



Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle
Institutionen för Skolutveckling och ledarskap

Självständigt arbete

30 högskolepoäng, avancerad nivå

In search of a transformative pedagogy – a study of experiences and consequences amongst teachers facing resistance to workplace based gender training.

På utkik efter en transformerande pedagogik – en studie av pedagogers erfarenheter och konsekvenser av motstånd i arbetsplatsbaserad undervisning om jämställdhet.

Helene Brewer

Masterexamen i pedagogik, 120 hp
Slutseminarium 2018-01-30

Examinator: Vanja Lozic
Handledare: Martin Stigmar

SAMMANFATTNING

Syftet med denna masteruppsats är att söka en transformerande pedagogisk praktik om jämställdhet och jämställdhetsintegrering. Det är en studie av några pedagogers upplevelser och konsekvenser av motstånd i arbetsplatsbaserad undervisning om jämställdhet och jämställdhetsintegrering.

Den svenska retoriken kring jämställdhet bidrar till att det *inte* talas om det motstånd som pedagoger möter, ett motstånd emot jämställdhet och jämställdhetsintegrering. Tre fokusgrupper med totalt tretton deltagare har träffats runt om i Sverige och samtalat om undervisning och transformativ pedagogik utifrån frågeställningar kopplade till makt och motstånd. Innehållsanalys har använts, framförallt med hjälp av Paulo Freires begrepp *conscientização* och Sara Ahmeds begrepp *snap*. Resultaten har relaterats till Malin Rönnbloms dekonstruktion av svensk jämställdhetspolitik och rådande kunskapsdiskurs.

De viktigaste resultaten handlar om att pedagogerna möter motstånd oavsett vilken fråga som lärandet handlar om inom jämställdhet. Motståndet leder till känslor av bland annat trötthet, ledsamhet och ilska. Effekter av motstånd på undervisningen är bland annat att ämnet adresseras på ett avdramatiserande sätt för att förekomma motståndet.

Resultaten synliggör ett behov av att använda den praktik och de erfarenheter som finns i större utsträckning än vad som görs idag. Studien bidrar till en ökad förståelse för vilka konsekvenser motstånd får i arbetsplatsbaserad vuxenundervisning om jämställdhet.

Key words:

Adult education, conscientização, focus group, gender trainers, gender training, power, resistance, snap, transformative pedagogy, workplace based learning.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the participants of the focus groups whom so generously have shared their time, valuable thoughts and ideas. I hope I have done you justice. I would like to thank my supervisor Martin Stigmar at Malmö University, for readings, discussions and guiding me through the fine art of writing a master thesis. My thanks also go to Hanna Hansson and Malin Rönnblom. Your thoughts and comments throughout the process have been highly valued. I would also like to thank John Brewer for linguistic support.

Thank you Linn and Elise for cheering on, believing. Thank you Peter for your support in every possible way throughout this process. And last, but not least, Doris the dog, for taking me out for walks during moments of despair.

CONTENT

SAMMANFATTNING	3
Key words:	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
CONTENT	5
1. INTRODUCTION	7
1.1 The focus of the study	8
1.2 The purpose	9
1.3 The questions raised	10
1.4 Limitations and definition of concepts	10
1.4.1 Definition of concepts	11
2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH	14
2.1 Adult education and workplace based learning	15
2.2 Resistance	16
2.2.1 Resistance toward gender equality and/or gender training	17
2.2.2 Resistance as agent for change	19
2.3 Transformative pedagogy	20
2.3.1. Feminist transformative pedagogy	22
2.3.2 Transformative gender training	24
2.3.3 Anti-oppressive teaching	25
2.3.4 Norm-critical pedagogy	26
3. THEORETICAL OUTLOOK	27
3.1 Power	27
3.2 Resistance as agent of change	29
3.2.1 Snaps and triggers.....	29
3.3 The transformative approach	31
3.4 Feminism	32
4. METHOD AND APPROACH	34
4.1 Design of study	34
4.1.1 Methodological reflection.....	35
4.2 The data	36
4.2.1 The focus groups	36
4.2.2 The setting	37
4.3 Processing the data	37
4.3.1 Transcription and translation of data	37
4.3.2 The data analysis	38
4.3.3 Reflection upon processing data.....	39
4.4 Credibility of the study and the researcher's pre-understanding	39
4.5 Ethical considerations	41
5. ANALYSIS AND RESULT	43
5.1 A slow puncture	43
5.1.1 Gender <i>per se</i>	43
5.1.2 Re-negotiating the norm	45
5.1.3 Dangerous words	47
5.1.4 Evolving anger.....	49
5.1.5 Why?.....	52
5.2 Avoiding the wave of chaos	54
5.2.1 Impact assessment	54
5.2.2 Happy, happy	56

5.3 Moments of clarity	60
5.3.1 Side by side.....	60
5.3.2. Hear the angels singing.....	61
5.4. Summary of the main results	64
6. DISCUSSION.....	66
REFERENCES	72
APPENDIX.....	76
1. Invitation focus group II	76
2. Guide for focus groups	78

1. INTRODUCTION

This study revolves around the interest of how experience from resistance within workplace based adult gender training can be used as a transformative pedagogical approach. The study reveals experience of resistance amongst teachers working with gender training and its consequences for the intended outcome of the training. I have been working professionally with the task of teaching adults how to mainstream gender within government bodies at local, regional and national level. One of the main agendas at all levels has been gender training as a way to learn how to gender mainstream issues within these various organisations. One of the reflections I have made over these years concerns the tendency *not* to speak about resistance to gender issues, during gender training. This is the case for myself as well as for colleagues and the rhetoric of the field. The silence surrounding resistance, amongst others due to the Swedish dominant discourse of success-story surrounding the area of gender equality (Alnebratt & Rönnblom, 2016) hinders a discussion of how this resistance could be used as a transformative agent within gender training and how one could learn from teachers experience of facing resistance to change. I find this very interesting since after more than 20 years of gender training and gender mainstreaming as the strategy for gender equality in Sweden, there is still a lack of transformation of core values as well as a lack of a gender equal society.

There is much resistance to be faced when power regimes are challenged, whether it is through local feminist groups or at national policy implementation (Ahmed, 2004, 2007, 2017; Alnebratt & Rönnblom, 2016; Amundsdotter, Ericson, Jansson & Linghag, 2015; Pincus, 2002; Wahl, Eduards, Holgersson, Höök, Linghag, & Rönnblom, 2008). Teachers and gender trainers working with the overall goals for a gender equal society face this resistance and work to overcome it.

The resistance can be active, passive, at individual or structural level, subliminal at times as well as blunt. I believe there is a potential in seeing resistance as transformative and as an agent of change within adult education concerning gender issues and gender mainstreaming. After many years working as a teacher within the field myself, working with gender training courses, lectures, knowledge processes, workshops and more, I think studying the issues from a pedagogical point of view could give new and interesting insights as well as possible ideas for a transformative pedagogy.

1.1 The focus of the study

This study contributes to a deeper understanding of what kind of teaching situations and topics are more or less prone to create resistance within gender training amongst adults, and how this resistance could potentially be used for a transformative pedagogy. The study offers an opportunity for the teaching community at government bodies, as well as at schools and universities, to draw attention to learned experience of meeting resistance, and in this way to be more prepared for the resistance that changing any set of institutional norms creates. This knowledge is of course more relevant than ever before in relation to #metoo¹.

The time-span over twenty years with a consistent Swedish gender equality politics and strategy (SOU 1993/94:147, 2005/06:155, 2015:86) is the setting for the discourse within the field. One dominant discourse surrounding Swedish gender equality is “everyone is *for* gender equality so therefore there is no need to speak of resistance, since there isn’t any”. Another discourse on Swedish gender equality is “we are best in the world” (Wahl et al. 2008, Alnebratt & Rönnblom 2016). Could it be the case that speaking of and visualising resistance within this *success story*² is not only challenging but also rather complicated?

The idea that education can change society is strongly contextualised within the practice of gender equality work in Sweden. Numerous projects, commitments and resources have gone into this mission.³ Could this also potentially be a problem? Could it be that the idea that gender training and learning about gender equality leads to gender equality, creates an image that gender training *per se* will in fact change society in a gender equal direction? (Rönnblom 2011, Alnebratt & Rönnblom 2016). Rönnblom addresses this problem with the help of problem-representation: How do we in fact *create* gender equality within Swedish politics? The idea that more knowledge and gender training will lead to more gender equality is widely perceived. The knowledge

¹ #metoo is a global movement where women and non-binary people bare witness to sexual abuse, harassment and men’s violence toward women. During the Autumn of 2017, the Swedish #metoo-movement has dominated news and discussions in mainstream media.

² This *success story* takes place in a variety of settings. Some examples are within politics and the Swedish government’s stated ‘Feminist government’, the Swedish export of gender equality solutions and know-how to other countries.

³ A few examples of these projects and resources are: Hållbar Jämställdhet, Jämställdhetsintegrering i Myndigheter, Jämställdhetsintegrering i Staten, ESF Jämt. For closer reading on these projects and andanandandresources turn to www.jamstall.nu

production equals gender equality work (p. 43). The problem with gender equality becomes a problem *not of* challenging the power structures, but instead of confirming them (p 53), specifically in the setting of neo-liberal management mentality of *creating* gender equality through gender mainstreaming. This notion contains the same kind of dilemma as the notion of documenting diversity, thus creating the idea that diversity exists because it says so in the document (Ahmed, 2007).

The problem addressed within the frame of this study is the notion of *not* using teachers experience of resistance toward challenging power dominance, manifested in this study of resistance during gender training; and *how* the consequences of this resistance affects future gender training.

The setting for this study is within the specific gender training taking place at national-, regional-, and local governments in Sweden. The purpose of the study stems from reflecting about if the education goes on in the same way year in and year out, raising the same resistance all the time; could there instead be *new* ways of addressing power issues and gender equality by finding *different* pedagogical ways of training, by studying consequences of what takes place in the classroom and how the teachers face the resistance met? Could there be new knowledge found by addressing pedagogical issues seen through the scope of what happens in the moment of resistance? What can teachers learn there? And, is there transferable knowledge into other areas of adult education where power structures are addressed?

Numerous studies on resistance toward gender issues, gender mainstreaming and gender training have been undertaken in Sweden and at international level. A range of these will be mentioned closer in chapter two. Despite these valid studies, more knowledge is needed on *how* this embodied experience of resistance affects future pedagogical standpoints of the teacher. Therefore, this unique study takes a closer look into the specific issues regarding tuitional consequences of resistance faced, in relation to the Swedish rhetoric surrounding gender equality politics. One of the contributions in this study is a much-needed discussion on how it could be possible to create a transformative pedagogy for adults within the field of gender training in a Swedish national-, regional-, and local government context.

1.2 The purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine how the experience of teachers facing resistance during workplace based gender equality tuition, and its consequences, could benefit

future gender training; and to discuss how this experience could be used for a transformative pedagogy.

1.3 The questions raised

The questions raised are:

1. In which ways is resistance manifested in workplace based gender training?
2. Which are the consequences of the experience of resistance amongst the gender trainers and how does it affect future gender training?
3. What is the experience amongst the gender trainers on alternative ways of pedagogically addressing gender equality?
4. Which approaches in gender training could, according to the gender trainers, lead to a transformative pedagogy within adult education?

1.4 Limitations and definition of concepts

The study is conducted within a Swedish context amongst gender trainers employed within public administration. The continuity in politics, programmes, strategies and positions within the Swedish government bodies on gender issues make the setting comprehensive (SOU1993/94:147, SOU2005/06:155, SOU2015:86). The students attending the workplace based gender training are adults and often aware of the politics, also that there is work to be done using gender mainstreaming in their organisations and that this work is a continuum.

The focus of this study is narrowed down to the explicit consequences of resistance taking place within the described setting. The study does not take into account what kind of organisations employs the gender trainers, apart from noting that all the informants are civil servants at either a national, regional or local authority. Neither does the study emphasise or go into detail concerning general ideas of resistance towards change in organisations, albeit that this is of course an interesting aspect of work on resistance.

The study's main focus is consequences of resistance during gender training within workplace based adult education and does therefore not look into gender pedagogues (genuspedagoger) and their work at either pre-schools or comprehensive schools around the country. This area is a different field of research, dealing for instance with pedagogical questions regarding how a gender perspective can be implemented throughout the school curriculum, interaction with the children depending on prevailing

gender stereotypes and gendered time-studies in classroom settings. This area will not be dwelt upon any further in this paper.

