in addressing the social inequalities of economic globalization. Yet the state is not totally passive to globalization: it is faced with choices, and generally, it chooses to reduce welfare provision and it chooses where it will be reduced. The trade-off between equality and unemployment leads to the trimming of state welfare benefits (Esping-Andersen 1996). This trend is reinforced by the move to EMU.

From the beginning the EU has expressed the need to develop a common E&T policy. Until the mid 1980s, E&T policy was framed, within the economic discourse, by arguments of 'human resources' - that is policy related directly to the labour market. The Commission's contemporary E&T policies are located at the interface of economic growth and peace. These policies serve three key functions: first, linked to the discourse of economic growth, they train and retrain workers for the labour market. Second, linked to the discourse of peace, they target funds and policies to address the social effects of economic growth: social exclusion and social unrest. Third, linked to the regionalized state, they construct the identity of the state and develop the concept of citizenship.

Benefit-linked training programmes for unemployed women and men play a pivotal role in the changing welfare state. The discourse of derision (Ball 1994) suggests that, as unemployed people are 'dependent' on state benefits they need 'encouragement' into work.



This discourse of the pathologized 'unemployed' is a late twentieth-century take on the concept of dependency explored by Fraser & Gordon (1994). This pathologized representation is generally accepted by the employed, and frequently internalized by 'the unemployed' - responsible for their own 'failure'. The effects of this discourse and its actions are punitive in two ways. First, economic: the threat of the loss of benefits. Second, the compulsory occupation of people's time, not as a means of progress towards employment but as a refined version of the qualifying criteria for state benefit.

Until recently, lone mothers were seen as 'deserving' recipients of state benefit. In one policy step, lone mothers have been discursively shifted to become undeserving. From within an equal opportunities discourse they are now being targeted for inclusion in the labour market. Within the welfare state, greater demands are being made upon apparently insufficient resources, so lone mothers are removed from state responsibility. Advice, guidance and training are the steps from 'benefit dependency' to employment - more discursive than practical. Compulsory work experience, as part of the training package, provides a cheap source of flexible labour. The punitive nature of such programmes is seen most clearly in Wisconsin where 'you work or you don't get paid'.

Significant in this repositioning of lone mothers from the deserving to the undeserving poor is that it is framed within the discourse of equality, a discourse that addresses issues of dependency, lack of opportunity, and inferred assumptions of inability. A discourse that speaks of a route towards economic and social respect. Yet, crucially, this route demands enough employment opportunities for there to be 'full employment'. The key point is that within the globalized economy such employment opportunities do not exist - at least on the scale needed. In stead of employment opportunities we have opportunities for employment - a highly significant discursive difference.

Ball SJ (1994) *Education reform: a critical and post-structural approach*, OU Press.

Brine J (1999) *underEducating women: globalizing inequality*, OU Press.

Esping-Andersen G (ed) (1996) *Welfare states in transition*, Sage.

Fraser H & Gordon L (1994) A genealogy of dependency: tracing a keyword of the US welfare state, *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society*, 19(2): 309-36.

Hirst P & Thompson G (1996) *Globalization in question*, Polity press.

OECD (1992) *Adult illiteracy and economic performance*, OECD.

Ohmae K (1990) *The borderless world*, Collins.

Ramprakash D (1994) Poverty in the countries of the European Union, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 4(2):117-28.

## **'Are you in or are you out?' An exploration of girl friendship groups in the primary phase of schooling.**

*Naima Browne and Rosalyn George. Goldsmiths College, London.*

There is currently a growing body of literature exploring the nature of girl's friendship patterns in schools (Hey, V., 1997, Quicke, J. and Winter, C., 1991, Nilan, P. 1991). The majority of this research, however, has focused on girls in their 'teen years', i.e. those in key stage 3 and beyond, and has explored the cultural practices which underpin friendship groupings and their networks. Any work related to the primary phase of schooling and friendship patterns has tended to be about collaborative working groups, adult child relationships, and girls' willingness to conform to school structures and organisations.

Girls do form friendship groups from a very young age and this paper intends to explore the emotional and social dynamic of girl's friendship groups in the primary phase of schooling. Previous research by one of the authors of this paper suggests that some primary head teachers viewed the particular groupings of girls as providing mutually supportive contexts for group members. Through detailed discussions, interviews and observations of girls in years 2, 4 and 6 of three urban primary schools, plus discussions with their class teachers, we aim to provide an insight into the organisation of 'friendship' groups and the role they play in defining the quality and nature of girls relationships and their social networks at school. To this end, we will examine how friendships impact on the girls, and their views of 'self' as people, as learners and in their school persona. Through semi-structured interviews of girls in groups and individually, from key stage 1 through to key stage 2, we expect to gain an insight into the factors which influence the rules which govern groups, the makeup of the groups, e.g. size of groups and length of membership, and the group hierarchies as they exist. We intend to further examine how the complex social processes which characterise such hierarchies affect the explicit performance of group members within the classroom.

Nilan, P. (1991) Exclusion, Inclusion and Moral Ordering in Two Girl's Friendship Groups in *Gender and Education Vol 3, No.1*

Hey, Valerie (1997) *The Company She Keeps. An Ethnography of Girl's Friendship.* Buckingham, Open University Press.

Quicke, John and Winter, Christine (1995) 'Best Friends': a case study of girl's reactions to an intervention designed to foster collaborative group work in *Gender and Education Vol. 7. No. 3.*

## Gender and disciplinary discourses in HE

*Sue Clegg*

*School of Professional Education and Development, Leeds Metropolitan University*

*Deborah Trayhurn*

*School of Information Management, Leeds Metropolitan University*

The paper considers the ways in which gender continues to influence the pattern of recruitment both IT and design courses (Clegg, Mayfield, Trayhurn 1999). Fewer women are attracted to Product Design and Industrial Design (Mayfield 1997), and there has been a decline in the proportion of women on computing courses (Wright 1997, Siann 1997). While there has been work that has looked at gender inequality in single discipline areas little work has looked across subjects. We propose a theoretical reformulation away from an equal opportunities approach which identifies women as the 'problem'. The paper attempts to characterise the discourses of design and computing, and in particular, gendered notions of technology (Clegg, Mayfield 1999). We report on data from a small scale case study in a UK higher education institution where new students were interviewed about their choice of course.

We found a widespread commitment to individual creativity on the part of both women and men on design courses. Students described themselves as 'always' having made things and being creative. However, it was clear that technical competency was defined in highly gendered terms. The laboratory and the workshop are still experienced by women as naturalised male tools and spaces. The use of computers in design was thought to be problematic by both men and women, but women were more likely to experience computer laboratories as places where they felt marginalised. Pre-university experiences on Foundation Courses was the central influence on course choices. Influential mediated assessments about students' creativity which, when mediated through gendered assumptions about technology, steered women away from Product Design and into Interior and Graphic Design.

There is more research on gendered choices in IT and our interviews confirmed the pattern of recruitment. Women with previous game playing experiences, and school computing as male dominated. Both men and women showed an awareness of gender in these contexts and commented on women's low participation. Many women had prior involvement with computers through clerical and administrative applications. This gave women a secure sense of their own personal competency. They were aware however that secretarial and administrative posts represented a 'dead-end' for women and entry into higher education was one way of advancement. Women and men had both instrumental and intrinsic reasons for entering higher education, but while computing was intellectually challenging it was experienced as a form of individual creativity. Our interviews suggest that instrumental reasons for choosing courses are balanced by intrinsic satisfaction, but that pleasure was more to the fore in design.

We argue that both design and IT are gendered discourses. Notions of the technical and creativity interact in design to produce gendered outcomes. In IT the technical is mediated through its association with male dominated school experiences and games playing (Elkjaer 1992, Kirkup 1999). On both courses women's extensive experience of various technologies gave them personal confidence but was not sufficient to shift the idea that some technologies are male. We argue that we need theories of technology and creativity which can sustain a non-deterministic account of the development of technology in the various disciplines and which opens up spaces for different practices which are gender inclusive.

The gender and technology debate is relatively theoretically mature in IT. We would argue, however, that we need to focus more attention on the practices of doing technology which break from the association of computing with science and mathematics. Alison Adam (1997, 1998 ), an AI practitioner, has focused on the need to understand what computing is rather than work with outdated notions of computing practice. There is a danger of accepting hypostatised characterisations of computing and thus theorising about gender and computing based on ideological conceptions of IT. Our work feeds into this broader project by suggesting that computing should be characterised as a 'concrete science' (Collier 1997) which is inclusive of end-users, many of whom are women (Clegg 1999). As design education moves to embrace new technologies a revised understanding of computing is necessary if the hope of women designers, that computers are '*less male identified*' (Farrelly 1995) than previous design technologies, is to be realised. Unless different models are available for both women and men we will fail as educators to recognise and value a multiplicity of practices, both practically and theoretically. We risk continuing to see women as failures if we do not notice what they are doing as opposed to what our inadequate theories suggest they should be.

## References

- Adam, Alison (1997) What Should We Do with Cyberfeminism? in: Lander, R. Adam, A. (Eds.) *Women in Computing* (Exeter, Intellect Books).
- Alison, Alison (1998) *Artificial Knowing: gender and the thinking machine* (London, Routledge).
- Clegg, Sue (1999) Is Computing Really For Girls? A Critical Realist Approach To Gender Issues In Computing, in: Potter, G. Lopez, J. *After Postmodernism: An Introduction to Critical Realism* (London, Athlone) (Forthcoming).
- Clegg, Sue; Mayfield, Wendy (1999) Gendered by Design: how women's place in design is still defined by gender, *Design Issues* (Forthcoming)
- Clegg, S; Mayfield, W & Trayhurn, D (1999) Disciplinary Discourses: a case study of gender in information technology and design courses *Gender and Education* Vol 11 No 1 pp 43-55.
- Collier, Andrew (1997) Unhewn Demonstrations, *Radical Philosophy*, 81, pp. 22-26.
- Elkjaer, Bente (1992) Girls and Information Technology in Denmark - an account of a socially constructed problem, *Gender and Education*, 4, 1/2, pp. 25-40.
- Farrelly, Liz (1995) Mysterious absence at the cutting edge, *Eye* 5, 19, pp. 6-7.
- Kirkup, Gill (1992) The Social Construction of Computers: Hammers or Harpsichords? in: Kirkup, Gill; Smith Keller, Laurie (Eds.) *Inventing Women Science, Gender and Technology* (Cambridge, Polity).
- Mayfield, Wendy (1997) Women's Participation in Product Design Education , *Journal of Design and Technology Education*, 2, 2 pp. 128-133.
- Siann, Gerda (1997) We Can, We Don't Want to: Factors Influencing Women's Participation in Computing, in: Lander, R. Adam, A. (Eds.) *Women in Computing* (Exeter, Intellect Books).
- Wright, Rosemary (1997) Women in Computing: A Cross-National Analysis, in: Lander, R. Adam, Alison (Eds.) *Women in Computing* (Exeter, Intellect Books).



## Multiple Voices, Multiple Selves: Narratives of a Student in Higher Education

*Lynn Clouder,*

*Department of Continuing Education, University of Warwick*

M: My major role is that I am a Christian  
that comes first  
because that filters down into everything else in my life  
and I feel that that has to be...  
the leading thing.  
My second role is as a wife  
and it sounds awful,  
maybe not as a mother  
maybe the wife comes before mother  
sounds awful  
I don't see a lot of her really.  
L: You don't have to prioritise.  
M: No, but the student isn't that high up actually  
sometimes you feel like it's  
taking up your life  
but really...  
because I'm still living at home with my family  
that comes first.  
I think you could let it take over your life  
but it's only part of it  
I want it to be only part of it  
I don't want it to be....  
I'm a daughter, stroke carer, counsellor  
with my parents - an arbitrator  
I'm a little sister.

This paper focuses on the development of several different narrative voices of Mary, a mature student, on an Occupational Therapy degree course in the United Kingdom. This section of interview transcript originates from the first of a series of interviews spanning a period of three years. The response was elicited by questioning Mary about how her new student identity fit into her life outside the university. My question is interpreted largely as one of roles which I now realise is not uncommon. Ideas were generated with ease, suggesting that she had already given some thought to her own multiple identities or selves possibly with the advent of joining the course and the need to assimilate and accommodate new demands (Breakwell, 1986).

Identity is a complex cognitive construct referring to who or what one is and to the meanings and values attached to oneself by self and others (Gecas & Mortimer, 1987). Debates surrounding issues of unity versus multiplicity of selves are not new (Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1959). Poststructural interpretations of the self, are not of one self but many selves, fragmented and operating in a variety of social milieu each demanding different responses. This notion of multi-faceted, fragmented and ever-changing identities (Blair, Holland &

Sheldon, 1995) echoes the contemporary social world of uncertainty and transience. However, Giddens (1991, p.189) juxtaposes crisis and opportunity in suggesting “Modernity fragments; it also unites” advocating that contextual diversity has the capacity to promote an integration of the self. The ‘multivoicedness’ of a dialogical self supports the notion of ‘unity-in-multiplicity’ and ‘multiplicity-in-unity’ (Hermans, 1997).

My aim is to share my experience of the use of a narrative approach, in exploring the development of Mary’s ‘multivoicedness’, and to discuss the methodological issues which narrative raises, both in terms of the nature of the research interview and the impact of theoretical perspectives on what became a dialectical process. I wish to highlight the potential of narrative as a dynamic, granting voice to multiple identities on the grounds that dialogue is not merely indicative of, but partially constitutive of, an emergent self (Collins, 1998). West (1996, p.10) suggests:

“Medium and message, narrative and experience, reality and representation, self and story, are not easily prized apart. Story itself is a vehicle for experiment in self composure: the more a story convinces others, whether teachers, students or researchers, the more it may constitute a new, emerging reality”.

Whilst acknowledging the centrality of Mary’s story, I realise that since the interview is a process involving both interviewer and interviewee in a “a carnival of voices” (Collins, 1998, p.5), this paper may be also a vehicle for the expression of my own emerging multiple selves.

## References

- Blair, Maud, Holland, Janet with Sheldon, Sue (1995) *Identity and Diversity: Gender and the Experience of Education*. Clevedon: Open University.
- Breakwell, Glynis (1986) *Coping with Threatened Identities*. London: Methuen.
- Collins, Peter (1998) Negotiating Selves: Reflections on ‘Unstructured’ Interviewing, *Sociological Online*, 3 (3), <<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/3/3/2.html>>
- Gecas, Viktor & Mortimer, Jeylan T. (1987) Stability and change in the self concept from adolescence to adulthood, in Terry Honess and Krysia Yardley (eds.) *Self and Identity: Perspectives Across the Lifespan*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Goffman, Ervin (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Hermans, Hubert J. M. (1997) Dialogue Shakes Narrative: From Temporal Storyline to Spatial Juxtaposition, *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4), 387-394.
- Mead, George Herbert (1934) (1934) *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago, University of Chicago.
- West, Lindon (1996) *beyond fragments: adults, motivation and higher education*. London: Taylor & Francis.

**Biographical Details:** Lynn Clouder is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Health and Social Sciences at Coventry University and is a part-time PhD student in the Department of Continuing Education at the University of Warwick.

## **"She wasn't clever enough to be a lesbian": Coming Out, Personal Experience, and the Feminist Classroom in the 1980s**

*Kelly Coate*

*Institute of Education, University of London*

Students today who are new to Women's Studies as an academic subject area in higher education are likely to read in one of the many, recent textbooks designed for introductory courses that Women's Studies is about 'experience'. From the early days of the Women's Liberation Movement the slogan 'the personal is political' has been linked with consciousness-raising practices and a liberating educational agenda. Yet the use of personal experience in Women's Studies and feminist classrooms has often been an ambiguously defined project that is generating an increasing amount of critical analysis. Early theoretical work tended to unproblematically relate the use of personal experience to empowerment, and celebrated the moments in the feminist classroom in which students successfully made the connections between social theory and their own lived experience. The 'liberating' potential of these practices has recently been called into question, usually through an analysis of 'difference' and the complexities of power relationships in the classroom. This critical analysis has yet to fully infiltrate the Women's Studies literature in the UK (although (Welch, 1994) is one contribution): it is more popular in the area of cultural studies (see, for example, Canaan and Epstein 1997), and particularly through Australian and US feminists with educational backgrounds (for example, Ellsworth, 1989; Luke, 1998; Gore, 1993).

The paper was motivated in part, as almost all papers on feminist pedagogical practices are, by my own experiences of teaching Women's Studies. As a new lecturer in Women's Studies, I encouraged my students to relate their own experiences to the topics on the syllabus. During a session on sexualities, one of the students made a highly personal disclosure about her own (hetero)sexual experiences. At the time, I perceived this disclosure as a mark of success of my own pedagogical strategies: she must have felt 'safe' enough in the classroom to reveal an intimate moment in her life so publicly, and the other students successfully made connections between her experience and oppressive practices of heterosexual sex. Yet this incident has troubled me ever since. The fact that we were discussing heterosexuality, even through a critical perspective, was indicative of that particular course. The few students who 'came out' as lesbians did so only tentatively in their classroom journals which were not for public discussion. It was not their responsibility, however, to educate the heterosexual students (Morley, 1997). I wondered what other voices were 'silenced' on that course, and recognised that it was my responsibility to correct this distortion.

McLeod discusses the dangers of 'valorising' students' 'heartfelt experiences', in a 'teaching-as-therapy' mode. She argues that feminist pedagogies are becoming a much more 'sexy' topic than other potential sites of analysis in feminist teaching such as curriculum or assessment (McLeod, 1998). Personal experience has been privileged in feminist pedagogies in part because it offers a rich variety of data, often focusing on intriguingly intimate and emotional moments of confession. It is difficult not to become 'voyeuristic' in either the classroom or the published literature, and this realisation has made me question my own celebration of this students' disclosure (not to mention that I am guilty of all these charges by raising the issue in this way).



I relate this particular teaching experience to my research on the history of Women's Studies in higher education in the UK. This project uses a case study approach focusing on four higher education institutions in which feminist academics have integrated feminist scholarship into the curriculum with varying degrees of success. The quote in the title of the paper refers to an incident discussed during an interview with a feminist academic who has been teaching on a Masters degree programme in Women's Studies since the early 1980s. During the early years of the course, a lesbian student decided to 'come out' to the rest of the class, only to find that the subsequent theoretical discussion raised by other lesbian students was so alienating that she dropped out of the course. As this lecturer said, she felt she wasn't 'clever enough to be a lesbian'. What do these pedagogical moments tell us about the development of feminist pedagogical practices throughout the past two decades?

The focus of the paper will be a critical reflection on the use of personal experience in the classroom, through an analysis of interviews with former students and lecturers of Women's Studies and feminist courses during the late 1970s and 1980s. The stories these women told me, sometimes as much as eighteen years later, still resonated with emotion, anger and frustration. These experiences highlight the difficulties and complexities of emancipatory educational projects. The tensions arising from these pedagogical moments can be related to the lack of a clearly defined pedagogical strategy, or the ambiguity around the purpose of using personal experience. The classroom discussions are largely dependent upon the students who choose to enrol on the course, and the experiences they bring with them. Are their disclosures a 'resource' (an addition to our knowledge about women's experiences), or are they part of a process of consciousness-raising, or are they a way for students to gain power and authority within the classroom? More importantly, if personal experience is privileged in the classroom, what issues are not being raised, and how are they raised if students have not had direct experience of them?

This concern is particularly salient in terms of sexualities and 'race', and this paper will use an historical perspective to analyse the discourses around these issues and how they have evolved as Women's Studies has become more established in the academy. In order to understand the Women's Studies 'legacy' I have inherited as a new lecturer, it is important to situate feminist pedagogical theories in their historical context. Rather than unreflexively adopting a teaching practice which privileges experience, the stories from the early years of Women's Studies should provide a framework for understanding the origins of this practice and the tensions which have marked its incorporation into higher education. One of the central concerns of Women's Studies today must be an awareness of the 'voices' that have been silenced, and developing a reflexive approach to feminist pedagogical strategies which uncover these voices without losing students on the way.

#### References

- Canaan, J. & Epstein, D. (Eds) (1997). *A Question of Discipline: Pedagogy, Power and the Teaching of Cultural Studies*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Ellsworth, E. (1989). Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59(3), 297-324.
- Gore, J. M. (1993). *The Struggle for Pedagogies: Critical and Feminist Discourses as Regimes of Truth*. New York: Routledge.
- Luke, C. (1998). Pedagogy and Authority: Lessons from Feminist and Cultural Studies, Postmodernism and Feminist Pedagogy. In D. Buckingham (Ed), *Teaching Cultural Studies: Beyond Radical Pedagogy* (pp. 18-41). London: UCL Press.

McLeod, J. (1998). 'Experience' and the Women's Studies Curriculum. Paper presented at the Winds of Change: Women and the Culture of Universities Conference University of Technology: Sydney, Australia.

Morley, L. (1997). *The Micropolitics of the Academy: Feminism, Equity and Change*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College London.

Welch, P. (1994). Is a Feminist Pedagogy Possible? In S. Davies, C. Lubelska, & J. Quinn (Eds) *Changing the Subject: Women in Higher Education* (pp. 149-162). London and Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis.

Kelly Coate is a Research Officer at the Institute of Education, University of London. She is currently completing a PhD (funded by the ESRC) on the history of Women's Studies as an academic subject area in higher education in the UK. Her research interests are the higher education curriculum, feminist pedagogies, the history of the women's liberation movement, and recent changes in the higher education system in the UK. She has taught and published in the areas of Women's Studies and feminist theories in education, and has been an active member of the Women's Studies Network (UK) Association.

**Without polish, the rough diamond does not shine: Changing ideals of education and the construction of the gentleman in eighteenth-century England**

*Michèle Cohen*

*Richmond, The American International University in London, and Visiting Fellow in the History Department, Institute of Education, University of London.*

'What shall I do with my son?' With these words, John Locke begins an imaginary conversation with a father about the respective merits of a private or public education. How should boys destined to be gentlemen be educated? privately- at home with a tutor- or publicly, at school? This is the issue which, in his treatise Some Thoughts Concerning Education, Locke placed at the centre of the debate on education. It was not a new issue, emerging from a body of educational literature dating back to the Roman Quintilian, but John Bennett was not exaggerating when he noted, as late as 1787, 'how far a public or a private education is most preferred, is an enquiry that has agitated the curiosity and employed the pens of many distinguished writers both of ancient and modern times.' Early in the eighteenth century, the main advantages of each mode of education were summarised as follows: 'A private Education promises ... "Virtue and Good-Breeding"; a public School "Manly Assurance, and an early Knowledge in the Ways of the World"'. As the century wore on, advocates on each side of the debate invoked other features in support of their position. The most important and undisputed advantage of public schooling was emulation, the 'natural' rivalry between boys which is 'so promotive of learning'; its absence in domestic education led to indolence and inefficiency. The most important advantage of domestic education was the fact that the boy was constantly under the vigilant eye of his father, though by the latter part of the century this had been singled out as a major cause of the corruption of well-born youths: not gradually introduced to the temptations of the world, they went wild when finally left on their own. Home tuition ensured that education would be suited to each pupil's inclinations and talents and he would learn more. Its greatest danger came from the 'contagion' from servants, not just because of their bad language and manners but because their flattery might undermine the authority of father and tutor. The arguments for each side

proliferated, so much so that in 1792, asked to give an opinion on the issue, educationist Clara Reeve declared that so much had been written and said for both sides that she could not judge and remained in doubt. What can account for the persistence of the debate? From the historian's perspective, this question is not easily resolved. It is not simply the case that, as one might expect, private tutors always supported private education and schoolmasters public education; though it was on the whole true, exceptions complicate the story. In the 1760s one schoolmaster considered public schools thoroughly damaging in point of learning, morals and health but thought they were necessary evils. Nor was it just educationists who wrote about the issue: men of letters such as Samuel Johnson, Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, Cowper -- whose poem Tirocinium is a powerful attack of public schooling -- also expressed their opinion in essays or fiction. And why would families of rank wish to send their sons to school at all, where vice and moral corruption were held to be rife and where the acquisition of a narrow classical curriculum was enforced by flogging? Yet, by the early 1800s, about 70% of upper class males had attended Westminster or Eton, and the public school system as we know it was becoming established.

Among the few historians who have discussed the debate and tried to account for the increasing preference for public education, there is little agreement. Explanations range from public schools being 'the best schools' to the suggestion that 'the rough and tumble of a public school' was seen as the 'best preparation for public affairs'.

In this paper, I will be suggesting a different explanation, one that relies on a broader meaning of 'education' and focuses on the relationship between education and the construction of the ideal gentleman. In the first part of the eighteenth century, the main concern was to educate the gentleman. This meant, as Locke had argued, that learning was important but must be subsumed to breeding and gentlemanly accomplishments such as manners, civility and conversation. To achieve this aim required fluency in English, which was not taught in public schools, and the polish brought about by the grand tour, an extremely complex 'informal' institution of education. Travel was meant to furnish the young man with a knowledge of the world which he could only obtain practically from 'observation of men and things, from acquaintance with the customs and usages of other nations.' This was a 'masterscience, which a gentleman should comprehend, and which our schools ...never heard of', remarked a contemporary. It would also bring the youth to the 'true Standard of a Fine Gentleman'. The grand tour was an essential 'finish' to a domestic education, though it was also recommended after schooling, to correct what Chesterfield described sarcastically as 'the benefits of an English education' which produced such 'rude and awkward' schoolboys. By the 1780s however, the system of education of which the grand tour had been a part was disintegrating and travel itself was seen as superfluous to a young man's education. The focus of education had shifted, it no longer aimed to construct a 'fine gentleman' distinguished by his manners and conversation, but to train and discipline the mind and body of an Englishman and patriot. This is what the public school promised: its very structure, claimed its advocates, encouraged the exertions of body and mind which developed hardihood and manliness, whereas the indulgence with which the pupil taught at home was reared, 'seldom gives much strength of mind, or firmness of principle.' Public education alone could be a 'radical cure' to rescue the national character against the infection of the 'levity' of France, a levity connected with 'luxury, effeminacy and everything ignoble.' Competition, emulation, schoolboys' 'honour system' were the keywords. As an educator put it in 1802, 'he who has not in early youth defeated any of his school-fellows in their contest of personal prowess, will not in his maturer years defeat the enemies of his country'. Why did the shift in educational aims come about? Does this shift account for the rising



popularity of public schools? In conclusion, the paper will suggest that the martial concept of education was related to the increasing importance of a masculine Englishness for a nation with an expanding Empire.

Short bibliography:

Barrow, William, An Essay on Education, 2 vols, 1802.

Brauer, G.C., The Education of a Gentleman, New York, 1959.

Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope Earl of, Letters to his Son, 1774.

Cohen, M., Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century, 1996.

Knox, Vicesimus, Liberal Education, Dublin, 1781.

Locke, John, Some Thoughts Concerning Education, [1693], J. W. and J.S. Yolton (eds), Oxford, 1989.

Lawson, John and Silver, Harold, A Social History of Education in England, 1973.

Mack, Edward C., Public schools and British Opinion, 1780-1860, 1938.

Wallbank, M.V., 'Eighteenth century Public Schools and the Education of the Governing Elite' History of Education, vol.8, No. 1, 1979, pp. 1-19.

**Young Children's Voices on Boy/Girlfriends and (Hetero)Sexuality:**

**A Critically Reflexive Account of the Role of an Adult, Male Researcher**

*Paul Connolly, University of Ulster*

This paper offers a critically reflexive account of recent ethnographic research conducted by myself on young children (Connolly 1998). Its focus is on the impact that being an adult male researcher has had on my interactions with the children. While the original focus for the research was the nature and impact of racism in the young children's lives, it soon became apparent that gender, and particularly discourses on boy/girlfriends and (hetero)sexuality, became a significant aspect of the young children's conversations in group interviews. Through the use of a number of examples from the fieldwork, it will be argued that the introduction of such discourses by the children cannot simply be read as 'representative' of the general conversations that the children would engage in but needs to be understood within the context provided by my presence, as an adult male. It will be suggested that these discourses on boy/girlfriends and (hetero)sexuality reflect: 1) the young children's attempts to subvert the existing power relationships between themselves and adults within the school through the introduction of particularly 'adult' and 'taboo' themes; and 2) their perceptions of the researcher as an adult male.

Having set out some of the ways in which the children's behaviour was mediated by my presence as an adult male, the paper will then discuss the implications of this for interpreting and writing up the data and, thus, for issues of validity. It will be argued that such influences are unavoidable and, far from them 'invalidating' the data, a proper understanding of their impact can actually help to develop a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the children's social worlds. The paper will conclude by arguing for a greater critical reflexivity



among researchers (both male and female) in primary schools and an acceptance of the impact that their age and gender has on the research process.

## Reference

Connolly, P. (1998) Racism, Gender Identities and Young Children. London: Routledge.

### **The Study of Gendered Identities and Experiences in Education: A 'Simple' or 'Provocative' Question of Method?**

*Symposium convenor: Jo-Anne Dillabough, OISE/University of Toronto*

The specific aims of the symposium are:

- \* to identify, explore and critique the contemporary methods drawn upon to study the experiences and identities of girls, boys and women in education
- \* to illustrate for the first time some of the range of controversies and methodological innovations conducted by feminists on the subjects of gender, identity and experience
- \* to consider many of the methodological themes and epistemological concerns which have surfaced in feminist research due to an emphasis on the study of voice, experiences and identities in education
- \* to examine the shifting construction of method as a pivotal example of paradigm wars in feminist theory, and the ways in which such methodological tropes are embodied in feminist theories which address questions about 'identity'.

Presentation of our purposes in this manner necessarily points to some of the complex barriers to novel educational initiatives in the domain of feminist theory and method. These barriers must be exposed and addressed if, we, as contemporary feminists, wish to create spaces in which a compelling debate about the study of gender in education is likely to emerge. We may then wish to address the question of how methods can be relocated or reconstituted such that we might confront some of the difficulties and tensions we face in conducting feminist research, with the relevant epistemological concerns in mind. How might we reconsider feminist methods in order to develop more innovative empirical and conceptual work? How does the recognition of methodological controversy in feminist research contribute to the further development of feminist research? What alternative feminist methods might we draw upon from other fields of inquiry? What current theoretical/methodological innovations can offer guidance in sustaining a positive ethos for feminist research and theory in education? Do our current methods honour, or further obscure, the processes which underlie the formation of gendered identities, voices and experiences? These are among the many questions that we wish to address in this symposium.

A collection of five papers written by feminist academics from diverse international contexts will offer insight into the relationship between gender, identity and method. Each of these papers draw upon diverse feminist approaches to the study of gender in education. Such approaches include: (a) a feminist insider's account of women's experiences in higher education; (b) the evolution of feminist ethnography in the study of female academics

working in British teacher education (c) the study of teenage sexuality and play-based, psychoanalytical research methods; (d) the study of gender and identity through computer mediated technology in higher education; and (e) the role of school knowledge in the formation of gender identities (e.g., masculinities and femininities) in sex-segregated classrooms.

### **Structure and Organization of Symposium**

The themes of this symposium are designed to be interdisciplinary, as reflected in the diverse backgrounds and methodological interests of the participants. The central goal, however, is to identify and confront methodological/theoretical controversies and issues as they arise in empirical work and in relation to the themes of this symposium -- gender, identity and experience. We also wish to pose questions about feminist research in the late twentieth century and assess its links to epistemology, feminist theories and the key concepts feminists draw upon in their struggle for methodological/theoretical innovation.

### **Participants**

Symposium Organizer:

Dr. Jo-Anne Dillabough

Assistant Professor

Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning

OISE/University of Toronto

Toronto, Ontario

Canada

Chair: Dr. Jo-Anne Dillabough

### **Presenters:**

Dr. Jo-Anne Dillabough (presenter)

Assistant Professor

Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning

OISE/University of Toronto

Toronto, Ontario

Canada

Dr. Sandra Acker (presenter, co-author)

Full Professor

Department of Sociology and Equity Studies

OISE/UT

Toronto, Ontario

Canada

Dr. Grace Feuerverger (co-author)  
Associate Professor  
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning  
OISE/University of Toronto  
Toronto, Ontario  
Canada

Dr. Wendy Luttrell (presenter, author)  
Associate Professor  
Department of Cultural Anthropology  
Duke University  
Durham, North Carolina  
USA

Dr. Gabrielle Ivinson (co-presenter, co-author)  
Research Fellow  
Curriculum and Equity Research  
Group  
Centre for Curriculum and Teaching Studies  
School of Education  
The Open University  
Milton Keynes, UK

Dr. Patricia Murphy (co-presenter, co-author)  
Director of Research Unit  
Curriculum and Equity Research Group  
Centre for Curriculum and Teaching Studies  
School of Education  
The Open University  
Milton Keynes, UK

Dr. Chris Mann (presenter, author)  
Research Fellow  
Department of Social and Political Sciences  
University of Cambridge  
Cambridge, UK

**Paper Title 1: Hearing others and seeing ourselves: Empathy, ethics and emotions in a study of Canadian Women academics**

*Sandra Acker and Grace Feuerwerker*

In the past few years, five women academics have been involved in a feminist, qualitative study of academics in the four professional fields of social work, education, pharmacy and dentistry. We conducted nearly 200 in-depth interviews to help us determine whether the representation of women in the student body (highest in social work, lowest in dentistry) has any consequences for women academics and for feminist scholarship. We asked participants about experiences with procedures such as hiring, tenure and promotion, feelings of centrality or marginality, any incidents of discrimination or harassment, and for details about their teaching, research and other work responsibilities. We also inquired about the ethos or culture of the department and faculty, the interface of home and work, health and stress, and future career plans.