1.4.1 Definition of concepts

Adult education consists of several different types of education such as formal and informal education, basic education, literacy and workplace based learning; and a shift has occurred from speaking of education to learning and from lifelong education to lifelong learning. Adult education at a global level is a widening gap where the North speaks of lifelong learning but the South is associated with basic education for the poor and not with a lifelong education path for all (Torres, 2004). Adult education in Sweden takes place at adult education on national and local levels, Swedish for immigrants, adult education for the intellectually challenged, qualified vocational education, popular adult education through folk high schools and adult educational associations (Borgström & Gougoulakis, 2006) and at workplaces (Svensson & Åberg, 2001). The adult education in this study is informal and workplace based.

Workplace based learning is in this paper understood in accordance with Svensson and Åberg's (2001) definition:

- The individual learning is seen as an integrated part of learning in a group or organisation.
- Training sessions are part of planned training, based on participants' experiences and problem-oriented if possible, and integrated with other informal learning at work.
- The learning is of developing character.

Gender mainstreaming is the name of a globally adopted strategy for gender equality. The definition of gender mainstreaming used in this paper is in accordance with the European Council's definition:

Gender mainstreaming is the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels at all stages, by the actors involved in policy-making.

(Council of Europe, 1998)

The strategy was adopted in Sweden 1994 (SOU 1993/94:147) and reinforced in 2005 (Prop. 2005/06:155, p. 153-154). National-, regional-, and local governments in Sweden have adopted this strategy as *the* tool for implementation of Swedish gender equality politics.

The term *gender trainers* has been chosen as a collective term for the informants in this study who in various ways are responsible for the task of gender training at their work places. This is in accordance with the Swedish term *jämställdhetsintegrerare*, used by Callerstig and Lindholm (2011). The task of these gender trainers most regularly comprises the teaching of gender mainstreaming as a strategy and its implementation. The work task can be defined in a variety of ways, depending on which organisation the gender trainers work at, but the overall goals of their work strives towards implementing Swedish gender equality politics.

The gender trainers can be employed full-time or part-time with these tasks. Some of the gender trainers are also responsible for other areas within social sustainability, human rights issues or other questions within a similar field. The gender trainers might, or might not, hold a degree in gender theory. Few hold a degree in pedagogy. Some of the gender trainers hold strategic positions at departments of strategic development, and some of the gender trainers belong to a department of staff/human resources. Some of the gender trainers are project managers, responsible for projects consisting of gender training and other gender-related issues.

Gender training is here referred to as workplace based education taking place at/or organised by national, regional and local authorities or government bodies. The students are adults training within their ordinary work assignment. A few examples of gender training⁴ are the following:

- a full-day course for civil servants at a department of education at a local municipality learning about gender mainstreaming and how to implement the strategy,
- a conference training session for regional law enforcement staff on prostitution and human trafficking, and
- a 3 x 2 hour course for civil servants at a national authority, learning about gender theory, gender politics and gender mainstreaming.

The gender training in this study is understood as workplace based adult education within the context of the Swedish gender equality discourse previously described. The groups of students can vary in number from a few to more than fifty participants and be

⁴ Examples from researcher's previous knowledge of the field.

of mixed gender or only women or men. Most training takes place within a white, middle-class, mixed gender setting.

In this paper, *transformative pedagogy* is understood as a meeting between teachers and students, amongst students, working together in learning and grasping new knowledge toward change, and using this knowledge for transformative action (Freire, 1973). In this case, the object of the knowledge in the gender training is of transformative character, bearing in mind the political goal of a gender equal society (SOU 2015:86).

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The chapter on previous research includes a short introduction and overview of the field, followed by different themes within the field of interest. Since there are few articles dealing explicitly with the purpose of this study, a broader range has been looked at, enabling a picture of research within similar types of studies. This study is placed in the crossroad of educational studies, gender studies and political science, and research within adult education is often of interdisciplinary character (Fejes, A & Nylander, E, 2015). In the same way that it is important to look at the world with an intersectional gaze, it is valid to look into and beyond one specific science, creating a meeting place that might enrich an analysis of the data. But, before looking closer into the field, a short summary of how the previous research has been found and selected will be presented, enabling the reader to get a picture of the path chosen for this overview.

The problem presented is a pedagogical one closely bound up in a political setting. Since the focus of this paper primarily concerns the gender trainers *experiences* and *consequences* of resistance, pedagogy of adult education and workplace based learning in general has been omitted, although a brief glimpse is given into this world. A more comprehensive study would benefit from a review of adult education and workplace based learning, and would also be helped by a review of the research in transformative pedagogy within several fields, which is not in place within the frame of this paper.

The search terms used for the literature search have been conscientização⁵, “Gender mainstreaming” AND education, “Gender mainstreaming” AND pedagogy, Motstånd mot jämställdhet, Motstånd mot jämställdhetsintegrering, Motstånd mot lärande, Resistance AND gender training, Resistance to gender training, Workplace based learning AND gender equality, Workplace based learning AND gender training. The databases searched are Libsearch, GENA, Kvinnsam, ERIC via EBSCO, ERIC via ProQuest. A specific search of some scientific journals has been undertaken as a complement to the databases. These are *Education Sciences*, *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*, *Nordisk pedagogik* and *Journal of workplace learning*. Three central searches have been performed throughout the work and these took place in November 2016, May

⁵ The Portuguese term is used throughout this paper, helping to keep a reflexive thought on the origin of the term. Conscientização describes the development of the awakening of what Freire calls critical awareness (Freire 1973, p 19). Conscientização will be presented closer in 3.3.

2017 and September 2017. The third search was undertaken due to a nagging feeling that something important might have gone by unnoticed, especially regarding pedagogical aspects of interest. Due to a struggle to find specific literature within this paper's field, two searches (one in November 2016 and one in May 2017) were undertaken with the support of librarians at the University of Malmö. No essays (master-, magister or C/D-level) have been taken into consideration.

Numerous studies have been performed on resistance toward gender mainstreaming and gender training. The most relevant of these will be mentioned here as well as a glimpse of the research on transformative pedagogy, although this chapter can by no means cover every study undertaken in proximity to the field of transformative pedagogy. Also, research on anti-oppressive teaching and norm-critical education are fields dealing with questions within a broader realm of this study's specific focus and will be mentioned here, to introduce these vast fields to the reader.

Some reports highlight aspects of gender equality and results from projects on gender mainstreaming, for instance evaluations of some of the Swedish government's efforts such as Gender mainstreaming in the State (Jämställdhetsintegrering i staten (JÄMI)⁶) and Sustainable Gender equality (Hållbar Jämställdhet (HÅJ)⁷). For a more comprehensive study of resistance toward gender training and its consequences, these reports would be of some validity, although their focus is on evaluating implementation through gender mainstreaming rather than pedagogical aspects of gender training.

2.1 Adult education and workplace based learning

Adult education has a long tradition in Sweden and consists of a wide variety of educational activities and a diverse teaching community. Borgström and Gougoulakis (2005) present an insight into this research field and its environments, and also discuss the adult student. Terms like life-long learning and a new teacher's role are discussed. The field is related to the educational politics and rhetoric, which shape the concrete adult education in many ways (Borgström & Gougoulakis, 2005, p. 33). Borgström and Gougoulakis also discuss the difference between pedagogy for adults and for children. Adults are already disciplined and supposedly equipped to take responsibility.

⁶ Göteborgs universitet, jämställdhetsintegrering i staten (<http://www.jamiprogram.se>)

⁷Sveriges kommuner och landsting

(<https://skl.se/demokratiledningstyrning/manskligarattigheterjamstallldhet/jamstallldhet/jamstalldverksamhet/programforhallbarjamstallldhet.5860.html>)

We must never forget that adults have the power to change, a circumstance of crucial meaning for the essence of adult pedagogy. A pedagogy like that ought focus on one of the most central aspects of human interaction and existence, the aspect of how power relations are created, how power is exercised and shared.

(Borgström & Gougoulakis, 2005, p. 41. Translation by Brewer.)

Borgström and Gougoulakis believe the teacher's competence is especially important regarding ability to analyse the environment of the teaching, being able to reflect on core values and one's cognitive approach.

Hedin and Svensson (2011) share their insight on adult education in work carried out by meeting teachers and sharing experience, reflecting over how to develop pedagogy for adults. One of the themes is concerned with questions on how teachers and students cooperate through dialogue throughout the education. The topic of *equal dialogue*, as theorized by Freire, is discussed. If the teacher can meet the student as a *learning* subject as well as a *teaching* subject, a joint learning-process is made possible (Hedin & Svensson, 2011, p. 44-45).

Problem based and reflexive learning are core themes in developing workplace based learning, according to Svensson and Åberg (2001). Their work consists of several studies of workplace based learning identifying how an efficient education could take place where life-long learning is of specific value. Some of their conclusions are demand for *flexibility* of the *when and where* of workplace based learning, importance of interaction between content of training and the students and organisations, supportive framework, and the importance of integrating theory and practice (Svensson & Åberg, 2001, p. 139).

2.2 Resistance

In understanding resistance it is also essential to consider how power is understood. Resistance is always related to power, and different understandings of power lead to different understandings of resistance. Lilja and Vinthagens (2009) work guides us into the domain of resistance and its many faces. Different theories of resistance in relation to power form important aspects in understanding and analysing resistance. One of the ideas Lilja and Vinthagen discuss, is that what counts as resistance depends on the context of appearance and depends on whose gaze and whose practice. How resistance is carried out, as well as its goals, varies too (2009).

Studies of resistance are in themselves studies of how agents (of resistance) try to reshape certain (power) structures and how these (power) structures shape the conditions for the agents (of resistance).

(Lilja & Vinthagen, 2009, p 13. Translation by Brewer.)

So, resistance is closely related to, and in relation to power. Studying what lies behind the spur, or trigger, of resistance, amongst teachers as well as amongst students, is a way of seeing the power relations manifested in the classroom. It can also be a way of grasping spatial and timely events where power structures are challenged and even shifted.

Studying experience of resistance can also be a way of identifying its consequences. The importance of emotions is described by Ahmed in her work on collective feelings (2004). Ahmed uses texts to show the reader how emotions create desired feelings and movement. Several examples show how the “emotions play a crucial role in the surfacing of individual and collective bodies” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 25). The first example, taken from Aryan Nations website, relies on the emotion of love and hate, and the writings on the website refer, or rather, use these emotions in order to create feelings of hate toward *the others*. Ahmed discusses how feelings in this case act as a way to “mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective” (2004, p. 27). Another text to which Ahmed refers, is the passage from Audre Lorde’s *Sister Outsider* where an encounter takes place on an AA subway train to Harlem. “And suddenly I realize there is nothing crawling up in the seat between us; it is me she doesn’t want her coat to touch.” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 32, quoted from Audre Lorde, 1984:147-8). Ahmed uses this text to show several important points. One is that our bodies communicate well even without words or sounds. No words are needed for the feeling of fear if hate is travelling through the space between the passengers.

2.2.1 Resistance toward gender equality and/or gender training

The studies referred to here show the type of work within resistance toward gender equality work and gender training. One group of questions plunges into the resistance toward change within organisations, studying different types of resistance and how the organisations deal with change. The studies look into possibilities of change, understanding gender mainstreaming as a possible transformative strategy. Another

theme deals with gender trainers and their different strategies for coping with the work of implementing gender mainstreaming and/or diversity issues at workplaces.

Amundsdotter, Ericson, Jansson and Linghag (2015) study resistance to gender equality work in general, and search for strategies amongst diversity workers coping with resistance. Amundsdotter et al. (2015) use Foucault's thoughts on power and resistance and how it must be understood as a dynamic relationship. The different types of resistance and strategies for coping with the resistance occurring are described in terms of power relations. A model for how power is used is developed and described in this study, where several different types of resistance can be found (Amundsdotter et al. 2015, p. 62), *repressive*, *pastoral* and *regulated*. One of the results in this work is that no *one* best practice for dealing with resistance has been found. Instead, several different kinds of strategy were found, constantly shifting depending on the constantly shifting types of resistance that the diversity workers were handling. Another result shows the exposed position of the gender trainers, being involved in relations of power and resistance. The work as an agent of change is about shifting power relations and trying to create new ones. One of their results is also that several of the participants did not recognize that there was any resistance and there were no problems in their organisations. This was discussed amongst the participants and the research group, and showed that not being subject of resistance could be seen as a sign of the work not being of any transformative kind (Amundsdotter et al., 2016, p. 20). It is a continuing job, always negotiating and re-negotiating possible shifts of power.

Ahmed's (2014, 2017) work on diversity workers gives an idea of what kind of settings and in what conditions this kind of work is undertaken.

To be appointed as a diversity practitioner, or to be given diversity and equality as one of your duties, is to be put into an oblique relation to the institution. You are appointed by an institution to transform the institution.

(Ahmed, 2017, p. 94)

The institution may, or may not, be willing to transform, and the practitioner quickly becomes aware of the resistance toward their work (Ahmed, 2017, p. 98). Different strategies and ways of working round the resistance take place. Ahmed describes practitioners' everyday work with diversity issues at universities (2014) and explores several insights into this ongoing work. Some of the results deal with how diversity work can be used by organisations as a form of public relations. Ahmed also describes

diversity work as wilful work (2017, p. 113). Facing resistance can create wilfulness in order to keep on. Another finding deals with diversity work as writing documents or having well-written policies as *becoming* the actual diversity work itself.

The idea that the document is a doing is what could allow the institution to block recognition of the work that there is to do. So the idea that the document 'does race' means that people can think that race has been 'done'.

(Ahmed, 2007, p. 599)

The documents say “we are diverse”, making the organisation diverse. This is similar to the results of Amundsdotter et al. (2015) regarding results of gender training at universities and other organisations.

Wahl et al. (2008) study how resistance toward gender issues and gender training is created, with the point of departure from their own experiences of facing resistance in knowledge production. One of the questions addressed is how the *F* (the feminist teacher) could handle different situations and visualizing the power dynamics in the classroom. Resistance is seen as an interaction where the privilege of defining what the problem and the knowledge *is*, is at constant negotiation (Wahl et al., 2008, p. 115).

Pleasants (2011) examines how men respond to learning feminism in an adult learning environment. The work categorizes forms of resistance to feminism enacted by men, and Pleasants describes appeals and discourses used by the interviewed men protecting their male privileges. The discourses addressed are about guilt, of taking offence, of victimhood, of intentionality, of mark-it, of inevitability, and the discourse of objectivity. These discourses are also described, partially, or in whole, by Amundsdotter et al. (2015) amongst others. One of the points Pleasants makes concerns the role of a gender trainer as subordinated in the classroom and speaking up (Pleasants, 2011, p. 236). The discourses used by the adult students relate to the Swedish context and the problem presented leading on to the purpose of this study.

2.2.2 Resistance as agent for change

The work referred to here is somewhat different from the work summarised in 2.2.1. The studies below pay special attention to the question of resistance as a possible transformative agent.

Similar to Wahl et al. (2008), Ahmed (2017) explores experiences of being a feminist, both in private life and at work. Ahmed deals with a variety of insights into

feminist consciousness, of working as a pedagogue and diversity worker and the resistance this evokes, also on what it is like trying to transform a system whilst being in the system (Ahmed, 2017, p 95).

Like Ahmed, Rönnblom (2011) addresses the question of what the problem is, and puts this in relation to the Swedish dominant discourse on gender equality. If there is no inequality in the world's most equal country, then how can there be any resistance and need for change? The more resistance the closer to addressing where power needs to shift and resistance is addressed as an agent for change.

Questions of resistance toward gender mainstreaming as well as resistance to gender training are studied by Lombardo & Mergaert (2013). One of the key issues in their work concerns the notion related to the fact that gender equality challenges people's personal ideas and identity (Lombardo & Mergaert, 2013, p. 301). The pedagogical questions raised are concerned with resistance and how analysis of resistance could be beneficial for understanding the difficulties with implementation of the strategy of gender mainstreaming. Resistance could be looked upon as a learning opportunity for the pedagogue in his or her attempt to get to the core of patriarchal norms and values, enabling space for change (Lombardo & Mergaert, 2013, p. 309). Another question Lombardo and Mergaert (2013) raise is concerned with ways in which the resistance leads to consequences for the teaching and its content. One example found by Lombardo and Mergaert is about the choice to speak or not to speak about power structures during a teaching situation, depending on the intensity of resistance toward the gender training.

2.3 Transformative pedagogy

Transformative pedagogy is an extensive field and includes many areas within adult education. Here, it is only possible to give a glimpse explicitly narrowed down to the focus of this paper.

Freire studies the question of how oppressed people can be emancipated through education. Freire's work amongst adults on literacy, reading and writing in the favelas of the pre-coup Brazil have dealt with questions of knowledge and empowerment, teaching and learning as forces of change and transforming society. One of Freire's main ideas is about engaging in dialogue, meeting the students as equals, engaging in problem-based training, learning together side-by-side as opposed to authoritative

teacher-student relationship, with a banking-style teaching/banking-system⁸ (Freire 1970, 1973, 1994/2016). Freire's results on how it could be possible to create a movement from naïve to critical consciousness is about "having an active dialogical, critical and criticism-stimulating method; in changing the program content of education; in the use of techniques like thematic breakdown and codification" (Freire, 1973, p. 45). Critical consciousness is of main concern for Freire in his work and this specific issue of Freire's work will be discussed closer in chapter three.

One example from Freire's work that developed a theoretical outlook on transformative pedagogy is about teaching literacy to adults.

We wished to design a project in which we would attempt to move from naïveté to a critical attitude at the same time we taught reading. We wanted a literary program which would be an introduction to the democratization of culture, a program with men as its Subjects rather than as patient recipients...

(Freire, 1973, p. 43)

The ambitions were high and learning democracy, according to Freire, is *exercising* democracy. If the people could experience democracy by participating in the planning and future of their communities, their childrens schools, churches, trade unions; the notion and knowledge of democracy could take place. Freire argues that teachers have attempted to teach democracy while dismissing "participation in the exercise of power as "absurd and immoral"." (Freire, 1973, p 36).

Apple (2013) also discusses attempts to use education in movements involved in larger social transformations. Apple is strongly influenced by Freire's work on transformative pedagogy and its potential as an emancipatory tool in society. Apple discusses the importance of schools and how schools have been central in enabling movements for justice within communities of colour (Apple, 2013, p. 20). Within the field of critical pedagogy and postcolonial perspectives, Apple also addresses two questions of urgency: whose knowledge is valid and "the truth"; and not *if* the Subaltern can speak, but rather are they listened to, influenced by Spivak's (1988) work on the Subaltern.

Smith (1976) developed a process diagram for critical consciousness and conscientização in order to better understand the meaning of the term (Smith, 1976, p.

⁸ "We simply cannot go to the labourers – urban or peasant – in the banking style, to give them 'knowledge' or to impose upon them the model of the good man contained in a program whose content we have ourselves organized." (Freire, 1970/1996, p.75).

44). Smith found two major transition stages that show how characteristics of magical, naïve and critical consciousness overlap and form a flowing, transition-like process of conscientização. Smith's understanding of conscientização stems from working with rural groups of indigenous people of Ecuador, and from studying the autobiography of Malcolm X, exemplifying a naïve awareness transforming into a critical one (Smith, 1976).

A later understanding of conscientização can be found in the work of Da Silva Iddings, McCafferty and Teixeira da Silva (2011) who studied graffiti literacies in a Sao Paulo neighbourhood. Their understanding of conscientização “happens as individuals reconsider their perspectives, experiences, and values while interacting with and acting on new knowledge and contexts” (Da Silva Iddings, McCafferty and Teixeira da Silva, 2011, p. 7-8). Groups of individuals need to be able to meet and become involved in critical reflection to view their previous understanding of the surrounding world. Their study of graffiti shows means of promoting critical consciousness of social and political realities at national level. They discuss how the graffiti can be used as awareness raising and as a tool for social action.

2.3.1. Feminist transformative pedagogy

Research on transformative pedagogy also contains feminist writings and deals with issues such as being a feminist teacher, feminist challenges in teaching, and power relations between teacher and student. Some research also discusses Freire's lack of awareness of the male-orientation of his own research, which Freire himself also discusses in his later works (1994/2016).

Beckman, M (1990) compares Freirian pedagogy with feminist pedagogy as well as with “Writing across the curriculum”, and discusses these in the light of Gramsci's term *counter-hegemonic* practices. According to Beckman, these transformative approaches to teaching are reactions toward the *banking-system* (see footnote, p.20), where the pupils learn “objective facts” from the authoritarian teacher in a one-way communication. Instead, a process-oriented dialogue between the teacher and the student is the way in which both grow (Beckman, 1990, p.141). Although deriving from different backgrounds, feminist pedagogy “encourage an integration of action and reflection as part of the learning process” (Beckman, 1990, p. 144). The education becomes holistic, and Beckman argues for a truly transformative teaching method where teachers and students share a joint learning process and power.

As with much of the previous understanding and research on transformative pedagogy, Weiner and Berge (2001) discusses feminist challenges for transformative action within teaching and in a Swedish context. Weiner and Berge argues for the necessity of the pedagogues ability to develop feminist, anti-racist and/or critical pedagogical methods, allowing the students to think critically on the curriculum and education.

Studies by Yang, C-L (2014) on rethinking Freire in relation to feminist pedagogy gives an insight into power relations between gender trainers and adult students. The questions raised in Yang's research concern "Who are the oppressed?" in a Swedish teaching context (Yang, C-L, 2014, p. 838). Yang focuses on the processes and interactions between the students and the teachers positions in the classroom and finds hooks⁹ description of transformative pedagogy "that in these teachers classrooms, students voices and experiences are valued" (Yang, C-L, 2014, p. 848) corresponding to the way in which some of the teachers work with the training taking place in the study. Yang proposes an *intersectional approach* as a way of supporting both teachers and students in conscientização (Yang, C-L, 2014, p. 851) and for "combating different forms of oppression in an era of globalization in Western countries".

The woman teacher's position and performance in the classroom is discussed by Falter, M. (2016) who highlights teaching as a performance and its analogy. If teaching is becoming more feminised, and gender is performative, this will affect both the practise and the teachers. Teaching can be perceived as a threat to patriarchal norms, according to Falter, both as a live performance but also at the level of the teacher's gender. Falter means that the performative teacher who is "dynamically creating lessons", is not rewarded in the same way as a teacher of the banking-system. Falter argues that whilst performative teaching is "given some respite from the gaze of patriarchy, it is also the reason why policy makers at the government as well as administrators have increased their attempt at surveillance of what is happening in the classroom" (Falter, M, 2016, p. 29). The goal is to make sure the teachers are performing and conforming to patriarchal expectations. Falter addresses the importance of teachers resisting the system. One example of this is the increase in the number of boycotts by teachers over standardised testing. Falter believes, that despite the analogy

⁹ bell hooks.

of teaching as performance and its potential disempowerment of female teachers, it is worth to continue the debate because there are also moments of empowerment.

Pedagogical practice, i.e. educational activities, is based on normative understandings and a politically embodied curriculum (Wernersson, 2006). Most members of society also reflect on pedagogical practice, since we have all¹⁰ attended school. The research field of pedagogy, as with other fields studying a practice with practitioners, has an ongoing tension between theory and practice. An aspect of interest is the role of the teacher in the power relations with the adult students, both women and men.

A pedagogy of change is about understanding the making and re-making of the subjected self in relation to gender, class, ethnicity and other power relations (Lenz Taguchi, 2004, p.10). The positions of the teacher and the students in the training situation, the power relations and the learning subject, all need to be taken into consideration. Lenz Taguchi writes about a post-structural understanding as where “all our linguistic expressions” shape understandings and readings of how we understand ourselves and phenomena in the world around us (Lenz Taguchi, 2004, p. 54). A feminist aspect of this post-structural understanding means an opening or possibility to use visualizations, for example the resistance retold by gender trainers, and makes possible emancipatory consequences in time and space (Lenz Taguchi, 2004, p. 55).

2.3.2 Transformative gender training

Some studies within the theme of transformative gender training have taken place at universities, government bodies and at schools. There are also studies looking into private companies and the work being done there, although they are not referred to here.

Heikkilä (2013) discusses challenges in developing learning about gender mainstreaming as a strategy through a study based on a gender mainstreaming project in pre-schools and schools. The pedagogical questions are analysed based on interpreting the strategy of gender mainstreaming as a method for including a gender perspective in all teaching – the gender mainstreaming of all subjects – and as a strategy for raising awareness amongst the pedagogues on the importance of gender in the school environment (Heikkilä, 2013, p. 83). Heikkilä discusses the dilemmas of the strategy as well as research on gender pedagogy and the importance of gender in the school environment. Heikkiläs results show that learning about gender mainstreaming is no

¹⁰ All people in countries where all children have the possibility to attend school.

guarantee for a transformed practice. Heikkilä also finds that gender training and the knowledge production can lead to myths about gender equality being created (Heikkilä, 2013, p. 87) in the same way Alnebratt and Rönnblom (2016) argues.

The whole concept of what gender mainstreaming is about needs to be changed according to several researchers, including Joseph, Gouws and Parpart (2015) in a significant shift from research that regards the organisations or its managers as the main focus. Joseph et al. (2015) speak of the necessity of a transformative agenda enabling a change of the deep structures found in organisations, since norms of masculinity and values accepted by all are deeply embedded within these structures (Joseph et al. 2015, p. 10). The question of a separatist pedagogical outlook is also discussed as an alternative and/or complement in order to attain a transformative pedagogy (Joseph et al. 2015, p. 18). One of the results is that gender mainstreaming cannot change anything if it does not occur in a transformative environment. A deconstruction of masculinity is necessary in order for any real change to take place (Joseph et al. 2015, p. 20).