The focus of the proposed paper is on the consequences of doing research in a situation where the researchers are women academics studying other women academics. In keeping with the theme of the symposium, we consider whose voices are being represented in our research, and what methodological and epistemological issues arise in the effort to give voice to anyone beyond oneself. The two of us are located in the field of education, and interviews mainly from that subject area, which also include our reflections, provide the data for this paper. A total of 71 interviews in education--43 with women and 28 with men--were conducted in 5 Canadian universities in 4 provinces with assistant, associate and full professors. One of the most compelling themes in the interviews with women was "overload". Many of the women believed they worked much harder than their male colleagues, seeing themselves taking an unfair share of responsibilities for nurturing students and doing the "housekeeping" work in their departments. Another interesting area was evaluation, where there were heartfelt stories about the terrors of tenure and the assault on the self that these procedures could produce.

It was impossible for us to remain unmoved by these stories and not to relate them to our own experiences of feeling overloaded or trying to cope with apparently impossible and ever-rising evaluation and productivity standards. We would like to share some of these stories, as well as other examples of ways in which the research raised questions around empathy, ethics and emotions that disturbed or enlightened us. We will also comment on ethical issues that arise when so much intimate knowledge is accumulated about persons who participate in the same small, disciplinary-based world as do the researchers. We will explore the questions that arose around subjectivity and researcher positioning as insider and/or outsider.



## **Paper Title 2: In Search for a Feminist Ethnography: A Quest for 'Truth' or Understanding?**

*Jo-Anne Dillabough*

In this paper, I explore the role of feminist ethnography in revealing both women's experiences of work in higher education and the institutional forms which prefigure such experiences. I explore this issue in two ways. In the first instance, I draw upon my own ethnographic study of women teachers' experiences in British higher education (i.e., teacher education) in order to develop a broader view of what constitutes 'institutional ethnography' or 'feminist ethnography' in teacher education. Particular attention is paid to the role that diverse ethnographic methods (diary work, letter writing, focus group interviews, 'casual conversation', longitudinal observations, oral histories) may play in exposing the gendered nature of higher education, the processes underlying women's identity-formation (including feminist identities) in such contexts and women's experience of work in teacher education. Such approaches are then compared to current and now popular 'one off' studies of women's experiences in education.

Second, I explore the implications that feminist ethnography may have for the study of women's experiences in education more broadly. Within this context, special attention is paid to the meaning and aims of feminist ethnography, its relevance to feminist research and the value of the feminist knowledge which may emerge from ethnographic work. This kind of focus draws attention to the many controversies and conflicts which may arise in feminist research and attempts to confront some of the ambiguities in 'identity' research across various dimensions of feminist theorizing.

## **Paper Title 3: Pregnant With Meaning: Teenage Sexuality, Self and Schooling**

*Wendy Luttrell*

What can we learn when pregnant girls are allowed, encouraged even, to represent their lives in their own creative terms? My paper, *Pregnant With Meaning*, is premised on three questions. The first question is "how do adolescent girls' express themselves, their agency and sexual subjectivity, and how do they speak about the experience of teenage pregnancy and motherhood?" The second question is "how should we assess these experiences within the realm of feminist methodology, in particular, psychoanalytic feminist methods?" The third question is "What are the school-based tensions which arise when drawing upon such methods for studying the female, adolescent self?"

My premise is that what is happening to specific girls--and to girlhood in its locally unique and ever-so individual form--is an important site for exploring the links between social and psychic life. I am concerned about the anxiety, ambivalence and difficulties girls face when leaving childhood and moving into adulthood, how class and race add depth and specificity to the experience of this transition, and why these issues are missing from discussions of teenage pregnancy and motherhood. I am also particularly concerned about how one theorizes about 'girlhood', drawing upon particular feminist methods.

My research with fifty teen mothers enrolled in the Cooperative School for Pregnant Teens (COOP) in Durham, North Carolina weaves together elements of ethnography, autobiography, feminism and narrative as a way to contribute to our understanding of parenting, childhood and education. My fieldwork consists of classroom observations, one-to-one interviews with students, teachers and school officials, and analyses of school documents. The unique dimension of my fieldwork emphasizes the girls' self representations. The rich, textured autobiographical material I have collected includes journal writing; self portraits made of hand-painted paper with accompanying written descriptions of themselves; "Who Am I" collages made with cut-out images and words from teenage magazines; and role-playing, improvisation, play writing and performance of their "pregnancy stories". I designed these activities to open up pathways of engagement and relationship among the COOP girls and between them and me. I wanted the activities to allow the girls to "play"--to make it possible for them to lose themselves long enough to speak unself-consciously about their lives, which, if we are to believe Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan (1992), is something that girls in adolescence have a hard time doing.

Introducing these "play" activities, while always a welcome diversion from the school routine for the girls, was not always well received by the teachers. This tension was not just about the school division between "work" and "play". It was also about what school defines and values as "knowledge". Creatively playing with identities other than "student," exploring and expressing feelings about their transition into motherhood or voicing concern about the men in their lives, was not deemed as serious or legitimate schoolwork. An active denial on the schools' part of the girls' emerging identities was coupled with teachers' constant admonitions that because they had "gone and gotten themselves pregnant," the girls must start acting like "adults" and abandon their childlike behaviours and pursuits, which, among many things, served to deaden the girls' creative and innovative impulses. Drawing on feminist and psychoanalytic theories, I point to the many theoretical and epistemological strengths and controversies surrounding this kind of methodological commitment and suggest new ways we might think about the feminist study of childhood, play, creativity, teaching, and learning.

#### **Paper Title 4: Using Computer-mediated Communication to Investigate Gender Identities in Higher Education**

*Chris Mann*

This paper will describe the use of computer-mediated communication (CMC) to investigate the influence of gender identity on students' perceptions of university life. In this particular study, the students do not meet the researchers face-to-face. Instead, they reflect on their college experiences (over the whole course of their degree) by keeping in e-mail contact with the researchers on a day-by-day basis. The goal of such methodological work is to expose some of the intimate and indeed gendered aspects of higher education and confront how gender, as a category of analysis, frames students' subjective accounts of university experience. However, recent studies which focus upon the 'on-line' world of the Internet suggest that this innovative method may encounter problems (as well as enjoying advantages) when compared to more conventional forms of research interaction. The reduced range of paralinguistic cues and the lack of nonverbal or social clues in computer-mediated communication have been well documented.

On one hand, these characteristics of CMC have been found to reduce concern about the experience of being evaluated and assessed - raising hopes that non-coercive and anti-hierarchical interaction between researcher and participant might be a possibility. In other words, the researcher, drawing upon such methods, may imagine that he/she gets closer to answering seminal questions about the nature of gender identity in higher education. On the other hand, the presence of these same characteristics points to the invisibility of identity in this form of communication - and may therefore suggest that it is impossible to investigate 'identity' and 'voice' on-line. Identity in Cyberspace might be 'missing' - it might also be 'fantasised'; a virtual identity offering no clues to the identity of the lived life. This paper will discuss these issues with reference to the study under discussion.

### **Paper Title 5: The construction of knowledge and identities in the pedagogy of single-sex groupings**

*Patricia Murphy and Gabrielle Ivinson*

This paper draws upon a study which is currently investigating the gendered construction of subject knowledge and its impact on the formation of students' gender identities in a co-educational secondary school in England. The particular school under examination introduced a policy to teach boys and girls in separate classes as part of a drive to tackle the differential achievement of boys and girls in different subjects. In this context, we explore two questions: (1) In what ways do particular methods (e.g., interviews, or the practice of interviewing supplemented with other methods) expose school subject knowledge as gendered and how does this knowledge impact on the expression of diverse students' gender identities in single-sex classrooms?; and (2) How does the gendered nature of classroom practice and discourse lead to the development of particular gender identities in schools?

By analysing classroom discourse, including that of teachers, we can investigate subtle differences in the way teachers (in a co-educational school) direct boys' and girls' education and how this contributes to gender identity formation in sex-segregated classrooms. We then go on to discuss many of the methods used in the current study such as video-recordings, radio microphones, field notes, in-depth interviews, and student-based video-responses. This allows us to explore the role of, and the controversy and limits surrounding, the use of particular methods in documenting how school forces (e.g., teacher discourse) shape gender identities in specific classroom structures (e.g., single-sex classrooms). This seems a particularly urgent concern in light of more recent efforts to marginalize the role of the teacher and/or classroom culture in understanding the development of students' social identities, only one of which is gender.

#### References

Bar On, B. (1993). Marginality and epistemic privilege. In L. Alcoff's and E. Potter's (Eds.), *Feminist Epistemologies* (pp. 83-100). New York: Routledge.



## **Title: An emerging feminine discourse in educational theory**

*Nida Home Doherty*  
*University of Warwick*

The number of females who are currently making a strong contribution to the arena of educational theory cannot be overlooked.

My own research focuses on contemporary utopian visions in education. I am particularly interested in the projects of educational theorists who have defined how their utopian visions would be realised in practice. In this domain of educational thought a coalescence of female voices exists.

Here I have brought together five leading female educational theorists, each of whom has developed her own unique ideological approach to education. They are Maxine Greene, Madeleine Grumet, bell hooks, Nel Noddings, and Mary Warnock. In my paper I present a brief overview of each of their educational projects. But more importantly, what I hope to reveal is what these female voices say collectively and how their utterances have affected the discourse of educational theory.

But to begin with, it is interesting to note the ideological bases from which they build their projects.

### ***Maxine Greene***

Greene speaks in reaction to what she sees as a growing lassitude in society which is reflected in and exerts an effect upon schooling and classrooms. She writes against a society that accepts as given the outside world and that sees it as somehow fixed and predetermined -- a society that accedes to the given as if there is an "objective reality that is impervious to individual interpretations" (p. xii). Greene asserts that we (society) have not developed ways to interpret lived experience and that we have become a society engaging in the mindless automatism of routine behaviour and thoughtless, entrenched habit (p. 2). We do not have the skills to notice or to think critically about the obstacles that prevent us from reaching spaces of possibilities and freedom (p.5).

### ***Madeleine Grumet***

Madeleine Grumet begins her project by identifying a gap that exists in the practice of education. The gap is found in the distinctly different experiences of schooling and curriculum, which Grumet calls "our public life," to those of our domestic, familial environments, "our private life."

She criticises curriculum as being gendered, reflecting a masculine epistemology, defined in terms of the father. This, she says, is the public world, a world which has been constructed by the thinking of men and one that has become entrenched through social, cultural, and historical ways of being (p.22). She is critical of a society that accedes to the masculine order of things: "the degree to which schooling continues to imitate the spatial, the temporal, and the ritual order of industry and bureaucracy indicates the complicity of both men and women in support of the paternal authority" (p 25). It becomes her project "to disrupt the male dominant discourse about how things work" in education and "to reverse this flow of influence from the public to the domestic" (p. xiv).



### ***bell hooks***

bell hooks speaks from deep personal experience. Her voice comes into educational theory through feelings of personal pain suffered through practices of exclusion under the power of the dominant hegemony. "I saw in theory ... a location for healing." (p. 59) But it is not only hooks giving voice to her pain and the pain of other black females. She speaks out against those (mainly academics) who are "committed to a system of domination, racism, sexism, and class exploitation." As a black female who is now a black female academic she actively seeks a recognition of cultural diversity within classrooms.

### ***Nel Noddings***

Nel Noddings begins by identifying a hypocrisy in present-day ethics. She sees the ethics of today as having become impersonal with its rule-bound principles and emphasis on abstract universal laws. She equates this abstractness and subsequent alienation of present-day ethics with the masculine and in turn supports her ethical project through the experience of the female. Noddings contends that the female, as the primary care giver, knows the experiences and feelings of responsibility originating from the acts of mothering and nurturing. It is this female experience and the language of the feminine experience from which she builds her ethic of caring and in turn gives substance and meaning of the term "care."

### ***Mary Warnock***

Mary Warnock holds a strong existentialist position which calls for an awakening of consciousness and engagement of human imagination. Warnock sees the act of writing autobiography as an innate human activity which serves man's desire to assert his own personal continuity with the past. She exalts literature (novels and autobiographical writing and other forms of "imaginative literature") as a means of understanding and valuing the concept of human immortality (p. 128). From the acceptance of immortality she moves to personal responsibility and "stewardship" as being foundational elements in formulating a system of education.

Collectively the differing ideological positions voiced by these female educational theorists form an emerging body of thought. Revealing the attributes that constitute that body of thought is the aim of my paper.

**Bibliography:** (Page references cited above are from relevant texts listed here.)

Greene, M. (1988) *The Dialectic of Freedom*. New York, Teachers College Press.

Grumet, M. (1988) *Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching*. Amherst, NY: The University of Massachusetts Press.

hooks, b. (1994) *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Noddings, N. (1986) *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics & Moral Education*, Berkeley, CA:University of California Press.

Warnock, M. (1994) *Imagination & Time*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

## **Title: An emerging feminine discourse in educational theory**

*Nida Home Doherty*  
*University of Warwick*

The number of females who are currently making a strong contribution to the arena of educational theory cannot be overlooked.

My own research focuses on contemporary utopian visions in education. I am particularly interested in the projects of educational theorists who have defined how their utopian visions would be realised in practice. In this domain of educational thought a coalescence of female voices exists.

Here I have brought together five leading female educational theorists, each of whom has developed her own unique ideological approach to education. They are Maxine Greene, Madeleine Grumet, bell hooks, Nel Noddings, and Mary Warnock. In my paper I present a brief overview of each of their educational projects. But more importantly, what I hope to reveal is what these female voices say collectively and how their utterances have affected the discourse of educational theory.

But to begin with, it is interesting to note the ideological bases from which they build their projects.

### ***Maxine Greene***

Greene speaks in reaction to what she sees as a growing lassitude in society which is reflected in and exerts an effect upon schooling and classrooms. She writes against a society that accepts as given the outside world and that sees it as somehow fixed and predetermined - -a society that accedes to the given as if there is an "objective reality that is impervious to individual interpretations" (p. xii). Greene asserts that we (society) have not developed ways to interpret lived experience and that we have become a society engaging in the mindless automatism of routine behaviour and thoughtless, entrenched habit (p. 2). We do not have the skills to notice or to think critically about the obstacles that prevent us from reaching spaces of possibilities and freedom (p.5).

### ***Madeleine Grumet***

Madeleine Grumet begins her project by identifying a gap that exists in the practice of education. The gap is found in the distinctly different experiences of schooling and curriculum, which Grumet calls "our public life," to those of our domestic, familial environments, "our private life."

She criticises curriculum as being gendered, reflecting a masculine epistemology, defined in terms of the father. This, she says, is the public world, a world which has been constructed by the thinking of men and one that has become entrenched through social, cultural, and historical ways of being (p.22). She is critical of a society that accedes to the masculine order of things: "the degree to which schooling continues to imitate the spatial, the temporal, and the ritual order of industry and bureaucracy indicates the complicity of both men and women in support of the paternal authority" (p 25). It becomes her project "to disrupt the male dominant discourse about how things work" in education and "to reverse this flow of influence from the public to the domestic" (p. xiv).

### *bell hooks*

bell hooks speaks from deep personal experience. Her voice comes into educational theory through feelings of personal pain suffered through practices of exclusion under the power of the dominant hegemony. "I saw in theory ... a location for healing." (p. 59) But it is not only hooks giving voice to her pain and the pain of other black females. She speaks out against those (mainly academics) who are "committed to a system of domination, racism, sexism, and class exploitation." As a black female who is now a black female academic she actively seeks a recognition of cultural diversity within classrooms.

### *Nel Noddings*

Nel Noddings begins by identifying a hypocrisy in present-day ethics. She sees the ethics of today as having become impersonal with its rule-bound principles and emphasis on abstract universal laws. She equates this abstractness and subsequent alienation of present-day ethics with the masculine and in turn supports her ethical project through the experience of the female. Noddings contends that the female, as the primary care giver, knows the experiences and feelings of responsibility originating from the acts of mothering and nurturing. It is this female experience and the language of the feminine experience from which she builds her ethic of caring and in turn gives substance and meaning of the term "care."

### *Mary Warnock*

Mary Warnock holds a strong existentialist position which calls for an awakening of consciousness and engagement of human imagination. Warnock sees the act of writing autobiography as an innate human activity which serves man's desire to assert his own personal continuity with the past. She exalts literature (novels and autobiographical writing and other forms of "imaginative literature") as a means of understanding and valuing the concept of human immortality (p. 128). From the acceptance of immortality she moves to personal responsibility and "stewardship" as being foundational elements in formulating a system of education.

Collectively the differing ideological positions voiced by these female educational theorists form an emerging body of thought. Revealing the attributes that constitute that body of thought is the aim of my paper.

### **Bibliography:** (Page references cited above are from relevant texts listed here.)

Greene, M. (1988) *The Dialectic of Freedom*. New York, Teachers College Press.

Grumet, M. (1988 ) *Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching*. Amherst, NY: The University of Massachusetts Press.

hooks, b. (1994) *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Noddings, N. (1986 ) *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics & Moral Education*, Berkeley, CA:University of California Press.

Warnock, M. (1994) *Imagination & Time*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

## **Choosing a Better Tomorrow : The Role of Training and Education in the Agenda for Change.**

*Shushmita C Dutt*

*Institute of Education, University of London.*

### **1. Introduction**

An advocacy campaign undertaken by the District Administration of Rajgarh district, Madhya Pradesh, India, had the desired effect of reducing the number of child engagements and marriages in the district. (Chandrashekhar, R.1996). As a result the time between the three stages of marriage - the *sagai, shadi and gauna (engagement, marriage and consumation)* - was effectively lengthened. This time would be most "gainfully" spent if the general awareness and ability for independent thinking and decision making of the adolescent girls could be enhanced and *combined* with the girls picking up skills that may be used in income generation. This would give higher longer term returns to the girls themselves.

The option of postponing marriage would seem more meaningful to families if they were to actually see the girls engage in these income generation activities and earn an income before they moved to their in-laws' household. Evidence suggests that there are observable links between girls who help their parents monetarily before their marriage, their comparatively higher level of education and also their comparatively later age of marriage (King and Hill.1993). A survey was undertaken to ascertain and assess the present situation regarding young girls, both engaged, married and unmarried girls and to understand their choices for the future.

### **2. Main Findings**

The main findings of the survey which warranted the development of a programme for education and empowerment of rural girls were:

- the level of poverty
- the low social position of women/girls
- the woman's weak decision making role regarding marriage, dowry etc
- the high workload on women/girls
- the early age of engagement/marriage of girls
- the early birth of first child, between 1 or 2 children by 18 years
- the main reason for girls' dropping out of school being sibling care and household chores
- a literacy level of target group girls which might support further education and empowerment programmes
- an interest in training for additional income generation

The larger proportion of families surveyed were under the poverty line, in which women shared equally with men any labour on the family land or as paid agricultural labour, besides undertaking all cooking and child raising responsibilities.



Income Level	Biaora	J'pur	K'pur	N'garh	R'garh	S'gpur
Upto Rs 2000	80.14	76.35	52.99	70.46	89.61	73.00
Rs 2001 - 3000	9.52	11.64	20.37	12.65	5.71	9.20
Rs 3001 - 4000	4.76	3.25	3.47	1.81	2.01	7.36
Above Rs 5000	2.38	7.51	20.15	13.06	1.68	7.98
<i>Some respondents have not responded therefore the totals do not indicate 100%</i>						

The women's share of house work was found to be very heavy leading to her using the daughters to share the housework and resulting in the girls staying away from school.

Women and girls	47.8 %
Men and boys	27.3 %
Both	22 %
No response	2.9 %
<b>How Much do Women/ Girls' Contribute to Household Work Load?</b>	
Responsibility for fuel wood/ dung cake collection	93%
Responsibility for ensuring household water supply	91%

The only way to break this chain of the girl child's non-participation in school would be to strive for a more equitable distribution of household work. Early marriage and child bearing affected both the girls' health and also restricted their educational choices.

Block	% married of total	Av Age at Marr	% with children
Biaora	37.12	14.47	22.35
Jeerapur	35.31	14.03	23.66
Khilchipur	49.78	14.41	19.20
Narsingarh	38.50	15.23	25.29
Rajgarh	54.47	16.46	41.89
Sarangpur	54.58	15.45	23.66

### **3. Recommendations**

The experience of other programmes has shown that neither awareness raising alone nor economic advancement alone may be sufficient in supporting women/girls' empowerment. A more successful strategy should therefore be to adopt a holistic approach which includes awareness enhancement as well as creating possibility of additional income.

The factors contributing to women/girls vulnerable position may not easily be remedied or changed through short term projects; they would be more likely to answer to a wider programmatic approach. A programmatic approach would help create an environment and initiate activities, but would aim at sustainability of such actions through capacity enhancement within the clientele group.

Central to the programmatic approach for empowerment, skill development and training requires to be an emphasis on women and girls as participants, beneficiaries, decision makers and key actors in programme implementation and sustainability.

### ***Brief Bibliography***

- Chandrashekhar, R. (1996) Childhood in Rajgarh: Too Young for Wedlock, too Old for the Cradle. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5 Oct 1996. Bombay
- CARE. (1997). Maternal and Infant Survival Project (Draft)
- King, EM and Hill, MA. (Eds) (1993). *Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies*. Baltimore. The John Hopkins University Press.
- Madhya Pradesh Mahila Samakhya Society. (1997) Workshop Report: Bal Yon Shoshan Unmulan: Rajgarh Zile mein Vaisyavritti, 12-13 May, 1997. Rajgarh, MP.
- Madhya Pradesh Mahila Samakhya Society. (1996a). Note on "Nathra Pratha: Based on an Indepth Survey of 15 Villages. Biaora, Rajgarh, MP.
- Madhya Pradesh Mahila Samakhya Society. (1996b). Report of Survey of Women in 83 Villages of Rajgarh Block, Rajgarh.
- Madhya Pradesh Mahila Samakhya Society. (1996c). Report of Gram Mahila Sabha of 31 Oct 1996. Rajgarh.
- Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report. (1995). Bhopal. Govt of MP
- Madhya Pradesh ka Saankhayiki Sankshep. (1996). Directorate of Economics and Statistics.
- Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission. (1997). Report of Lok Sumpark Abhiyan, Zila Rajgarh.
- Sinha, AM. (1996) *Gazeteer of India: Madhya Pradesh: Rajgarh*. Bhopal Directorate of Rajbhasha Evam Sanskriti, MP.

### **Provoking the Personal: Vociferous Voices in the Teaching of Women's Studies**

*From: The Women's Studies Pedagogy Group (The University of York and the College of Ripon and York)*

*Contact details: Mary Eagleton, College of Ripon and York, Lord Mayor's Walk,  
York YO30 7EX. Email: <m.eagleton@ucrysj.ac.uk>  
Tel: (01904) 616769*

---

'We' are a group of women from the two Higher Education institutions in York, England - the University of York and the College of Ripon and York. Between us we have more than a century's experience of teaching Women's Studies. Over the past two years we have been meeting on an occasional basis to discuss the pleasures and pains of that experience. Our focus at this conference is on one particular aspect from our seminars, the concept of 'the personal'. We recognise how central this concept has been to Women's Studies; we

recognise equally how we have often been provoked by this concept, finding it, on the one hand, troubling and destabilising and, on the other, endlessly intriguing.

There will be three aspects to our session:

1. A short introduction to situate the concept of the personal within feminist thought and, specifically, Women's Studies. Its range of influence has been extensive in terms of the construction of knowledge, student-tutor interactions, modes of assessment, even how one arranges the furniture.
2. A series of provocative questions to debate:
  - What discourses are operating in Women's Studies? Are we there for teaching and learning, psycho-therapy, self-help, Consciousness Raising, the confessional...? Are some of these too personal and, hence, inadmissible? Is it the job of Women's Studies to extend the range of the personal?
  - How personal is personal? Is the teacher to be teacher, or teacher and friend, or teacher and intimate friend, or ... ? What are the consequences for teacher and taught of a commitment to the personal?
  - When we talk about the 'personal', which personal do we mean - the personal as unformulated need, or the personal as private, or the personal as a crafted construct, or the personal as a political positioning?
  - Why is the personal 'good' and the impersonal 'bad'? Is there a place for impersonality within the Women's Studies class and, if so, what would it look like?
  - How does it signify pedagogically that we are white female persons as well as teachers?
3. Opportunities for intervention by workshop participants.

NB You don't have to be a Women's Studies buff to join this workshop. We all have other discipline affiliations as well as Women's Studies and we would be interested to discuss how gender and the personal operate in other disciplines. Despite our century's experience we hold out little hope of any firm conclusions - are there any firm conclusions in education? - but we do offer lots of interesting problems, bright ideas and a sense of our own intense involvement in our 'vociferous voices'.

Bibliography:

Mary Eagleton, 'Reading Between Bodies and Institutions', *Gender and Education* Vol. 10, No. 3 (1998)

Shoshana Felman, *Jacques Lacan and Adventure of Insight: Psychoanalysis in Contemporary Culture* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1987)

Jane Gallop (ed), *Pedagogy: The Question of Impersonation* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (1995)

bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (Routledge, 1994)

bell hooks with Tanya McKinnon, 'Sisterhood: Beyond Public and Private', *Signs* Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 814 - 829 (1996)

C. Luke and J. Gore (eds), *Feminisms and Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997)

Adrienne Rich, *Blood, Bread and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979 - 1985* (London: Virago, 1987)

Jo Spence, *Cultural Sniping: the Art of Transgression* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Issues of teaching whiteness will also be raised by two members of the group, Trev Broughton and Ann Kaloski, at the *White? Women* Conference, Centre for Women's Studies, University of York, York YO10 5DD on **17 April, 1999**.

### **Do Boys Need Relationship Education?**

*Wendy Earle (unaffiliated)*

Over the past couple years there have been widespread calls for relationship education to be included in the National Curriculum and 'emotional literacy coaching' to be a key role of parenting, with particular emphasis on the needs of boys. The publication "Let's hear it for the boys!" (The National Children's Bureau Sex Education Forum November 1997) and the organisations such as Antidote and Young Minds have expressed concern about the emotional health and well-being of boys. There are, especially in the United States, a growing number of books dedicated to the apparently thorny problem of bringing up boys.

It is argued that the last three decades have seen huge changes in the position of women in society and that men's status as the main breadwinner and family patriarch, with the decline in full-time industrial occupations, has been diminished. As a result men are floundering in uncertainty, with a lost sense of purpose and self-worth, causing a rise in delinquency, crime and violence among boys and young men. The perception of this as an increasingly serious social problem (for which there is little hard evidence) has generated a search for ways of addressing it. Given the general discrediting of social solutions, and the increasing emphasis on individual responsibility, these have been sought primarily in child-rearing practices, and more specifically in the development of gender roles, and the way boys are brought up.

However, I think that we should be critical of the claim that boys are somehow losing out on their emotional development and need relationship education or 'emotional literacy coaching'. On the one hand there seems to be an unhealthy tendency to generate or reinforce



stereotypes about how girls and boys, or men and women, think and behave, which does not exist solely at the level of popular prejudice, but also seems to influence some professionals and academics. On the other hand research evidence does not seem to support the case that boys are emotionally under-developed or at risk.

The evidence demonstrates that the differences between the individual personalities of men and of women are greater than generalisable gender-based differences. While there appear to be some gender differences in social interactions, the evidence suggests that these are generally superficial. Nevertheless they have increasingly become a cause for concern in the context of a wider discussion about educating and raising children.

The elevation of these differences is evident in the Carol Gilligan 'school of thought' which sees social behaviour as rooted in two different mind-sets or moral outlooks. The moral perspective emphasised in boys' upbringing is oriented around objective notions of fairness and justice which means that boys learn to distant themselves from emotional and personal experiences. In contrast, the moral perspective in girls' upbringing is centred on the notion of caring and nurturing, with the result that they learn to connect and express themselves at a personal and emotional level. While Gilligan and her supporters do not preclude the possibility of boys and girls crossing these gender-based lines, she sees the differences as profoundly rooted in social organisation.

Despite being refuted by both academics and feminists, this theory has gained in influence over the past two decades. It is reflected in the discussion about emotional literacy and relationship education. The authors of "Let's hear it for the boys" claim that boys have a particularly hard time because they are socialised to 'be less accepting of emotions such as tenderness or sadness as well as less able to recognise such emotions in others.' Boys are also apparently less prepared for 'empathetic interpersonal problem-solving' because they tend to play in groups. As a result they are less able to cope with bad feelings and are more likely than girls to act impulsively and angrily. Peer groups are apparently particularly problematic for boys in that they put pressure on boys to be hard, strong and 'know all'. (1)

These assertions are based on information collected by the authors (including interviews with boys), but an examination of research over the past forty years is far less conclusive about boys' social behaviour and does not support the assertion that there is cause for concern. Children's peer group relationships play a more complex role than simply reinforcing stereotypes, though there is no doubt they play an important role in helping children to learn about social attitudes, behaviour and role expectations. There are differences between boys' and girls' same sex friendships but these differences are not great, and all children as they grow into adolescence look for greater intimacy in their friendships. Some research suggests that though boys and girls take different paths to intimacy – with girls relying more on personal disclosure while boys rely more on spending time together – both achieve emotional closeness.(2) Elsewhere research shows that boys do not necessarily know less about their friends than girls do. All adolescents discuss low and moderate intimacy topics more than high intimacy topics, and among close friends there was no overall difference in depth of disclosure between boys and girls. (3)

Some researchers suggest that differences between boys' and girls' patterns of friendships may influence the development of social and interpersonal skills. For example, boys' general preference for team games and goal-oriented behaviour teaches them to deal with diverse

participants, maintain group spirit, work collectively, exercise self-control and depersonalise confrontations. Girls' preference for small groups and less-goal oriented play teaches them to empathise, express their feelings and emotions and to develop individual rather than group affiliations. (4) However, when examining the differences, it is all too easy to exaggerate them. All of these qualities, 'masculine' and 'feminine', reflect important interpersonal skills and the ability to connect with other people, which the vast majority of children learn to one degree or another. Girls and boys usually learn 'emotional literacy' as a normal part of growing up.

Boys' and men's perceived problems with their emotional lives may have less to do with their real experiences and more to do with the elevation in society of more 'feminine' qualities. While many seem to welcome the greater value placed on 'female values', it is questionable whether the elevation of these are to the benefit of girls or women. The current fixation on boys' social behaviour and attitudes, quite apart from its tendency of further polarising boys and girls, may be leading to the negation of some important human qualities that have traditionally been associated with men – such as being in control, being able to analyse problems rationally and being able to stand up for oneself – but to which women have an equal claim.

#### References

1. Lenderyou G & Ray C (eds) 1997, Let's Hear it for the Boys, National Children's Bureau
2. Camerana P et al 1990 Gender Specific Pathways to Intimacy in Early Adolescence, Journal of Youth and Adolescence Vol 19 no 1 p19ff
3. Dolgin K, Kim S 1994, Adolescents' disclosures to best and good friends: the effects of gender and topic intimacy. Social Development Vol 3 no 2 p146-157
4. (For example) Lever J. 1975 Sex Differences in the Games Children Play, Social Problems Vol 23 p478-487

#### Bibliography

- Gilligan C. 1982/1993 In a Different Voice, Harvard University Press
- Maccoby E, 1998 The Two Sexes: Growing Up Apart, Coming Together Harvard University Press
- Berndt TJ 1982 The Features and Effects of Friendship in Early Adolescence, Child Development Vol. 53 p1447-1460.
- Cairns et al 1995, Friendship and Social Networks in Childhood and Adolescence: Fluidity, Reliability and Inter-relations Child Development Vol. 66 p1330ff
- Corsaro WA, Eder D 1990 Children's Peer Cultures, Annual Review of Sociology 1990 Vol 16 p197-220

## **Macho in the playground: football, fighting and the construction of heterosexual masculinities in the primary school.**

*Debbie Epstein*

*Institute of Education, University of London*

This paper is based on ethnographic evidence from a small-scale qualitative study in a London primary school. In this paper I will suggest that the geography and spatial organisation of playgrounds speak gendered power relations. I will show how the dominance of football and fighting marginalise not only the girls, but also those boys who are not interested in or good at football. In this context, I will demonstrate that football and fighting simultaneously solidify and cut across ethnic boundaries, and that many of the boys become deeply invested in these activities as the primary signifiers of masculinity. For these boys, being a 'real man' is established through their prowess in both activities, and they gain what might be called 'heterosexual capital' through them. Football and fighting then become a measure of success as boys/men (a more important achievement for nearly all the boys than academic success), while relative failure or lack of interest becomes a marker of stigmatised effeminacy or homosexuality.

School playgrounds are places where struggles for power, among groups of children and between children and adults (teachers and dinner supervisors) take place. As Whitney and Smith (1993) show, most of the bullying that goes on in schools takes place in playgrounds, in the spaces where the watchful eyes of adults are easier to escape. Blatchford and Sumpner (1998), in contrast, offer an account of the playground as a site both for friendship — and, by implication, the recognition of others — on the one hand, and of 'harassment, cruelty and domination' — and, by implication, misrecognition — on the other, does not explore the dynamics of these processes in terms of differences which make a difference such as gender, sexuality, ethnicity and national identity. As I will show, these are complicated processes and the social networks and skills developed by girls are very different from those developed by boys.

Barrie Thorne (1993), in her important study of the ways in which young children do gender, draws attention to playground behaviours and games as an important part of children's everyday practices. She talks about how they play in single sex groups and in mixed groups and about how in the latter, children do 'border work' in which gender is emphasized while boys and girls play together, particularly in a variety of games of chase (see, also, Epstein 1997). However, it is not simply gender that children work at in their play, nor developing a culture separate from that of adults, but also aspects of ethnicity, sexuality and national identity. Furthermore, children may do gender through ethnicity or vice versa, and this holds true for other differences too.

Valerie Walkerdine (1984) argued that the physical organization and geography of classrooms both produced and were produced by discourses of child-centred pedagogy. Similarly, I would suggest that the geography and spatial organization of playgrounds speak gendered power relations. My observation at Edendale reveals a use of the playground that is typical of inner city schools with little outside space. During morning break children were not allowed to play with balls. At this time, there was a reasonably even spread of older and younger children, boys and girls across the playground though even then, the older, bigger boys would dominate the space through a variety of games involving running and physical contact and boys and girls would, with



some exceptions, play separately. Here, however, I will concentrate on dinner play partly because this is the longest period spent by children in the playground and partly because this is the time when adults who are not teachers and who have less status than teachers supervise them. The older, bigger boys who played football dominated the space at this time. Those boys who were not part of this game because they were younger, smaller, did not like football or were seen as bull players and all the girls were, literally, pushed on to the margins of the playground space although one could interpret their position, equally, as framing the football game.

Fighting and football were used as a resource to solidify ethnically marked masculinities. Success in these was also an important criterion for a boy's popularity amongst both boys and girls. Establishing oneself as a good footballer, someone who was not loath to have a scrap, establish one as a 'real boy' within the heterosexual economy of the school. Certain groups of children were heavily involved in discourses of 'boyfriends' and 'girlfriends', 'dating' and 'dumping', 'two-timing' and 'going-out'. This did not involve all the children in Years 5 and 6, but it did include those who were the most popular and attractive, the ones that the other children wanted to be like and wanted to be friends with. The practice involved in these discourses was not actually going out with anyone in the way that older pupils in secondary schools might; it was the talk about who 'fancied' whom and why. It was notable, in this context, that the most desirable boys were those who exhibited the macho forms of masculinity involved in football and fighting.

## References

- Blatchford, P., & Sumpster, C. (1998). What do we know about breaktime? Results from a national survey of breaktime and lunchtime in primary and secondary schools., *British Educational Research Journal*, 24(1): 79-94.
- Epstein, D. (1997). Cultures of Schooling/Cultures of Sexuality, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1(1): 37-53.
- Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender Play: Boys and Girls in School*. Buckingham: Open University Press (published in the US by Rutgers University Press).
- Walkerdine, V. (1984). Developmental psychology and the child-centred pedagogy: the insertion of Piaget into early education, In J. Henriques et al. (Eds.), *Changing the Subject: Psychology, social regulation and subjectivity*. London: Methuen.
- Whitney, L., & Smith, P. (1993). A survey of the nature and extent of bully/victim problems in junior/middle and secondary schools, *Educational Research*, 35: 3-25.

## **Gendering Education for Reconciliation: 'Femininity', Memory and Silence in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report**

*Debbie Epstein and Elaine Unterhalter*

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), established in 1995 by the new government in South Africa, was intended to be a key part of the construction of the new society. It was to provide 'as complete a picture as possible of the nature, cause and extent of gross violations of human rights committed between 1 March 1960 and 5 December 1993' (Government Gazette 1995). The Commission reported in October 1998. In the course of its



work, the Commission travelled around the country and received evidence from more than 21000 people. The Report of the Commission has been termed a key document of the century, not only for South Africa but for the world. The TRC is one of the crucial documents and processes of the South African transition, the intention being not merely to provide a complete picture of the past, but to educate South Africans in their own history and to point the way towards a process of reconciliation.

A significant question that emerges from the huge and important testimony given to the TRC and the findings of the Commissioners concerns the gender dynamics of the processes of remembering apartheid. Of the submissions to the Commission, a tiny minority were by women as either victims or perpetrators. What is the significance of this silence? Given that the TRC is a key document of national healing, and one which is supposed to include the whole of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's 'Rainbow Nation', what can we make of women's absence and how has this been interpreted by the TRC itself and by feminist commentators in South Africa.

We aim, in this paper, to examine the forms of representation of women to the TRC, in its Report and in the work of major commentators. Here we will consider how women have represented themselves in evidence to the TRC and how men, when they have spoken of women, have represented them to the TRC. We will also consider constructions of femininity that emerge from the TRC Report and from the work of key commentators. The second aim of the paper is to explore the implications of the particular forms of representation of women, but also, the particular absences in representation of women. We want to examine this critically in the light of the educational work that the TRC is being set to do.

The paper will be organised in four sections. In the first part, we will provide some background to the TRC, debates within South Africa about its terms of reference and the work the Commission accomplished, paying particular attention to the way it conceptualised gender as an issue. This section will also look at the projected educational programmes that arise from the TRC's recommendations. Section Two will be concerned with questions of representation, asking why certain images of women predominate in the report and what discursive work the construction of womanhood in these ways is doing. What narrative and story-lines predominate? What is being signified by the emergence of certain recurring symbols? What are the key omissions from the stories being told and which stories remain untold, maybe even untellable? Who is the text addressed to and what preferred readings are being suggested here?

The third section of the paper concerns questions of memory, issues about the organisation of time in the Report and the construction of a project of national remembering. Whose memories are accessible to the public domain and whose organisation of time becomes incorporated into national memory and why? In cases of what might be termed 'competing memories', which discourses does the TRC use to validate certain memories over others.

In the final section, we shall consider the implications for the construction of the new nation and the future educational work arising from the TRC, of the gendered text of the Report. The dominance of conventional portrayals of women as victims and redeemers in the TRC intermeshes with a range of other key texts of the transition from apartheid, which contain similar constructions. This points up, in stark relief, the difficult and complex task facing the

Gender Commission of the national government, of those working at the Gender Desks in a range of government ministries and provincial governments, of NGOs concerned with gender and of feminist activists.

## **Bibliography**

Nuttall, Sarah and Coetzee, Carli (eds) (1998) Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Krog, Antjie (1998) Country of my Skull. London: Jonathan Cape

Wilson, Richard (1998) 'Human Rights, Globalisation and Culture'. Paper presented at the Conference on Transnationalism, Dept of Anthropology, University of Manchester.

Asmal, Kader, Asmal, Louise and Roberts, Ronald (1998) Reconciliation Through Truth. Oxford: James Currey Publishers

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1999) Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report. London: Macmillan

### **Symposium for the Gender and Education: Voices Conference, Warwick University, March 1999**

#### **Disciplining and Punishing Masculinities'**

##### **Toxic Shock in the Workplace: sexual violence and its implications for worker pedagogies**

*Associate Professor Jane Kenway and Dr Lindsay Fitzclarence, Deakin Centre for Education and Change, Deakin University*

##### **Beating Corporal Punishment: School learners and the current climate of educational discipline in Durban, South Africa.**

*Dr Robert Morrell, Senior Lecturer, University of Natal, Durban*

##### **Macho in the playground: football, fighting and the construction of heterosexual masculinities in the primary school.**

*Dr Debbie Epstein*

##### **Understanding heterosexualities: masculinities, embodiment and schooling**

*Mary Jane Kehily, Research Officer, University of London Institute of Education*

## **Young girls' voices in narratives about a future family life.**

### **Alliances with the children and positioning of the man as "The Other"**

*(Dr) Gunilla Halldén*  
*Department of Child Studies*  
*Linköping university*  
*S-581 83 Linköping*  
*Sweden*  
*Email: Gunha@tema.liu.se*

The paper highlights issues related to young girls' fantasies about a future family life. The data on which I draw in this analysis, was collected in a project about gendered identities and family relationship, where children produced written stories and drawings about a life in a future family of their own. The project was carried out as part of ordinary schoolwork, where the pupils were asked to make drawings of their future family house, their future family and then write about life within this fictive family. The project was carried out over a period of time (two months) and the pupils wrote about different topics and different events within the family. The drawings of the future family house was used as a cover illustration for each child's personal book of narratives. The stories varied in length from five to 64 pages. Interviews were carried out with some of the pupils, but it was not an ethnographic study dealing with how the texts were produced. Instead the data are analysed as texts in which different voices can be heard.

I want to focus on how nine year old girls in their narratives take the voice of an adult woman and in doing that, exploring different positions of power, of caring for others and of portraying 'The Other'. The narratives are looked upon as a play which opens up possibilities to create scenarios where the narrator presents herself in different positions, in relation to different persons and with different projects. I use the voice-concept to discuss how the narrators establish an arena for the agency of the main character. In the narratives we are told a story and this story is told by an 'I' who tell us what is happening, but also how the events are supposed to be interpreted. The 'I', the narrator's alter ego is also related to other people and form we-groups. I will discuss how borders between different arenas are introduced and how rituals are used to handle these borders. I will also discuss the importance of gender in the narratives in terms of the main character's relation to her children. The capacity to give birth, the identification between an adult woman and a little girl, and the positioning of the man as 'The Other'.

The concept 'voice' has been used of Carol Gilligan and her research group to grasp how a person talk about herself. How is the 'I' presented and together with whom does the 'I' act and form a 'we-group'? Which issues are explored and given a voice? The analysis relates to Bakhtin's use of the voice-concept and of the phenomenon that we always talk in relation to other people. In doing that we use different voices, which means that voices are polyphone.

The concept 'voice' has also been used in ethnographic research by those who look for children's perspectives or children's standpoint. In sociology of childhood, children's accounts are interpreted in terms of children's voices which gives us an understanding of how children look upon their position in a gender and generation system. Here the issue is to highlight how a certain position in a power system opens up for certain practices, but not to

discuss how a self identity is developed in relation to other people. The sociological use of the voice-concept differs from the one used by Gilligan.

In discourse psychology we find still another way of using the voice-concept. In a discourse analyses the Bakhtin-perspective is used to study how different voices are listened to in a conversation and how a person is talking in relation to a discourse that gives the rules for what is possible to say. The 'voices' are then constructed in relation to a certain discourse. Within this perspective the researches does not look for a struggle to establish a self identity as in Gilligan's research, or to show the children's perspectives as in the sociology of childhood, but to analyse how voices are constructed in a discourse.

My use of the voice-concept draw on Bakhtin's perspective of the polyphony of voices, but the focus is not on language but on positions for the alter ego in the narrative. I also use his concept 'chronotop' to discuss how place and time are connected in the narrative and how the narrator use certain chronotopes to emphasize transitions in life e.g. between night and day, between to the wellknown and the foreign and in relation to giving birth to children. My point is that the narrators, when making up stories about a fictive future life, explore important issues like 'Who am I?', 'What are important borders?', 'Agency, power and control'. The narratives are not discussed in developmental terms, but as ways of exploring positions in a power and gender system, and in doing that forming a subjectivity.

The perspective used in the analyses is inspired by the work of Valerie Walkerdine and the poststructural tradition. This means that I discuss the narratives, not as a way to understand the girls self-identity, but to see how they explore different positions for a subjectivity. The narratives are not accounts of a lived life, but fantasies about a future and of possible positions for the narrator's alter ego. It is fantasies about power and about being an important person in relation to other people.

In relating to the theme of what is Nordic and what is foreign, I do discuss these girls' narratives in comparison with the work of Carolyn Steedman in her book *The Tidy House*. The swedish girls do present a powerful woman, but also a solidarity with children and in that sense tell us another story than the girls in Steedman's book, where children are described as a burden for the mothers. Drawing on three quite different stories I will highlight how the girls give meaning to a life with children. The main characters in the stories are self confident women who are responsible for the family life, not always as house-keepers, but always as a central person for the whole family. The man is present, but his role is marginal and he is not portrayed as someone to rely on, but often quite the contrary, someone who needs to be controlled. The children are the women's allied and the men are outside the dyad. The children are not a burden for women, quite the contrary they give the women power and a sense of importance.

Halldén, G. (1994) The family - A refuge from demands or an arena for the exercise of power and control – children's fiction on their future families, in B. Mayall (ed) *Children's Childhoods*, London: Falmer Press

Halldén, G. (1997) Competence and connection: gender and generation in boys' narratives, *Gender and Education* (9), 307-316.

Halldén, G. (1998) Boyhood and fatherhood. Narratives about a future family life, *Childhood* (5) 23-39.



## **Her Mother's voice: auto/biography within the family**

*Merril Hammer, The Open University, London Region, Parsifal College, 527 Finchley Road, Hampstead, London NW3 7BG m.c.hammer@open.ac.uk*

*Carrie Paechter, School of Education, The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, MK7 6AA Error! Bookmark not defined.*

We come to this paper from two different but complementary positions. Carrie has been exploring autobiographical writing about her schooling experiences as a teenager with a lesbian mother. In this the voice of her mother is notable by its absence, although her actions, of course, underpin and run through the account. Merrill, by contrast, has been studying her mother's life directly, constructing a life history narrative of her mother becoming a teacher. In this, not only is she grappling with the problem of how to represent her mother's spoken voice, but she is also working with her mother's writings about her life. In both cases we also have to deal with the relationship between the personal space of the home and the public space of the academy, between our selves as daughters and our selves as academics and researchers.

In this paper we explore some of the issues, both methodological and personal, in doing research that involves close family members, specifically, our mothers. We will look at the relationship between writing biography and autobiography, at questions of motivation and power, and at issues of anonymity and of consequent silencing. In particular we want to consider the question of whose voice is heard and whose silenced when daughters write about their mothers and the relationship between them.

One factor in approaching auto/biographical research is its relationship with the confessional. In dealing with confessional research methods and ways of writing we need to tread a careful line between researcher as enquirer and researcher as analyst/confessor.

The interview process in particular is about the joint construction of shared meanings, of a story made out of the experiences of both participants. Within the family, where storytelling is part of the parent-child relationship, bringing parts of one's interior self into the story is an act charged with meaning. Dealing with our mothers' voices through the different speech paradigm of the academic paper brings a further dimension to the confessional nature of such research; it brings the interior (and maybe feminised) world both of the self and of the home under the (masculinised) gaze of the academic community.

As a further methodological exploration, the paper will be in the form of a dialogue, in which our individual voices can work in counterpoint. In this way we hope not to present a polished set of conclusions, but to open up discussion about the value and importance of auto/biographical work on female family members for feminist educational research.

## **Odd Fellows: The Female Subject of Academia**

*Dr Gillian Howie: University of Liverpool*

*Dr Ashley Tauchert: University of Exeter.*

This paper will explore the difficult and slippery relationship between the academic voice of authority and the female subject of educational experience. Our first two claims are simple and relatively uncontentious. Social structures are replicated, are reproduced, through educational practices. Secondly, we, as feminist practitioners within Higher Education, have been admitted to the structures but we haven't significantly altered them. We suggest that one of the reasons that we haven't significantly altered them is that we are trapped by the 'glamour' of Higher Education, that we tend to lose sight of our position and we begin to reproduce the normative requirements of educational practice.

The term 'normative' is used to suggest that there are representations or ideas which at first appear to describe behaviour but which in fact prescribe suitable behaviour or values. These values and expectations can be internalised. We can also borrow a term from Millett 'interior colonisation'. So, the terms prescribe behaviour and we, as already colonised, regulate our own behaviour accordingly. Now, the term 'normative' implies that there is an ethical dimension. Our contention is that certain ideas are experienced as normative, carrying ethical obligations. Although the ethical claim is mythical the obligations can be really experienced as having ethical magnitude. This ethical intuition may be one aspect of the glamour of Higher Education but there are others.

The normative ideal is supported by two main things. First, the organisation of the institution itself. This can be the architecture, physical accessibility, the sedimented relations of power in the form of committees, line management, relation to external bodies, union organisation and so forth. Second, by a highly contentious epistemological project which cascades through certain disciplined requirements: Institutional Embodiment and Disciplinary Strategies.

### *Institutional Embodiment.*

This argument can be illustrated and opened up by applying it to the question of disability.

The relationship between the body-politic (the state, the cinema or the university) as a sum of activities and a distribution of power and a given subject assumes that the subject is able-bodied. Subjects with physical disabilities are excluded from the body-politic on the grounds of their ability-difference. The outcome for individuals with disabilities, in their relationship to the body-politic, is structurally similar to that encountered by women, and a similar polarising of strategy takes place: namely, to hide/overcome their difference, or - with the use of technology - to even-out the difference.

Next we examine the ways in which epistemological assumptions are transmitted through to us in such a way that we begin to regulate our own behaviour: the beginning of interior colonisation and the repetition of the myth. Shildrick's analysis of disability, and her discussion of the application form currently used to assess a subject's entitlement to Disability Living Allowance, offers a useful example of this process.

### *Disciplinary Strategies.*

Our second point, noted above, follows from Shildrik's analysis of institutional and internal regulation. There is, in Higher Education, a highly contentious epistemological project that cascades through certain disciplined requirements. This second point is three-fold: (a) epistemological (b) discipline defined as subject matter, content, manner of analysis etc (c) discipline in terms of regulation, the introjection of regulation and the psychological-behavioural effects of it. So, we shall offer an analysis of assessment criteria to indicate two things: first to show how something like assessment criteria can be gendered or biased under the guise of impartiality and, secondly, to demonstrate how these criteria organise educational practice in such a way as to conform to, and to transmit, the ideal already outlined. We shall examine (a) passing (b) grading (iii) writing and (iv) research.

### *Summation.*

We will draw together the epistemological project, the normative principle, the idea of institutional embodiment with the principle of discipline. We shall speculate on two things. The reason we discipline ourselves, we suggest, is that the discipline process creates an excess, a surplus. That surplus, we contend, returns to haunt us as a form of desire, settling in the gap between the possible and the impossible normative idea, until, in the end, we desire to be (to have ?) the ideal itself. Secondly, we ask whether the hypermasculinisation of Higher Education is a response of the feminine boy (the academic) dealing with the feminisation of labour (women into academia).

R. Barthes, *Mythologies* (Vintage: 1993)

M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (Penguin: 1977)

L. Irigaray, *Speculum* (Cornell: 1992)

M. Shildrik, *Leaky Bodies: Feminism, Postmodernism and (Bio)ethics* (1997)

### **Towards a gender inclusive science curriculum: students speak about acceptance, rejection and reconfiguration of dominant discourses of science**

#### ***Gwyneth Hughes University of East London***

Female under-representation in physical science and technology has been a key feature of the pursuit of gender equality in education over the past decades. In the UK, a range of interventionist strategies to improve female access to science has had partial success in closing gender gaps in compulsory education. However, post-sixteen the familiar gender polarisation between science and non-science, and between physical and biological science, re-emerges (Arnot *et al.*, 1996).

Female access to physical science continues to be problematic because the construction of a privileged, masculine status for scientific knowledge, with its associated practices and pedagogies, reproduces gender segregation. Gendering of science is symbolic in that the predominantly remote and abstract presentation of physical science is associated with the masculine; whereas more 'humanised' biological sciences are often constructed as feminine or ambiguous. Many studies of gender and science education have focused on identifying the



structures and practices that deter or exclude girls from physical science. However, the nature of science itself remains largely unexamined in these discourses. More recent feminist discourse has focused attention on the abstract and epistemologically rigid version of science that is widely presented to students. Gender reformers have drawn upon the work of feminist critics of science to suggest that a more 'feminine' science curriculum that is contextual, co-operative and student-centred favours girls (Harding, 1996; Hildebrand, 1996; Vlaeminke, 1997). Such proposals resonate with wider calls for a more accessible, philosophically informed and socially relevant science curriculum for all students (Driver *et al.*, 1996).

While agreeing with initiatives promoting curriculum reform, this paper argues that there are dangers of essentialism and over-simplification when making associations between the subjectivities of male students and the masculinity accorded abstract science. Not all females are deterred by symbolically masculine disciplines, while not all males are encouraged. Biology falls under the umbrella of abstract science yet can also be associated with the feminine. In addition a focus only on gender without consideration of other power relations based on ethnicity or class tends to mask complexity. Such contradictions that arise from gender essentialism can be avoided by acknowledging that subjectivities are not solely determined by social structures. Recognition that students are not passively situated in educational discourse, but actively negotiate subject positions within discursive constraints, points towards new ways of understanding the complexity of gender issues in science and technology (Henwood, 1998; Volman, 1997; Weiner, 1994).

The paper contributes to post-structuralist approaches to gender and science by demonstrating how discursive constructions of science in the curriculum play an important part in generating student scientist subjectivities. It listens to student voices as they take up or reject scientist identities through negotiation of available scientist subjectivities and subjectivities produced through gender, class or ethnicity. The paper finally signposts a new approach to curriculum reform in science that does not rely on, or perpetuate, universalised gender categories.

In a study of post-sixteen physical and biological science curricula, science was largely represented and taught as a body of authoritative, incontestable knowledge which is abstracted from social activity to maintain a high level of difficulty and status. A critical literature on school science suggests that this narrow, elitist representation of science is typical, and that an overhaul of the science curriculum in the UK is long overdue. Nevertheless, there was some evidence of resistance to these dominant discourses, not surprisingly arising from the more gender ambiguous biology. Discourse analysis of interviews with three mixed gender pairs of students illustrated how different subjectivities interact within the constraints and contradictions of these competing discourses of science to produce a range of outcomes.

In the first example, student scientist subjectivities available within the dominant curriculum discourses were more compatible with high-achieving masculinities than femininities. A debate between the two students illustrates how being a scientist through engagement with abstract rationality is compatible with a masculine subjectivity, but not with a feminine subjectivity produced through repudiation of abstract knowledge. By contrast, in the second example, another high-achieving female student was able to generate a comfortable scientist



identity within the dominant curriculum through an exploration of the 'otherness' of her ethnicity. While these three students drew on subjectivities available only within the dominant curriculum, a third female student presented a positive scientist identity by drawing on feminist discourses of gender equality and a reconfiguration of discourses of scientific certainty to allow students to construct their own knowledges. She spoke of this identity, one that is neither dependant on gender conformity to masculine/feminine binaries nor high achievement, in contrast to a more problematic scientist identity presented by her male partner.

These case studies both illustrate the complexity of scientist identity production and provide evidence that a reconfiguration of dominant discourses of science could increase the possibilities for student positions as scientists. The paper concludes that to take gender inclusivity in physical science beyond an elite minority not only requires commitment to eradicating gender discriminatory practices and hierarchies, but also depends on curriculum reform to challenge the dominant representations of abstract, rigid and hierarchical science in a framework that moves beyond the restrictions of masculine/feminine dualisms.

### **Brief Bibliography**

Arnot, M., David, M. & Weiner, G.(1996) *Educational reforms and Gender Equality in Schools* Equal Opportunities Commission

Davies, B. (1993) *Shards of Glass: Children reading and writing beyond gendered identities* New Jersey: Hampton Press

Driver, R., Leach, J., Miller, R. and Scott, P. (1996) *Young people's images of science* Buckingham: Open University Press

Fairelough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change* Cambridge: Polity

Harding, S. (1986) *The Science Question in Feminism* Milton Keynes: Open University Press

Henwood (1998) 'Engineering Difference: discourses on gender, sexuality and work in a college of technology' *Gender and Education* (10)1: 35-49

Hildebrand, G. (1996) 'Redefining Achievement' in Gipps, C. and Murphy, P. eds. *Equity in the Classroom: towards effective pedagogy for girls and boys* London: Falmer

Kelly, A. (1987) 'The construction of masculine science' in Kelly, A. ed. (1987) *Science for Girls* Milton Keynes: Open University Press

Weiner, G. (1994) *Feminisms in Education an Introduction* Milton Keynes: Open University Press

## **Challenging Voices: mythical discourses and invisible pedagogies – appropriating Bernstein for women in HE**

*Sue Jackson*

One of the most challenging voices in contemporary educational pedagogy has been that of Basil Bernstein. He has, over many years, made visible the social assumptions on which pedagogic discourse and practice are based, and has become a seminal figure in the sociology of education. In particular, he has examined the effects of class relationships within the institutionalising of elaborate and universalising codes in schools. Central to his argument was "the notion that educational transmissions embody class ideologies which are crucial to the cultural reproduction of class relations" (Bernstein, 1975, p16).

In this paper, I should like to extend the work of Basil Bernstein from schools to higher education, and from social class to gender. I shall be drawing on his later work, Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity (Bernstein, 1996), and his discussions of mythical discourses and invisible pedagogies. In this book, Bernstein states that underlying his research are central questions and issues about the relationship between education and democracy, an issue I will problematise with regard to women. However, Bernstein suggests that for people to become part of an effective educational democracy, three 'rights' must be institutionalised. I will show that these 'rights' apply as much to gender and higher education as they do to Bernstein's analysis of schools and social class. Bernstein further suggests that schools legitimise inequalities by creating "mythical discourses" (Bernstein, 1996, p9), incorporating the political ideologies and arrangements of society. I shall go on to ask what part is played by higher educational institutions in continually recreating national consciousness, a national consciousness grounded in gender differentiation and inequality. What are the mythical discourses and invisible pedagogies that dominate higher educational institutions?

In this paper I shall be considering how women can lead and participate in the transformation of existing patriarchal orders within higher education, de-bunking the 'myths' and making visible the dominant pedagogies. I will suggest that one strategy for working towards this is to appropriate Bernstein's work for women in higher education. The educational pedagogy of Basil Bernstein has been liberatory for many people. Following a higher degree in linguistics, Bernstein has developed his life's work in considering the relationship between the language of education, and social class. In the first volume of his work on class, codes and control (Bernstein, 1971), he stated that his aim was to develop a sociology of language, where he examined the inter-relations of culture, social organisation and orientations towards certain types of language. It was here that he started to develop in greater detail the distinction he had already identified between universalistic and particularistic codes of meaning. He went on to examine the effects of class relationships within the institutionalising of elaborate and universalised codes in schools. Central to his argument was "the notion that educational transmissions embody class ideologies which are crucial to the cultural reproduction of class relation" (Bernstein, 1975, p.16).

In his later work, The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse, (Bernstein, 1990), and by then a professor in the sociology of education at the University of London's Institute of Education,

Bernstein gave consideration to the rules, practices, agencies and agents which shape and change the social construction of pedagogic discourse. In particular, he was interested in the distribution of power and the principles of control. He has built on these issues in his latest book, Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity (Bernstein, 1996), which I found challenging and illuminating, opening up possibilities for new ideas and feminist challenges. Like bell hooks with Paulo Freire (see Jackson, 1997), I have been able to use many threads from this work to weave into the feminist theories and pedagogy of my own work. I have been particularly interested in his descriptions of educational rights, and his emphasis on the need for them to be institutionalised. I have also drawn on his descriptions of "mythological discourse" (Bernstein, 1996, p.9), and his discussion of invisible pedagogies. Whilst the focus for Bernstein is on schools, particularly with regard to social class, the issues he raises are equally valid in an examination of higher education, and for consideration of issues of gender. Although not entirely absent from his work, there is little focus on gender in his book. I have found many of his ideas useful in furthering my own analysis of women in higher education, and will go on to show areas of similarity, where I have been able to take Bernstein's ideas forward through a feminist standpoint. Here, I believe, a feminist theoretical perspective can weave additional layers into the tapestry of existing research.

In Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity (1996), Basil Bernstein states that underlying his research are central questions and issues about the relationship between education and democracy. He says (Bernstein, 1996, p6) that for democracy to function smoothly people must feel that they have a stake in society, and equally for schools to function smoothly parents and children must feel that they have a stake in the school. They must have confidence that arrangements in the school will realise the stake, or have good grounds not to. However, I would ask whether women in higher education consider they have a stake in the institution, whether the stake will be realised, or whether they believe there are satisfactory grounds for it not to be realised. Indeed, for disadvantaged groups, including women, having a 'stake' in the institution may not be sufficient, if the 'stake' means submitting to, and becoming subsumed in, existing structures. However, Bernstein suggests that for such groups to become part of an effective educational democracy, three 'rights' must be institutionalised (Bernstein, 1996, p6/7). I will raise questions about democracy later in this chapter. However, these 'rights' apply as much to gender and higher education as they do to Bernstein's analysis of schools and social class.

The first 'right' that Bernstein considers is the right to individual enhancement (Bernstein, 1996, p6). This has strong resonances with Henry Giroux's Border Crossings (1992), (see Jackson, 1997). As I have shown, Giroux too connects empowerment to the individual powers that are linked to democracy. However, individual enhancement can be a problematic concept from a feminist standpoint. A feminist pedagogy of change might well wish to challenge a 'right' which operates at an individual level. Depending on the theoretical perspective, it is more likely that feminist theories of education would prioritise either structural or indeed post-structural analytic tools, rather than ones which engage only with *individual* enhancement.

As Giroux and others have done, Bernstein too considers the importance of boundaries here, suggesting that individual enhancement is a "condition for experiencing boundaries ... as tension points between the past and future possibilities". I have discussed boundaries as tension points elsewhere (see Jackson 1997). Henry Giroux, for instance, suggests that to cross boundaries new antagonisms and struggles need to be constructed. But whether this



antagonism and struggle comes from individual enhancement or changing group consciousness is debatable. And indeed border crossings might also be constructed around power differences, with 'future possibilities' having different meanings for women and for men.

However, Bernstein does say that this right depends on confidence, for "without confidence it is difficult to act" (Bernstein, 1996, p7). Confidence is certainly a central issue for many women in higher education (see Jackson, 1998), and Bernstein is right to show that individual enhancement depends on the confidence to have reached critical understanding; the confidence to consider new possibilities; and the confidence to act (see Bernstein, 1996, p7). We need to ask how this can be affected, not just for individual women, but institutionalised within the academy. This can start to happen through women's studies, for instance (Jackson, in preparation (a)) where the symbolic system is more student led. Whilst women's studies does not try to immediately fix women's experiences into theory, it does open up new possibilities, critical understanding, and ways to effect both personal and political change.

The second right that Bernstein calls for is the right to be included socially, intellectually, culturally and personally. These, though, can be problematic areas for women. Does being included intellectually and culturally, for instance, mean conforming to traditional male-defined and patriarchal definitions of culture and intellect? What does it mean for women to be included socially and personally in the academy? Does this mean that the ethos and values of the academy need to change, or that individual women have a right to be included in the mainstream of academic life? Bernstein suggests that "this right operates at the level of the social" (Bernstein, 1996, p7), but 'the social' has different implications for different groups, and women and men may not experience or participate in the social and the personal in the same way.

However, Bernstein states that

the right to be included does not necessarily mean to be absorbed. Thus the right to be included may also require a right to be separate, to be autonomous (Bernstein, 1996, p7).

But can women in higher education be included socially, intellectually, culturally and personally without being absorbed into the mainstream? This is a question which is on-going in considering the role of women's studies and its right to be separate and autonomous yet still included in the academy (Jackson, in preparation (b)).

The third right is the right to participate in discourse, practice and procedures. It is, says Bernstein, "the right to participate in the construction, maintenance and transformation of orders" (Bernstein, 1996, p7). A theory of education that focuses on the transformative function of feminist perspectives would ask how the existing patriarchal orders of the academy are constructed and maintained, and how women can lead and participate in the transformation of these orders. To what extent, though, are women able to participate in procedures, and in the construction, maintenance and changing of pedagogic orders, including the pedagogic orders and structures of power/knowledge? Bernstein has shown that there are inequalities in the orientation, distribution and transmission of pedagogic knowledge (Bernstein, 1996, p5). Within higher education, then, we could examine the



1. a bilingual does not fit into categories of established rules and regulations;
2. critical thoughts and reflections of a developing bilingual are unwanted; and
3. bilingual thoughts and deeds show flexibility, creativity and innovation that challenge the system.

1. If there is one thing one learns as a bilingual, it is that one does not fit in. The more one can play with language and culture, the more one drifts away from rules and regulations governing the standard norms for monolinguals. In my case, this new awareness of what language and culture have to do with one's identity stimulated a wave of reflections about my upbringing, cultural values, and first socialization of gender.

Regardless of perspective, my reflections on, and comparison of language, culture and socialization all merged into a quest for identity. For example: "When am I more German or less German?" "When am I a female studying abroad?" And: "When am I expected to socialize as a female in the host culture?" As a bilingual, I came to understand that there can be no simple and predetermined answer to these questions.

2. As I became bilingual and reflective, I also grew more critical towards myself and the world around me. It did not take me very long, however, to realize that critical reflections were not welcome; even worse, they were unwanted. My critical inquiries became a problem, particularly going through graduate school. I got in trouble, "big trouble."