Not all research in this field is necessarily critical of gender mainstreaming as such but studies how the pedagogues, described by Callerstig and Lindholm (2011) as “Gender trainers” (*Jämställdhetsintegreraren*. Callerstig & Lindholm, 2011, p. 82) deal with dilemmas of the implementation. Analyses are conducted on two case studies of gender mainstreaming, one from Social services in a local community and one from the Emergency Services. Concrete examples are combined with an interactive research approach. One of the conclusions point to a lack of systematic learning and reflection in the organisations, and suggest that examining different ideological dilemmas could be one way forward towards learning and change (Callerstig & Lindholm, 2011, p. 94).

2.3.3 Anti-oppressive teaching

This field of research is centred on how schools can engage in anti-oppressive forms of education. It is about educational work that strives toward finding ways of working against all forms of oppression, such as classism, racism and sexism. The research also deals with how education can be used against social injustice and this is a topic Kumashiro (2009) addresses.

Kumashiro (2000) has identified four different approaches amongst teachers and researchers to anti-oppressive education and these are: focusing on the students who are oppressed in some way and where the teachers need to transform schools into safe spaces; focusing on changing students assumptions on *the others*, where the teachers

need to strive towards a wider understanding amongst the students, of the world and people in it; focusing on oppressive social structures leading to injustice, where the teachers need to engage the students in critical examination of these power dynamics including the students own possibly privileged position; and finally, focusing on why it is difficult to practice anti-oppressive teaching itself, and where the teachers need to work with the students and themselves on resistance toward learning certain things.

To create critical awareness of harmful histories of *the Other* does not actually change them (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 43). Work is needed alongside and anti-oppressive education involves *crisis*, when previous knowledge is being re-learnt (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 44) and teachers need to find room for the students to face these crisis: "...a state of emotional discomfort and disorientation that calls on students to make some change" (Kumashiro, 2009, p. 30.) Students have learnt something uncomfortable and are confronting this knowledge. Crisis demands attention, not only of the students but also of the teacher. A situation of crisis is a state where a learning process could begin, working *through* the crisis, as Kumashiro puts it, but it could also hinder a learning process. It is important to realise that students are not uniform, and thus experience crisis in many different ways, demanding many different ways of the teacher guiding the students working through these crisis (Kumashiro, 2009, p. 31).

2.3.4 Norm-critical pedagogy

Research on norm-critical pedagogy is an area addressing how teachers can embrace and focus on a critical approach in the classroom toward the processes creating and maintaining norms. Both teachers and students are part of these processes, interacting through identity and group affiliation. Norm-critical pedagogy can be looked upon as "an intervention in normative "subtexts" in tuition, literature lists, lectures, assignments and interaction in the classroom" (Kalonaityté, 2014, p. 13). Kalonaityté presents different variables, such as class, gender, functionality and looks at these through the eyes of a norm-critical perspective. The ambition for a pedagogy of norm-critique is to critically examine the relation between knowledge, power and identity and address the question of whose reality is behind the gaze of the tuition, the literature and the learning (Kalonaityté, 2014, p. 117). One of the conclusions Kalonaityté describes is the importance of reflectivity throughout one's teaching act. Another important aspect of norm-critical pedagogy as described by Kalonaityté is a process-oriented approach toward education and learning.

3. THEORETICAL OUTLOOK

The analysis in this paper is undertaken from a critical position where transformative pedagogy and manifestations of power through resistance against gender training are at the core. Studying power and resistance in the classroom is not a static situation and my understanding of power is that it is relational, constantly shifting within and outside the realms of knowledge and education.

The theoretical outlook moves through a landscape where Freire, Ahmed and Rönnblom create interacting and valid analytical tools for an analysis. Multiple perspectives are central when viewing data collected amongst the informants, and also when taking into account the multiple perspectives of the researcher and the readers of the research (Cohen, Manion & Morriison, 2011, p. 28). By using trigger issues, snaps and conscientização, I have found useful theoretical tools for the analysis, in search for a transformative pedagogy through specific moments of resistance.

Dominant discourses constitute other discourses in pedagogical research as well as within gender training, and there are also dominant discourses on knowledge production and for instance whose experience is valid and whose is not. The dominant discourse of gender equality referred to in this study (Rönnblom, 2011) is used in relation to the results of the analysis, and displays how the discourse affects the gender trainers and the gender training. The ambition is to highlight the consequences of the dominant discourse.

3.1 Power

The interpretation of the data is undertaken through the lens of an understanding of power relations between the teacher (women) and the students (men and women), in relation to the context of the desire for a gender equal society within the dominant discourse of Swedish gender equality. The relationship between power and knowledge is important in the constitution of the prevailing discourses on “the truth”, and Foucault (1980) pinpoints that depending on how we look upon power, it opens up, or restrains us from resistance.

It seems to me that power is ‘always already there’, that one is never ‘outside’ it, that there are no ‘margins’ for those who break with the system to gambol in. But this does not entail the necessity of accepting an inescapable form of domination or an absolute privilege on the side of the law. To say that one can

never be ‘outside’ power does not mean that one is trapped and condemned to defeat no matter what.

(Foucault, 1980, p. 141-142)

Relations of power are interwoven with all other kinds of relations human beings are in, such as production, family, sexuality, with connections that vary over time and place. There is not the one binary structure with one group of dominators and another group of subordinated, but rather a variety of many power relations (Foucault, 1980). A feminist perspective on knowledge becomes a way to visualize and question what is referred to as ‘the objective truth’. When this ‘truth’ is lime-lighted, it creates a stir-up in the classroom, and power structures are set to action (Wahl et al. 2008, p 116).

Power is about *how* power is used, in which context. There is a hierarchy of relations in society where some behaviour is considered more valid than other. There is a norm and “the other”, a *subordinated*¹¹ other. People adapt to the norm, but the norm is re-definable and there are openings for re-negotiating the norm (Foucault according to Lilja & Vinthagen, 2009, p. 29-37). Power does not only mean the ability to influence a decision but also being able to decide which topics are seen as important and get discussed. In this paper, power is understood in accordance with the above.

Rönblom’s (2011, 2016) understanding of power within the Swedish dominant discourse surrounding gender politics and educational aspects of gender issues has influenced the analysis concerning the experiences of resistance and its consequences for future gender training. Rönblom analyses power in relation to neo-liberal management mentality and with the help of a critical form of policy analysis, derived from Carol Bacchi’s *What’s the problem represented to be?*¹². A problem-oriented approach is a means of understanding new ways of thinking about the creation of production of power, knowledge and truths (Rönblom, 2011, p. 39). Alnebratt and Rönblom (2016) also use this outlook in studying Swedish gender equality politics. The goals are not linked to clear formulations of what the problem actually *is*, and Alnebratt and Rönblom consider if this in fact leads to consequences when the goals are used within the work of gender mainstreaming (Alnebratt & Rönblom, 2016, p. 39). Gender training and gender equality politics that *does not* address power structures and/or speak of the norm, but rather the subordinate, will focus on changing the

¹¹ Throughout the paper, *subordinated* is used in accordance with Spivak’s work on the Subaltern and probable possibilities for marginalised groups of being able to act.

¹² Bacchi, C (2009) For closer reading on problem-representation.

subordinate instead of changing the norm. The gender training focusing on how to use the strategy of gender mainstreaming instead of speaking of the *problem*, i.e. the gender unequal society, might lose track of why organisations should mainstream gender and *into* which prevailing norms.

3.2 Resistance as agent of change

The resistance studied in this paper is seen as a manifestation of resistance to change, which in turn stems from the resistance toward a prevailing gender power imbalance. The word resistance can be perceived in different ways and the word resistance in this paper is understood as opposition to the foreseen consequences of gender politics and gender equality. The resistance can be verbal or non-verbal, active or passive; it can be manifested in a variety of ways (Wahl et al., 2008) and is perceived and interpreted through the feelings and embodied experience of the gender trainers (Ahmed, 2004).

Resistance is understood with the help of Wahl et al. (2008), who speak of resistance as created during processes of knowledge – learning – understanding, constantly moving and changing depending on the shifting power relations in the room where teaching is taking place (Wahl et al., 2008, p. 77). To study resistance or opposition against an agenda for change, such as transforming a society, is a way of making visible the power structure and enabling an analysis of the structure (Wahl et al., 2008, p. 115). The resistance is an indication that something interesting could be occurring during the moment of resistance.

The situations described by the gender trainers are often subtle, but nonetheless crucial, for understanding power structures during resistance in the teaching situation. As Wahl et al. (2008) puts it, by studying what actually happens at a concrete level in the room, when women speak as feminist researchers, the reconstitution of power relations takes place.

3.2.1 Snaps and triggers

Ahmed (2017) explores and describes what happens when feminists reach a point where they just can *not* take it [resistance] any more. Ahmed refers to it as the feminist *snap* and describes it as a breaking point where a specific event occurs leading you either into a crisis or into something that might open up new ways of thinking, speaking, acting, choosing path (Ahmed, 2017, p. 187). The snap is seen as a moment when the resistance becomes too much, is overwhelming, and what happens then. The search for possibilities of a transformative pedagogy will be a search for triggers and snaps.

To snap can mean to make a brisk, sharp, cracking sound; to break suddenly; to give way abruptly under pressure or tension; to suffer a physical or mental breakdown, especially while under stress; to bring the jaws briskly together, often with a clicking sound; to bite; to snatch or grasp suddenly and with eagerness; to speak abruptly or sharply; to move swiftly and smartly; to flash or appear to flash light; to sparkle; to open, close, or fit together with a click.

(Ahmed, 2017, p. 188)

Ahmed's description of snap bears resemblance to writings of resistance and embodied emotions in Wahl et al. (2008). The descriptions of moments of resistance and the researchers embodied responses, give insight into a world of snapping, where snapping is in fact a reaction. The snap is only a beginning if the pressure put on feminists prior to the snap goes by unnoticed. If pressure is an action, snap is a reaction, Ahmed writes (Ahmed, 2017, p. 189) and opens up an understanding of the often, but not always subtle power relations, and how they take place. So, the snap could be both action and/or reaction.

Ahmed argues for the importance of anger and its possibilities, especially as a response to pain. The pain is wrong and something must be done about it (Ahmed, 2004.)

Anger is creative; it works to create a language with which to respond to that which one is against, whereby 'the what' is renamed, and brought into a feminist world.

(Ahmed, 2014, p .176)

Lorde (1984) discusses anger and its possibilities, writes on the passion of anger, but in the context of racism and responding to racism with anger as a transformative moment.

Every woman has a well-stocked arsenal of anger potentially useful against those oppressions, personal and institutional, which brought that anger into being. Focused with precision it can become a powerful source of energy serving progress and change.

(Lorde, 1984, p. 127)

Anger is both expressed as resistance toward gender equality and gender training and as the anger felt amongst gender trainers in being on the defensive all the time, and facing difficult working conditions and work assignments. In order to understand more about what kind of pedagogical situations or tutorial content triggers resistance toward

gender training and/or gender equality creating anger amongst the students, an approach is to search for what I address as *trigger issues* in the data. As Lorde (1984) so precisely articulates anger and its potential, trigger issues are manifested with the help of various contents of the tuition presented in the classroom, which lead to concrete actions of resistance. These actions represent power reconstituting itself in the classroom. The anger evoked by the trigger issues is understood as resistance toward gender equality and gender training. The snapping is understood as anger manifested amongst gender trainers being in the resistance all the time.

3.3 The transformative approach

To further help to understand the data in this paper I turn to Freire's theory on transformative pedagogy. Freire's relevance is not only the theoretical outlook on how adult education can be undertaken or because Freire's work stems from experience of adult education, but also due to Freire's view on education as a political tool. The training studied in this paper is closely linked to Swedish gender equality politics and its dominant discourse. My understanding of Freire's view on education and its liberating possibilities in relation to power, is seen as a constant revision and development of transformative pedagogy as a possibility to create shifts in power through *conscientização*, becoming liberated (as a student) thus enabling political action (Freire, 1994/2016). Transformative pedagogy is an ongoing process where power can be redefined and shifted.