Whereas my German upbringing encouraged analysis and scrutiny for the sake of making an argument, and constructive criticism, US academe preferred pleasing, spoon-fed, non-provocative answers that did not question authorities. As of today, this clash in values has landed me in conflicting situations. I cannot help but wonder in how far my being female has added to the turmoil.

3. The life of a bilingual often takes place in the sphere of the in-between. Plays on words and mish-mashes of language and culture within unknown territory can be amusing, painful, as well as innovative and challenging. But what the bilingual comes up against is a lack of respect for those who are different from the norm, from the establishment. Although flexibility, creativity and innovation are goals of elitist education and business, they are unwanted for and from minority voices like that of a bilingual foreign female.

Research in second-language acquisition, however, provides ample evidence that flexibility, creativity and innovation are among the most important benefits of becoming bi/multilingual. Why, then, are minority voices discouraged from becoming bilingual with all its advantages?

How is one to interpret the silencing of bilingual voices? The larger picture of education in the USA is a sad one: bilingual education is experiencing difficult times. It is in the process of being dismantled due to political power play and scapegoating. This is nothing new, but has reached an alarming point. Antagonism toward a bilingual female is a warning of the dilemma existing not only in the US educational system, but worldwide.

Implications for study-abroad programs at the high school and university levels and support for bilingual voices will also be discussed.

Biography: Helga Kansy is an ESL survivor (English-as-a-Second-Language), who has studied linguistics, anthropology, communications and multicultural education. As a result of her extensive study-abroad experiences, she is interested in a multicultural perspective on women in academe, qualitative research and teaching tolerance.

### **Power and Freedom in the usage of pedagogical documentation in Swedish pre-school practice – poststructural readings.**

*Hillevi Lenz Taguchi*

Institute of Education  
Dep. of Child pedagogy and Youth Studies  
Box 44037  
S-100 73 Stockholm  
Sweden  
E-mail: **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

This paper attempts to make Foucaultian and feminist poststructural readings of the usage of child-observation and documentation of preschool practices in Sweden during a main part of this century. In the first and newly published curriculum for preschool services in Sweden (1998), the concept of "*pedagogical documentation*"<sup>1</sup> appears for the first time as a recommended tool for in-service training and evaluation of quality. Child-observations and documentational practices have been used, though, within pre-school practice since the 1930'ies, when Dr. Elsa Köhler encouraged pedagogues to work with psychological scientific methods in their practice. The aim of this work was to discover children with deviations from what developmental psychology determined as normal, and to support these children in developing properly. This goal is still evident in many Swedish pre-schools today, even though the goal of contemporary constructivist and interactive practice is to use child-observations as a tool *to support the individual learning-process of the child*.

The two readings of this paper circulate around three questions asked by Nikolas Rose on the possibilities of freedom in a neoliberal society.<sup>2</sup> *The aim of the paper is thus to explore the these possibilities of freedom in relation to practices of child-observations and documentation, and especially those – apparent in the second reading – involving pedagogical documentation in contemporary practice.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Pedagogical documentation is foremost connected to the Reggio Emilian inspired preschool practice in Sweden. See Edwards, C., Gandini, L. & Forman, G., 1998. *The hundred languages of children. The Reggio Emilian Approach – Advanced Reflections*. Greenwich/London, Ablex Publishing Corporation.

<sup>2</sup> Rose, N., 1996. "Towards a Critical Sociology of Freedom", in *Nordiske Udkast. Journal for Critical Social Science*, nr 1, 1996, 24 årgang.

In a Foucaultian genealogical reading, the usage of observation and documentation is an 'emancipative' and 'redemptive' tool in relation to a scientifically "true" child. They are part of a governmentalized technology of regulation, discipline and control. Children became *subjects* of scientific study and *objects* of scientific knowledge. Child-observations became a normalizing tool within a highly disciplined and self-disciplined pedagogical practice. With the discursive change from the language of the Social and the State, to a language of the local and the individual, there was also a shift in the practice of observation and documentation from a totalizing discipline enacted through the state, to a decentered self-control. Control then, is not about a disciplining adaptation to an *outer, normative gaze*, as much as a result of an *introspective gaze*, connected to the notions of self-fulfilment and self-government by free choice within the pedagogical practice. Or, with other words, the normative gaze is incorporated in the individual and comes from within. Freedom is not attained by being normalized in relation to a scientifically "true" child, as much as by being a result of finding one's "true" self. Within the educational arena this technology is apparent in the discursive practice of *learning how to learn*, i.e. the child's meta-cognitive understanding of why and how something must be learnt to be able to learn.

In a genealogical reading the subject is enclosed in a seemingly closed system of governmentalized power production. There is no way out of dominating discourses, since the individual uphold these discourses by reproducing them as discourse and discursive practice. Or, in accordance with Nikolas Rose's questions which the discussions of this paper circulate around: there are no ways in which we can become experts of ourselves without requiring submission to an image produced by authorities; and there are no ways of practising freedom that do not fix us through a hermeneutics of identity, and thus to be open, inventive and questioning.

A feminist poststructural reading is offered as a supplement to the genealogical. Certain feminist poststructural readings of Derridean deconstructions and processes of subjectification<sup>3</sup> are used to read the practice of the Reggio Emilian inspired practice with pedagogical documentation in Sweden. In such a reading the usage of the tool is seen as a *displaced practice of 'resistance'*, against *any* dominant praxis or dominant view of the child. To be able to see pedagogical documentation as a practice of 'resistance' it is necessary to make a displacement of the concepts of the genealogical reading, such as governmentalized power, the subject, the expert, freedom and the constructivist teacher. The second reading offers a possibility for a certain understanding of the subject as 'agentive' within the power/knowledge bind, as well as a possibility of a certain kind of 'emancipation' and 'freedom'.

A multiplicity of subjectivities as a pedagogue as well as a multiplicity of practices are made possible in *deconstructional communication* between pedagogues. Pedagogical documentation is used as a tool in this deconstructional work. Pieces of observed practice where children and pedagogues interact in a co-construction of knowledge and meaning, are used, both to "follow the learning-processes of the children", and to deconstruct the analyzes and practices of the pedagogues. Pedagogical documentation as 'resistance' operates from a perspective of 'freedom' as necessarily temporal within the only room of power/knowledge,

---

<sup>3</sup> Judith Butler; Bronwyn Davies; Elisabeth Ellsworth; Patti Lather; Jeanette Rhedding Jones; Valerie Walkerdine.

in which we constitute ourselves as discursively inscribed subjects. 'Freedom' is not a state of transcendence from a room of false consciousness to a room of a true and desired end-state. It occurs in the moment when we make ourselves aware of the discourses that constitute us and our practices, and transgress our closures of meaning. The pedagogue is thus 'agentic' in the sense that she, by becoming aware of the processes through which she is made subject, is better positioned to *resist particular forms of subjectivity and particular forms of thinking and practicing pedagogy*. She is thereby able to transgress them and 'change'. The paper ends up with an example from practice, where multiple readings are made.

**Bibliography:** Hillevi Lenz Taguchi, born in 1962 (BA in literature and sociology). Doctoral student at the Stockholm Institute of Education. The thesis *Power, Resistance and Emancipation. Pedagogical documentation in Swedish preschool – A researching learning-process*, will be finished during the winter of 2000-2001.

**Empowering and Enabling or Patronising and Pressurising?: opening dialogues with marginalised voices**

*Gayle Letherby and Jen Marchbank in conjunction with Kay Lander, Angela Walker, Andrea Wilde*

*School of Health and Social Sciences  
Coventry University  
Coventry  
CV1 5FB*

Two years ago we (Gayle Letherby and Jennifer Marchbank) wrote a paper entitled: "'I don't want to be empowered just give me a reading pack!': student responses and resistance to different forms of teaching and assessment' for presentation at a conference concerned with equal opportunities in the curriculum. In the paper we outlined our experiences as two feminist academics of teaching and working in Higher Education. We were concerned with responses to what we teach and how we teach and the responsibilities of students in the learning environment. In the paper we made reference to different groups of students including Women's Studies students. Following our presentation we attempted to engage students (namely 12 final year Women's Studies students and one Women's Studies graduate) in a research dialogue by giving them our paper to read and asking for their comments. As we wrote in 'I don't want to be empowered...' we aim, in our teaching and other work with students, to create empowering spaces and we hoped this dialogue would be part of this. We recognise that students voices are much more marginalised than ours, even though we ourselves have little power in the institutional structure, and tried to minimise this by given students a right to respond.

Thus, we were disappointed when we received only three written replies and two verbal responses to our piece. The responses that we did receive were all a mixture of support and critique. The criticisms made were sometimes directed at the institution and sometimes at



## **The discipline of love: negotiation and regulation in boys performance of a romance-based heterosexual masculinity'**

*Peter Redman, Staff Tutor, Open University*

## **Lads, Lasses and (New) Labour: 14-16 year old students' responses to the 'laddish behaviour and boys' underachievement' debate**

*Becky Francis, University of Greenwich*

### **The discourse of 'boys' underachievement'**

Girls have been performing increasingly well in terms of attainment at GCSE-level. Their achievements at this level now exceed those of boys in all subjects (MacInnes, 1998; Barker, 1997), excluding some minor yearly fluctuations. This development has been widely discussed in the media and in the academic press, constructing a discourse of 'boy's underachievement'. Any change in gendered levels of educational success at GCSE level is in fact negligible (Yates, 1997; Barker, 1997). However, it is certainly the case that girls have recently been out-performing boys in even the most stereotypically masculine subjects (such as Maths and Science) at GCSE level.

While evidence suggests that girl's improved achievement at this level is the result of the removal of previous barriers to girls' attainment, and changed expectations on the part of girls (Francis, 1998; Epstein *et al*, 1998), girls' improvements are often presented in the media as having been at the expense of boys (Yates, 1997; Epstein *et al*, 1998). However, boys' attitudes to learning have also been criticised by ministers. The ex-Schools Standards Minister Stephen Byers argued that boys' 'laddish' anti-school attitudes are impeding their progress at school. This article seeks to examine whether secondary school pupils themselves considered Byers' perception of boys and their behaviour to be justified, and to explore the various discourses that they drew upon in their constructions of boys' behaviour in school.

### **Methods:**

The data is drawn from a study titled 'The Impact of Gender Construction on Pupil's Learning and Educational Choices', funded by the Economics and Social Research Council. The study involved classroom observation and semi-structured interviews with 100 14-16 year old students (50 girls and 50 boys), of various ethnic groups, from three different schools situated within greater London. The semi-structured interviews covered a range of topics concerning gender and education. The final question in the interview schedule asked them to directly respond to Stephen Byers' comment on boys 'laddish' behaviour:

"The ex-Education Minister Stephen Byers said that boys' 'laddish behaviour' is stopping them from doing well at school - what do you think about that?"

## **Numerical analysis**

A total of 67 (67%) students agreed with Byers' claim. Of these, 35 were girls (70%), and 32 boys (64%). Only just over a quarter of students (27%) disagreed, with 6% of students either saying they did not know or not responding directly to the question.

## **Discussion of students' explanations:**

Those students who supported Byers' claim were asked to explain what they thought causes boys to behave 'laddishly' in school. Elsewhere (Francis, 1998; 1999) I have argued it is essential that feminists identify and analyse the various discourses used to construct gender difference if we are to deconstruct or reconstruct these, and this paper seeks to contribute to this. Fourteen different explanations for boys' laddish behaviour were found, including social and biological explanations:

Girls' explanations for boys laddish behaviour tended to be more pejorative than those of boys. Boys more often explained it via 'natural' (inevitable) gender differences, or through the comparative industry of girls; whereas girls were more likely to use social explanations (see Mahony, 1998), and to apportion responsibility to the boys. Just over a quarter of students disagreed with Byers' argument. Of these many pointed to the academic boys in their classes to demonstrate that not all boys behave 'laddishly', or argued that if they do it does not affect their learning. Others drew on narratives of equal opportunities and individuality to maintain that classroom behaviour depends on the individual rather than gender.

These various explanations drew on six different discourses. These were: innate inequality between genders; female superiority; social constructions; active heterosexuality; stereotypically gendered characteristics and behaviour; and women's liberation. Boys drew on the discourse of stereotypically gendered characteristics and behaviour particularly frequently; this sometimes linked to the discourse of innate inequality between genders, as did the discourse of female superiority, which tended to be drawn on by boys and girls for different reasons. However, the discourse of social construction was by far the most commonly used in student's explanations. This finding should be seen as encouraging by feminists: it demonstrates a readiness to explain gender differences in behaviour through social, rather than essentialist or discriminatory explanations, allowing the possibility of change and reconstruction.

## **References:**

- Barker, B. (1997) Girls' world or anxious times: what's really happening at school in the gender war? *Educational Review*, 49, pp. 221-227.
- Epstein, D., Elwood, J., Hey V. & Maw, J. (1998) Schoolboy frictions: feminism and 'failing' boys, in: D. Epstein, J. Elwood, V. Hey & J. Maw (Eds) *Failing Boys?* (Buckingham, Open University Press).
- Francis, B. (1998) *Power Play: Children's Constructions of Gender, Power and Adult Work* (Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books).

- Francis, B. (1999) An investigation of the discourses children draw on in their constructions of gender, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 29, pp. 300-316.
- MacInnes, J. (1998) *The End of Masculinity* (Buckingham, Open University Press).
- Mahony, P. (1998) Girls will be girls and boys will be first, in: D. Epstein, J. Elwood, V. Hey & J. Maw (Eds) *Failing Boys?* (Buckingham, Open University Press).
- Yates, L. (1997) Gender equity and the boys debate: what sort of challenge is it? *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 18, pp. 337-347.

### **Modernist Reductionism or Post-structuralist Relativism: Can We Move On? An evaluation of the arguments in relation to feminist educational research.**

*Becky Francis, University of Greenwich*

#### **The Benefits of Post-structuralist Theory for Feminism**

The post-structuralist theory of discursive positioning appears to offer an explanation which incorporate the notions of resistance and contradiction which proved so problematic for sex-i theory. Post-structuralist theory has also been embraced by some feminists as appealing for t other reasons. Firstly, Foucault (1980) shares the feminist criticism of the scientific discourses of enlightenment. Secondly, post-structuralist discourse analysis offers an explanation for theoret complexities that have challenged feminism: for example, the ways in which power is constit between women (and between men), as well as between men and women. Thirdly, gender itself deconstructed by post-structuralist theory. The repudiation of a fixed self means that gender is fixed, but that the self is positioned in gender discourse. Finally, the idea that we are positioned also position ourselves and one another in discourse has been interpreted as positive and encourag by some feminists. For instance, Davies (1989, 1997) argues that the analysis of gender discou will provide us with a new understanding of the way in which power is constituted, and the ways which we are positioned within that discourse.

#### **Difficulties With the Combination of Feminism and Post-structuralism**

However, there appear to be two fundamental conflicts between feminist and post-structuralist the which make them incompatible. The first is the clash between modernist (feminist) and po structuralist positions; and the second is the post-structuralist aim of deconstruction compared to feminist need for a system to explain the socio-economic reality of gender difference.

Following Balbus (1987) and Assiter (1996) it is argued here that feminism is an inherent modernist theory in that it supposes a founding subject ('womanhood'); and is based on the 'tr narrative' that patriarchy oppresses women, and the moral assumption that such oppression is wro and that we should work to end this oppression. Hence feminism is an enlightenment project, be of the humanist, enlightenment idea that the world can be made a better place through hun project. This also supposes a continuous, and potentially socially improving, history; anot modernist tenet.

The emancipatory concerns of feminist educational research raise theoretical tensions betwe feminism and post-structuralism. The notion that all women are potentially disadvantaged in gene discourse, and that this can be changed through human project, represents a 'truth discourse'. many post-structuralists, truth discourses or 'grand narratives' exercise a power relationship, as th

claim truths or moral correctness and involve totalitarian generalisations (see Shotter, 1993). Moreover, Jones (1997) observes that the notion of agency and choice on the part of subjects which post-structuralist feminists tend to assume (for instance, that subjects can learn to consistently take up alternative discourses with which to oppose oppressive ones), is at odds with dominant post-structuralist theory. She argues that such notions of agency are based on the humanist concept of a self which is an already existing individual (which are repudiated by post-structuralism).

### **Moving forward - to what?**

When Jones (1997) argues that feminists should not attempt to amalgamate humanist notions of agency with post-structuralist theory, she evokes a 'pure' or 'true' post-structuralist theory, which these feminists are transgressing. However, from this perspective it is arguable that no 'post-structuralist feminist' educational research projects have constituted 'pure' post-structuralist approaches. They are based upon feminist (modernist and emancipatory) truth discourses. This is not to negate the contribution of such research, or argue that these studies are any less worthy or useful because they do not conform to 'pure' post-structuralist positions. However, if this is the case it does imply that the on-going feminist debate over post-structuralism outlined above might be re-focused.

'Pure' post-structuralism itself requires some consideration. At what point does an idea become a theory, and a theory become a narrative? Shotter (1993) warns us to be suspicious of all narratives, even 'small stories', in their attempts to produce intelligibility; yet is not post-structuralism itself a narrative of sorts? Although truth discourses present a narrative search for order (which is an 'enlightenment project' according to Foucauldian post-structuralists), it is argued here that discourses which preach *disorder* and deconstruction are also grand narratives, albeit subversive ones. Despite the absence of belief in a 'founding subject' they are still based on a theory or position about the world (the theory that there is no coherent subject, and that there can be no modernist certainty or truth), and they postulate an ideal or method to follow (deconstruction of truth narratives). Balbus (1987) supports this interpretation, maintaining that even in Foucault's writings there appears a 'latent discourse' where the evils of 'continuous history' and 'totality' retain a prominent place; and where the argument that history consists of a succession of power/knowledge discourses constitutes a claim to Truth.

Yet the question mark this article has raised over the use of post-structuralist discourse analysis in feminist emancipatory projects remains. Any attempts to combine a basically humanist position with a post-structuralist one appear theoretically dubious and difficult to substantiate. At the same time, the re-embracing of universalism or essentialism, albeit in a re-worked form (see, for instance, Assiter, 1996), inevitably bears many problems and concerns. It will be the challenge of feminism to devise new theoretical positions to carry our still-vital feminist project into the next century.

### **References:**

- ASSITER, ALISON (1996) *Enlightened Women: Modernist Feminism in a Postmodern Age* (London, Routledge).
- BALBUS, I. (1987) Disciplining women: Michel Foucault and the power of feminist discourse, in S. BENHABIB & D. CORNELL (Eds.) *Feminism as Critique* (London, Polity Press).
- DAVIES, BRONWYN (1989) *Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales* (Sydney, Allen and Unwin).



- DAVIES, BRONWYN (1997) The subject of post-structuralism: a reply to Alison Jones, *Gender Education*, 9, pp. 271-283.
- FOUCAULT, MICHEL (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York, Pantheon).
- JONES, ALISON (1997) Teaching Post-structuralist Feminist Theory in Education: student resistances, *Gender & Education*, 9, pp. 261-269.
- SHOTTER, JOHN (1993) *Cultural Politics of Everyday Life* (Buckingham, Open University Press).

### **Some Women Speak Martian Too, Some Men Speak...**

#### ***A Workshop, Wilma Fraser, WEA and Linden West, University of Kent***

Anyone browsing through the non-fiction best seller list will recognise the reference to another populist account of differences between men and women. Gray's '*Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus*' joins the long list of books supposedly dedicated to improving our ability to talk across a sex- chasm which is, at least metaphorically, planets apart. The rationale is familiar: the discourses that inform our engagement with the world often contain and constrain our experiences of gendered selves. It is precisely this containment which generated feminism and the idea that gender, and the discourses surrounding it, are not fixed in time or space. Post-modern trumpeting about identities, in fact, suggest these are in constant, uncertain flux, providing a plethora of potentialities for both men and women to invent themselves in new ways.

In this workshop we will explore what such cultural and discursive revolutions mean for our relations with one another. How far do we experience the assault on previously dominant constructions of masculinity, for instance, as opening up possibilities for all of us to secure greater intimacy and connectedness with emotional life? Samuels (1993) has acknowledged a dislodgement in the literal and metaphoric place that 'masculinity' has hitherto enjoyed, as the 'subject' and initial premise of most of our discourses: '*...in the past it has been men who defined all the other categories that there might be...Now, men are looked at in the way in which they have historically looked at everything else*'. A consequence of this, he suggests, is the much-debated crisis of 'masculinity': expressed, *inter alia*, in the fundamentalism of some elements of the Men's Movement or in 'new laddism' and its rampant street machismo. Moreover, there is a return to the use of women's bodies to sell everything from cars to chocolates. And popular films like *Disclosure* rely on men's insecurity to generate empathy for a character who is both 'victim' of female sexual harassment and behind-the-scenes female manipulation. Women are increasingly constructed, defensively, as more powerful and threatening in overt as well as covert terms.

But there are, of course, more hopeful and emotionally open trends. There is evidence, as a result of fractured employment histories, that some men are seeking more balance and meaning in their lives, in which relationships and intimate life, rather than, simply, public roles and status, hold a more prominent place. The loss of place in the public arena, and of a discourse articulated in terms of status, competition, aggression and compartmentalisation, appear to be propelling some men towards exploration of the feminine and private realm of nurturance and intimacy. Ironically, some women who succeed in the public arena may do so at the expense of emotional health and intimate life. As the Demi Moore character says in *Disclosure*; '*you encouraged me to take power, you can't blame me if I take everything that*

*goes with it*. We will suggest, in our workshop, and illustrate auto/biographically, that the major challenge is to articulate common spaces between emergent discourses of masculinity and femininity; surrounding the 'post-feminist' problems we all share: both within ourselves as well as between each other. Those relating, for example, to the tensions between knowledge and emotion, subjectivity and objectivity, fantasy and language, co-operation and competitiveness, public and intimate selves, academic and more intuitive ways of knowing, materiality and spirituality. Tensions, which may well, lie at the heart of the Workshop and wider Conference too.

### **It Takes Your Breath Away - issues of voice and empowerment among girls educated in boys' schools**

*Mary Fuller and Pauline Dooley*

*Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education  
Faculty of Education and Social Sciences  
PO Box 220  
The Park  
Cheltenham  
GL50 2QF*

*phone: + 44 01242 532212 (direct)*

*Fax: +4401242 532710*

*email: mfuller@chelt.ac.uk*

*pdooley@chelt.ac.uk*

Our research focuses upon girls who are educated in fee-paying former boys' schools – many of which have been boys' schools and sites of male privilege for decades, even centuries. The schools are predominantly boarding although some boys' day schools also recruit girls. The initiative to admit girls began in the late 1960s since when further boys' schools have become similarly 'co-educational'. Commonly girls are recruited into the sixth form only, but even when recruited into all year groups, girls remain in a minority.

Drawing on school prospectuses and interviews with teachers and pastoral staff, we investigated how and why this form of 'co-education' was introduced in particular schools and how it is currently presented and perceived (Fuller and Dooley 1997). The problematic use by these schools of the term 'co-education' is the subject of a separate paper (Dooley, in preparation).

From the perspective of the schools, admitting girls is part of a broader marketing strategy to ensure the continuation of both boarding education and their own survival, although this is, obviously, not overtly stated in promotional materials. Where they do give a rationale for taking in girls they tend to frame it in more altruistic terms, such as opening up opportunities to girls.

The research reported in this paper comes from interviews with young women who are former pupils and on separate interviews with parents of daughters who have attended such schools. We explored their reasons for choosing the schools, their expectations and their reflections upon the experience. Although the schools, parents and pupils had different agendas, voiced with different emphases, there was a commonality in their discourses in relation to 'co-education' - discourses of equal opportunities (offering access to girls), choice, the individual, modernity and 'real life'. As a result of examining these privileged contexts our existing understandings of girls' contradictory experiences of education are extended.

Parents spoke about choosing a school to match their daughter's individual academic, personal and social needs. Those whose daughters moved into the sixth form in a former boys' school emphasised that their decision was influenced by realising that their daughters' needs had changed during late adolescence. Intellectual, social and sporting opportunities were specifically mentioned in this respect. There were a few examples of a change of school being made in order to avoid the daughter leaving full-time education prematurely.

In some instances girls themselves initiated the transfer to a boys' school, in others the role of the father was especially significant. The girls gave as one reason for attending a boys' school their own readiness for change (many had attended all-girls' schools, others mixed state schools). When visiting the schools they were frequently won over by the breathtaking facilities on show. They expected from the schools greater academic opportunities and a freer environment than they had previously experienced. Once installed as pupils in the former boys' schools, they found that they were over-visible in some circumstances and invisible in others; that opportunities were fewer than they had expected; and that their treatment was perplexing in its clumsiness. The young women pinpointed both gains and losses in self-confidence as a result of this part of their education. Despite what seemed to us to be some significantly negative experiences they displayed a marked loyalty, considering their time at the school to have been worthwhile and empowering.

## **Bibliography**

Burgess, A (1990) Co-education: the disadvantages for schoolgirls, *Gender and Education*, 2: 91-95

Dooley, P (in preparation) Mixed Feelings: the problematic nature of co-education in former boys' schools.

Fuller, M and Dooley, P (1997) 'A Revolution Now Absorbed?': girls in former boys' schools, *Educational Studies*, 23 (3): 405-415.

Pallota-Chiarolli, M (1990) The female stranger in a male school, *Gender and Education*, 2: 169-183.

Price, J (1993) 'We're just here to make up the numbers really'. The experience of girls in former boys' public schools, In G Walford (ed) *The Private Schooling of Girls*: 153-173, London, Athlone Press

## **'Voices of Authority': Sarah Austin (1793-1867) and National Education**

*Joyce Goodman, King Alfreds, Winchester*

Sarah Austin, Unitarian, writer, translator, teacher and 'visitor' of the innovative Brewers Green infant school, Westminster, was a passionate advocate of national education for the children of working people. In the 1830s she argued for state supported but locally controlled, compulsory primary education, with a national curriculum, inspection and accountability, supported by changes in pedagogy and in teacher training. This paper will explore her location within the circles of philosophical radicals and will examine the ambiguities of her work as a translator and writer of educational texts in mid-nineteenth century England.

Sarah Austin wrote of herself, 'I have always shrunk from appearing before the public in my own person or behalf, as the author or champion of any opinions whatever'. Her translations of the works of Continental educationists in the mid 1830s, however, introduced educational ideas from Prussia and France to the English debate about state intervention in education and also influenced the development of education in America. While ostensibly translating the works of others, her own philosophy was clearly stated, as in the passionate polemic on the nature of education in England, with which she prefaced her translation of Victor Cousin's *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* (1834).

This paper focuses on her transition from translator in *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* into the newly emerging 'science' of comparative education in *On National Education*. *On National Education* was first published anonymously in 1835 and reprinted under her name in 1839. Despite Sarah Austin's claim not to champion 'any opinions whatever', it is argued that the merging of her 'voices' as author and translator enabled her to make political pronouncements on education and were conducive to her adoption of the methodology of comparative education. The historiography of comparative education, however, is a story of 'great men', which acknowledges Sarah Austin, if at all, only as the translator of Victor Cousin's writing on Prussian education. The paper will explore the gendered nature of comparative education methodology. It will argue that Sarah Austin employed many of the techniques employed by Victor Cousin but that her political intent and her considerations of 'audience', coupled with the inability of women to act as 'officials' of the state when collecting evidence, have led to her omission from the 'official' historiography and to the development of a methodology that focuses on male activity. In Sarah Austin's time, the methodology of comparative education was being used to make pronouncements on state education systems and was part of changing patterns of governmentality in wider society. The adoption of comparative education methodology enabled her to contribute to considerations of state activity at a point when women's position vis a vis the state was itself anomalous.

The paper will also explore the tensions in her views on female education. In spite of her own serious education and her 'advanced' views on state activity in popular education, her views on the education of women were more conservative. Sarah Austin advocated training working class girls for their role as future wives and mothers, although she did wish a broader education for working women than was usual for her day. In *Two Letters on Girls Schools*



*and on the Training of Working Women* (1857), she applauded the type of education found in Miss F. Martineau's school near Norwich, where the plan was 'adapted to the house, the mistress, and the housekeeper' but the course included scripture, arithmetic, grammar, geography, singing, drawing, history, elementary instruction in natural objects, sewing, and 'healthy recreation in the playground'. The tension between her 'advanced' views on national education and her more conservative views of working women's education will be related to the metaphors she employs to voice her wider educational philosophy.

Sarah Austin's own writing and life, - as mother, wife, teacher, holder of an intellectual *salon* in France, prolific translator and reviewer of books, and recipient of a pension from the Civil List for her literary contributions, illustrates the tensions implicit in her conception of the 'public' role of women, particularly where the development of national educational ideas and practice were concerned.

### **Bibliography:**

V. Cousin (1834) *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*, translated by Sarah Austin, (London, Effingham Wilson, 1836 2nd edition), Preface

S. Austin (1835) 'National System of Education in France', *Cochrane's Foreign Quarterly Review* no 11, June 1833, 298

S. Austin (1839) *On National Education* (London, Murray)

S. Austin (1857) *Two letters on Girls' Schools and on the Training of Working Women* (Chapman and Hall)

K. Gleadow (1995) *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement. 1831-1851* (London, MacMillan)

R. Watts (1998) *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England 1760-1860* (London, Longmans)

J. Ross (1888) *Three Generations of Englishwomen: Memoirs and Correspondence of Mrs John Taylor, Mrs Sarah Austin and Lady Duff Gordon* (London, Murray, 2 vols.)

J. Ross (1912) *The Fourth Generation: Reminiscences by Janet Ross* (London, Constable)

L. Duff Gordon (1865) *Letters from Egypt*, edited by S. Austin, Virago reprint with a memoir by her daughter Janet Ross (London, Virago, 1983)

### **Discourses of Crisis and Loss: Theorising the "boys' underachievement" debate**

*Christine Griffin, School of Psychology, University of Birmingham, UK*

#### **Abstract**

This paper will examine specific representations of youth across academic, policy and 'popular' arenas in contemporary Western societies. Focusing on the British context, I will consider the recent debates over "Britain's lost boys", or the apparent 'academic underachievement' of boys compared to girls in certain subjects, especially at GCSE level (age 15-16). This paper will not present a detailed review of research on 'underachieving boys', but will instead aim to examine the ideological implications of particular discursive configurations around gender and youth, as well as 'race', sexuality and class.

Most moral panics over 'problem youth' tend to represent young (especially working class and/or Black) men as actively deviant, resistant and rebellious. Young (especially working class and/or Black) women are more likely to be constructed as passively 'at risk', primarily in (hetero)sexual terms. Recent debates over boys' 'underachievement' have turned such discursive configurations around to represent the undifferentiated group 'boys' as victims and 'girls' as relatively privileged, in a curious (re)version of feminist discourse, and of established narratives of youth and gender.

Such discourses tend to represent relatively higher levels of academic performance by girls as inherently problematic, whilst (some) boys' relative 'over-achievement' is accepted as the norm. I argue that the discursive form of the boys' 'under-achievement' debate is also peculiarly non-racialised and non-class-specific, using gender in particular ways to obscure formations of 'race' and class. This debate operates as a form of 'collective forgetting', in which few connections are made with previous debates over academic under-achievement. This includes the controversy over the Rampton and Swann Reports on academic 'under-achievement' amongst Black (i.e. African Caribbean) pupils. I also consider the discursive construction of 'underachieving boys' in relation to New Labour policies on youth, including the introduction of selective curfews, benefit cuts, welfare to work packages, debates on parental responsibility, social exclusion and truancy. I will end by considering the implications of such discursive representations for radical research work around youth in late 20<sup>th</sup> century Britain. I would prefer to see this debate over 'underachieving boys' as constituted through a discourse of crisis and loss which focuses on particular representations of gender and masculinity (and femininity) and feminism whilst marginalising issues of 'race' and class, rather than as a moral panic or a 'crisis of masculinity'.

### **Bibliography**

Griffin, C. and Lees, S. (eds) 1998. Special issue on 'Masculinities and education', *Gender and Education*. 9, 1.

Epstein, D., Elwood, J., Hey, V. and Maw, J. (eds) 1998. *Failing Boys? Issues in gender and achievement*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

our interpretation of the student experience. In this piece we reflect on both the process of 'opening dialogues' and on our own and our students perceptions of working and learning in higher education. We also speculate on why we got such a low response from a group that were extremely outspoken and supportive of us in other ways (e.g. at course consultative meetings and on module and course evaluation forms).

We start by providing brief biographies of ourselves and the three women who responded to our original paper (using pseudonyms for our respondents) and then outline some key issues and terms. In the section entitled 'The Original Paper' we provide a synopsis of 'I don't want to be. . . .' and consider in detail the responses we received. In 'Reflections' we consider both the process of 'opening dialogues' and aim to assess whether the process has been empowering and enabling or patronising and pressuring for those we aimed to 'give a voice'!!! and as we want the dialogue to continue in 'End Comments' we give the last word to our three respondents following their reading of this version of this paper.

### **Brief Biographies**

Gayle Letherby is a sociologist with a research background in motherhood/non-motherhood, family, health, and methodology and epistemology. She returned to higher education as a mature student of 28, 11 years ago and has had a permanent teaching job for four and a half years and within the institution is currently Course Tutor for a single honours degree in sociology and various joint degrees.

Jen Marchbank is a political scientist by background and researches and writes on the policy making process, in particular how marginalised groups and interests within communities get their voice heard in political bureaucracies. She also has experience of both state and voluntary sector youth and community work, specifically with girls and women. Presently she is Course Tutor for the Women's Studies and Social Science degree in the University.

Paula (pseudonym) was a mature student who graduated from the Women's Studies and Social Science Degree in the summer of 1998, she had previously ran her own business for many years and has returned to this following graduation. She is currently in the process of registering to do doctoral research part time.

Sarah (pseudonym) graduated in Women's Studies and Social Science in the summer of 1998. She entered the degree as an A level entrant. She is now a Bank employee.

Fiona (pseudonym) entered the university as a mature student and graduated from the Women's Studies and Social Science degree in 1997. She is a full time research assistant and is registered for a PhD in another university. During the academic year 1997-1998 she taught in our institution on both the Women's Studies and Social Science Degree and the Sociology degree.

**The apples of Eve - from the apples point of view, or - "To be eaten or not to be eaten?  
That's out of the question!"**

*Ulla Lind (MA)*  
*Institute of Education*  
*Dep. of Child pedagogy and Youth Studies*  
*Box 44037*  
*S- 10073 Stockholm*  
*Sweden*

I use the metaphor from the myth of Adam & Eve to let us follow the trail of some interesting processes by relating the Nordic version of the "universal" Myth of Motherhood and Femininity (social and cultural gender) to the Myth of Knowledge (the gender of knowledge). These are rationalities and solutions, which can be traced in scientific gender discourse, visual culture and in pedagogical-political gender discourses. One principle for the societal modernisation is change. How change represents and presents itself must be studied inside cultural contexts. Cultural genders are created concretely and become visible as *performances, signs and symbols* (Walkerdine, p 61)<sup>4</sup>. The two myths can also be described as cultural gender production of "male" (masculinity) and "female" (femininity) discourses.

Mythologies are statements on comprehensive understanding. Even scientific disciplines produce myths.<sup>5</sup> How is myth used, what it is used for, at what times and in what contexts? Sometimes the representation or expression is changed for mythological thinking, while the content is kept.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes new meaning is produced and new content is given to an established mythological figure. My knowledge project concerns constructing and understanding new learning environments according to new semantic fields within contemporary communications forms and post-modern "texts". How has the myth of motherhood been changed, renewed and transmitted, in content and expression, becomes consequently a basic question? What kind of knowledge can I perform interpreting representations of the high heel shoe as a paradigmatic cultural gender sign? I trace the destabilised female in the stable feminine Cinderella-trail, which leads into interacting discourses on the come-and-rescue-me-theme in visual culture and other "texts".

Cultural gender can be delimited as symbolic expressions, rhetorical figures such as metaphors and metonymies for male and female positions. These positions are a storehouse of both symbolic structures (systems of signs), with open, clear and accessible codes or with latent, hidden possible treatments of symbols. Aesthetic practices make this dimension come true. I use for example images, videos, and photos by children and youth commenting on their schools and lives as sources. In this particular research I work with semiotic investigations of school children's pictorial representations of life in school. It concerns with students visual literacy and visual communication. How to explore, evaluate and interpret it? How to connect learning and evaluation strategies in school with student's visual, creative and aesthetic work in different media? How to create a space for children and youth of

---

<sup>4</sup> Valerie Walkerdine, *Femininity as performance*, 1994, in Lynda Stone, (ed.): *The Education Feminist Reader* (1994). Routledge: NY and London

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Ulrich Beck; *Risikogesellschaft: Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne*. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1986. Trans Eng. *Risk Society. Towards New Modernity*, Sage Publication, London, Newbery Park, New Delhi.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Roland Barthes (1970): *Mythologies*. London



cultural expressions. I operate within a social constructionist methodology and look on the informants as co-constructors of this signifying practice on beliefs, understandings and evaluations.

The analysis of the pictures begins with organising a more general overview of the collection, look for patterns and themes, and describe what the pictures are telling about, what is missing and what they highlight. Then I focus on single images by close analyses depending on what particular sign, themes or discourses I have "unpacked". I give examples from such a thematic reading labelled: Gender, body and control: images of school as gender in practice.

With the help of *negotiable discourses* as key concept I investigate cultural gender as an open, productive and relational concept. Negotiations happen when various systems of symbols are produced in symbolic guise. They are non-static; active processes express themselves in continual interaction transfers. Such processes re-create *subjectivity and identity into gender-division*. My implicit thesis is that through public speech or "language-games"<sup>7</sup> cultures are developed which construct the way we read, communicate and understand a series of events and decisions on different spheres - the political, institutional and personal/private. Neither women nor men, children or young people are the same when they find themselves at work, in the home, in school, in associations, with friends etc. We all stand in different relationships, which demand shifting use of language, voice, interpretation and interaction - but in all relations the gender discourse is productive, but in changing ways. If we agree that we as persons are acting neither consequently nor inconsequently in relation to standpoints on motherhood, knowledge, childhood, men, care, education, thought and creativity, then I want to put forward some important research questions:

1. How changing relations produce changing mythologies (meanings) and discourses?
2. How gender discourses work out a negotiation culture? This culture is produced and maintained in language and sign systems, visual culture and aesthetic practices. It is not consequent, it is negotiable, it changes. How can therefore alliances be changed and exchanged, dominance and meaning transformed?

Biographical details:

Name: Ulla Lind, Doctoral student at the Stockholm Institute of Education, Dep. of Child Pedagogy and Youth Studies.

Thesis: "Cultural and symbolic representation in child and youth aesthetic work. Studies of the conditions for visual communication, visual socialisation, identity and pedagogical processes in art and creative work in early childhood education and school."

The research project is based on different kind of data: interviews, observations, and pedagogical documentation using video and photo documentation at pre-schools, with children groups working with art and creative activities. A second source is a collection of about thousand images from children and youth (5-19 years) all over Sweden, who in drawings, paintings, photos, and videos told about school. The material is treated qualitatively with close analysis from different thematic viewpoints, i.e. gender codes in the signifying aesthetic production.

---

<sup>7</sup>"A language-game is a form of life, or as formulated elsewhere by Wittgenstein, *én entiere culture*, a definite form or fragment of practical-social reality that constitutes a unity from the viewpoint of the pragmatic function of language use" says Fekete, J (ed.) (1984): *The Structural Allegory. Reconstructive Encounters with the New French Thought*. Manchester University Press.

## **Integrating Gender, Faith and Learning: women's mid-life passage**

*Pam Lunn*

*Woodbrooke College (Quaker Study Centre), Selly Oak, Birmingham*

In-depth interviews were conducted with 12 women adult education students (age 35+), in full-time residential adult education, in two contrasting colleges. The students were in college for one academic year and interviews were conducted at the start and end of the academic year. Transcripts were analysed in detail for narratives of gender/faith/learning. These interviews form part of a larger study on self-narratives of mature women students in full-time residential adult education.

One group of women (Woodbrooke College, a Quaker foundation, 5 interviewees) consisted of educated middle-class professionals, undertaking adult education for non-vocational reasons. The other group (Plater College, a Catholic access college funded by the FEFC, 7 interviewees) consisted of women who had left school without qualifications and were undertaking a full-time residential access course. Most of these were hoping to proceed to Higher Education, although some had other ambitions.

I show how the contrasting cultures of the two institutions shaped the relative emphasis given to gender/faith/learning by the students interviewed. Relevant factors include the gender distribution of the student body (the male:female ratio was 2:1 in Woodbrooke, 1:2 in Plater) and the expectations concerning appropriate performance of gender; the initial motivations for being at college (primarily personal/religious in Woodbrooke, primarily though not exclusively instrumental/pragmatic in Plater) which are in part influenced by social class; and the strong contrasts of belief and expectations between Quaker and Catholic religious cultures.

It emerges that the Quaker women make the gender/learning integration explicit and their faith journeys are more implicit and less articulated. The Catholic women are much more articulate about the faith/learning integration and very hesitant to use gender as an explanatory framework for their experience.

Alongside these polarities in the two groups constructions of their experience, I suggest that the lifestage/faith/learning dimension (the mid-life passage) may be seen as the overarching integrating construction, and that this is remarkably similar (given other differences) in all the women interviewed, even when the overt language frame used to express it differs.

### **Bibliography**

Baruch, G. & Brooks-Gunn, J. (eds) (1984) *Women in Midlife* (London: Plenum Press)

Dandelion, P. (1996) *A Sociological Analysis of the Theology of Quakers: The Silent Revolution* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press)

Drews, W. & Fieldhouse, R. (1996) Residential Colleges and Non-Residential Settlements and Centres in R. Fieldhouse *et al.* *A History of Modern British Adult Education*, Leicester: NIACE, 1996

constructions and prioritising of particular forms of pedagogic knowledge. What counts as knowledge within the academy, and who has the power to name it? Who claims ownership of knowledge and why is this accepted? Who has the power to decide what is distributed, and to whom, and how it is transmitted? Feminist theory would examine these issues through an examination of gender inequalities in each of these areas, considering ways to instigate change.

There are, says Bernstein, biases in education - biases which "reach down to drain the very springs of affirmation, motivation and imagination" (Bernstein, 1996, p6). Are these three rights, then, sufficient to renew these springs for women? Bernstein states that if these rights are institutionalised, an educational democracy will result. However, democracy, as I have shown earlier in this chapter, can be a problematic concept (see Jackson, 1997). Bernstein, for instance, calls for conditions to be met in education for an effective democracy, but does not discuss what 'an effective democracy' means. In addition, in calling for these "conditions" this does of course presuppose that 'an effective democracy' is the aim of existing educational structures. Bernstein states:

Education is central to the knowledge base of society, groups and individuals.  
Yet education ... is a public institution, central to the production and re-  
production of distributive injustices" (1996, p5).

I should like to consider this statement further.

"Education is central to the knowledge base of society, groups and individuals" (Bernstein, 1996, p5). What does this mean? A feminist standpoint might want to ask whether a patriarchal academy feeds that knowledge base. If this is so, the 'knowledge' that society, groups and individuals access is a very partial knowledge, developed to strengthen and benefit patriarchal structures already in place. The consequences, then, for groups and individuals will depend on their positioning in that society. In addition, whilst women as a group might be disadvantaged within such structures, women are not a homogenous group, with differences of social-class, 'race', and more. In addition, there will always be individual women who manage to succeed within the system, and others who are more severely disadvantaged.

"(E)ducation ... is a public institution, central to the production and reproduction of distributive injustices" (Bernstein, 1996, p5). Again, Bernstein considers the production and reproduction of distributive injustices for schools, based mainly on issues of social class. However, consideration needs to be given to how the power and knowledge base of higher education produces and reproduces the distributive injustices of gender. Bernstein states that pedagogies are both visible and invisible (Bernstein, 1996, p3): it is the *invisible* pedagogies affecting the distribution of gender injustices that need to be made visible in order to be challenged. Indeed, Bernstein describes the importance of considering how "power relations are transformed into specialised discourses ... (and how) the principles of control are transformed into ... discursive practices (pedagogic relations) which attempt to relay a given distribution of power" (Bernstein, 1996, p3). How, though, do the power relations of higher educational institutions, located within patriarchal structures, become transformed into specialised and seemingly 'objective' discourses which then produce and reproduce pre-existing power relations?



As I have suggested above, the creation of 'knowledge' is neither impartial nor accidental. What can be 'known' and who is the 'knower' creates both meaning and oppression:

Different knowledges and their possibilities are differently distributed to different social groups. This distribution of different knowledges and possibilities is not based on neutral differences in knowledge, but on a distribution of knowledge which carries unequal value, power and potential (Bernstein, 1996, p8).

A feminist perspective, then, moves beyond Bernstein's analysis to consider both the 'different knowledges' and their distribution to different social groups (here, social groups differentiated by gender) and - perhaps even more importantly - 'their possibilities'. What possibilities are created, or stifled, for women and for men in higher education through the ownership, naming and distribution of 'knowledge'? This distribution, as Bernstein shows, depends on both the value and the power carried by different groups and individuals, a value and power determined by the patriarchal structures of the academy. And, most importantly, what are the effects of this unequal distribution for the potential of both the dominant and subordinate groups?

Bernstein discusses the hierarchies of knowledge, possibility and value within schools, and the hierarchies of social groups external to schools, based mainly on social class (Bernstein, 1996, p9). He says that Bourdieu suggests that, by appearing neutral, schools manage to disconnect their own internal hierarchies from external ones, so disguising and masking power relations. This has the effect of legitimising inequalities between social groups. However, Bernstein believes that some groups see through or use this trick for the advantage of their children. It may be, he says, that these groups justify their advantage by telling themselves that their children *deserve* success over others. In addition, he suggests that schools go further to legitimise inequalities by creating "mythological discourse" (Bernstein, 1996, p9), incorporating the political ideologies and arrangements of society. Conflict can then be containing by emphasising what groups share, generating "horizontal solidarities". The discourse which produces horizontal solidarities is what Bernstein refers to as mythological discourse, celebrating common consciousness whilst apparently disconnecting school and social hierarchies.

This is extremely interesting with regard to women in higher education. Higher education institutions can and do mask power relations of gender that exist externally by claiming neutrality, rationality and objectivity, which can be very difficult to deconstruct. What groups currently share in higher education, what they celebrate in a common consciousness, is an equal 'right' to an 'objective' education in the malestream. But Bernstein has also suggested that in schools people use such claims of neutrality to their advantage. Feminist theories of education, then, can extend and develop this work by asking who sees through the 'trick' in higher education. Do men - or more particularly powerful men - use this 'trick' to their own advantage, or are women aware that claims to neutrality are false, yet still manage to use higher education to their own advantage?

School, says Bernstein, is a crucial device for writing/re-writing national consciousness, a consciousness constructed from myths of origin, of achievement and of destiny (Bernstein, 1996, p10). So what is the part played by higher education institutions in continually re-creating national consciousness, a national consciousness grounded in gender differentiation



and inequality? What are the myths the academy has created? These myths say that the academy is constructed from an origin based in objectivity; that people can equally achieve; that we have shared destinies through our progress through higher education. Myths can be, and are, used and justified to maintain gender relations. In schools, Bernstein suggests,

(g)ender relations are supposed ... to complement each other through their differences: differences which allegedly have their basis in biology (Bernstein, 1996, p10).

In higher education gender relations may be considered more implicitly, through the invisible pedagogies discussed by Bernstein. He suggests that schools become an arena for struggle, working through rituals, practices and pedagogic discourse. Furthermore, Bernstein suggests that schools produce hierarchies based on the success/failure of students. They individualise failure and so legitimate inequalities based on social class. This, he says, is a major regulation of the distribution of students to privileging discourses and institutions. But if gender, rather than social class, is prioritised, it could equally be demonstrated that failure (at times based on alleged biological differences) is seen as individual failure by women, so legitimising gender inequalities. What, moreover, are the rituals, practices and pedagogic discourses of the academy, and how do they regulate women in higher education?

Some of the rituals and practices of higher education are undoubtedly based in language. Bernstein suggests that there are similarities in the distributive rules in forms of knowledge and the social relations which optimise the discourse (Bernstein, 1996, p170). In other words, social relations (including the structural and unequal social relations of gender) determine what knowledge is, how it is distributed, and what discourse is prioritised. Bernstein shows that there are oppositions between specialised knowledges with written forms, and oral-based everyday knowledges (Bernstein, 1996, p170). This certainly is true of the academy, where only highly specialised written forms count as acceptable discourse (see chapter 4). Knowledge typified as 'everyday' is described by Bernstein as 'horizontal' (Bernstein, 1996, p170), local, segmented, context dependent and multi-layered - indeed, typified for some as women's ways of knowing, and women's language (see Jackson, in preparation (c)). The knowledge that is valued in the academy is described by Bernstein as 'vertical' (Bernstein, 1996, p171), and is typified as coherent, systematic, structured and hierarchical. The value and status attached to 'vertical' knowledge, then, grants authority to the discourse of the dominant group, whilst denying any claims to authority for 'horizontal' knowledge. Whilst only one form of knowledge and its expression is recognised, those outside of it will be predisposed to failure. The addition of a feminist standpoint to Bernstein's analysis, then, would debate both the oppositional positions of these two forms, and the prioritising of the value of one over the other.

Bernstein states that a "school's ideology may be seen as a construction in a mirror through which images are reflected" (Bernstein, 1996, p7). However, he goes on to show that this mirror image does not passively reflect back all that it sees. Images, he says, "are projections of a hierarchy of values" (Bernstein, 1996, p7). He says that a central question to ask is who recognises themselves as of value, and what images are therefore excluded by the dominant image of value? Are some pupils able to recognise their mirror image, whilst others are not? In the same way, he says:

we can ask about the acoustic of the school. Whose voice is heard? Who is speaking? Who is hailed by this voice? For whom is it familiar? (Bernstein, 1996, p7).

This is certainly both important and relevant with regard to both higher education and gender. We need to ask what voices are silenced, and why. There is some evidence to suggest that silence is sometimes chosen, not imposed (see Jackson, 1998). But if silence is chosen because of the structures in which we find ourselves, is this the same as imposition? If I am not allowed to speak in the malestream, or choose not to speak in the malestream, what is the difference apart from my conscious positioning and what difference is the end result?

The question is not just who recognises themselves as of value, but also how this recognition occurs (or not). What enables or constrains it? I do not want to suggest that this is the only hierarchy: women as a group are also part of a hierarchy of value, with some women occupying a more dominant image of value. Nevertheless, there is also a clear hierarchy of value with regard to gender that, from a feminist standpoint, needs to be centralised in considering challenge and change.

### **A Bilingual Voice in Gender and Education: In the Twilight Zone of Nowoman's Land**

*Name:*            *Helga Kansy, Ph.D.*

*Affiliation:*    *Volkshochschule Tübingen, Germany*

This presentation is an autobiographic account of what it means to study abroad and to become bilingual. My first exposure to America came during high school, when I joined an exchange program to study in the USA. Living with a host family and being active in many school activities, I was truly immersed in the American way of life. Though I had to overcome language barriers in order to participate in school life, school seemed "easy" and more a place to have fun and socialize than a place of academic endeavor and rigor. The better I learned to speak and to demonstrate communicative competence in English, the more I started to reflect upon the importance of language and culture for who I am. Being able to switch back and forth between my native German tongue and English, I entered a whole new world of **Being**. Indeed, the quest of "Who am I?" on a bilingual level became a complicated and intricate matter.

Other years of studying abroad followed at the university level. I soon had to realize that my first impression of American schooling as an easy academic enterprise was only "partial truth." A closer and critical look behind the American academic scene turned into bamboozlement: my image of the USA as a "genderly" equal land of opportunities was shaken. Though the USA might be the world leader in women's rights, it is false to assume that males and females in academe have equal opportunities. I encountered difficulties in this respect on different levels:

- Finch, J. (1984) It's great to have someone to talk to: the ethics and politics of interviewing women in Carol Bell & Helen Roberts (eds), *Social researching: politics, problems, practice*, London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1984
- Fowler, J. (1981) *Stages of Faith: the psychology of human development and the quest for meaning* (London: Harper & Row)
- Helson, R. (1992) Women's Difficult Times and the Rewriting of the Life Story in *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 16:331-347
- Homan, R. & Dandelion, P. (1997) The Religious Basis of Resistance and Non-response a methodological note in *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 12,2:205-214
- Hornsby-Smith, M. (1991) *Roman Catholic Beliefs in England: customary Catholicism and transformations of religious authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Josselson, R. (1995) Imagining the Real: empathy, narrative and the dialogic self in R. Josselson & A. Lieblich (eds), *Interpreting Experience (The Narrative Study of Lives vol.3)*, London: Sage, 1995.
- Rossi, A. (1980) Life-Span Theories and Women's Lives in *Signs: Journal of Women, Culture and Society* 6,1:4-32
- Sheehy, G. (1974) *Passages: predictable crises of adult life* (London: Bantam Books, 1977)
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998) Grounded Theory Methodology: an overview in N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, London: Sage, 1998
- Yeandle, S. (1987) Married Women at Midlife: past experience and present change in P. Allatt et al (eds), *Women and the Life Cycle*, London: Macmillan, 1987

### **Organising Feminisms: The Micropolitics of the Academy**

***Dr. Louise Morley, Centre for Higher Education Studies, University of London Institute of Education.***

This paper is based on a feminist research study of the relay of gendered power via everyday practices in the academy (Morley, 1999). Using the theoretical framework of micropolitics, it is a study of how power is exercised, rather than merely possessed. The exercising of power in organisations can be overt and identifiable, but also subtle, complex and confusing. The study focuses on how feminism has represented a challenge to disciplinary and patriarchal authority in the academy. Attention is paid to gendered sites of opportunity and constraint. Feminist research itself is also subjected to critical scrutiny. There is consideration of how feminism has influenced research, pedagogy, equality policies, organisational culture and social relations in the academy. Drawing on qualitative research with 40 informants in Britain, Sweden and Greece, the study attempts to decode and disentangle gendered message systems and the matrix of power relations in the academy.

There is analysis of organisational culture in terms of atmosphere and ethos, symbolism, networks, coalitions, women in senior positions, critical mass theory. Issues such as emotion, embodiment, motherhood, agency, bureaucracy, creativity, organisational change, support and the sociology of space are theorised in the context of power and patriarchy in the academy. Attention is also drawn to the micropolitics of coercive power relations such as harassment, bullying and spite as means of gendered regulation.

Change is interrogated in relation to policies and discourses of reform, mass expansion, new managerialism and equity, with exploration of the interconnection of demographic changes, consumerism and equality of opportunity. Feminist academics reflect on the gendered basis of knowledge production, career development, voluntarism, isolation, networks, pedagogy, interdisciplinarity, feminist research and 'sex role spillover'. Academic feminism is problematised in relation to activism and praxis. Students critically evaluate feminist courses and consider whether the academy has 'othered' or accommodated aspects of their identity forged in marginality, such as age, social class, sexuality, disability, ethnicity. Feminist pedagogy for empowerment is explored in relation to emotional labour, the contradictory conjunction of feminism and authority, pastoral power, and the complexities of group dynamics and diversity in women-only groups. The study concludes that feminism exposes the micropolitics of the academy in a particularly transparent and disturbing way. Academic feminism can exemplify the contradictory and conflictual bases of organisational life. Micropolitics can both inhibit and promote feminist change. Feminists in the academy sometimes occupy a strange border or carnivalesque territory, pushing boundaries within complex power relations. Furthermore, it suggests that micropolitical competence is as important as intellectual ability in the academy today.

## References

Morley, L. (1999) Organising Feminisms: The Micropolitics of the Academy. London: Macmillan

Dr. Louise Morley is a senior lecturer in Higher Education Studies at the University of London Institute of Education. Recent publications include *Organising Feminisms: The Micropolitics of the Academy* (1999) Macmillan; *School Effectiveness: Fracturing the Discourse* (1999) (co-authored with Naz Rassool), The Falmer Press; *Breaking Boundaries: Women in Higher Education* (1996) and *Feminist Academics: Creative Agents for Change* (1995), both edited with Val Walsh and published by Taylor and Francis.



## **Managing women: Caring, commitment and collaboration in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago.**

*Jeanette Morris*  
*School of Education*  
*The University of the West Indies*  
*St Augustine*  
*Trinidad and Tobago*

As more women choose to pursue careers in management research has examined how women fare in organizations (Kanter,1977; Marshall, 1984,1995) as well as the ways in which they manage (Shakeshaft,1987; Rosener,1990). Research into educational management has explored the particular experiences of women seeking promotion within the educational hierarchy and the experiences of those who have managed to make it to the top (Evetts,1994; Hall,1996). These studies have mainly documented the experiences of white women from the developed countries where very few women of colour are to be found in top management positions (Davidson,1997; Bhavnani,1994). Very little research has examined the management experiences of women of colour from the less developed world.

This paper examines the management practice of a group of twelve female secondary school principals in Trinidad and Tobago as well as the cases of two Trinidadian principals living and working in the school system in Toronto, Canada.

The women were chosen from all of the different secondary school types that are found in the Trinidad and Tobago educational system. They included women from the major ethnic and religious groups of this multicultural society. The two women living in Canada were recruited through social contacts. All the women were interviewed using unstructured, conversational-type interviews which were taped, transcribed and analyzed.

The women brought to their management practice the values and beliefs gained from their life experiences such as the importance of nurturing and caring for others. Grogan (1996) has suggested that women are socialised into a discourse of mothering with an emphasis on care and nurture, a strength which they bring to their administrative practice. The accounts of these women emphasize a common commitment to an ethic of care, an emphasis on collaborative relationships and on connectedness. This is shown in their sensitivity to the needs of others. The women were motivated by a desire to help the students in their schools, they wanted to "make a difference". They saw the principalship as an opportunity to achieve this by being able to develop a school environment that catered to the students' intellectual, emotional and physical needs. They also tried to develop a caring relationship with their teachers by treating them as individuals and facilitating their personal and professional development. Their preference was for a collaborative management style emphasizing teamwork, although in some instances they were forced to adopt a more authoritarian approach depending on the specific school context. They also saw the importance of forging collaborative relationships with parents and the wider community.

This group of women approached the management task in similar ways yet the diversity and complexity of their individual experiences made the principalship mean different things to each one of them. For the single women for whom their commitment to the school "was like a love affair, never ending", the principalship was the anchor of their lives, their *raison d'être*, the source of their self esteem. For those who were wives and mothers there was a continual shifting between their personal and professional identities and the effort to achieve some balance, and the principalship while a source of satisfaction was also a source of tension.

The issue of race was not as salient in the management practice of those principals working in the Caribbean context as it was for the Trinidadians working in the Canadian context, both of whom had different responses to the situation. In one case the discrimination suffered by West Indian children in Canadian schools was the impetus to seek promotion in order to be their advocate. For the other who was not easily recognisable as Caribbean, the strategy was not to stress her colour but strive to be recognised only for her professional expertise.

The management experiences of these women are both similar and different to the management experiences of white female managers. As women they share some of the same domestic/professional conflicts and bring some of the same values to the task of managing which come from their socialisation as women into caring nurturing roles. However there are differences in their practice which are shaped by differences in their ethnic origins, religion and the social context in which they exercise their management roles. Documenting these differences are essential if the picture of women managers in the research literature is to be truly inclusive.

#### References.

- Bhavani, R. (1994) Black women in the labour market- A research review. Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission.
- Davidson, M. (1997) The black and ethnic minority women manager: Cracking the concrete ceiling. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.
- Evetts, J. (1994) Becoming a secondary headteacher. London: Cassell
- Grogan, M. (1996) Voices of women aspiring to the superintendency. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Hall, V. (1996) Dancing on the ceiling: A study of women managers in education. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977) Men and women of the corporation. New York: Basic Books
- Marshall, J. (1995) Women managers moving on: Exploring career and life choices. London/New York: Routledge
- (1984) Women managers: Travellers in a male world. Chichester: Wiley
- Rosener, J. Ways women lead. Harvard Business Review.
- Shakeshaft, C. (1987) Women in school administration. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

## **Personal Finance Education within Schools; a Rational 'Subject'. In Search of a Non-Dualistic Feminist Alternative to Masculine Pedagogical Projects**

*Pamela Odih and David Knights*

*School of Management*

*Keele University*

*Keele*

*Staffordshire*

*ST5 SBG*

*01782 583089*

"[it is an] almost self-evident axiom.... that the state should require and compel the education, up to a certain standard, of every human being who is born its citizen" (John Stuart Mill 1964:160).

New Labour has declared an interest in personal finance education (PFE) through a moral support for the Personal Finance Education Group (PFEG)<sup>8</sup> and a statutory demand upon the Financial Services Authority (FSA) to take some responsibility for consumer education. This education, many would argue, is likely to be more effective if it is first provided for children at school<sup>9</sup>. The PFEG (1998:1), for example, has as its mission statement:

".....educate all those at school about financial matters so that they are able to make independent and informed decisions about their personal finances and long term security"

Personal finance education is ascribed here, as elsewhere, a significant role in the constitution of morally responsible and financially self-sufficient citizens (Knights and Mclean 1998, Odih and Knights 1999). For citizenship, within the current political system, involves a "preparedness on the part of individuals to provide, through private financial institutions, for their own social security" both now and in relation to the long-term future (ibid:2). Axiomatic to this liberal humanist prescription is the existence of a rational autonomous subject who can be educated into managing their 'responsibilities' in personal finance and maximising the utility of every financial transaction (Knights and Mclean 1998:3). Accordingly, personal finance education (PFE) reflects and reproduces the discursive constructs of Enlightenment humanism and Cartesian rationalism. It embraces individualistic self-help and purposive- rational action (Habermas, 1971) as the means of extending 'financial self-discipline' (Knights 1988).

Feminist discourse has revealed how the Enlightenment ideal of humanistic reason is grounded in a subjugation, and or negation, of women, people of colour and other socio-

---

<sup>8</sup> The Personal Finance Education Group (1998:1) is a coalition of financial service industry representatives, regulators, consumer representatives, Government officials and educationalists.

<sup>9</sup> A significant amount of work is already being conducted in schools on financial literacy, but its nature and extent varies widely (PFEG 1998:1). The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER 1998) identified 44% of the 400 primary schools surveyed as providing classes on "savings and interests", 55% provided classes on "budgeting" and 34% had introduced 'enterprise projects' into financial literacy.

politically marginalised groups (Smith 1978, Spender 1981, Hekman 1990, Benhabib 1994, Weiner 1994). Yet feminist attempts to transcend the legacy of rational systems of knowing are thwart with epistemological complexities. In this paper these complexities are critically examined as we seek to explore feminist pedagogy as either complementary to, or an alternative for, current educational developments in the field of personal finance.

Some feminist educational models are directed towards the emancipation of the female "voice" (Spender 1981, Freire and Giroux 1989). Yet this emancipatory goal is grounded in the same essentialist epistemological assumptions as the Enlightenment ideals that they seek to transcend. Here both feminism and the enlightenment discourses assume the possibility of 'truth' and, in so doing, fail to recognise their normalising strategies as "regimes of truth" and subjugation (Gore 1992, Dahl 1996). In the writings of Derrida (1979) we come to recognise all "metaphysical desire" to be masculine even when it is manifest in a woman (ibid. 1979:320). Similar problematics are evident in feminist attempts to invert the Cartesian Cogito of rationalist thought through recognition of the emotional, sensual and corporeal dimensions of rational knowledge. Examples of feminist contributions to this tradition include Kohli's (1995:108) intention to "rescue reason from its instrumental purposes and from the 17<sup>th</sup> century legacy of the disembodied (male) ego". But, she attempts to achieve this through inscribing feminine emotion with masculine rationality. For, as she expresses it:

*"those social theorists who continue to separate reason from emotion, and who do not understand the emotional/psychological dimensions of oppression end up with an inadequate theory of change" Kohli (1995:112)*

This approach also courts essentialism because it stresses what 'femininity' really is and thus continues the hierarchies and the privileging characteristic of masculinist epistemology (Haraway 1990, Hekman 1990, and Nicholson 1992). Conversely this paper argues that a way to destroy the male/female opposition of Enlightenment thought is not to invert it but to deconstruct it. Deconstruction uncovers the gendered grounding and political role of these knowledges. Not with an eye to providing a better foundation for knowledge, but rather in order to dislodge their dominance and create a social space, which is tolerant of subjugated discourses.

### Bibliography

- Dahl, A., (1996); *Reconsidering the Notions of Voice and Experience in Critical Pedagogy*, in (ed.) *Feminisms and Pedagogues of Everyday Life*. New York:State University of New York Press
- Freire, P., and Giroux H., (1989); *Pedagogy, popular culture and public life; An Introduction*. In H. Giroux and R. Simon (Eds.,) *Popular Culture, Schooling and Everyday Life* (pp.vii-xii) New York:Bergin and Garvey
- Gore, J., (1992); *What we can do for you ! What can we do for you ? Struggling over Empowerment in Critical and Feminist Pedagogy*. In C.Luke and J.Gore (eds.) *Feminism and Critical Pedagogy* (pp.54-73). New York:Routledge
- Hekman, S., (1990); *Gender and Knowledge Elements of a Postmodern Feminism*. Oxford: Polity Press



Knights, D., and C., Mclean (1998); *New Labour's Third Way; Self, Citizenship, Education and Personal Finance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Presented at the 16<sup>th</sup> Standing Conference in organisational Symbolism July 2<sup>nd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> Guaruja Brazil

Knights, D., (1988); "Risk, Financial Self Discipline and Commodity Relations", *Advances in Public Interest Accounting*, Vol.2, pp.47-69

Kohli, W., (1995); Education for Emancipatory Rationality. *In Critical Conversations in Philosophy of Education* (ed.) W.Kohli New York:Routledge

Odih, P., and Knights, D., (1999); "The Third Way to Individualism? Education for Citizenship and the Financially Self-Disciplined", presented at the Discourse and Policy Change Conference. Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow. 3-4<sup>th</sup> February

Smith, D., (1978); ' A Peculiar Eclipsing; Women's Exclusion from man's Culture' in *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, Vol.No.4, pp.281-296

Spender, D., (1981); *Men's Studies Modified. The Impact of Feminism on the Academic Discipline*. Pergamon Press

Weiner, G., (1994); *Feminism in Education an Introduction*. Buckingham:Open University Press

**Construction of Children's Need of Wage-earning Mothers.  
Control and emancipation of women within discourses on childrens needs in Sweden in  
the 70th.**

*Kajsa Ohrlander*

Some of the major features in the dramatic changes in women politics in Sweden in the 70th was the creation of new national, state centred, identities and discourses of Women. One of the leading and winning political transformations was about the creation of the wage-earning mother. But other discursive transformations can be seen as part of that, working simultaneously, essential both strategically and in changing "the horizons of meaning" for women. This happened among others in productions of new words in the area of equality - difference. The remaking of words from gendered into gender neutral connotations took place in most areas - within social politics, education, naming jobs and careers etc. So the wage-earning mother disappeared into parents, parental leave, lone-parents. Politics on women and mothers was transformed into family politics.