One theme is reflection upon situationality (Freire, 1970/1996, p. 90), a reflection about living and existence, in relation to the surrounding people and society. This is about when people emerge from a bystander or objective passive presence, to being able to take part in the world and to actively transform society. A sense of *conscientização* takes place, which is a necessary process enabling transformative education, according to Freire. *Conscientização* is used as a theoretical tool whilst searching for a transformative approach, and is understood as a learning moment where teachers and/or students see power structures linked to gender unfold, and embrace a desire to change these structures. The Portuguese term is used in this paper to help keep a reflexive thought on the origin of the term. *Conscientização* describes the development of the awakening of what Freire calls critical consciousness (Freire, 1973, p. 19). This critical consciousness grows out of critical educational efforts in a favourable setting. Freire uses the term *conscientização* to describe learning to perceive social, political, and

economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Freire, 1970/1996, preface). Awareness raising is a process where critical consciousness makes it possible to transform society.

I wish to emphasize that in educating adults, to avoid a rote, mechanical process one must make it possible for them to achieve critical consciousness so that they can teach themselves to read and write. As an active educational method helps a person to become consciously aware of his context and his condition as a human being as Subject, it will become politicized.

(Freire, 1973, p. 56)

Here, Freire emphasizes the importance of critical consciousness in order for any action to take place. The Portuguese term indicates the movement toward *critical* consciousness from a state of either *magical* consciousness or *naïve* consciousness. Magical and naïve consciousness are levels of consciousness that do not actually lead to transformation of society. The magical consciousness is a fatalistic view upon the world where there is no broader context of one's life in relation to the rest of the world and "is accepted as reality beyond reason" as Smith (1976) understands the concept. Naïve consciousness is seeing possibilities to transform, but at an individual level. There is no link to oppressive/patriarchal systems.

In the same line of thinking as Freire, Ahmed speaks of *clicking moments* (2017). One can think upon conscientização as an awakening, in the same sense as peoples clicking moments in understanding sexism and racism, their structure and place in the world (Ahmed, 2017, p. 29). In this paper, conscientização is used as a theoretical tool whilst searching for a transformative approach, and is understood as a learning moment where teachers and/or students see power structures linked to gender unfold, and embrace a desire to change these structures.

3.4 Feminism

Feminism is concerned with a transformation of society, understood as the view to radically change society towards one where all people, inconsiderate of sex and gender, are treated equal. The understanding of feminism in this paper has been influenced by many feminists, books, readings and discussions, but here referred to specifically as "the movement to end sexism, sexual exploitation and sexual oppression" (hooks, 2000, p. 19).

The understanding of feminism is also inspired by Ahmed (2017), who so accurately pinpoints:

Feminism: how we survive the consequences of what we come up against by offering new ways of understanding what we come up against.

(Ahmed, 2017, p. 22)

Wahl et al. (2008) speak of *F* as the feminist teacher who faces resistance. Ahmed (2017) describes the feminist as *The Killjoy*, a way of describing feminists and gender trainers doing their job, stirring up, not laughing at feminist jokes, speaking of the unspeakable. This understanding is crucial for the analysis of the data in chapter five, enabling a reading of aspects concerned with not only transformative pedagogy but also emotions and feelings gained during facing resistance as gender trainers. This theoretical outlook together with the terms trigger issues, snap and conscientização form the analytical tools to analyse the data in this study.

4. METHOD AND APPROACH

This chapter deals with the study's design, methodological reflection and the data collection. It starts with the design of the study and a methodological reflection, followed by how the data is collected. A description of how the data is processed follows, including how the transcription and translation has been carried out. This is followed by a part on reliability and the researchers pre-understanding. The chapter ends with a discussion on ethical considerations.

4.1 Design of study

The design of this study is a focus group based qualitative research design used to understand how experience of resistance amongst gender trainers influences gender training and its possible transformative outcome. Since the purpose of the study is to examine *experiences* and *consequences* of teachers facing resistance during workplace based gender equality tuition, a qualitative research design is appropriate. A qualitative approach might be used when searching for experiences and feelings amongst a group of individuals (Hartman, J. 2004, p. 195). The method chosen enables the informants to share their experiences and enables a transformative approach (Jowett & O'Toole, 2006. p. 455). My choice also comprises *living transformative pedagogy* whilst searching for it. This study has been undertaken in three focus groups with a total of thirteen participants.

Focus group as method has gained terrain amongst feminist researchers (Bryman, 2008, p. 462) and this is an interesting aspect to consider. Wilkinson, according to Bryman, mentions three aspects of the method that has increased feminist research use of it: possibilities to attain a greater understanding of everyday-life and women's experience, avoiding decontextualisation and a more democratic discussion than an interview situation.

The aspect of democratisation of the data collection itself is also discussed by Kvale & Brinkmann (2014). The researcher's power in the room is weakened thus creating a more democratic data collection (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014, p. 51-52). The focus group enables a discussion amongst colleagues with extensive experience within a specific field. The thoughts and reflections of the group are more interesting than those of any one individual (Wibeck, 2010).

Focus groups are used in qualitative studies where a specific topic is discussed. The method is especially useful regarding sensitive and complex topics, and can be used for studying attitudes, values and conceptions amongst human beings (Wibeck, 2010, p. 12). The methodology is chosen as opposed to interviews with one informant at a time and the decisive point regarding this chosen pathway, apart from the above, is the dynamics that can be created in the focus group.

The chances are larger for an interesting conversation where everyone feels free to speak if the members of the group know each other (Wibeck, 2010 p. 65). The risks of using an already existing group are of course at hand to discuss. Some thoughts and ideas are taken for granted, and might not get mentioned seeing as they are already understood amongst the members of the group. Wibeck also pinpoints a valid concern regarding groups previously known to each other: the desire not to bring up topics of conflict or distress, so as not to ruin the atmosphere (Wibeck, 2010 p. 66). Therefore, awareness needs to be raised regarding these pit-falls, enabling the leader of the focus group to keep a look out and raise relevant topics even if they might be prone to conflict, should it be necessary. The main concern for this specific kind of group is the fact that the participants tend to bring their set roles within the group, to the room.

As with all methods of interviewing, certain factors have to be taken into account as potential disturbants of the dialogue. The main ones are intrapersonal factors such as demographics, physical appearance and personality traits; the interpersonal factors include group cohesion (Wibeck, 2010). If the group cohesion is too high it might very well lead to what is referred to by Wibeck as group-think (Wibeck, 2010, p. 31), i.e. one way of thinking about the topic discussed evolves and alternative ideas might not be brought forth. Awareness of group-think is therefore crucial for the person leading the focus group.

4.1.1 Methodological reflection

The method worked well although there could have been additional questions added to the protocol, since there were more follow-up questions addressed that arose, depending on what the focus group discussed. These questions were jotted down as the group spoke, so the following group might not have had the exact same follow-up questions. Interviews with one person at a time could have given more knowledge on specific details regarding tuition and teaching situations, which would have been valid for the result. However, my stand here is clear on the pros of the focus group for this study,

since there were several themes where the group dynamics created new knowledge amongst the participants, and myself. One example was about the role of being perceived as a feminist teacher. My own reflection, apart from the learning process of creating extra questions to help the group along, is that it would be interesting to meet the same focus group several times over a long period of time, enabling reflexiveness and also a learning moment within the group on reflecting upon pedagogical issues in relation to resistance. Several of the participants did also discuss possibilities of meeting again to carry on the discussion.

4.2 The data

This part of the methodology chapter describes the data. A description of the focus groups takes place including the procedure of recruiting the participants. This is followed by a description of the environment where the focus groups took place, enabling the reader to visualise the actual activity.

4.2.1 The focus groups

The three groups consist of participants from all over Sweden and are all perceived as women. They work within the government, regional or local authorities of Sweden. This study consists of three focus groups with four to five participants in each. A smaller group can be particularly advantageous when the topic addressed is of emotional character (Dahlin-Ivanoff & Holmgren, 2017, p. 59).

The focus groups were invited by e-mail through knowledge of the persons (group one and two) and via a large organisation where a person sent me names and e-mails of suitable participants (group three).

The participants of *focus group one* know each other as professionals. This group has immense experience of gender training related to the Swedish context. I know the participants of group one at a professional level. Focus group one consisted of four participants.

Focus group two is also known to me, but not as well as group one. The participants of focus group two are acquainted with one another, but do not belong to the same larger group, albeit they do interconnect, working in the same region within this specific field. Focus group two consisted of five participants.

Focus group three, finally, is chosen with the help of a specific organisation and their network for these questions. This group is completely unknown to me, enabling

me to reflect upon how my knowledge of the participants in group one and two, may, or may not, play a part in the analysis. Focus group three consisted of four participants.

4.2.2 The setting

The focus groups took place in group activity rooms at local libraries in three different locations in Sweden. The environment of the library was chosen because of its neutral and welcoming space, enabling an open and free discussion amongst the participants (Wibeck, 2010). The conversations took two hours each time. Each group room consisted of a round or oval shaped table, enabling all participants to see each other at all times, and also creating an even balance in the room between the leader of the conversation, myself, and the participants.

A recording device was placed at the centre of the table. To help keep track of any specific event or thoughts taking place during the conversation, a protocol was created for each focus group, used for taking notes and jotting down time references for certain thoughts. The protocol was revised after the first and then again, after the second conversation, enabling modified questions or order of questions, if necessary.

4.3 Processing the data

The data is studied with the help of three themes, in accordance with the purpose of this paper. These themes are: trigger points of resistance, snapping and conscientização. A careful reading of the data, combined with the theoretical outlook sets the scene for the analysis.

4.3.1 Transcription and translation of data

The interpretation of the data starts during the transcription process and is a vital part in any study dealing with recorded data. The conversation is abstracted and the text is a translation from one form to another, from a spoken conversation to a written interpreted text (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014, p. 217). The first abstraction removes physical presence and body language. The transcriptions took place during 28-30/6, 9-12/7 and 23-27/10-2017. To aid voice recognition during transcription, a voice sample was recorded for each participating person. The texts are transcribed into a written text: removing slang and repetition of words, humming and very incomplete sentences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014, p. 228). This is the second abstraction where the voice, intonation and rhythm of breathing is lost (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014, p. 218). The texts are transcribed in Swedish. The protocol from the focus group is an aid throughout the

transcription and the analysis process. The data is translated by myself and the text extracts translated are the ones used in the paper.

4.3.2 The data analysis

The analysis has been carried out by using content analysis (Wibeck, 2010, p. 99-135; Cohen, Manion & Morriison 2011, p. 563-564) and with the help of specific questions asked to the data. Content analysis can be used for any written material and focuses on, amongst others, language, meaning of context and is of transparent character. Apart from the systematic form, content analysis has been chosen for its essential features of focusing on discovering patterns and themes in the data, and looking out for what is *not* there and what remains untold (Wibeck, 2010). The results of the analysis can also be compared and contrasted against discourses in society. The above are all reasons for choosing content analysis.

To process the data, *coding* has been essential, which is defined as “the translation of question responses and respondent information to specific categories for the purpose of analysis” (Kerlinger according to Cohen et al., 2011, p. 559). The coding consisted of three main steps, starting with open coding followed by analytic coding and selective coding. Open coding creates categories and defines its attributes, and is descriptive (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 561). Analytic coding is more than a description. It becomes more interpretive and might stem from the topic of research or from the data itself. The selective coding is about interpreting the data into core categories to form a theory. All categories are integrated and related to the selective coding. This step of the process requires a deep understanding of the main topic (Cohen et al., 2011). The categorizing through coding has been an attempt to interpret the data in a transparent and systematic way. There is still much to learn within this area, and coding of power relations, where some are unspoken, has indeed been a challenging task to perform.

The questions used in order to answer the main questions 1 and 2 in the study (see part 1.3) are the following: Which topics are described as triggers for resistance? What are the gender trainers thoughts on why the specific topics are trigger issues? Are there experiences described where the gender trainers talk about emotions; a shift of mood, a change occurring due to emotions such as joy, anger, sorrow or sadness? How are emotions expressed amongst the gender trainers? When do the gender trainers snap? What happens?

To be able to answer the main questions 3 and 4 in the study (see part 1.3) the following questions have been used: How does this affect forthcoming gender training? According to the gender trainers, in which way has the setup or teaching changed due to resistance met in the classroom? Are there any moments described in the data, where the gender trainers sense conscientização amongst the students *or* themselves?

Each question has been given a number. As the data has been read and re-read, notes have been jotted down on the side of the transcribed data, and passages have been given numbers. This has been the open coding. The analytic coding has consisted of the three themes previously mentioned. Each theme has been given a colour and the same procedure (as with the questions) has been undertaken with the themes, marking colours throughout the text where a theme has been identified. The next step has been to cut the text depending on which number and colour the different passages have. The raw transcription that has not been cut has been a reference as the coding and analysis takes place, ensuring the text-passages used are analysed within the correct context (Wibeck, 2010, p. 100). The selective coding has shown a multiple layer understanding of passages in the texts, such as with the theme of snapping, where different questions to the data lead to different interpretations of snapping.

4.3.3 Reflection upon processing data

Other kinds of analysis might have been preferred, although I do believe the content analysis has enabled new knowledge from the patterns found. A discourse analysis might have given more insight into revealing how power operates and is accepted or not, in the specific setting. A discourse analysis could also be perceived as more reflexive, even though I am not sure of this. By working with analytic and selective coding in the data of the study presented, this has been an attempt to identify power positionings. Unexpected themes and interpretations may reveal themselves within content analysis. Another approach to be considered for this kind of study could be grounded theory, allowing a more open procedure and especially if the study is of exploratory character (Mayring according to Cohen et al., 2011, p. 573).

4.4 Credibility of the study and the researcher's pre-understanding

Reliability and validity are terms commonly used to describe a study's likeliness to be as objective as possible and to contain valid (new) knowledge within the designated field, be it quantitative or qualitative. This study's view on knowledge is that there is no objective "truth" (Foucault, 1980; Lenz Taguchi, 2004). An important part of research is

instead to be as transparent as possible, enabling the reader to follow the researcher's thoughts and analysis (Esseveld, 2008, p. 192). This is one way to ensure the credibility of the results presented. One example of transparency here is describing how the data analysis has been performed, in 4.3.2. The credibility of results using this method increases if more than one focus group is conducted, and if the results are presented to the participants for confirmation or denial of the same (Dahlin-Ivanoff & Holmgren 2017, p. 81). One concrete action taken on reliability and transparency has been to send a final draft of the analysis to all participants of the three focus groups, enabling a dialogue on the researcher's interpretation of the discussions. Six of thirteen participants responded back. The respondents confirmed the interpretation and understanding of the discussions in the focus groups and all groups had one participant or more responding.

One specific point of interest is researcher bias (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 182) and in this study this is of concern since the researcher knows of several of the participants in the focus groups. Finding similar results in all groups, inconsiderate of my previous knowledge of some of the participants, is one aspect in considering the results credibility.

The results are reliable in the sense that the three focus groups all discuss similar aspects of experiences of resistance and its effects on future gender training, despite some variation between the groups, depending on how many years the participants have been working within the field, as well as where they work (organisation and geographical spread) and the participants background (age, class, colour, education level). Similar results have been found in other research regarding embodied experience of working with gender equality and strategies to cope (Ahmed, 2007; Wahl et al., 2008). Although these studies are not addressing the same question as this study, they do show similar results regarding experience of resistance.

The results could be transferable within the setting of the Swedish context where gender training takes place in government bodies as a means to reach gender equality. Knowledge about resistance during gender training and its consequences for teaching in this setting can be of validity for developing the pedagogy within gender training. The results might also be transferable regarding teaching about other manifestations of power or within anti-oppressive teaching, with the goal to create transformation, but further studies would have to be undertaken regarding this question.

4.5 Ethical considerations

After careful consideration on potential impact for the gender trainers participating in the study, prior to the study being undertaken, the conclusion is that the participants identity will be safeguarded by specific measures taken, and that the results are of general interest for society, outweighing any potential negative consequences. In accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011, p. 69) the question of how the result might be used for purposes other than intended has been of special concern. I will return to this specific dilemma after having discussed the requirements regarding information, consent, confidentiality and access rights.

Written and oral information about the purpose of the study has been provided in accordance with good research practice. The link between this project and the Faculty of Education and Society at the University of Malmö has been clear. The written and oral information stated the absolute rights of the participants to opt out from the focus group and/or the data at any desirable time prior to, during or after the data was collected. This information was also reinforced after the focus groups were finished. Consent has been given by answering yes to participating and then by participating in the focus groups.

Regarding questions of anonymity and confidentiality, specific measures have been taken since the participants in this study belong to a group of professionals in Sweden that is quite small. The Swedish Research Council's expert group on ethics (Good Research Practice, 2011) clearly states that not only can names be replaced but other details in the data that could identify individual subjects can also be disguised.

Precautions have been taken to ensure that examples cited through passages of transcribed text, as well as details of names, geographical area, specific details of organisations have all been changed, disguised or removed from the data. The names of the participants were changed immediately after the focus groups were finished, so even the protocols have the code names rather than the real names of the participants (Kvale & Brinkman, 2014, p. 228). The other precautions were performed in direct connection to the transcription process so as not to have names, geographical areas or other revealing details in any transcribed data (Bryman, 2008, p. 133). The data files and protocols have been stored in a file in the researcher's house throughout the work on the paper (Kvale & Brinkman, 2014, p. 228).

The discussion on confidentiality brings me back to the opening dilemma of ethical considerations; how the result might be used by others than myself and in what way.

One negative effect could be that the result is used against gender trainers and gender training *per se*, instead of seeing their place in the power structure and society/political space, and this is *not* the intention of the study. It is crucial to see the results in relation to the organisations where the workplace based training takes place, society and the power displayed. To minimize possible misuse of the result in accordance with the above, care has been taken to discuss this issue in chapter six. Another ethical dilemma is the researchers previous link to some of the gender trainers, which is discussed more closely in 4.4. The data has been used explicitly for this paper and nothing else. The question of access right is considered.

5. ANALYSIS AND RESULT

The analysis and results are presented in this chapter. The first part describes the *experience* of resistance faced by the gender trainers and their thoughts on why this resistance arises. The first raised question of the study is answered: In which ways is resistance manifested in workplace based gender training? This is followed by a part on *consequences* of the resistance and how it affects future gender training. The second raised question of the study is answered: Which are the consequences of the experience of resistance amongst the gender trainers and how does it affect future gender training? The final part comprises learned experience amongst the gender trainers on alternative ways of addressing gender equality and on possible approaches toward a *transformative pedagogy*. The third and fourth raised questions of the study are answered: What is the experience amongst the gender trainers on alternative ways of pedagogically addressing gender equality? Which approaches in gender training could, according to the gender trainers, lead to a transformative pedagogy within adult education?

5.1 A slow puncture

Analysing the experience of trigger issues and snapping amongst the gender trainers, is in order to search for resistance and what in fact creates this resistance. The trigger issue becomes the eye-opener in the data where the adult students at the gender training activities either show resistance to the training itself or to the content of the training. The snapping, on the other hand, becomes the eye-opener in the data, where the gender trainers show anger or other feelings revealing that they have *had enough* (Ahmed, 2017). The gender trainers thoughts on why the specific topics are seen as trigger issues are keys to a possible transformative pedagogy.

5.1.1 Gender *per se*

When asking the question of which topics that are described as triggers for resistance, the most common trigger issue is gender *per se*. Several of the gender trainers speak of resistance when the topic of gender as a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon is brought forward. The students have strong opinions that this is not the case, and that women and men *are* different in all aspects, not just biological ones. Especially one episode from the material brings attention to the resistance on this trigger issue.

I remember a situation when I was holding a training course at a company. The Head of the company took part, as well as the entire staff, all men. They made it

absolutely clear about their stand, they did everything to completely shred the training session. This was done by constantly asking questions such as: “Oh, so are you saying that women should be paying less tax because they are menstruating, ha ha?” “Haven’t you read this study about the cave people about how the women can see the dust?” They did anything to jeopardise this education as much as possible. I could never move forward during the session. One part of the training was showing these images of girls, - and boys - christening cards. When I showed these images to the group, the Head of the company became so angry that he leaned over the table, waving his arms in my face, shouting: “These need to go, you must take these away, you’re not to show these images.” And, I mean, these are the kind of moments that really stick with you, much more than any moments when the teaching might have gone well.

(Anna)

This passage shows not only how undermining a training session can occur, but also reveals the trigger of learning about gender as a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon. The head of the company is so provoked by seeing the christening cards and the questions regarding their content he acts in an irrational, emotional and rude manner, in front of his entire staff.

Gender equality in itself is a trigger of resistance. The resistance is described as general against the whole question of gender equality, against gender training and gender as category. One of the gender trainers describes resistance and what it can look like amongst the students:

The students didn’t think the questions were important at all. There was talking, giggling, constant questioning throughout the training session, not listening, sending notes and fidgeting about. They were displaying all these classic suppression techniques and expression of resistance going on in the classroom. But this is my only experience where it has been absolutely blank with no dialogue at all.

(Petra)

Similar types of experiences are found in the data of Wahl et al. (2008) and their studies of resistance at Universities. There are several experiences from the gender trainers, of where the students ridicule and try to make the gender trainers feel uncomfortable and stupid, mocking by for instance giving ridiculous examples of things. This is done in a form that could be referred to as low-intensity bullying, a constant picking on every possible number or image or other fact being presented.

But then there are always these comments, I think, where the most extreme examples are brought forward. For instance, during a training session one of the pupils asked: “We can’t think about equal opportunities all the time. If you are going to become a diver for instance and have several disabilities – how are we supposed to secure equal opportunities then?” Well, and how many times does that situation occur during your life?

(Johanna)

Amundsdotter et al. (2015) identified different kinds of resistance amongst diversity workers in their study but several of the participants in their study did not recognize that there was any resistance and believed there were no problems in their organisations. That specific result does not correspond with the result of this study. All informants in this study related to various kinds of resistance.

5.1.2 Re-negotiating the norm

One of the other dominant trigger issues identified is recognition that gender equality has to do with a structural power relation between the sexes. Several of the gender trainers speak of resistance shown when the question of power and structure is brought forth. This result is about viewing power and of re-negotiating the norm, as Foucault (1980) describes it. Understanding power at a structural level is a *tuitional challenge* according to the gender trainers. There is a problem amongst many students, according to the gender trainers, to see the link between gender inequality and power at a structural level. This is reminiscent of Freire’s naïve consciousness. The students see the inequality as an individual problem, and do not see their own gendered work. Discussing this also leads to resistance in the classroom.

We [the students] see the human being, we *only* see the human being, we don’t see gender. So, this is not of any concern for us at this work place. Gender doesn’t play a part here.” But, when we [the gender trainers], analyse their work there are differences, for instance when men say no thank you to certain rehabilitation possibilities, compared to the women. “Well, we just asked them if they wanted it and they said no.” OK, but maybe one needs to address the issue differently, to get the men to say “yes please”, to the rehabilitation offered. But this has been a hard task to address. It is hard to move forward. It is hard to say to the students: “No, you don’t see the human being, you are seeing gender”, and that goes for all of us in different situations.

(Jenny)

This passage reveals one of the challenges in gender training, which is that the questions tend to be taken at a personal level. All people have experiences because of their gender, in the same way as most people have experience of attending school.

For instance, when we speak about household work, suddenly there are all these references to their own home and that they do the dishes. But we're not here to talk about what a wonderful husband you have.

(Camille)

This passage demonstrates the inability to differentiate between personal experience and knowledge about how power structures take place. As with one of the key issues in the work of Lombardo and Mergaert (2013) this notion relates to the fact that gender equality challenges people's personal ideas and identity.

The gender trainers speak of trigger issues, both the direct topics such as issues of parental leave or political representation, but also of triggers of resistance because the gender trainers are women; that the work adds on to an already full calendar and other similar examples. As one trigger issue is discussed, the entire group has been nodding in recognition and the discussion has often included satirical comments, interpreted here as a way of showing just *how* tired the gender trainers are of the opposition.

One group of trigger issues, apart from the ones previously analysed, occurs in the data three to five times as separate passages, albeit all participants also recognise them. They are the following: equal rights at work places, economic gender equality, parental leave, power, structural level versus individual level. Some of the trigger issues occur once or twice in the data, though with a recognition by nodding or humming from the rest of the group. These are the issues of women working as gender trainers: "Why are you two women working with gender equality in the organisation? Why?"; personal remarks toward the gender trainer on for instance appearance; the content more explicitly regarding Swedish gender politics; unpaid household work and caring issues, work life issues; time and resources spent on the gender training courses or gender equality work in general. One of these trigger issues identified in the data concerns parental leave. Several gender trainers nod and recognise themselves in the situations described throughout the groups, regarding this trigger issue.

Parental leave really gets the students going. I'd definitely say that, and more so in the more relaxed meeting rooms and coffee breaks than during the training session itself, even though it's always brought up for discussion during the gender training. I experience that as soon as this topic is raised, students

immediately want to have it clearly stated that: “There are people who *can't* take parental leave because they have their own companies or they've just started a new job or...”. These are the two points that are stated so that everyone in the room is in *no doubt* what so ever that there are valid reasons for not sharing the parental leave in the family.

(Petra)

This passage shows how provoking the topic of parental leave is, and the students' reactions toward the idea of both women and men sharing parental leave equally. This resistance can be seen in the light of norm-critical teaching, where focus on a critical approach in the classroom toward the processes creating and maintaining norms (Kalonaitytė, 2014), i. e. parental leave, creates opposition. The political idea of equally shared parental leave challenges not only the pre-assumption of women and men's different gendered roles regarding parenthood in society, but the norm itself surrounding motherhood and the man as the family provider.