In this paper I will, following Walkerdine, Rhedding-Jones and other poststructural feminists, analyse how the wage-earning mother was neutralised and produced in new ways in relation to children's needs. The data consists mainly of some governmental texts on Women's Work and Child Politics in Sweden in the 70th. I will make at least two different readings of

discourses - focusing on the relation between liberating intentions and control mechanisms and how the gender neutrality was a part both of strategies of liberation and of control. I will claim that those discourses together produced a new, invisible woman who, still as a woman (but not mentioned as that) was invited to be an important part of the building the new society through scientific caring of and subordination under the liberated child. Bolwy's ideas of children's Need of good mothers were transformed into constructions of neurotic, dysfunctional housewives and families damaging the child - and mothers as being unfit for the making of the new, harmonious and liberated child and creating the utopian society. The day care Centre with its gender neutral, but in fact dominantly women pre-school teachers, replaced mothers in creating the dreams of the utopia and the idyll. Discourses of the day care centre were mixtures of romantic dreams of agricultural society and its harmonious shared work, socialist ideas on solidarity and equality between all members and scientific rational discourses on progressive pedagogy. The "good mother" turned into the wage earning parent (invisible mother) who placed her child in the day care centre - all in the best of the Child.

Those constructions of liberating national discourses were knitted to discourses within women's movements and the left movement in Sweden - and often enthusiastically welcomed by young women. The occupation as a pre-school teacher went into one of the most popular in the seventieth and the young students in pre-school education could see themselves almost as heroes and the guarantors of the light and happy future.

I will discuss the problems with those transformation processes and analyse the discourses as power regimes and creating invisible women's identities. In the centre of the state discourses was not just the liberated child but the woman who was controlled by the hopes she would be part of - of being able to contribute in building society by combining care and scientific knowledge. In relation to those discursive regimes women had difficulties in claiming women's issues as women, conflicts with men and subjectivities because they were positioned as useful for others and lacking discursive identities as women. Old historical institutions of child-centredness, women's participation in building the small homes in the big peoples home through rational housewifery could be transformed into more independent but still subordinated positions in the public area.

#### CONTEMPORARY SWEDISH GENDER RESEARCH AND DEBATE: SOME REFLECTIONS

*Elisabet Öhrn*

*Department of Education, Göteborg University*

*Box 300, SE 405 30 Göteborg, Sweden*

In this paper I shall discuss some contemporary issues concerning gender and education in Swedish research and public debate. I will focus in particular on the perceived 'gains and losses' in the supposedly changed gender patterns, and the ways these are understood in terms of research perspectives and social relations.

The underlying theme concerns the dynamics of power and influence. Whereas the analysis of girls' schooling is now done by emphasising their active positioning more than previously, there is an increased focus on the constraints faced by boys. One 'loss' frequently portrayed

in contemporary research and debate concerns the situation of young men, particularly working class and/or immigrant young men. There seems to be a growing body of problems related to violence, racism, etc in schools and the wider society which are largely affecting boys, either as actors or victims.

For educational research there are reasons to ask to what extent schools are capable of handling issues of power and democracy in relation to the everyday lives of young people. This will be discussed in the paper by reference to my own work and that of others.

#### SYMPOSIUM THEME

Themes and Theories from the Nordic Countries

#### BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Obtained Ph.D in 1991. Associate professor in the Department of Education, Göteborg University, Sweden. Presently involved in research projects on gender and comprehensive schooling focusing on a) power relations and b) the development of social responsibility.

### **OPPORTUNITIES, ACCESS AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION : YOUNG MUSLIM WOMEN AND THEIR CAREER ASPIRATIONS**

*Marie Parker-Jenkins*

This paper draws upon our research exploring the career destinations of Muslim women in Britain. Initially we were funded by the Leverhulme Trust to consider where Muslim women were positioned in the labour market. This was a three year study, involving 120 Muslim women in four geographical locations in Britain. Building on from that, the Department for Education and Employment commissioned us to assess the role of the Career Services in supporting this minority group fulfill their career aspirations. In this project, we wanted to explore the extent to which Career Companies in England recognise and hence meet the guidance needs of young Muslim women in their final years of compulsory schooling. Careers Companies operate across, and within, both compulsory education and the post-compulsory arena, therefore their potential influence should not be underestimated. Alongside their pre-16 work in schools with students, teachers and parents, careers staff are also active within the wider community. If the career aspirations of Muslim girls are to be supported and their interests promoted, it would appear to be essential that an underpinning philosophy of equity and social justice is evident in the work of Careers Companies. Their policies will therefore need to be holistic in nature, yet be multi-faceted to ensure that they acknowledge difference and thereby the impact upon practice should be significant. Theoretically, our work was underpinned in part by the writings of Young(1990) who claims: "the politics of difference ...aims for an understanding of group difference as entailing neither amorphous unity nor pure individuality".

We aimed to discover whether Muslim women were in the workplace or not, and if not, why not? Secondly, we wanted to explore the role of the careers services in supporting their professional aspirations. In this paper, we report our research findings as follows:

Contextual background; why Muslim girls?

Methodology;

Barriers to career progression;

The Careers Service and Muslim girls;

Ethnic monitoring;

A means of analysing between client groups;

Targeting of Strategies and Activities.

Discussion

Finally, the paper provides discussion of the attitudes and values shared by employers, career services, Muslim communities and schools; and we examine questions of access experienced by some Muslim women, particularly those who appeared more "orthodox" in their appearance and in their interpretation of what it is to be a Muslim woman. This moves us on to examine the issue of exclusion caused by religious rather than racial grounds. Whilst this form of discrimination is immoral not illegal under current legislation in this country, there have been calls to address practice of this sort which results in social exclusion.

Marie Parker-Jenkins, University of Derby

Dimitra Hartas, University of Derby

Barrie A. Irving, College of Guidance, Kent

Vivienne Barker, College of Guidance, Kent

## Bibliography

Marie Parker-Jenkins is Research Professor in Education at the University of Derby and Director of the Research Unit for Education and Professional Practice. . She has conducted research and published on a number of projects concerned with gender equity.

Dimitra Hartas is a Research Fellow with extensive experience of research in international settings. She is also an Educational Psychologist with a particular interest in special needs.

Barrie Irving is Director of Research at the Centre for Research into Guidance -related Activities within the College of Guidance Studies (CRiGA). He has an on-going interest and has published widely in the field of career education guidance, lifelong learning and issues of equity and social justice.

Vivienne Barker is a Research associate at CriGA and is currently involved in researching into guidance needs of the long-term unemployed and the impact of the "New Deal". She is also interested in issues of guidance, access and equity.



Correspondence to:

Professor Marie Parker-Jenkins  
Research Unit for Education and Professional Practice  
School of Education and Science  
University of Derby  
Mickleover  
Derby  
DE3 5GX

### **Boy Villain: Girl Victim.**

*Angela Phillips,  
Goldsmiths College, University of London 1999*

Are we really witnessing a moral panic over boys' achievement or have some feminist researchers simply failed to respond positively to a real opportunity to change the nature of the gender debate in schools?

Gender research has moved beyond essentialist notions of femininity and masculinity (Connell 1995, Mac An Ghail, 1994, Segal 1993) but are we in danger of creating a new, and equally essentialist, binary of victim and villain in which groups of boys who are identified as 'macho', whose masculinity is defined as "hegemonic", are seen as 'essentially' bad, while others are seen as "subordinated" and are therefore lumped with girls as victims and "essentially" good? I would argue that feminists have been unable to enter the current debate over boys under-achievement positively because the idea of boys (and in particular "macho" boys) as under-achievers, is not compatible with their positioning within current feminist discourses. I would argue further that this essentialist view of masculinity sits uncomfortably with an analysis in which masculinity is described as both relational and alterable (Connell 1995).

It may be instructive here to look back at a definition of the term "moral Panic:" Kenneth Thompson (1998) describes it as : 1) a campaign ( or crusade) sustained over a period 2) appealing to people who are alarmed by an apparent fragmentation or breakdown of social

order which leaves them at risk 3) that the moral guidelines are unclear and 4) that demands are made for action to suppress the threat and 5) that the moral campaign leaves the real causes of social breakdown unaddressed. Goode and Ben Yehuda (1994) refer to episodes in which groups become "intensely concerned about a particular issue or perceived threat-which as measured by concrete indicators turns out not to be especially damaging."

In order to dismiss the demands for action over the under achievement of boys as a "moral panic" it is necessary to find ways of dismissing as "not especially damaging" those concrete indicators which have been used to measure achievement. Much effort has gone into proving that girls are still disadvantaged even when the statistics show us that, as a group, the attainment of girls has improved dramatically since the mid 1980s.

This paper will look at this effort and ask whether it would not have been more productive for feminist researchers to have seized the initiative offered by the changing attainment figures and used them to question a) the long held assumptions about female passivity and subordination; b) to provide evidence of the effectiveness of the feminist strategies in education in improving girls life chances and c) to ask whether and how such strategies could be adapted and focused on male students in order to challenge the stereotypes which hold boys frozen in behaviour which pre-dates the social changes of the last thirty years -to the disadvantage of both girls and boys.

## References

- Arnot Madeleine et al (1998) *Recent Research on Gender and Educational Performance.*, Ofsted
- Connell, R. (1995) *Masculinities.* (Cambridge Polity Press)
- Epstein Debbie , Janet Maw, Jeanette Elwood and Valerie Hey (1998) Boys' "underachievement" .in *The International Journal of Inclusive Education.* Vol 2 no 2, pp 91-94
- Epstein, D et al (1998) eds *Failing Boys? Issues in Gender and Achievement.* OUP
- Goode E and Ben Yehuda (1994) *Moral Panics, the Social Construction of deviance.* Oxford and Cambridge Press Mass, USA
- Hey Valerie et al.(1998)*Underachievement, Special Needs Practices and Questions of Equity, in Boys and Underachievement.* (in press)
- Mac An Ghaill, 1994, *The Making of Men : Masculinities , Sexualities and Schooling.* OUP

MacDonald, Annette and Leslie Saunders (March 1998) *Boys Attainment, Progress, Motivation and Participation in Education*, a report by the National Foundation for Educational Research,

Power Sally et al. (1998) *An International Journal of Inclusive Education*, Vol 2, No 2 pp143.

Segal, Lyn (1993) *Slow Motion, changing masculinities, changing men*. Virago.

Thompson, Kenneth *Moral Panics*, (1998) Routledge.

## **Constructing self by constructing the 'Other' : 11-14 year old boys' narratives of girls and women**

*Ann Phoenix and Rob Pattman, Dept of Psychology, Birkbeck College, University of London*

The paper addresses boys' identities and boys' talk, and in particular how boys' talk about girls and women produces particular masculine identities which, in turn, circumscribe such talk. Drawing upon 'boy-centred' interviews from a London school based study on masculinities and 11-14 year old boys<sup>10</sup>, the paper examines the relationship between what boys say about girls and women and how they say it (what sorts of emotions do they express?) and the construction of their own identities.

We conducted 78 individual interviews with boys, 51 interviews with boys in single sex groups and 8 interviews with groups of boys and girls about boys. The interviews were 'interviewee centred' with the interviewer, Rob Pattman, a white man, taking a facilitative role, picking up on issues the interviewees raised and encouraging them to develop and reflect upon these and to provide illustrative narrative accounts. The group interviews centred on the theme 'growing up male' and were loosely structured whereas in the individual interviews more specific topics were raised such as boys' self definition as male/masculine, identificatory models, relationships with boys and girls, intimacy and friendship, media interests, relations with adults etc. Boys interviewed individually were interviewed twice, the follow up interview, a few weeks later, allowing points of interest and absences from the first interview to be explored as well as the boys' reflections on the process of being interviewed. While the interviewer introduced various topics the time spent discussing these and the direction the interview took was very much determined by the interviewees. We were interested in what the interviewees said not only as accounts of 'real' experiences and relations but also as ways of constructing their own identities as particular boys.

Our interviewees reported mixing mainly with boys (See also Wight and Prendergast and Forrest) and many were not sure what girls did at break or lunch time speaking about them as a strange and different species.

When asked to say how they would describe or define boys, it is not surprising that the boys we interviewed differentiated boys from girls in stereotypic ways, since 'girl' is generally

---

<sup>10</sup>The study is part of the ESRC's research programme on 5-16 year old children. There are four of us - Stephen Frosh, Ann Phoenix, Ruksana Patel and Rob Pattman - all based at Dept of Psychology, Birkbeck College, University of London, working on the project. Twelve schools participated, four single sex, eight mixed, four private, eight state.

unproblematically constructed as the opposite of 'boy' as an anatomical truth. The accounts given about what boys or masculinities were like were generally essentialist, with girls constructed to be physically different from boys, to have different voices, hair, tastes (in music, room decoration etc.), to be more emotionally expressive and sympathetic, more concerned with their appearance, but less competitive (except over boys and their appearance) and more easily upset.

A key and reoccurring juxtaposition was between boys as active and girls as passive as illustrated in the common construction of boys playing football while girls 'just talked'. Also boys spoke about girls as emotionally and physically weak, easily buffeted by negative emotional reactions of others and not able to take jokes and cusses in the same way as boys and too fragile to play rough sports (well) and to be hit. It seemed that boys experienced girls as more 'relational' (in Gilligan's terms) than themselves. While the work of Gilligan, Lyn Mikel Brown, (1992) and others demonstrates that relationality is hard work, the boys interviewed considered that girls just naturally talked and that they 'hung around' to do so. They did not see it as work in the form of social cementing or emotional labour.

It is not the case, however, that boys necessarily considered girls to be subordinate or inferior to themselves. Some boys admired characteristics they perceived girls to have and even idealised them. The idealisation included seeing girls as kinder and easier to talk to about anxieties (although the opposite view was expressed by some boys.)

Very commonly girls were construed as more mature than boys and this was linked to their relative academic success. This was, however, a contentious issue especially in single sex group interviews with boys with teachers seen as favouring girls (See Prendergast and Forrest 1997) and/or girls being seen as boring and less interested in fun.

More nuanced constructions of girls were also provided, with boys distinguishing between different kinds of girls, usually in terms of being 'quiet/boddyish - feisty', 'unattractive/unpopular - attractive/popular'. Sometimes these differences were racialised.

The women the boys spoke about were usually their mums, sometimes their grans, sometimes teachers and occasionally pop stars. In view of this particular consideration is given as to how boys construct their mums in relation to dads and/or other significant adult male figures and in relation to themselves.

How boys spoke about girls (in terms of content and tone) varied, often quite strikingly, according to the kind of interview we were conducting, whether individual, single sex group or mixed sex group. Considerable anger was expressed towards girls notably in single sex group interviews, with boys collectively asserting themselves in opposition to popular constructions of 'girl power' and girls as 'mature'. In the individual interviews boys were 'softer', more 'serious', often critical of popular ways of being boys and spoke more positively about girls. In half the mixed gender interviews girls positioned themselves as more mature than boys, and in three of these the boys were quieter than the girls, tended to follow the agenda set by the girls and were defensive as well as self critical.

A key assumption of ours was that there was no fixed or unitary masculine identity but different identities, and that these were actively performed or enacted (See eg. Wetherell and Edley 1998) in the interviews. Taking the interviews as particular contexts in which gender was 'performed' we shall examine how particular boys spoke about girls in different interviews and how this reflected on the different kinds of masculine identities being produced in these. Of particular interest here concerns the relationship established between the interviewer with the boys and girls in these different contexts, and this is a topic we shall address.



- Brown, L and Gilligan, C. (1992) Meeting at the Crossroads: Women's psychology and girls' development. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press
- Prendergast, S and Forrest, S (1997) Hieroglyphs of the Heterosexual: Learning about Gender in School. In Segal, L (ed) New Sexual Agendas Basingstoke:MacMillan Press
- Wetherell, M. and Edley, N. (1998) 'Gender Practices: Steps in the analysis of men and masculinities'. In K. Henwood, C. Griffin and A. Phoenix (eds) Standpoints and Differences: Essays in the practice of feminist psychology, London: Sage
- Wight, D. (1994) 'Boys' thoughts and talk about sex in a working class locality of Glasgow'. The Sociological Review Vol. 42 No.4

### **Against the Odds: A study of the identity formation and socialisation of older male adolescents**

*Simon D. Pratt*

*Senior Lecturer, School of Education, University of North London*

The paper is an attempt to understand more about the lives and identities of late adolescent young men. The identity formation of a large portion of working class late adolescents is often overlooked because the cohort has started to break down, and does not form the unified group it once did at school. This paper provides a view of their experiences and issues faced by one group and how they progress and negotiate their way through educational, occupational, and social situations in a rapidly changing society which, whilst it may offer more opportunities than for previous generations, also offers less certainties. It is a confusing and problematic time for many young men and some do become involved in delinquent acts. However, this is not a study of problematic male youth, as much of the recent research has been and which has become the dominant image but a study of eighteen to nineteen year old male youth "at promise," going about the task of finding their place in the adult world. This study allows the informants to speak out, to give their perspective on their lives, how they turn their thinking into action and make choices as their lives alter.

The study focuses on the circumstances of their individual lives as their personal identities have developed over time and not just during late adolescence, particularly the meaning and value they attach to their childhood educational experiences. It focuses on the social constructions in relation to friendship and the peer group (and wider society as they form relationships). These relationships become more important as youths get older and it is thought that the socialisation process affects many interconnected issues involving identity perspectives, such as the development of young people's emotional behaviour, sexuality, cognitive and social skills, morality and values. People attach meaning to their environment, and act according to the diversity of socialisations and social interactions on the basis of what people say and how they behave. Comparisons were made between the responses of the group, to look for similarities and variations in what they said, and how they behaved. What diversity, range, variations and sameness are there in this study group? The influence of peers on the identity formation and socialisation of working class late adolescents was extremely important, and this study attempts to make the connection between masculine identity formation and social construction, the processes of socialisation and their educational choices.

The conclusions drawn from the study are that the social world is intrinsically related to the educational world, and that school experiences affect males as social beings and vice versa, human agency thus affecting the type of male they become. Failure to deal effectively with the educational or social worlds can have a negative effect on the development of the self. This was becoming particularly apparent in the research, as the group reached the transitory stage from adolescence to the adult world of work.

The group of young men studied have a distinctive identity. The work provides an ethnographic view of the experiences and issues faced by one working class, largely ethnic minority group living in the East End of London during the 1990s. This paper is an attempt to make a connection between growing up, going to school and socialising in a specific area of East London. This group of people had been known to the author for a number of years, commencing when he was their teacher at primary school. Although shared gender was an important factor in the interviewing process age, professional status, class, and in most cases ethnicity placed him outside of their cultural group. Thus, he was both insider and outsider in the study, which allowed the opportunity to abstract himself in order to make an analysis and see patterns.

This was a small scale, qualitative study. Twelve interviews were carried out. The young men were willing and eager to talk about and reflect on their lives. The in depth, semi-structured interviews took place over a period of several months, conducted in the young men's homes, incorporated a life history chronological approach, which privileged the voices of the young men as gate-keepers of the information to talk about themselves, and then developed into explorative and discussive areas.

The work particularly relates to, and has been influenced by the study of adolescent boys in East London conducted by Willmott in the same locale 30 years before. Consequently, this paper contributes to a larger, longitudinal study by the author of social development, friendship and peer culture of young male groups in one inner city locale.

#### Brief Bibliography

- Coleman, J and Hendry, L (1990) *The Nature of Adolescence*. London, Routledge.  
Connell, R (1995) *Masculinities*. Cambridge, Polity Press.  
Head, J (1997) *Working with Adolescents: Constructing Identity*. London, Falmer.  
Mac an Ghail, M (1994) *The Making of Men*. Buckingham, OUP.  
Phelan, P, Locke Davidson, A and Cao Yu, H (1998) *Adolescents' Worlds: Negotiating Family, Peers and School*. London, Teachers College Press.  
Salisbury, J and Jackson, D (1996) *Challenging Macho Values*. London, Falmer.  
Willmott, P (1966) *Adolescent Boys of East London*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Simon D. Pratt is Senior Lecturer in the School of Education at the University of North London and part-time Ph.D. student at King's College, London. He was the Deputy Head of an inner city primary school for eight years. He has a B.A. Hons in Theology from the University of Durham, a Certificate in Youth and Community Work from Durham County Council, a PGCE from Manchester Metropolitan University, an RSA Diploma in Information Technology and an M.A. in Urban Education from King's College, London.

He coordinates the King's College Gender Research Group and is a member of the King's College Masculinities research group. He is a book reviewer and abstractor for several academic journals and a member of the Achilles Heel Magazine Collective. His published articles include Inner City Children and their Schooling, The Under-achievement of Boys and Masculinity and Power: The Influence of Foucault. He is presently working on several articles and book chapters based on his Ph.D. fieldwork..

## **Voices in Gender and Education**

### **Roundtable**

#### **Gender, education and poverty**

*Women on international development practice*

*Convened by Rosemary Preston  
International Centre for Education in Development  
Department of Continuing Education  
University of Warwick*

The success over the last three decades of the first and second waves of the twentieth century women's movement in raising awareness about the disadvantageous situation of women relative to men risks being undermined. The legislation it has inspired supra-nationally and at state and sub-state levels remains in place. Projects continue which seek to position women to articulate their own needs and improve well-being by generating their own incomes through enterprise, professional careers or wage labour. At the same time, these very achievements may have some bearing on the dwindling emphasis on women's issues in policy debates and in practice associated with them. Questions arise about the silencing effect of: (i) the legislation itself, as voices remain quiet about women's rights and interests once they are enshrined in law; (ii) the discovery of the marginalisation and sub-ordination of increasing numbers of men, seeking to make them appear at least as vulnerable as women in the past.

This round table will examine the mechanisms through which the renewed silencing of the women is being achieved in the context of cross-nation aid to the poor in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the forms of resistance that are emerging to prevent this. Its starting point is a reminder that, not only do the numbers of poor women increasingly outnumber poor men, the complexity of their responsibilities means that their resources and capacities and the strategies open to them are qualitatively different from those available to men. The discussion is at the level of experience of internal and external organisational policy in international development. The voices are those of women based in the UK who are concerned with the formulation and implementation of international development policy in poorer parts of the world. The furtherance of women's interests is central to the stated purposes of the organisation with which they are associated, with gender aware practice informing their daily routines.

## **Listening to “ the ladies who lunch “: Discourses of gender and pedagogy in Higher Education**

*Jocey Quinn Lancaster University*

The voices which helped to generate this paper belong to women students at a Higher Education institution ,who took part in focus groups as part of an ESRC funded project on women and the HE curriculum .These were voices of the unexpected, in deliberately and consciously overturning assumptions about gender and value, for example, the appellation “ladies who lunch” was applied entirely positively and not in any pejorative sense ,as was their desire to be “spoonfed” :the nurtured rather than the nurturers. Their idea of the female voice was multiple and in some respects contradictory: simultaneously denying and celebrating the vision of speaking as women. Whilst presenting education as a protected space, where they could speak out and be truly themselves, they viewed their life elsewhere as entirely constrained by dominant discourses of femininity, within which gender was just a series of performances. They appeared to have appropriated pedagogic discourses often associated with working class aspiration and applied them to age and gender, but their conception of pedagogy could not be easily termed liberatory or feminist.

This paper explores how some women students frame and make claims for their educational experience by reworking competing discourses of gender and pedagogy to make a space from which to speak .It also discusses the role of the researcher in hearing these voices., and the issues of methodology and epistemology raised in being “ a good listener”.



**Re-searching, re-finding, re-making:  
Exploring the unconscious as a pedagogic and research practice**

*Lynn Raphael Reed*

In this paper I explore a range of tensions within a number of dominant discursive positions on power and method – and voice some uncertainties, intuitions and possible insights in relation to the research act and researcher identity. In particular I question paradoxical certainties within certain postmodernist/post-structuralist and feminist perspectives, challenge persistent attempts to fragment our identities through the lens of social and intellectual critique and untidy some current conceptions of autobiography, voice and identity by asking about the ‘unconscious’, the need for ‘integration’ and the search for a ‘true Self’. I conclude by describing ways in which I have tried to integrate and act upon the ideas expressed here in my own work as a teacher and researcher, specifically in relation to my work on masculinity and schooling, and articulate some wider implications for our pedagogic and research practice.

**Weaving Many Voices: A Layered Account Of Educational Experience**

*Jean Rath, University of Warwick*

This paper is ‘about’ the storied experiences of Rape Crisis initial volunteer counsellor training. It takes the form of a ‘layered account’ (e.g. Rambo Ronai, 1995). A writing technique which seeks to interweave the different voices of the researcher and the research subjects throughout the text. In the layered account taken-for-granted-meanings are questioned and the reader/listener is invited into the text to fill the empty spaces which are deliberately left for her to construct her own interpretations.

\*\*\*

*Part of you is your mum and dad saying:*

*‘Oh well she was a tarty trollop no wonder it happened to her.’*

*You’re not necessarily thinking that, it’s just there in your mind.*

*Influencing how you think.*

\*\*\*

As a researcher with feminist commitments I am concerned to produce a text which does justice to the complexity and uniqueness of the stories I have been told. However, I am also concerned to take into account the *crisis of representation* (e.g. Denzin, 1997) facing

qualitative research, and to acknowledge the inscriptive difficulty of producing such a text with/in the current climate of educational theorising. To simply script a multiplicity of research participants' voices would do nothing to address this crisis in representation as it leaves traditional notions of voice and authorship intact. I therefore use a layered account as an attempt to focus on the complex ambiguities of power, language, communication and interpretation at the intersection of researcher and research participant.

\*\*\*

*I wouldn't describe myself as a trainer, I would describe myself as an enabler.  
You've just got to be there. The second you hear something, sense something, see them look  
at something, see them listen to something, see them hear something.  
So that you say 'yes', and help them on*

\*\*\*

This paper as a layered account moves between many different positions of presenting the lived experience of Rape Crisis pedagogy. I shape and link the voices of Rape Crisis trainees and trainers with/around historical documents related to the work of Rape Crisis and my reflexive account of the research process. None of these positions are 'the truth'. The expectation of active audience permits the layered account to present diverse ways of knowing without falling prey to reification of experience or historical fact. No one account within the text is privileged. This is a technique that recognises the fluidity of meaning within storied experience. In this way attention is drawn to the politics of knowing and being known through a bringing forward of the complexities of the relationships between the author of *and* in the text, and the research subjects of *and* in the text. This layered text uses experimental and evocative writing to weave together the many voices of the research process whilst recognising the multiplicity of each strand to be woven.

### *References*

Rambo Ronai, Carol. 1995. "Multiple Reflections of Child Sex Abuse: An argument for a layered account." Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 23:395-426.

Denzin, Norman K. 1997. Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st century. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Jean Rath, Dept. Continuing Education, University of Warwick, Coventry.

Contact details: 29, Middle Street, Stroud, GL5 1DZ. Jeanrath@aol.com

### **“Dim dross”’: Marginalised women both inside and outside the academy**

*Diane Reay, King’s College London*

In this paper I draw on my own experiences as a female contract researcher as a starting point for raising issues around social justice, ethics of caring and the culture of uncaring which permeates academic, as well as wider social, elites. Although the term ‘dim dross’ was directed by Chris Woodhead in his polemic against academic sociologists, towards myself and a small group of mainly gender and race researchers within education, it is the still working class female who is most at risk of being captured within such representations. In this paper I attempt to juxtapose the position of the female contract researcher, and in particular those of us from working class backgrounds, with dominant discursive constructions of still working class women in order to make sense of processes of marginalisation both within and without the academy .

There are frequently overlooked issues of hierarchy and inequalities within academia which can be exemplified through a focus on the positioning of the female contract researcher. However, while this paper highlights concerns around the situation of the female contract researcher, I also argue that some of the concepts I try to sketch out in relation to contract researching within the academy are key to understanding dominant discursive constructions of black and white working class women. Negative evaluations of what you embody, the valorisation of distance over closeness, as well as having your voice constantly subsumed under those of more powerful others all contribute to the way such women are portrayed and often come to see themselves. The inequitable processes I outline in relation to academia are magnified within dominant class discourses which continue to position working class women as ‘an inferior other’.

I conclude that the academic gaze when it does focus on issues of social justice, looks out on the wider social world for evidence of moral and ethical shortcomings, neglecting self scrutiny, and this is why the existence of exploitative hierarchies within academia have rarely been recognised, let alone recorded. Academia with its ethos of, at best, mutual instrumentalism, at its worst, individualistic, competitive self interest and self promotion, lacks any intrinsic ethic of caring and this is extremely problematic for female academics committed to feminist ways of working.

Diane Reay is a contract researcher currently working at King’s College on two externally funded ESRC projects; one on choice of higher education and the other on children’s perceptions of the secondary school transfer process. She has written widely in the areas of social justice, feminism, social class, race and gender. Her book “Class Work” (1998) examines gendered processes of social reproduction through education.

## **'The discipline of love: negotiation and regulation in boys' performance of a romance-based heterosexual masculinity'**

*Peter Redman, Sociology Discipline, The Open University, UK.*

Nick: ... the difference between being in a relationship and having one night stands is that there's no love, there's no caring or sharing or the actual emotion of it ... My love life and relationships have really turned sour since I went out with Helen.

Between December 1993 and April 1994 I carried out fifteen in depth, 'open' interviews (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1994) with a group of ten sixteen to eighteen year old boys in a suburban sixth form college in the West Midlands. The boys were all white-English, self-identified as heterosexual, and tended to have one or both parents with a managerial or professional middle class occupation. With a single exception (involving a pair), the interviews were conducted on an individual basis, in a private room on the college site. Following standard practice, the interviews were audio-taped and transcribed.

The initial focus of the interviews was on the 'relationship cultures' that had characterised the boys' secondary schooling. However, in best ethnographic fashion the interviews took me in an unexpected direction. To my surprise, a number of the boys began to describe intense investments in what might be characterised as 'romantic' relationships, many recent or ongoing. Thus, in the quotation at the top of the page, Nick describes his feelings of loss over the demise of a particularly intense nine-month relationship that had ended shortly before. Despite his subsequent success in 'copping off' (having one night stands), he yearned for the 'caring and sharing and actual emotion' of being in love.

In the course of this paper, I aim to explore the boys' investments in romantic love. The paper views romantic love as a particular way of 'doing boy', one that attempts to hold together and make imaginative sense of a number of intersecting dynamics. In particular, the paper focuses on:

- the extent to which a romantic version of heterosexual masculinity negotiated key, schooling-based regulatory practices and disciplinary regimes;
- the extent to which romance operated dialogically to produce a heterosexual male identity whose boundaries were defined through relations to key social others; and,
- the extent to which a romantic version of heterosexual masculinity both articulated and sought to resolve unconscious processes.

Following Graham Dawson's (1994) work on boys' culture and identity production and 'culturalist' accounts of masculinity and schooling such as Mac an Ghail's (1994) *The Making of Men*, the paper argues that boys' investments in romance need to be understood, at least in part, as a way of 'composing' a subjective orientation to key disciplinary regimes and regulatory practices. In particular, it explores the extent to which their investments in romance can be understood as a means of negotiating, making 'imaginative sense' of, or subjectively living, the transition from the 'little cultural world' of the secondary school to that of the college, the regulatory practices of the 'A' level curriculum, and imagined future employment locations. The paper argues, in negotiating these regulatory processes, the boys had to produce a new way of 'doing masculinity' and new narratives of self. Narrating a masculine self through heterosexual romance – a process, which entailed a move away from the male peer group, and the self-identified adoption of more 'mature' and work-orientated outlook – appeared to provide one possible resolution to the individualising demands of the boys' cultural environment, a resolution that was validated in the pupils' culture.