5.1.3 Dangerous words

Several of the gender trainers speak of situations where the power manifested in the classroom, but also in the organisations, demand careful planning of how they express themselves regarding gender equality. One of these situations identified in the data is concerned with the topic of men's violence toward women. This topic covers questions regarding domestic violence between all partners, such as men toward women, men toward other men, women toward men, and women toward other women. The topic also covers crimes of honour, human trafficking for sexual exploitation, prostitution, grooming, and sexual abuse. This is the only goal in the Swedish gender equality politics that is written in a sharper way,¹³ with a clear pointer at the norm and most common perpetrator (Makt, mål och myndighet – feministisk politik för en jämställd framtid, Skr 2016/17:10). Alnebratt and Rönnblom (2016) discuss the goals of Swedish gender equality politics and their tendency of being vague and gender blind (Alnebratt & Rönnblom, 2016, p. 34). Even though the goals *do* stem from an understanding of power imbalance and men's dominance versus women's subordinate position in

¹³ Men's violence toward women shall cease. Women and men, girls and boys shall have equal opportunities to integrity of their body. In Swedish: Mäns våld mot kvinnor ska upphöra. Kvinnor och män, flickor och pojkar, ska ha samma rätt och möjlighet till kroppslig integritet. For closer reading on this particular goal (<http://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2017/05/delmal-6-mans-vald-mot-kvinnor-ska-upphora/>).

general, it is of importance to see these goals include *silences*. The goal on seizing men's violence toward women stands out in that way and all gender trainers referred to this issue as one of the main trigger issues during training sessions. There were discussions on this topic in all three focus groups and all gender trainers had experience of resistance when addressing this topic. Strategies dealing with this specific issue are addressed closer in 5.2.1., but one of the results identified is that this topic stood out in a multilayer understanding. An intersectional approach, as Yang (2014) suggests can be useful, and not only for this topic.

When one speaks about other men, in other cultures, well then *all* men are perpetrators, there is a structure that everyone in the classroom can see; it is understandable. But when one addresses sexual violence *here*, in *this* classroom, when it's about *us*, that's when it happens. [Immediately addressing that women also beat men]

(Maria)

This example shows the multiple perspectives on this trigger issue (Lenz Taguchi, 2004; Cohen et al., 2011). Here, Maria tells us about a situation where the students react against that violence could also be a structural problem in Sweden. Not only is the topic provoking in itself, but also depending on the setting. If the violence is seen as crimes of honour the structural power imbalance between the sexes is accepted, but when it is about Swedish men it becomes too provocative. Another example from the data regarding this trigger issue shows its potential explosiveness.

We were writing a document for our work a couple of years ago, regarding gender mainstreaming, but we were not allowed to use certain words. We were not allowed to use the word masculinity for instance. We were definitely *not* allowed to write about men and violence in the same chapter. That would come out as so negative, and well...we just stopped there and changed the entire document to a different level, enabling us to at least keep some dignity surrounding our knowledge and that we hadn't compromised too much.

(Anna)

This passage demonstrates a potential explosiveness surrounding the concrete issue of men's violence toward women. The head of the organisation gave direct orders about specific wording in a document regarding gender mainstreaming work. The gender trainer with the knowledge on the topic cannot do a good job if the problem and the core issues of that problem, cannot be addressed. Using Rönnblom's thoughts on problem-

based work, this kind of activity shifts focus *from* power and norm to something else, not dealing with the problem. The topic is made harmless and there is no conflict. The Swedish rhetoric of success-story on gender equality shadows any possibilities of conflict. The gender trainer faces the problem of how one can teach about men's violence toward women if one cannot write about masculinity or men and violence at the same time.

5.1.4 Evolving anger

In this paper, *snap* is used as a theoretical tool in searching for a transformative approach, and is understood as a term that explores and describes what happens when the gender trainers reach a point where they just can *not* take it [resistance] any more, (Ahmed, 2017). The snaps of the data in this study identify opposing the resistance. They indicate action and reactions toward manifestations of power in the workplace based teaching environments, and also indicate how the resistance faced during gender training affects future gender training. The passage below is an example that in many ways sums up and mirrors all discussions in the data regarding emotions and snapping.

One of these moments that really has stuck with me is during a previous position I had. There was this very angry, yelling male student in the room that became so incredibly provoked by the information on the gender system and gendered male versus female attributes. I don't really even know if it had to do with the discussion on these attributes but he was just so tremendously infuriated. *Nobody* in the room did anything, nothing at all. And the same has happened when I've been attending meetings with the heads of departments and more or less been shouted at, and nobody in the room says anything. And that's something I carry with me all the time. One is supposed to be nice, friendly, preferably also funny. *Scanning* the room to see who will have a go at me this time, that's what I still feel. But I've started to think in terms of this angry feminist instead, and letting her out more and more. Because I'm *so* tired; well I'm both tired and angry and it feels like I've got a *slow puncture*, and I feel this anger evolving and I'm not sure if it's a good thing or not.

(Lena)

In this passage, Lena speaks of anger and subdued possibilities, and of the danger of expressing anger. To start with, Lena covers up, shows no sign of anger, plays the role of the professional and correct gender expert, always willing to help and explain yet again why gender equality is worth working with. The emotions described are anger, tiredness, loneliness; Lena is under constant attack. No one stands up for the gender trainer or the work. These emotions are similar to emotions expressed in the works of,

amongst others, Ahmed (2004, 2007), Amundsdotter et al. (2015) and Wahl et al. (2008). The gender trainer questions why she cannot be angry when other employees are allowed to be angry. Here, the snapping is on the verge of breaking through, from years of being worn down by low-intensity resistance. The anger in this passage is of transformative character, opening up new passages for discussion. As Ahmed argues (2014), anger can be full of energy, and it is clearly seen here that anger is actually a strategy toward change. The pain described by Lena in the passage above in terms of tiredness and anger, can be understood as “that this pain is wrong, that it is an outrage, and that something must be done about it” (Ahmed, 2014, p. 174). The passage is also an example of both action and reaction; action as the anger evolves and the reaction of many years of not snapping (Ahmed, 2017). The snapping is *just round the corner*, as it were.

Emotions are expressed in several different ways throughout the data, by putting words on the emotions but also through the body language and reactions amongst the participants when someone in the room describes their feelings or shares an experience during the focus groups. The other participants nod in recognition, speak in a supportive way or remember some episode of teaching of their own. The focus group becomes a space for sharing and confirming experiences of resistance and its consequences. The words below are examples of expressions of emotions used by the gender trainers expressing their own feelings, how they felt during moments of resistance in the classroom, and also afterwards.

Anger	Tired	“Slow puncture”	“Hit backs a thousand-fold”
“Alone- no one stands up for you”	Hopeless	“One can’t take it”	Saddening
Onerous	Awful		“Surviving through the day”
“Painful process to learn”		Painful	Sadness
Hurtful		Struggle	Unreasonable
Fun [the work, despite the resistance]		“Not being able to breathe”	Cynical
“A weight to my body – I feel heavy in my body”		Frustration	
“Divided in thoughts”		“Wears you down”	
		“Terribly hard work”	
		Tough	“Being in free-fall”

One of the results is that many of the emotions are perceived as painful. Many of the emotions above are expressed by several of the gender trainers and in all groups, inconsiderate of the length of working as a gender trainer, or if I previously had met the participants or not. The emotions are most commonly expressed in relation to describing a severe moment of resistance in the classroom, but also recur when speaking of their

work in more general terms. Some of the emotions described are expressed in studies regarding gender trainers and diversity workers in general (Amundsdotter et al., 2015) even though the focus is not primarily on the tuition but rather on the overall work of implementing gender issues in organisations with the help of gender mainstreaming. In Wahl et al. (2008), similar emotions are described by the teachers. Ahmed has also found similar emotions in the studies on diversity workers (Ahmed, 2004). The emotions engage both body and soul and affect the future work of the diversity workers. This is similar to experiences described by the gender trainers in this study, although several of the gender trainers do not speak of body as much as of soul. Two of the gender trainers referred to the work as fun, despite resistance faced, and several of the gender trainers spoke of the interesting and important job they have.

The snapping moments identified in the data are characteristic of the effect of being worn down by many years of teaching in resistance toward gender equality and gender training.

What I've thought then, after this massive resistance to change, is just "Right, I've had enough. I'll stop doing this. My *life* doesn't depend on this. This is just ridiculous. If they don't want to learn, fine, that's not my problem". And seeing this shift within myself was very nice. And now, the person responsible has finally done what was supposed to be done, even though it's taken more than half a year, but in the end something happened.

(Maria)

Here, Maria decides to radically change strategy and teaching method after snapping. Maria stops trying to convince the students to learn and lets them sort it out. The moment is described as a relief for the gender trainer. From then on, the responsibility is shifted, from the teacher to the adult students; the responsibility is put in front of the students, who are being paid to implement gender equality issues in their work tasks at the organisation.

An example of when the gender trainer, despite being the expert on the issue and the teacher in the classroom, is subordinate due to power relations and gender is described in the following passage.

I had this meeting with a small group of the most powerful civil servants in the organisation. Some of them were familiar to me, and some new. I walk into the room and am just about to start presenting this work...and then it's just a *total* full stop. There are protests in the room, the statistics presented are scrutinised

as well as questioned; everything I say is questioned and the whole situation turns into a complete and utter disaster. I was *completely* unprepared for this. And the person who behaved most badly, spoke to me in such a completely unacceptable way, questioning my expertise in an unreasonable way, but it was also the fact that none of the others in the room did anything at all to stop what was taking place. I was just *so* exposed that I think they should have stopped him. If not for anything else, they should have stopped it out of a humanitarian aspect.

(Tove)

The adult students, here civil servants with most power in their organisation, behave in an unprofessional and bullying manner. They are adults, working in organisations where there are clear goals for implementation of the Swedish gender equality politics, and they completely undermine this work by the resistance described in the passage above. One of the points Pleasants (2011) makes concerns the role of a gender trainer as subordinated in the classroom and the consequences of the results in this paper are of concern for the work environment for the gender trainers. Several of the gender trainers speak of similar situations where high-ranking civil servants stop the work with the help of various forms of resistance. The process of resistance as described by Wahl et al. (2008) is knowledge - learning - understanding, constantly moving and changing depending on the shifting power relations in the room where teaching is taking place (Wahl et al., 2008, p. 77). Several of the passages confirm this process and results show the shifting power relations depend not only on who is in the room, but also on who speaks and who does not. This is a point Lenz Taguchi (2004) draws on whilst addressing constitution of discourses in the classroom. One of the other gender trainers finally snaps, after being undermined by the heads of the organisation, quits the job and leaves the organisation. This is a harsh consequence of facing resistance, but can also be one of liberation. Ahmed (2017) writes of this consequence as one of liberation, to leave, to become free. Ahmed's thought on this though, is not unproblematic since previous experiences and emotions are already lived. Despite this, it might feel liberating for the individual gender trainer even though one could also view the situation of leaving as a consequence of the dominant discourse remaining intact.

5.1.5 Why?

When asking the gender trainers' what their explanations are of the resistance manifested, several explanations and thoughts arise. These thoughts could be potential keys to possible transformative pedagogy in future gender training. One explanation is

linked to the discourse on “There is no problem, we’re just about gender equal”. Another explanation of the resistance is linked to seeing it as an individual problem, a naïve consciousness (Freire, 1973) amongst the students. It is hard to identify with the idea there could be structures in society creating gender norms and power imbalance, hence it is up to the individual not to be oppressed. This idea is also closely linked to the experience amongst the gender trainers that the adult students believe they do not *see* gender whilst carrying out their work tasks, and think they only see individuals, previously described in part 5.1.2.

Another explanation discussed by some of the gender trainers is concerned with how the head of the department or organisation views the workplace based teaching. If there is a sense of free choice in relation to the gender training, the students understand it is of no importance and will not waste any energy on the training. This kind of signal from the head will lead to less interest and some passive resistance amongst students, according to the gender trainers. Another explanation that was identified is that people in general do not want to be seen as subordinate or victims of something.

Some women get really provoked if I’m standing there saying there are structural problems in society.

(Petra)

Like you’re a victim just because you’re a woman.

(Camille)

Precisely, but I think there are several mechanisms in place. This image of being a victim that no one wants to be perceived as. But also one’s own actions and others, that one could be put in that situation, but also just ignorance.

(Miriam)

This passage opens up interesting thoughts amongst some gender trainers on why resistance is evoked; amongst others that women would not want to be portrayed as victims and resent knowledge of gendered power structures in society.

One other identified explanation is that the topic of gender equality consists of many thoughts and ideas at a personal level, leading to the students have many own “truths” on the topic.