The paper goes on to argue that this new, romance-based masculine identity was inevitably dialogic (Bakhtin, 1981). At the same time as a romance-based masculine identity negotiated the regulatory processes of schooling, it also served to regulate and 'discipline' the local relations of gender and sexuality in the pupils' culture of the college. As a 'proper' way of 'doing masculinity', one that was validated in the pupils' culture, romance existed in a dialogic relation to a range of social others, voices that it sought to define, contain, or subordinate and from which it sought recognition as like, different or superior. As a localised variant of conventional relations of gender and sexuality, romance was clearly in dialogue with social others that included the 'lad', the sexually assertive female, the 'pure' girlfriend, and the 'queer'. At the same time, however, it would seem that romance also offered at least some of the boys a limited space to negotiate conventional gender and sexual identities and power relations.

Finally, the paper argues that an understanding boys' performance of a romance-based version of heterosexual masculinity also needs to address dynamics whose origins lie in the unconscious. Lacanian accounts (see, for example, Salecl, 1994) suggest that romance is deeply inscribed by the search for the 'lost object' that is central to the unconscious. As a result, romance can tell us much about the cultural production of identity, the unconscious dimensions of heterosexual power relations and identity's inevitable failure. While not seeking to refute this position, the paper draws on recent feminist appropriations of object relations theory (Benjamin, 1990; Hollway, 1996) to argue that boys' investments in heterosexual romance may also involve unconscious identifications (in particular, with the 'holding mother') that hold out the promise of forms of relating based on tolerance and mutual recognition, forms not recognised in the Lacanian account.

### **Select Bibliography**

Bakhtin, M. (1981) The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by MM Bakhtin, tr. Emerson, C. and Holquist, M., Austin: University of Texas Press.

Benjamin, J. (1990) The Bonds of Love: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and the Problem of Domination, London: Virago.

Dawson, G. (1994) Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities, London: Routledge.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1994) Ethnography: Principles in Practice, 2<sup>nd</sup>. Edn. London: Routledge.

Hollway, W. (1996) 'Recognition and heterosexual desire', in Richardson, D. (ed.) Theorising Heterosexuality: Telling it Straight, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Mac an Ghaill, M. (1994) The Making of Men: Masculinities, Sexualities and Schooling, Buckingham Open University Press.

Salecl, R. (1994) 'Love: Providence or despair?', New Formations, 23, Summer: 13-24.

## Foreign Voices: academic women and postcolonial English

*Jeanette Rhedding-Jones*

*Faculty of Education*

*Oslo University College, NORWAY*

*Email: Jeanette.Rhedding-Jones@lu.hioslo.no*

Who is the foreigner? Is it me when I am somewhere else? Or is it the people I meet there? This paper deals with the practical problems of having English as another language, and working as a woman researcher in today's globalisation. Here the politics of power regard not only gender but a dominating and colonising language. Being other than Anglo, as a speaker and a writer, is in this case a matter for anglophone feminists to take into account.

The work of a constant anthropologist, the research explores some of the theoretical dimensions of being different through language and culture. Today's Englishes and today's globalisation are seen as possibilities for various voices and bodies, as we travel, publish and read more widely. Thus inserting the foreign, by insisting on retaining identity and generational history, becomes a positive strategy.

As data the paper will exemplify some of the interviews from the project "Academic Women Teaching", conducted in Norway and Australia. Amongst volunteers for the project were higher education teachers and students self-defining as immigrants. For the purpose of the interviews, these women discussed pedagogies. In addition they touched on what it is to belong to more than one place.

Further, the paper serves to introduce the academic work of gender and education researchers from the five Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Located at the northern periphery of Europe, these countries have their own languages, dialects, customs, histories and research cultures. The researchers at this conference will draw on their various Nordic theories and situated knowledges built up over time. These are knitted to the themes of the research and the ways of conducting and presenting it.

Much Nordic research stays within the language group for whom it is written, despite the fact that it is highly informed by internationally published English. Thus what English speakers may believe is cutting-edge theory or radical methodology, or innovative pedagogy, may not be. As readers and writers of English, in addition to their own languages, the Nordic researchers will present their research to English-speaking foreigners.

### Brief biography

Migrated from Australia to Norway, June 1997. Associate Professor of English in Teacher Education in Norway, August 1997 to August 1998. Now Associate Professor of Pedagogy in Early Childhood Education in Norway, with tenure since August 1998. Research regarding gender and education published in *Gender and Education*, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *Nordisk Pedagogik*, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *Nora (Nordic Journal of Women's Studies)*, *Australian Educational Researcher*, *Qualitative Studies in Education* (in press).

**“Less Intelligent and Lacking in Edge”?  
Female Pupil Teachers and Academic Performance**

*Dr Wendy Robinson, University of Warwick, Institute of Education*

In recent years, the persistence of an almost frenzied moral panic over significant sex differences in terms of academic achievement and performance has focused heavily on the ‘problem’ of boys. Women teachers, the feminised environment of schools and girl-friendly modes of teaching and learning have been placed under public scrutiny. Scant attention is paid, however, to the evident successes and academic attainments of girls. These are generally presented alongside unfavourable comparisons with boys’ achievements. Explanations or even justifications for this inescapable sex difference in educational outcomes can be located in pervasive gender stereotypes which define the sexes in terms of particular personality or character attributes. It has been suggested that girls, as hard-working, conscientious, well-motivated examination candidates fit the current system, offering ‘consistent, bland and less excitable answers’ which enable them to gain higher marks than boys who are invariably less well-prepared and prone to more creative and independent but less uniform and neat responses.

Recent feminist scholarship has drawn attention to this lack of interest in girls’ achievement for its own sake. In Patricia Murphy and Caroline Gipps excellent UNESCO study *Equity in the Classroom*, Michele Cohen has pursued this issue with reference to its historical precedent. Based on a study of the teaching of French in England over the past three hundred years, Cohen has argued that there is a long tradition of educational discourse which denies female achievement. She suggests that educational discourses have been constructed in such a way to demonstrate that boys’ failure and girls’ success is due to external factors- particular pedagogical practices or methods and not to any internal, inherent intellectual abilities.

My own growing sense of frustration and disquiet at the particular boy-oriented emphasis in the current educational climate, prompted me to revisit some of my own historical research into late nineteenth century pupil teachers. One aspect of this work uncovered remarkably similar concerns over male and female achievement and moreover, the language, justifications and explanations for differential gender achievement and success focused then, just as it does today, on overt judgements of stereotypical male and female qualities of character. Rather than celebrate the increasing academic successes and achievements of both female and male pupil teachers, commentators were anxious to demonstrate an element of competition between the sexes to prove that girls were not out-performing boys. Female pupil teachers were described as conscientious, hard-working ‘plodders’, whilst boys, who applied themselves less rigorously to their academic studies, were still far superior in terms of demonstrating a genuine and true ‘intelligence.’ As I looked again at the story of the female pupil teacher, I was excited to find that Cohen had also taken an excursion into the past to make sense of the present. Her theory made a lot of sense in the context of my work and I find it very persuasive. It is not my intention offer any potential solutions to the current crisis in male underachievement. But, I think it might be instructive to take a longer view of this important educational issue by highlighting another educational context in which there clearly exist some telling historical comparisons.

## **Bibliography**

- Cohen, M. (1996) 'Is there space for the achieving girl?' in Murphy, P. F. and Gipps, C.V. (eds) *Equity in the Classroom: Towards Effective Pedagogy for Girls and Boys* (Falmer Press)
- Miller, J. (1996) *School for Women* (Virago) p. 8
- Robinson, W. (1997) 'The Pupil-Teacher Centre in England and Wales in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Policy, Practice and Promise' (unpublished PhD thesis University of Cambridge)
- Thom, D. (1987) 'Better a teacher than a hairdresser?'; 'A mad passion for equality' or 'Keeping Molly and Betty down' in Hunt, F. (ed) *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women 1850-1950* (Blackwell)

## **CULTURE AND REPRODUCTIVE PRACTICES IN MEXICO CITY**

*Ángeles Sánchez Bringas*  
*Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana*  
*México.*

### Introduction

In this paper I examine the different ways in which Mexican women become mothers in the context of drastic changes in fertility rates, aggressive family planning policies, and economic crisis. I present a cultural interpretation of the meanings and representations of reproductive and sexual practices among women of different socio-economic strata from Mexico City. The point I want to make is that even though women and men have reduced their number of children and changed their reproductive practices, they retain traditional representations and meanings both of family and procreation. This means that women initiate their adult life with meanings which define their sexuality as an instrumental device for procreation. However, they may experience changes in the couple structure, new family arrangements, and a drastic economic situation trying to find and create new meanings that detach sex from procreation.

This essay is based on a research work developed from 1995 to 1998. I applied 200 questionnaires and recorded 14 life histories among women from different areas of Mexico City. I analyse the experiences of particular women: women whose age (12 to 49 year-olds), income, marital status, number of children, occupation, level of instruction and background vary considerably.



1. The context. One of the important fields for modernisation has been Mexican demographic structure. Since the 1970s the Mexican State has developed aggressive family planning policies which have resulted in a decrease of fertility rates. From 1976 to 1995, Mexican women's fertility rate dropped from 5.7 to 2.8.

However, this has been a complex process which has not developed homogeneously throughout the country, there are important differences that can be registered from one place to another.

During the last 20 years Mexico City has had the lowest fertility rate in the country, it was 2.2 in 1995. Today the reproductive behaviour in this city on the one hand, shares characteristics which are found in modern urban societies. On the other hand, the reproductive behaviour also shows characteristics which are common to rural societies.

2. Reproductive policies. Mexican women's reproductive behaviour has been to a great extent the product of policies for population control directed overwhelmingly at women. The State has had almost absolute control of the design and implementation of birth control programs and campaigns in Mexico. The campaigns and programs seem to stem from the premise that we as women are not able to assume responsibility for our body in its population and so they privilege methods whose application and efficiency do not depend on women, such as intrauterine devices and sterilisation.

Birth control policies spread "modern" cultural representations of family, couple and children. Such representations are those of a small family, in which the couple does not have one child after another, but plans and discusses the number of children they want to have, and women control their fertility, discussing the type of contraceptive method with her couple.

3. Reproductive practices in Mexico City. In the cases studied I found that, in general, women did not use any type of contraceptive method when they started having and active sexual life, they began using one, once they initiated a formal relationship with a man, and in particular when they already had had children.

That is to say, they could not establish a clear and explicit link between the wish for an active sexual life and the wish not to become pregnant, they could not separate sex from procreation. These elements were associated differently before the possibility of living with a couple.

4. Culture and procreation in Mexico City. I propose the existence of two ideal types of reproductive practices: one reproduces female sexuality as procreation, and the other detaches sex from reproduction.

The first one, the reproductive practice for procreation is characterised as follows: women start their couple relationship at the same time they initiate their reproductive life, usually before the age of 25; they hardly use any contraceptive methods during in the reproductive years and they use radical methods once they have decided to put and end to their reproductive life. For these women sexuality and procreation are considered as offerings to the man through the meanings applied to virginity, sexual surrender and child. Women with a large number of offspring's followed these reproductive practices. This practice is found in women of different income strata and of different levels of instruction. Among the women of medium and high income strata it is brought into effect through the strategy of marriage, and among the women of lower income strata through the strategy of pregnancy-couple-family.

The second ideal type of reproductive practice departs from the usual family and procreation representations, in this, sexuality and procreation are detached from one another. This reproductive practice is brought about through two strategies: the pregnancy-family strategy, and the couple-family strategy. In the first (the pregnancy-family strategy) the woman breaks with the meanings that define her sexuality and procreation practices as an offering to the man when she assumes that her son or daughter embodies her own desire. These women live their maternity alone as mothers. In the couple-family strategy, on the other hand, the woman establishes a relationship with a man and creates specific meanings differentiated from her role as mother. This practice is found among women of middle and higher income strata with a medium to higher levels of instruction. They usually become pregnant after they have reached the age of 30. These women are the ones who have less children and use contraceptive methods to prevent any further risk of being pregnant.

### **PLUS CA CHANGE, PLUS C'EST LA MEME CHOSE**

***GERDA SIANN, University of Dundee; SARAH RILEY, University Of Edinburgh;  
FIONA WILSON, University of St Andrews***

When a authoritative report *British and European Social Attitudes* contends that "there seems no going back to the 'traditional' family" (Scott, 1998) and when the media abound with headlines such as 'The future is female' that there has been a major shift in family structure and gender relations seems incontestable. As Pullinger and Sommerfield (1997) have pointed out, in just one generation in Britain, the numbers marrying have halved, the numbers divorcing have trebled and the proportion of children born outside marriage has quadrupled. Further people are marrying later, having fewer children and there is a marked tendency amongst better educated women to have their children later, (1994). Fifty-one percent of women with children under four work, 36% of these full-time and 75% of women with children over eleven work, 47 % of these full-time. While the proportion of men in of working age in work (78%) continues to exceed the proportion of women of working age in work (67%) many more men than in the past are in part-time employment and for many others employment tends to be short term and non-continuous.

The extent to which these changes in family structure and in working life in Britain have affected deep seated stereotypes about gender roles and traditional attitudes to family and working life is difficult to assess. On the one hand, there is some evidence from large scale national and international surveys that support for traditional gender roles is eroding and that the endorsement of egalitarian values is increasing. On the other hand, more discursive enquiries have suggested that contemporary culture continues to supply discourses which legitimate traditional gender roles and which provide what Gough has referred to as a 'modernisation rather than a transcendence' (1998, p. 44) of the patriarchal ideologies which position men as the primary breadwinners and women as the p

In this paper we explore this apparent contradiction by drawing on research carried out with a large sample of Scottish undergraduates of both sexes and consider the extent to which traditional ideologies of gender constrain the academic lives of women students. We focus on topics -essentialism and the nature of gender differences; the gendered division of

labour; individualism and the coupling of the advance of women with male disadvantage) and relate these responses to elements which we have identified in discursive studies

#### References

- GOUGH, B (1998) Men and the discursive reproduction of sexism: Repertoires of difference and equality, *Feminism & Psychology*, 8,1, pp. 35-49.
- PULLINGER, J. & SUMMERFIELD, C. (1997) *Social Focus on Families* (Office of National Statistics, London).
- SCOTT, J., BRAUN, M. and ALWIN, D. (1998) Partner, parent, worker: family and Gender Roles in R. JOWELL, J.CURTICE, A.PARK, L. BROOK, K. THOMSON C. & C.BRYSON (Eds) *British and European Social Attitudes: How Britain Differs, the 15th Edition* (Aldershot, SCPR).

### **A Personal Reflection of the Room at the Top Programme**

*Anne Sibbald, Director of Staff Development*

This paper/workshop will aim to reflect upon the personal experiences of a professional Staff Developer who was a participant on the Room at the Top Programme. It will give the background, content, outcomes and some possible ways forward.

#### **Background**

The Room at the Top Programme was jointly sponsored by CUCO and UCoSDA and its objective was to support the CUCO objective of a significant increase in the proportion of women in senior positions in higher education in the UK to 15% by 2002 and 25% by 2007. Its aims are to:

- Establish a pool of potential women leaders in higher education
- Provide an extended personal and professional development programme to help them achieve career progression to the top
- Influence leadership and management models and styles in UK universities and colleges
- Seek to influence search firms and senior recruiters in HE to review the criteria for selection.

The first programme began in March 1997 and ran over the year. It began with a half day module in London and had three further two day modules, one based in Washington DC., the other two in Cambridge. Eighteen women participated in the programme from a variety of old and new universities. To apply, each had to be of sufficient seniority to demonstrate the potential to seek promotion to posts of head of institution or head of administration within the next five years. There were 14 academics (Pro Vice Chancellors) and four non-academic staff (University Secretary, Finance Director, Director of Staff Development and Academic Registrar).

UCoSDA was responsible for running the programme and the Steering Group comprised members of CUCO.



## **CONTENT OF THE PROGRAMME**

The programme had a strong personal development focus and so, the early modules afforded the opportunity of reflecting upon the development of one's personal development portfolio, the acquisition of a mentor and the concept of review partners. There was also the opportunity to receive feedback on a number of personality tests completed prior to attending the programme.

Equally, there was the chance to hear from key leaders in their field;  
Vice-Chancellors from across the Sector  
Head of the key HE head-hunters, Saxton-Banfield  
A senior executive from commerce

The Washington module was different in style; the former modules having been highly participative, the American visit was intensive and ran as a seminar. There were many talks about leadership and what makes for effective leadership. Included in the presentations was a session, the Presidents' Panel.

This comprised four female Presidents (equivalent of Vice-Chancellors in the UK) who gave very frank and often personal overviews of their careers and the sacrifices made to achieve these goals. Included in the trip were visits to the George Washington University, Maryland State University and the Association of American Colleges. Once again these visits offered an opportunity, albeit rather peremptorily to speak with those in senior positions from a different culture.

The final tranche of the programme took place in Cambridge and addressed Strategic Management, Being a VC (overview by two female VCs) and a personal impression session; the use of 360o feedback added a new and focused dimension to the programme

## **OUTCOMES**

It was felt that it was too early to evaluate the programme; for a proper evaluation against the objectives set, there needs to be a longitudinal evaluation over a period of six years. Some key points emerged;

- There is a sizeable group of individuals able, willing and qualified to join the programme, who have secured institutional backing. There is currently a waiting list of over 20 women who have expressed a strong interest, with no further advertising yet undertaken
- Two members of the group have already made significant career development moves, one as head of an institution and one as Master of a Cambridge college
- There is a need for clarity on the relative status and sector perception of the proposed mixed-sex leadership programme and the Room at the Top programme; the advantages and disadvantages of a women-only programme;
- The need to be clear about the RATT programme's objectives, the writer's tranche identified three broad strands with individual participants giving different weight to these;
  - - personal development, leadership, vision, values
  - - management training (eg competencies in financial management, 360o feedback HR management, management of change, organisational structures, strategic management)
  - - career management (eg head-hunters, CVs, interview techniques, presentation skills)



- The structure, length and timing of the modules (the current programme being seen as too short); the relationship of “core” modules to options;
- The need for clarity about the roles of the drivers, eg the Academic Director, the Steering Group, UCoSDA
- Further discussion on what is expected of participants in terms of self - study and tasks between meetings.

### **SPECIFIC POSITIVES POINTS ABOUT THE PROGRAMME**

- The networking within the group
- (For most) the personal development analysis and (for some) preparation of portfolios;
- The concept of mentoring and (for those who have taken this up) the support from mentors and review partners
- The range of input from senior academics, administrators and contributors from outside the sector about leadership issues
- Insight into the process of job searches for the most senior posts
- The “space” to reflect away from the workplace
- The ‘Benchmarking’ involved in the US module

### **THE WAY FORWARD**

On the personal front, the programme has offered a number of measures upon which to build in order to create one’s own portfolio. At a professional level, there is an opportunity to develop a framework within the sector and offer a programme to women at different levels of their career. It is anticipated that discussion around these possible developments might be continued at the conference and beyond. A couple of interesting pilots programmes have taken place in Scotland, including a train the trainer programme for Personal and Professional Development (Junior / Senior Management) and a Senior Women’s Programme. A model of self-development is being considered and funding being sought with Heriot-Watt University serving as host Institution.

Anne Sibbald is currently Director of the Staff Development Unit at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, a Unit which covers all staff circa 2000. Her own background has been in Personnel Management in the NHS and the university sector. She also briefly lectured on the topic. Her special interest is management development (in particular recruitment and selection, and the development of women) and currently she is Chair of the COSHEP Management Training Committee in Scotland which oversees the training and development of all levels of management in the sector. She regularly works with UCoSDA and has written articles for them.

## 'BECOMING MACHO': INFANT BOYS, MASCULINITIES AND SCHOOLING.

*Christine Skelton*

*Department of Education*

*University of Newcastle Upon Tyne*

The concept of identity has taken a central part in academic and political discussion and debate in the 1990s (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 1997), and specific interest has focused on the formation of masculine identities in school settings (Connolly, 1995; Jordan, 1995; Heward, 1997). This research has attempted to provide explanations of how masculinities in school are shaped in relation to broader social processes. That is, masculinity is organised on a macro scale around social power, but the education system in this society is such that access to social power, in terms of entry to higher education and professional careers, is available only to those who possess the appropriate 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986). It has been argued by some commentators that those boys who are unable to obtain entry to the forms of social power schooling has to offer, then seek alternative means of publicly demonstrating their masculinity, such as through the use of violence or demonstrating sporting prowess (Segal, 1990; Seidler, 1991; Back, 1994).

The boys who were the focus of the research of this study were at an early stage in their school careers (aged 6-7 years) and the knowledge of themselves as 'school successes' or 'school failures' lay in the future. However, boys start school having already begun the process of constructing and negotiating their masculine identities in the home and amongst friends in the local culture. Schools, as sites where a multiplicity of masculinities are deployed (Mac an Ghaill, 1996), will necessarily have an impact on the shaping of masculine identities. The boys in this research, therefore, negotiated masculine identities through various discursive positions such as being a *boy*, *white*, *child*, *school pupil*, a member of the so-called '*underclass*' (Morris, 1994; Collier, 1995; Williams, 1997) etc.

The aim of this paper is to explore how particular social processes contributed towards the ways in which the boys constructed, negotiated and reconstructed their masculine identities in the school setting. At the same time, only a partial picture of boys' masculine identities at school can be offered. The findings presented in this paper provide a partial picture, in that the focus is on the hegemonic masculinity given ascendancy in the school itself, particularly on the control and management strategies, and how boys, as pupils, drew upon, negotiated with and challenged it. There is no claim to having made insights into how individual boys made sense of their masculine subjectivities.

The paper begins with a consideration of the 'knowledge' the boys brought with them to school regarding being a 'lad'; that is, the culturally exalted form of masculinity predominant in the local area. It then goes on to explore some of the discourses within which the boys were positioned and, in particular, examines the tensions between *being a boy* and a *school pupil*. Here, the focus will be on a boy called Shane, as the critical incidents generated by his actions and behaviours provided a means of exploring the 'apprentice lad' mode of hegemonic masculinity as constructed and negotiated by the boys in the class. Finally the paper reflects on where boys positioned themselves with regard to the 'apprentice lad' form of masculinity and in their relationships with each other.

Christine Skelton is a lecturer in the education department at the University of Newcastle Upon Tyne. Her main teaching and research interests are gender issues in primary schooling particularly the recruitment and place of men teachers in early years education. She has recently completed her doctoral thesis on masculinities and primary schooling.

### **Men teachers: alternative perspectives**

*Sue Smedley*

*Roehampton Institute London*

This paper will begin by describing the historical and contemporary contexts within which primary teaching is understood. I will outline the shift from the early 19th century, when infant schools were headed by men, assisted by their sisters or wives, to the current situation where 83.9% of primary teachers are women and 16.1% are men (DfEE, 1996, p. 30). Drawing on the work of Karen Clarke (1985), I will argue that explanations for the redefinition of the ideal infant teacher as female rather than male must be sought in the 'development of the definition of the public sphere as male and the private sphere as female' (Clarke, 1985, p. 84). Teaching young children has become women's work; defined as such it has long been perceived as unintellectual and low in status.

I will go on to explore how this 'feminisation' of primary teaching has been constructed as problematic by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), and examine some of the assumptions underpinning proposed strategies to recruit more men into primary teaching (TTA, 1996).

I will further illustrate how the 'feminisation' of primary teaching is perceived as problematic through reference to some elements of the media. I will argue that the discourse of demand for more men makes various claims about their contributions as teachers, for example, as role models for boys, or as effective disciplinarians (Pepperell and Smedley, 1998). These claims are embedded within broader but related debates about boys' underachievement. Within this general context gender is often treated in essentialist and stereotypical ways.

In the light of the argument so far, it is particularly important to critically investigate the gendered assumptions that are made about men teachers and to insert into the debate the perspectives of others, including the men themselves. This is not simply to add their voices to the discussion. My intention in this paper is to reveal differences of perspective, and to question claims to neutrality which legitimise certain positions and common sense arguments (Harding, 1987). Appeals to tradition, common sense, reason and masculine authority legitimise certain perspectives; these 'familiar justificatory strategies' (Harding, 1987, p. 3) are employed in the public discourse about primary teachers and teaching.

The voices of men who are training to be primary teachers will be presented and analysed in this paper. I will consider their perceptions of what it means to move into a culture which is described as feminised. The analysis of themes such as making an atypical career choice, and authority and control in the classroom, will highlight the assumptions made about the men and their abilities, and the various and complex ways the men work with and against the rhetoric. I will explore what the men are learning about gender, as they construct and

reconstruct masculinities in a context which can be described as a woman's workplace in a man's world (Smedley, 1997). Social class, cultural background and history will be acknowledged as significant in shaping versions of masculinity (Walkerdine, 1990; Cohen, 1998). The men do not position themselves in the same discourses in the same ways and I will ask questions about the ways this positioning might be understood. Wendy Hollway's concept of 'investment' provides one theoretical framework for possible explanations (Hollway, in Henriques et al, 1984).

My own perspective (as a woman researching men, as a former primary school teacher, and as a professional working with student teachers) will be acknowledged as significant to the research process and is written into, rather than out of, the investigation. In spite of my own experience as a primary teacher and teacher trainer working with men and women student primary teachers, I will argue that my own relation to the public discourse about men teachers is a difficult one (Smedley, 1998). Women's exclusion from the educational debate has a long tradition (Martin, 1994).

Based on my analysis of the data, I will conclude by making suggestions about gender and the pedagogy and policy of primary Initial Teacher Education. I will argue that current discussion about primary school teachers and teaching treats gender superficially or disregards it, focusing instead only on skills and standards. Such accounts are inadequate, yet powerful in their appeal and their concrete objectives. They block any recognition that teaching is a social practice, carried out by women and men, who are individuals working in schools at specific points in time and culture. I will maintain that simplistic assumptions are made about men and women primary teachers and about their work, and will explore ways forward that take into account alternative perceptions and individuals' social realities.

### Bibliography

Clarke, K. (1985) 'Public and private children: infant education in the 1820s and 1830s', in C. Steedman, C. Urwin and V. Walkerdine (Eds) *Language, Gender and Childhood* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

Cohen, M. (1998) 'A habit of healthy idleness': boys' underachievement in historical perspective', in D. Epstein, J. Elwood, V. Hey and Maw, J. (Eds) *Failing Boys? Issues in Gender and Achievement* Buckingham, Open University Press

DfEE (1996) *Statistics of Education. Schools in England* London, HMSO

Harding, S. (1987) 'Introduction: Is There a Feminist method?', in S. Harding (Ed.) *Feminism and Methodology* Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Hollway, W. (1984) 'Gender difference and the production of subjectivity', in J. Henriques, W. Hollway, C. Urwin, C. Venn and V. Walkerdine (Eds) *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity* London, Methuen

Martin, J. R. (1994) 'Excluding women from the educational realm', in L. Stone (Ed.) *The Education Feminism Reader* London, Routledge



Pepperell, S. and Smedley, S. (1998) 'Calls for more men in primary teaching: problematizing the issues', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 341-357

Smedley, S. (1997) 'Men on the Margins: male student primary teachers', *Changing English*, Vol. 4, No., 2, pp. 217-227

Smedley, S. (1998) 'Perspectives on male student primary teachers', *Changing English* vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 147-159

Teacher Training Agency (1996) *A Strategic Plan for Teacher Supply and Recruitment. A discussion document* London, TTA

Walkerdine, V. (1990) *Schoolgirl Fictions* London, Virago

### **Gender/technology relations: complicating the gender binary**

*Linda Stepulevage, Department of Innovation Studies, University of East London*

In my presentation, I intend to explore girls' and women's positioning in technological domains, positions that are sometimes made invisible in the gendering of technology as a masculine site of knowledge and practices.

One of the main approaches used by feminist social scientists to explain women's relationship to technology is that of the social construction of technology relations within masculine domains; relations that assume women to be less competent than men, and in which there is a hierarchy of technologies, such that a man driving a car is identified as skilled while a women doing the laundry is not (Cockburn and Ormrod, 1993). Technology is a rich site in which to examine gender as a discursive practice. In order to develop my argument, however, the concept of gender itself and gender relations needs more in depth consideration.

In her study of girls and boys in school, Thorne (1992) notes that, in the everyday life of school, heterosexuality and romance were evident in school culture, e.g. in some of the games played between groups of boys and girls. She states that 'through the years of elementary school, and increasing with age, the idiom of heterosexuality helps maintain the gender divide.' (p.124). Analyses of gender-technology relations in schools, however, seldom articulate heterosexuality as constituting those relations. In studies of gender-technology relations, heterosexuality is usually taken for granted in applying a gender analysis, a perspective I call hetero-gendered, i.e. one in which gender is socially constructed as a masculine/feminine dualism, embedded in heterosexuality (Stepulevage, 1997). I argue that, in order to explore questions concerned with women's invisibility in locations identified with technology, we need to take hetero-gender relations into account. In this presentation, I draw on some of the literature concerned with education in technology, especially information technology and computing, and on my own personal experience as a teacher of database design and as a researcher studying women's experiences on a conventional computer science course to demonstrate how heterosexuality can inform gender-technology relations .

I also hope to challenge analyses in which girls and women are seen as constrained within a gender-binary in male domains such as computing courses. This binary is usually characterised as one of either struggling to maintain a feminine identity that is locally appropriate to the situation *or* becoming 'one of the boys'. I argue that there are more complex positions that women negotiate, e.g. one in which women students interviewed on a computer science degree course feel strongly supported by women tutors, actively engaged with the content, both by participation in class and by questioning tutors outside class time. But the research experience also raised questions regarding the level of participation by students and tutors in the research project, and I apply a hetero-gender analysis to explain this issue.

I argue that it is possible to identify positions in which girls and women develop expertise without assuming a 'guest' and/or passive position, and where danger of becoming one of the boys is not seen as a deterrent. For some women, it might instead be danger of becoming a lesbian that is at issue. I hope to show how an analysis of hetero-gender discourse may contribute to an understanding of how girls and women develop knowledge and skills in locations that are gendered masculine. By doing so, we may better understand how some women maintain their female identities in technology and challenge the limitations of a hetero-gender binary .

#### References

Cockburn, C and Ormrod, S (1993) *Gender & Technology in the Making*. London: Sage.

Stepulevage, L (1997) "Sexuality and Computing: Transparent Relations" in Gabriele Griffin and Sonya Andermahr (eds) *Straight Studies Modified*. London: Cassell.

Thorne, B (1992) "Girls and Boys Together ... But Mostly Apart: Gender Arrangements in Elementary Schools" in J Wrigley (ed) *Education and Gender Equality*. London: The Falmer Press.

### **The voice on voicing in management? What women managers say about speaking out in the office**

*Margo Swadley*  
*University of Cambridge*

Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan (1992) take the assumption in *Meeting at the Crossroads* that women are silenced, that they have things they want to say, selves they want to project and are barred from doing so. Further, they argue that this silencing is psychologically damaging for women. If women are unable to speak of what they know and say what they want to say then they become dissociated from themselves. Understanding this silence was their motivation for studying issues of voicing in girls, to learn when the process of silencing occurs.

I would like to both challenge and accept the assumption Brown and Gilligan made that women are silenced. My paper will focus in particular on the managers amongst the women in business I interviewed for my Ph.D. research. The interviews I have conducted reveal that a majority of the people I spoke to do indeed silence themselves or at least temper their

voices at work. However, this silencing was well thought through: they considered the repercussions of voicing and often decided not to speak out on conflicts, offer opinions, or make suggestions. Voicing was considered to have negative consequences and therefore when they weighed up the pros and cons they concluded that they should not say their opinions or engage in disagreements. In other words, voicing was linked to constructions of knowledge, learning and thinking. As they constructed knowledge as something which was well considered and rational, decisions about voicing had to go through this same thought process.

*UmÖI almost always think before I speak as you can tell from the gaps in the tape. I think things over umÖ look before I leap usually. UmÖsoÖyeah I'm probably quite thoughtful, possibly quite introspective, certainly not very loud and noisy.*

The managers among this group silenced themselves even more than the juniors. It was setting a good example for their juniors to watch what they said and think things through carefully before giving opinions or raising disagreements. Further they encouraged considered silence in their juniors.

*It's the sort of thing I have to try and encourage amongst other people isÖ got a problem, go and fix it yourself first and then come and then let's talk about it you know.*

However, not all of the women I interviewed said the same things about voicing and silence in the office. There was a minority for whom voicing, strongly, clearly and consistently, was more typical. They said that they trusted in their instinct and voiced their feelings, regardless of the situation. For them knowledge was constructed as instinct, gut feelings, and personal experience.

*I will say something and then prove it rather than prove it and then say it. If I'm sure sure of what I feel isÖit won't necessarily be backed up by any sort of fact. It's just something that I think is probably right.*

Those who were managers in this minority encouraged this same voicing in their juniors and voiced fervently on behalf of their juniors when required.

*I I've had people come and work for me and I'm always like you know you're really trying to push them to sort of speaking up.*

Therefore, there may be silence amongst women managers, but it is not universal. Moreover, this silence may differ according to class, ethnicity, and nationality. Silence may be one way for managers to proceed but there are also women who manage in voicing.

## Bibliography

Belenky, M., Clinchy, B., Goldberger, N., Tarule, J. (1986) *Women's Ways of Knowing*, New York: BasicBooks

Brown, L.M., Gilligan, C. (1992) *Meeting at the Crossroads: Women's Psychology and Girls' Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C., Taylor, J. (1995) *Between Voice and Silence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Marshall, H., Wetherell, M. (1989) "Talking about career and gender identities: a discourse analysis perspective" in Skevington, S and Baker, D (eds) *The Social Identity of Women*. pp. 106-129.

Marshall, J. (1984) *Women Managers: Travellers in a Male World*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

---(1995) *Women Managers Moving On*. London: Routledge.

Swan, E (1994) "Managing Emotion" in M.Tanton (ed.) *Women in Management: a developing presence*. pp. 89-109.

### **Education's for other people - Voicing gendered experiences of participation in Higher Education**

***Lyn Tett, Department of Community Education, Moray House Institute of Education, University of Edinburgh, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh EH8 8AQ***

This paper examines the gendered experiences of a small group of working class participants (11 female and 6 male) in higher education who are taking part in a special project that provides access for people living in socio-economically excluded communities. Although access to higher education remains largely determined by social class (see Scott, 1995) it is important to look at the interactions between class and gender in order to understand more fully the factors that impede participation by non-traditional groups.

Through an analysis of both individual and group interview transcripts the ways in which these students construct narratives of their recollected experiences of learning at school, from life, and in higher education, is examined. The position is taken that their descriptions of their experiences are not an unmediated guide to 'truth' but rather these narratives should be viewed as a practice of making sense of a range of possibilities. Experience does not transparently reflect reality but is a collection of mediated relationships that need to be taken out of the realm of the taken for granted if they are to be interrogated and challenged (see Brah, 1992). The ways that the students made sense of their pasts in the light of their present, and what was emphasised and what omitted in their stories provides insights into their multiple positions, sometimes as victims of, sometimes as rebels against, and sometimes as unaware of oppressive cultural conditions. It is argued that they have made decisions as to what are appropriate and feasible educational options through the ways in which they have been positioned as subjects within the discourses of class and gender.

The relationship between education and societal values is always a struggle for authority, status or legitimacy where subordinated groups are constrained by the common sense institutional practices (habitus) that sustain the power base. Gender relations are an integral



part of other relationships in society so attitudes and perceptions of gender identity cannot be considered in watertight compartments. Thus feminists have argued, convincingly, that policies based on gender neutrality perpetuate ancient disadvantages and evade the task of re-evaluating the status and allocation of certain kinds of work or role (Frazer, and Lacey, 1993: 132-3). It is also clear that an emphasis on whose experiences count, and how they are interpreted and understood, helps us to conceptualise participation in higher education in a way that goes beyond a gender neutral analysis to an understanding of the importance of subject position.

The data suggest that, in this project, both genders have asserted the value of their informal learning experience and through this act of resistance have challenged some of the ways in which they have been excluded from higher education. The women, moreover, have shown how their understanding of their experience is mediated through the lens of gender and this has led to the development of some 'really useful' self-knowledge. These stories illustrate that identity formation and struggles are about the personal choices people make, the doubts they express, the strategies they devise, and the efforts towards self-transformation that they take. The life stories that people tell are about self-understandings and social identities which are shaped by multiple structures of domination but in their telling they can provide impetus and direction for new possibilities and understandings of ways of being in the world (see Luttrell, 1997). Once we believe that our own story has value, and we share it with others who receive it positively, then we are likely to feel better about ourselves in ways that enable us to challenge the *status quo* so that our views can be seen, heard and taken seriously.

If these students can develop and share their own reflexive stories about their lives then this can become an important resource for re-presenting their experiences for more self-aware interrogation. This is the next stage of the process that I am currently engaged in as a way of challenging the 'common sense' of everyday assumptions about experience and its relationship to knowledge production. In this way the experiences and stories that have been excluded, and the mystification caused by 'expert' knowledge, might be interrogated as a way of articulating 'views from below' (see Barr, 1999: 81). This would then allow new claims to be made for the legitimacy of reflexive experience leading to 'really useful knowledge' for those who are involved in generating it. In questioning the discourses of class and gender that frame the ways of thinking, problems, and practices which are regarded as legitimate, it begins to be possible for students to open up new ways of reflexively thinking about the social construction of their experiences of education. Making claims for the legitimacy of reflexive experience would provide an opportunity for adults who have felt excluded from higher education to revisit and reinterpret past feelings of powerlessness and inadequacy. Listening to stories of exclusion and recognising the commonalities of the structural effects of class and gender is one way of enabling silenced voices to be heard.

### References

- BARR, J. (1999) 'Women, adult education and really useful knowledge' in J. CROWTHER, I. MARTIN, and M. SHAW *Popular Education and Social Movements in Scotland Today*, Leicester: National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education. pp70-82
- BRAH, A. (1992) 'Difference, Diversity and Differentiation' in J. DONALD and A. RATTANSI (eds) *Race, Culture and Difference*. London: Sage

FRAZER, E and LACEY, N (1993) *The Politics of Community* Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf

LUTTRELL, W (1997) *School-smart and mother-wise* London: Routledge

SCOTT, P. (1995) *The meanings of mass higher education* Buckingham: Open University Press

## **Patriarchy and the Situation of Women in Higher Education in Taiwan**

*Sheur-er Tu*

*National Kaohsiung Institute of Technology, Taiwan*

The first purpose of my study was to determine the extent of gender differences in access to and participation in higher education in Taiwan. Equal rights are guaranteed by Article 7 of the 1947 Constitution. There is also equal opportunity for girls and boys within the compulsory education system but gender differences show up at higher levels of educational and particularly at the postgraduate level. Data on education were collected from the Taiwan Educational Statistics and the Taiwan National Statistics. Published commentary on the position of women in Taiwan was collected. The educational statistics of Taiwan show that women make up about 43 percent of the undergraduates, less than 33 percent of the postgraduates and about 13 percent of those awarded doctorates.

A second purpose of my study was to find out whether the situation of women in higher education was generally understood. Therefore, face-to-face interviews took place in Taipei and Kaohsiung with a number of mature informants and a written questionnaire was administered in Kaohsiung and Tainan to 150 senior high school students and 150 university students taking different subjects. In my study, the results of interviews and questionnaires using log-linear analysis show that gender differences in access to and participation in higher education were not widely known by both the mature informants and the young students in the sample. It is generally believed that women had the same equal opportunities as men to go to higher education.

The third and most important part of my study was to seek reasons for the gender differences in representation at the university level or higher. According to the results of the interviews and questionnaires, the informants and the young students themselves do not know that there are structural constraints in the public arenas, which prevent women from pursuing higher education especially postgraduate programs. For example, the compensation for male participants who completed their Army Service to be given an extra percent added to the scores on the University Joint Entrance Examination is acceptable. In addition, there is no doubt about whether or not it is possible for senior high school students to change their subjects from the humanities to the natural sciences once they choose. Most of the senior high school students in the humanities are female. It is also unknown that Manpower Planning Committed plays a major role in recruiting more engineering senior high school students to go on to university, and most of them are male. It is believed that there were no structural barriers to prevent women from pursuing higher education, and that there were equal numbers of women and men at universities.

However, the results of my study reveal a complex set of systemic pressures on women and also explain women's absence in postgraduate programs. Both the informants and the students in my study believed that there were cultural beliefs interacted with Confucianism in the private arenas that did not encourage women to pursue postgraduate programs especially and to develop their own career. The belief, for example, that it is important for a woman to get married and to have a baby at a certain age, seemed to be generally held by students and the informants, while men are not expected to do so. Even though the young students agreed that in most cases the division of labor on the basis of sex should be broken down, it seems a rooted belief that some occupations were not suited to women. Not only are women expected to be responsible for work within the home but as my study shows the family is supposed to take priority over career. Lack of provision for childcare is one of the factors that exclude married women with children from full participation in the public sphere. The survey of the students shows that one third of mothers retired from paid employment following marriage. Women in Taiwan seem to be more rigidly bound by cultural expectations that is the case for women in Western societies. In view of this, it is hardly surprising that the informants thought that marriage itself is more important than a degree or a professional career. It also helps to explain why the students in my study interpreted the value of a bachelor's degree for women as an advantage in making a good marriage.

The results of my study shows that very little attention has previously been paid to structural barriers within education system as examples of patriarchal power. They present institutional patriarchy and the values which support them are ultimately grounded in the male power structures. While women share biological characteristics, their access to and participation in higher education is culturally rather than biologically determined, where the inequality of women is perpetuated. The relative absence of women from higher education in Taiwan is not simply the result of women's individual choices or poor academic achievement, but of structural constraints in the public arena and cultural beliefs in the private arena.

It is concluded on the basis of my study that Walby's (1990) dual systems theory of patriarchy could be usefully applied to the position of women in Taiwan. Her dual systems theory in which patriarchy in the private sphere interacts with and contributes to patriarchy in the public sphere best illustrates why and how women experience barriers in access to and participation in higher education in Taiwan.

I am Sheur-er Tu, an associate professor at National Kaohsiung Institute of Technology in Taiwan. I have been teaching here for more than twenty years. During this time, I completed a master's degree in English education in America in 1989, and my Ph.D. in education at Victoria University of Wellington in 1998.

## **College Equal Opportunities Policies : Words and Meanings**

*Eileen Turner*

*Research Fellow and Lecturer  
Institute of Education, University of Stirling*

One research question addressed in a project on women managers employed in Further Education colleges, funded by the SOEID (Turner et al., 1997) was :

to what extent are equal opportunities policies established and enacted in FE colleges, and how might these policies be characterised?

Only a cursory analysis was possible at that time, but we suggested that most Equal Opportunities (EO) policies to which we had access could be characterised as 'laissez faire', in that they paid lip service to the letter of employment law but little positive action was apparent.

Farish et al. (1995) drew attention to the language used in EO policy documents. Tentative phrases such as 'whenever possible', or 'encourage applications from all relevant groups', were common and contrasted with the fewer, stronger statements like 'Sexual harassment will not be tolerated'. Such differences of tone were thought representative of different stages in the development of an EOs position. The more tentative documents were still in the business of persuading people in those institutions that EOs must be made to work. The more direct language suggested that the document was communicating with the converted and committed and was setting out a plan of action.

This paper examines the language of an opportunity sample of college EO policy documents, revealing tensions and contradictions between different motivations underlying policy formulation.



## **Working and speaking for the dispossessed: a network of female reformers of the nineteenth century**

*Ruth Watts*

*University of Birmingham*

It was not easy in the mid-nineteenth century for women to find a public voice. This paper will explore how four different women nevertheless exploited the means to hand and thereby found ways of realizing social reforms they desired. They expressed not concern for themselves but for others and thus through working within what was recognized as 'proper' for women, were able ultimately to extend the boundaries which limited them. All four wished to find ways to alleviate the distress of the poor and to enhance their lives through education. They were united by their rational religion and their social and educational concerns but divided by class and marital status. These factors affected what they could achieve, but in addition, whether relatively rich like Lady Byron, or poor, like Kitty Wilkinson, their chances to exercise their talents were limited because of their gender. It was only through exploiting those avenues which were open to them, including a network based upon a liberal philosophy of social justice, that they were able to extend their opportunities and become influential in those matters in which they so passionately engaged.

The four women studied are Elizabeth Rathbone, wife of a Liberal merchant and councillor in Liverpool; Kitty Wilkinson, a poor, twice-married, working-class washerwoman in the same town; Lady Byron, a wealthy widow; and Mary Carpenter, a middle-class spinster who for many years had to teach for a living. All were Unitarians and thereby shared a rational religion, liberal concerns and a radical educational philosophy. In particular they were each exercised by a concern about how to better the lives of the very poor whose distress and problems appeared as a blot of the rapidly growing urban landscape. Their different situations led to them finding different ways to articulate the solutions they envisaged. The married Elizabeth Rathbone worked with and through her husband and other members of her remarkable, locally powerful family. Kitty Wilkinson affected practical reforms in a smaller local sphere through taking direct action within her very limited means. Through this she attracted the attention of wealthier Unitarians and thence one of her initiatives was turned into a more public venture. Lady Byron's 'voice' was heard through the work of those she patronised. She consistently used her money to enable other educationists achieve ideals in which she believed. She also wrote on education and proved her own worth as an educationist through using the new educational means of having her private agricultural school inspected by an HMI. Mary Carpenter, far better known than the other three, similarly used her own educational ventures and writings to lobby for educational reform but to a far greater degree and in a much more public way. Indeed, she became a prominent publicist for the causes she upheld, using political methods to provoke discussion and action. The way in which she emerged from being a silent attendee at her own conferences to being an international speaker who could extemporise eloquently and in a scholarly fashion on subjects in which she was recognised as an 'authority', is a prime example of how Victorian women were finding a 'voice'.

The focus here will be how these women found a voice and how effectively rather than on details of the causes they espoused. William Forster, for example, drew on Elizabeth Rathbone's experience, when introducing the Education Act of 1870. Kitty Wilkinson's works became known, held up, indeed, as one of the rarer female public examples in some of

the leading 'self-help' collections of the day, her efforts appealing to middle-class liberals who congratulated themselves on what even the very poor could do with prudence and economy to help themselves. Lady Byron's school at Ealing Grove influenced James Kay (from 1842 Kay-Shuttleworth) who from 1839-49, was the dynamic first secretary of the newly established Committee of the Privy Council on Education. Mary Carpenter became a central figure in radical reform, a well-known, prominent educationist and a writer who both exemplified and developed ideas about women and their rights, current in liberal circles. As such she became a role model for other women.

None of these women could have worked alone. All four drew upon a network of both women and men for their support. They themselves were joined together in a network. Elizabeth Rathbone and Lady Byron corresponded regularly for many years, exploring religious, social and educational concerns together. In that correspondence there are references to both Kitty Wilkinson and Mary Carpenter. Elizabeth Rathbone with her husband, helped Kitty Wilkinson's initiative of communal washing facilities materialise into a public scheme; Lady Byron provided material and moral support to Mary Carpenter. Both were involved in different ventures in reformatory schooling, the area of educational reform where Mary Carpenter made her name. All the three richer women had, through their Unitarian connections, common friends such as Harriet Martineau and Matthew Davenport Hill and knew well-known female reformers.

The voices they found in the nineteenth century were not, with the exception of Mary Carpenter's, very loud. Historians have to a large extent until recently subsequently silenced all four. Their voices remain, however, in the various writings either by them or about them, preserved largely by the religious group to which they belonged. Through these we can now see how these women were voices for both their own times and the present about the opportunities and limitations accruing from gendered expectations.

### **Bibliography**

This paper is based mainly on nineteenth century source material. The following contemporary works are also useful.

Barbara Caine, English Feminism (Oxford UP, 1997)

Jo Manton, Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets (Heinemann, 1976)

R.J.W. Selleck, 'Mary Carpenter: A confident and contradictory reformer', History of Education 14 (June 1985), No. 2, pp. 101-16

Ruth Watts, Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England 1760-1860 (Longman, 1998)

Eileen Janes Yeo (ed.), Radical Femininity: Women's self-representation in the public sphere (Manchester UP, 1998)

Forthcoming: Ruth Watts, 'Mary Carpenter: educator of the children of the 'perishing and dangerous classes' in Mary Hilton & Pam Hirsch (eds.), Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930 (Longman, 1999/2000)

## **'Speaking on behalf of...': Exploring gendered constructions of the authoritative voice in research with adult learners in higher education**

*Sue Webb, University of Sheffield*

This paper draws on action research that considered the issues and implications for educational theory and practice of introducing networked learning into a Women's Studies degree which purports to use feminist pedagogy. The research sought to be collaborative, yet this concept and practice needed to be deconstructed. In exploring the perceptions of on-line learning held by adult students and tutors who were in the main women, in an attempt to develop a learning practice that met the needs of all students and tutors, the teacher/researcher found embedded assumptions about the authority, power, gender, and voice of each of the participants including herself as a practitioner/researcher. This paper focuses on the ways in which frequently unacknowledged writing and research conventions have underpinned our claims to validity in research, and have shaped our work, and the ways that this has been reported. Typically, and this is the case here, even action research reports are single authored by the person who is most able to position themselves as a researcher. The voices of other collaborators, particularly students and other tutors, are likely to be included only to lend authenticity to accounts. Evidence of their diversity promotes validity, and a sense of 'getting close to real experiences', but rarely do these voices appear as legitimate authors. Through these research devices these other voices remain marginalised.

Frequently, action research models suggest a cycle of development that imply that the activities and reflections generated are both progressive and linear. Yet in this case, some voices questioned the progressive intent of the proposals. The paper analyses the students' and tutors' perceptions and experiences of networked learning, and shows a diversity of voices. The paper discusses the finding that in this case a particular culture has developed and come to dominate the notion of effective learning in the 'face to face' classroom, and that this includes the sharing of experiences and the notion of the presentation of an authentic self. The paper considers the implications of this dominant discourse on students' and tutors' perceptions of on-line learning, and for their ideas of what makes good practice in the on-line environment.

The study found gendered and age-based differences of perception about the value and organisation of on-line learning, and in particular of an email discussion group, and so two key questions emerged. The first question was about whether a learning practice that acknowledged differences could be designed and be acceptable to all, and secondly, how the story about this development should be constructed to capture the social and gendered relations of power that informed the negotiations between the practitioner researcher and practitioners and students in introducing on-line learning. Marginalised voices were identified from the one male student and from an older female student, both of whom argued that learning on-line would be enhanced by anonymity and fluidity of identity.

This contrasted with evidence of 'effective' learning on-line which took place within an all female group, and who displayed on-line both sociable communication with much personal disclosure, as well as more formal on-task type discussion with few modal qualifications and personal pronouns. In other words, they moved easily between communicating on-line using both speech and writing genres. When this group came together to learn on-line they were not all known to each other. Yet they quickly transferred to the on-line environment their



common conception of the ground rules for learning in the f2f classroom, which included sharing their experiences. The inference that could be drawn from this part of the case study is that learning on-line is enhanced by social presence and the sharing of experiences, although once a social group has formed for learning, the members do not need to constantly reiterate their presence through the use of pronouns and rapport type talk. However, this does not mean that their communications on-line involved playing with their identities. From this, one could conclude that the voices, who argued that their learning would be enhanced by anonymity and fluidity of identity on-line, would still have been marginalised by the way that this all female learning group constructed themselves. As a consequence, the question remains for a collaborative action research model is what makes 'effective' on-line learning when such diversity is uncovered.

In sum, the key issues in the presentation will be as follows: collaboration in action research and the issues and meanings arising from this for feminist research; the notion of marginalised research voices in collaborative research; the problematisation of notions of collaboration with students and tutors both in the action undertaken and in producing an authentic and valid account of this; problematisation of validity in collaborative feminist research. My concerns stem from a position as the practitioner/researcher/author in which I have been exploring ways in which the technology can be used to enhance critical awareness of the social world. In doing this I have been aware that this particular technology - the computer - has frequently been associated with experiences which have routinely created barriers to women's participation in this field. I have considered it crucial, therefore, that in developing Women's Studies networked learning the relationships between the media, the learning process and the learners should be problematised. This paper is a contribution to this pedagogical debate in higher education on the one hand, and on the other it examines the way that a research story can acknowledge and give legitimacy to diverse voices, and to the perspectives of those in diverse positions in the research process.

**Biographical information:** Sue Webb is Course Director for Women's Studies at the University of Sheffield where she has recently been researching the issues of gender, voice and communications in on-line learning. These interests have stemmed from recent activities to widen participation and enhance the support for part-time students. Her other research interests and publications have been in the area of access to higher education, gender and identity.

**Contact information:** Dr. Sue Webb, University of Sheffield, Director of Part-time Studies, Division of Adult Continuing Education, 196 -198, West Street Sheffield, S1 4ET, Tel 0114 2227072/ Fax 0114 2227001/ email: s.webb@sheffield.ac.uk



## **Feminism, Gender and Teacher Education: a European Dimension**

*Gaby Weiner, Umeå University, Sweden*

This presentation explores the contribution that feminist educational theoretical and pedagogical frameworks have made and can make to teacher education. Moving recently from the UK to take up a post in teacher education in Sweden has led me to explore the specific context of teacher education in Sweden and in the UK, and in Scandinavia and Europe more generally. Because my specialist field in gender, I have also become aware that adopting a 'gender' rather than 'feminist' perspective is generally more acceptable in teacher education despite its involvement of a high proportion of women. The point will be made that feminism has had a difficult time, even in countries with strong social democratic traditions and welfare states, such as Sweden, Germany and Britain. For example, Wilson (1980) argues that the post war period of women's oppression in Britain was hidden by the ideology of equal opportunity: 'Feminism led an underground or Sleeping Beauty existence in a society which claimed to have wiped out that oppression [of women]' (p 187).

The paper draws on feminist theory and practice from within and outside educational disciplines, to propose a feminist perspective on teacher education (as distinct from 'gender', 'equal opportunities' or 'equal rights' perspectives) which, it will be argued, provides a key analytic framework for understanding gender inequalities in education. In particular, the work of writers concerned with practice will be considered, and what specific contribution feminism can make to work in classrooms. It also explores feminist work within teacher education, in the US, UK, Sweden and other European countries, and considers the impact of specific cultures and education policy contexts.

Teacher education, particularly in the European context, is largely concerned with practice issues - how to prepare students to become good teachers or working with existing teachers to improve on their practice. Teacher education is also largely driven by state policy reflecting the educational priorities of particular governments and administrations, but generally the choice of pedagogical and epistemological frameworks are the responsibility of teacher educators. It is the latter to which this paper is addressed with the argument that the adoption of a feminist rather a gender perspective, by teacher educators will be more likely to ensure an effective education, for a larger number of children.

It builds on previous work relating to 'education feminism', a term coined by Lynda Stone, to illuminate the special conditions that surround the lives of women in professional education as student teachers, education graduate students, practising teachers and administrators, teacher educators and educational researchers. According to Stone, education feminism aims to address:

the lives of women (and men) in professional education [who] are similar to, but also different from, those in other spheres of education....The structural context of women and of feminism in professional education is especially complex given that as a distinct institution it is highly 'feminised', that is, populated primarily by women. (Stone, 1994: 1-2).

It will be argued that a feminist perspective on teacher education is not only able to illuminate gender inequalities in the school, college and university classroom, and the distinctive educational contributions that women have made to education, but it is also

sensitive to other inequalities, for example, those of social class, ethnicity, nationality etc. This is because education feminism has had to be responsive to the various 'feminisms' of women from different social and political groups, which have prioritised a range of factors contributing to inequality and oppression, in addition to gender.

A main aim of the paper will be to work towards a theoretical framework for the newly established Gender and Teacher Education subnetwork of the Thematic Network of Teacher Education in Europe (TNTEE, funded by the European Union and coordinated by Daniel Kallos in Sweden). The creation of the new subnetwork was announced in May 1998 and now involves over 40 teacher educators from Belgium, the Czech Republic, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, UK and US.

### **References**

Stone, L. (1994), 'Introducing Education Feminism', in Stone L., (ed.) **The Education Feminist Reader**, New York, Routledge, 1-13

Wilson E., (1980), **Only Half Way to Paradise**, London, Tavistock

### Brief Biography

Gaby Weiner is Professor of Teacher Education and Research at Umeå University in Sweden. Involved with feminist issues in education since the 1970s, she has published widely on social justice, equal opportunities and gender, writing and editing a number of books and research reports.

## **The Changing Voices of Higher Education**

*Mary Dee Wenniger, Editor and Publisher*  
*Women in Higher Education*

Higher education in the United States is undergoing dramatic change. Women are altering the hierarchical and militaristic academic world built by men. With more than 55% of college and university students being women, women are finding voice and forcing change in a system built by and for men.

The publication *Women in Higher Education* empowers campus women to use their voices and take action. At *Women in Higher Education*, theory meets action. As a feminist publication, *WIHE* encourages women's voices to actively work to change the culture of higher education, not just discuss it. To those who have encountered harassment, to those who have experienced gender bias, to those whose values and styles have been ignored or devalued, *WIHE* gives voice and hope. By recounting their experiences and sharing

strategies and stories, women break through the barrier of silence they encountered. "I thought I was going crazy or imagining it, until I read that other women have had the same experiences." Hearing stories similar to their own, women shatter the isolation and solitude associated with being a women in higher education. By relating news about ways to avert hiring and pay bias, fellow women advancing as administrators, legal challenges to sexual harassment and other issues that affect women in higher education, women build and gain a community of support.

With strength, determination, sheer numbers, and support from organizations like *Women in Higher Education*, women are transforming the world of academia. Changes can be seen in an assortment of situations:

- The academy has begun to value connective skills women bring to the workplace.
- Writing ability has become as important as numerical prowess.
- Sexual harassment is less common; most schools have written policies to forbid it.
- Sex discrimination is easier to prove in legal hearings and courts of law.
- In the best pedagogy, discussion and interactive learning replace traditional lecture.
- Females make up an increasing percentage of school presidents, key administrators, tenured faculty and student-athletes, as well as students.

Women have achieved unprecedented progress in the past few years. Success has come not at the expense of males, but in concert with them. The choir of voices is blended, not dominated by basses and tenors, but a harmonious group striving for progress together. Unfortunately, there is still work to be done. Men continue to dominate the scientific disciplines and careers. Fewer women are hired, gain tenure, or become top leaders in higher education; men continue to dominate those roles. As a result of gender biased national standardized tests, fewer women are awarded scholarships based on such tests.

With traditional higher education institutions facing unprecedented challenges such as the erosion of public trust, reduced public funding and new for-profit enterprises, it is at a crossroads. Women can lead the way to the change that is inevitable without a destructive upheaval of the entire system. Despite threats to affirmative action programs that mandate diversity, the academic culture continues to support diverse values and opinions. Higher education in the United States is evolving; there is a dramatic increase in the number of women and minorities attending colleges and universities. In conjunction with a movement for more a student-oriented, interactive teaching style, this allows more voices to be heard in higher education.

As women attend conferences, network with other women and participate in groups like *WIHE*, their voices grow stronger. Through activities that encourage communication among women, a strong, supportive higher education community can lead to the changes that will allow it to lead the changes that will well serve society into the next century.

Mary Dee Wenniger has been an administrator at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and marketing director of eight newsletters serving a wide range of administrators and faculty in higher education before 1992, when she created the practitioner's news journal called *Women in Higher Education*. It now serves 12,000 readers, has a Web site ([www.wihe.com](http://www.wihe.com)) and is an influential factor in helping women succeed as administrators, faculty, students and staff in higher education.



## A DESIRE TO BE: THE PURSUIT OF THE MASCULINE SUBJECT

*Stephen Whitehead, Department of Education, Keele University  
KEELE, Staffs. ST5 5BG. (email: eda14@keele.ac.uk)*

One of the more persistent topics of contemporary gender analysis centres on the problematic and 'dysfunctional' behaviour of males. Whether this enquiry turns on the 'crisis of masculinity' thesis (Horrocks 1994); the educational 'underachievement' of boys (Lloyd and Duveen 1992); or the self-destructive sexual 'impulses' of men politicians, both men and masculinity are increasingly subject to critical scrutiny within, and beyond, feminist scholarship. One recurrent theme which configures all these debates is the notion of masculinity as 'troublesome'. That is, significant and common aspects of male behaviour become identified as 'that to be avoided'; the antithesis of 'ideal' behaviour in a (post)modern 'functioning' society. Following this, it is not surprising that feminist and pro-feminist agendas often begin with the aim of 'changing men' (Kimmel 1987). Unfortunately, there is little evidence that this is happening. Indeed, in respect of boy's and young men's behaviour there is increasing concern that there may be an accelerating 'retreat' from the feminine (see Mac an Ghaill 1994). While in both the UK and the USA 'essentialist retreats' (Messner 1996), exemplified by 'the promise keepers', merely serve to underline the concerns of those working for gender justice (Connell 1995).

While recognising the veracity of the above debates, and aligned with feminist and pro-feminist agendas, this paper aims to examine the political and identity implications that arise from many men's desire to 'be masculine'. Also, why this search by men for an authentic masculine self is likely to continue to be problematic for any feminist agenda of 'changing men'. In undertaking this examination, the paper draws on 'third wave' (Farganis 1994) feminist theories, in particular those of Alison Assiter and Judith Butler. The intention is to recognise the position of those feminist scholars who argue for a return to a 'modernist/feminist agenda' (Assiter 1996), and the political implications of such work, particularly in terms of seeing men and masculinities as grounded categories of being. However, while the 'limited essentialism' of Assiter's position is duly considered, the paper also aligns with the (feminist) poststructuralist understanding of the decentred subject, as exemplified by Butler (1990;1993). Thus in examining the issue of men changing, and the personal and political implications of this, the aim is to trace a middle position between understanding men as a political category, while also adopting a poststructuralist understanding of the non-authentic self.

In drawing on the insights offered by third wave feminist scholarship, this paper argues that a corresponding 'third wave' sociology of masculinity is long overdue (Petersen 1998; Kerfoot and Whitehead 1998a). Specifically, the concern is that much of second wave sociology of masculinity has relied on a deterministic and limited understanding of men and masculinities. I suggest that an important consequence of this now static, theoretical position has been to neglect poststructuralist insights which might usefully be deployed in any critical interrogation of the interrelationships of men, masculinity and identity work. Thus while second wave pro-feminist scholarship can engage with the question of men changing in terms of hegemonic dynamics (see Connell 1995), it offers much less opportunity for understanding the centrality of identity work to the formation and articulation of masculinities as discursive practices of being.



In contributing to third wave (pro)feminist scholarship, this paper argues for a more nuanced understanding of masculine subjectivities and their relationship to both material and identity formations. Expanding on this position, I elaborate my concept of the 'masculine subject', originally introduced by Kerfoot and Whitehead (1998a;1998b). It is suggested that the concept of the masculine subject provides a theoretical tool with which to interrogate both material and discursive understandings of men and masculinity, without recourse to either a deterministic or relativistic position. It is suggested then, that male behaviour, as discourses of masculinity, needs to be understood not only in respect of men as a political category, but also as masculine ontology; the masculine subject's pursuit of individualization through (gendered) practices of self (Foucault 1988; Deleuze and Guattari 1972; Butler 1990).

In exploring the conditions under which the masculine subject contributes to the individualization of 'man', the paper considers Lacan's and Deleuze and Guattari's insights into being and becoming (masculine). In particular, the ambiguities of desire and rejection which inhabit the terrain of (masculine) subjectivities. As Lacan argues (also de Beauvoir 1953), identity work & the 'need to be' & necessitates for many males a rejection of the female as 'other'. Moreover, the corresponding desire for (male) identification not only invokes the response of rejection of the female by the male, it transcends any rational pursuit of material advantage. Drawing together the implications of this identity work for masculine subjects specifically, and feminist agendas generally, this paper suggests that those behaviours and aspirations culturally and socially coded 'female', will continue to remain largely excluded from masculine discourses, despite the damaging consequences for many women and men. As will be discussed, this continued gender(ed) polarisation arises not from any biological anchor, but from the social reality of gendered linguistic binaries and accompanying dualistic knowledges. These, it is suggested, in turn sustain and reify the political dichotomised categories of man and woman. In considering the conditions of possibility for new ways of male behaviour, this paper suggests, then, that (pro)feminist attention can productively be brought to bear on the discursive practices of the masculine subject. In so doing, recognising the centrality of masculinist ontology to these 'problematic' practices of (male) self validation.

**Stephen Whitehead is Lecturer in Postcompulsory Education at Keele University**

### **Appraisal, Identity and Women Academics**

*Fiona Wilson, Department of Management, University of St Andrews*

This paper argues that men and women could be different or similar and equal but current gender relations means that women are different and not equal. The biological difference exists but to what extent is this important in issues of equality? The theorists have debated this issue at some length but what would women themselves think? As yet empirical investigation has not focused on this issue. How do women in organizations experience being seen as different and not equal? How do individuals at work experience this controversy or is

there one at all? Appraisal is a process in which individuals are differentiated; how is this organizational process influenced by gender; is this a process which contributes to women's lack of equality of opportunity? When women talk about how they are appraised do they describe how they are equal or different? How do they make sense of what is happening to them in the organizations to which they belong?

Using research from two universities, this paper describes how women are receiving different and unequal treatment. The data was collected through semi-structured tape recorded interviews in two universities in Scotland in 1997. A random sample of women was chosen from the total female academic and academic related population in each university. These women were in posts ranging from Research Assistant to Professor. Personnel professionals in five universities were also interviewed in order to see if they saw that the process of appraisal could be contributing to discrimination.

While the women do not necessarily see themselves as being seen as different; they are seen as having different and inferior qualities by men; women are seen as "other" when measured against the standards and norms set by men in academia. Linkages are made to the work of de Beauvoir, Foucault and Irigaray.

### **Brief Biography**

Fiona Wilson is currently a Senior Lecturer in Organizational Behaviour in the Department of Management, University of St Andrews. She has been in St Andrews since 1988. Before that she was employed at Manchester Business School and Bradford University Management Centre in research work. Her Ph.D. was completed at Manchester Business School. Her research interests are mainly in the field of gender and organization. While Assistant Dean of Students in Arts she researched mature student's experience of university life. She also looked at assault and sexual harassment of university students. She is joint holder of a Leverhulme grant (with G. Siann and S. Watts of Dundee University); the research compares and contrasts the work and home lives of men and women in five professions.