It is just up to anyone to voice their opinion on anything in the topic. I mean, in other learning situations and other topics that people have no knowledge of;

well they sit quietly and listen to the teacher, but here...It stirs up emotions and reactions, it creates a lot of action.

(Elisabeth)

This is something Lombardo and Mergaert (2013) also discuss in their work on resistance during gender training.

The gender trainers discuss other possibilities behind the resistance, such as practical problems due to difficulties for fellow colleagues during training. “Who will do the job whilst we are here listening to this?”. One of the gender trainers also discussed alienation as a possibility of resistance. The political level is far away from the everyday work in the organisation, and more and more job tasks are loaded on to the work force, whilst the political level is perceived as very remote.

5.2 Avoiding the wave of chaos

In this part of the analysis and results the aim is to be able to answer the questions raised in the paper regarding experience amongst the gender trainers on consequences of the resistance and how it affects future gender training.

The results of the analysis of emotions and feelings throughout part 5.1 indicate clear effects on the gender trainers as well as on the gender training. The results presented, especially the ones of how resistance is manifested and the emotions the gender trainers feel, gives a clear image that teaching topics of power and addressing norm-critique to adults is a hard task. When analysing the data one of the questions in relation to snapping, is concerned with consequences identified for future gender training. This question brings forth consequences for the workplace based teaching and learning on gender equality at national-, regional-, and local authorities. These results are especially interesting in relation to the Swedish rhetoric on *knowledge* about gender equality and gender mainstreaming, as the key to a gender equal society (Rönblom, 2011; Alnebratt & Rönblom, 2016).

5.2.1 Impact assessment

One of the effects expressed by several of the gender trainers is a feeling of insecurity prior to future teaching and the passage below gives a clear picture of this consequence.

I also think, although I *know* I'm not supposed to, about a few things looking back at situations and where they lead to; questioning my own knowledge and my ability to teach, my preparations, my priorities. One feels that one's value is taken away in the classroom, and this feeling is hard to shake off. But the *way*

certain students have acted. I mean, it's not a private space, it's a professional situation where the students are at their job, getting paid to learn. I find it very hard indeed to understand that one can act in this way because it's in a professional setting, so it *must* be about my incompetence, that I've delivered a bad training session, although I know it isn't.

(Anna)

The emotions expressed in the passage above deal with power manifesting itself through constructions of emotions. Women teachers who speak out against *truths* are often construed as emotional and not living up to standards of reason (Ahmed, 2007, p. 169-170). The effects on future training are also mirrored by the power relations in the classroom, how they have been interpreted and, thus, will be prepared for in future training sessions. Both Ahmed (2007) and Wahl et al. (2008) refer to this feeling.

One result of great concern points at how the power positions manifested in the classroom lead to a changed content. This topic is also addressed in part 5.1.3.

For me, the training session is very dependent on who is in the room. I've made certain choices before entering the classroom, and know who I am about to meet. I have quite a clear image of what I can, or cannot do in the room, after judging the power positions. And I make an impact assessment of the different kinds of actions that can be done and the price I will have to pay for them afterwards.

(Tove)

The gender trainer in this passage describes entering the classroom, deciding what kind of knowledge and session can be carried out, depending on the power positions present. The variety of power, as Foucault (1980) puts it, is on display in this passage both creating consequences for future gender training and consequences for the gender trainer herself. This passage reveals the personal price many of the gender trainers have to pay, despite only doing their job. Almost all gender trainers in all groups discussed how the notion of resistance in the tutorial situation changes their ways of addressing certain topics, such as power imbalance or men's violence toward women.

The tutorial material used also changes depending on who is in the classroom, i.e. power manifested, but also as a result of previous trigger issues and how they were addressed.

It's as if I have my own vademecum when preparing teaching material. "If this happens I can use this and this. I can say these things". One is constantly aware that these things will happen [resistance]. One feels exposed even before

entering the classroom. Maybe that explains why I just don't even carry through certain training sessions for certain kinds of groups any more.

(Lena)

Consequences in what can actually be taught and who might be taught are exemplified by Lena. This is important knowledge for the outcome of future gender training. Some adult student groups at this kind of workplace based training are not trained. The emotional cost is too high.

Several of the gender trainers speak on the topic of changing words, not speaking of power or gender equality but rather speaking of, as exemplified by the passage below, of *quality enhancement* for the organisation or for the citizens.

What happens is that we start reflecting on how we can sell the education, as it were, what kind of words will appeal to our target groups, how do we express ourselves to get through to these students that gender equality work is important? We start talking about quality enhancement instead of gender equality because, well because it's difficult to turn down quality enhancement.

(Jenny)

The shift is evident, as described so accurately by Jenny. Instead of speaking of gender equality the gender trainers speak of quality enhancement. Even though the gender trainers do speak of gender equality later on in the training session, there is a need to make the topic less provoking in order to avoid too much resistance.

5.2.2 Happy, happy

Another consequence has to do with how the gender trainers are perceived in order to gain a space where a learning session can take place. Discussions took place in all three focus groups on the image of *the angry feminist* and how this image affects the possibility for the gender trainers on their pedagogical take. Below is an extract from one of the discussions on the angry feminist:

Someone who is black-and-white, can't take an argument, and maybe also a bit personal

(Karin)

Hates men

(Maria)

Yes, of course... hates men, lesbian, hair under her arms, well all kinds of different attributes. A younger person.

(Karin)

The angry feminist is an image that the gender trainers relate to prior to teaching sessions, affecting their space. The *Killjoy*, as described by Ahmed (2017), is a way of describing feminists and gender trainers doing their job, stirring up, not laughing at feminist jokes, speaking of the unspeakable (Ahmed, 2017, p. 251-268). The killjoy can be found in the data throughout this paper, and is in the same way as *F* in Wahl et al. (2008, p. 11-12), an image of resisting the resistance and possibly being in a transformative moment.

If I would say what I really think about these issues [gender inequality] people would think I am a rabid feminist and it would just mean that whatever I would say at the following training sessions, would be disregarded as an extreme point of view.

(Camille)

As the focus groups discuss the notion of *the angry feminist*, the gender trainers relate to the image, and also remember other aspects of their job. The focus group becomes a learning moment amongst the participants and discussing the angry feminist was a particular sharing moment.

I must be happy, or rather *not* be angry. I think the first step was just to be absolutely correct and just refer to research and learn more research in order to stand and reel off knowledge on gender equality. I think that was the first step. Some kind of professionalism because I was so frightened to be caught in emotions. I have been able to let go of that a little bit at least. But its still so important not be perceived as too radical or prone to too much change.

(Karin)

Many of the gender trainers relate to the image of the angry feminist, or the *F* (Wahl et al., 2008) or the *Killjoy* (Ahmed, 2017).

One of the changes in setups regarding gender training which all groups discussed is the necessity for the presence of two gender trainers at training sessions. This setup is to avoid being as exposed to resistance as when they are on their own in the classroom, and also being able to share the experience in the classroom with a colleague. The gender trainers try to plan for this setup, but many of the gender trainers work on their own or do not have the time to be two teachers during training sessions. Several of the gender trainers choose the most important training sessions and make sure they are two colleagues at these times. These sessions are described as the ones at managerial level,

i.e. groups of civil servants with power positions in the organisations or training sessions taking place at male-dominated work places.

One of the gender trainers describes how a snapping moment changes her view on future training radically (Maria, p. 46). This moment leads to the gender trainer continuously teaching but not taking on responsibility for the adult students work-tasks; a shift has occurred from the teacher to the adult students; the responsibility is put in front of the students, who are being paid to implement gender equality issues in their work tasks at the organisations. The setup for this learning process has changed, where the gender trainer replaces the responsibility where it belongs in this case, with the students.

Several of the gender trainers speak of the change made in addressing the topic itself. For example, in order to motivate the students to attend the training session with a positive attitude, the word gender equality has been removed from the rhetoric, and instead, the word quality enhancement is used (Jenny, p. 49). Similar to this example, are the ways the tuition has changed in relation to the trigger issues presented in 5.1. The gender trainers introduce trigger issues differently than before, forestalling anticipated resistance, which might otherwise jeopardise the whole training session.

One of the strategies one learns really quickly is to pre-empt certain issues, even though it feels like a *curling* activity. One states that “Not *all* men are violent, most men are *not* perpetrators of violence or sexual abuse”. One has to say this. Most men aren’t abusers, but the common denominator is still men.

(Petra)

When asked when this specific pedagogical take occurs, the answer in all groups is “before one goes anywhere near the question of men’s violence toward women”.

It happens before any facts are presented, which than prove the opposite at large [shows the amount of men’s violence] which just feels crazy. As I hear myself say this it just sounds absolutely barmy. I do it to avoid the *wave of chaos* that might arise otherwise.

(Petra)

The trigger issues are catapults for resistance but also catapults for changes in tuition and the ways in which different topics can be addressed in the classroom, where power relations are at centre. This is similar to the result found by Lombardo and Mergaert (2013) about the choice to speak or not to speak about power structures during a

teaching situation, depending on the intensity of resistance toward the gender training. Several of the gender trainers refer to the importance of not losing sight of the power dimension in the topic, despite the fact that questions get addressed in a less provocative way. The gender trainers discuss the importance of not becoming lost in the individual aspects that the students bring forth, which tends to blur the teaching from keeping focus on the power dimension. These are consequences of concern in relation to the Swedish gender equality politics in the long run.

Another discussion arose in one of the groups, after being asked if the gender trainers always have mixed gender groups or if they also teach women and men separately. No one in this group had performed their training with single-sex only groups.

People would go mad if we did that. (Camille)

Of course, some workplaces only have men or women, so then it's natural with that kind of group. (Jenny)

Really exciting thought, I wonder how that would turn out? (Petra)

Laughter in the group. Almost a stunning thought. As if the thought itself could not be thought (notes from focus group protocol, interpretation of the discussion).

That pinpoints something I had on my mind earlier. The women in the room relate to the men. If one says that men exercise violence, women tend to act as shields or guardians in the classroom: "One has to stand up for the men who are in this room so they won't feel like the alleged perpetrators of violence". So I can understand there might be a point of undertaking separatist education also, freeing the classroom from those structures.

(Miriam)

No one in this group thinks it would be possible to plan and undertake a separatist training session. Joseph, Gouws and Parparts (2011) discuss a separatist pedagogical outlook as a possible transformative pedagogy. The sheer idea of separatist tuition was perceived as quite unthinkable but at the same time perceived as something different, something exciting that might be interesting to try. One of several strategies found by Kumashiro (2000) dealing with harmful situations for *the Other*, was the creation of separate spaces for *the Other*, as an approach to provide support and empowering spaces.

Another change would be to try to use the students in the classroom to help the learning process forward. A few of the participants in the groups discussed this strategy and one or two had used it, with varied result.

I use a strategy I learnt many years ago which is about using the classroom and the students in it, if the questioning gets too intense.

(Karin)

Karin describes a way of trying to use the experience and thoughts amongst the adult students to engage in the learning process. These thoughts are reminiscent of how Freire (1973, 1994), Kalonaityté (2014) and Kumashiro (2009) think around learning processes.

5.3 Moments of clarity

This final part of the analysis and results deals with questions of alternative ways of addressing gender equality and searching for moments of conscientização. Although the gender trainers speak of harsh resistance faced during years and years of performing workplace based teaching, it has been comforting to take part in the experience shared where the gender trainers speak of alternative ways of addressing gender equality and of training sessions where the teachers and students have worked together in a joint desire to change.

5.3.1 Side by side

One of the gender trainers speaks of a way to create a learning process amongst the adult students in relation to teaching material. This example came up when the gender trainers were asked if they had any best practice from teaching and moving forward.

We created a lot of the teaching material together with the students. We created mutual material. We wrote about issues such as: “What does gender equality mean within your specific setting? What kind of question needs addressing? What do you need to think about when it comes to for instance invitations for your meetings?” So we made material together with the students. Because I didn’t know anything about their context. Who do they work with? Meet? I learnt a great deal from the students during this process. We all joined the work open-minded and all said: “We know nothing about your area of expertise”. And I think we managed to disarm this situation, especially since people tend to believe we’ll just walk in and say: “This is all useless”.

(Anna)

This passage contains several ideas of how a potentially negative teaching environment can be turned around. There is involvement from both the teacher and the students, the content is made relevant for the students, a process-oriented teaching approach is made possible, and an open mind-set from everyone involved enables a positive learning opportunity. One of Freire's main ideas is about engaging in dialogue, meeting the students as equals, engaging in problem-based training, learning together side-by-side, and Anna describes this in the passage above. This is also something discussed by Hedin and Svensson (2011) who are concerned with questions on how teachers and students co-operate through dialogue within adult education. A couple of the other gender trainers reflected on this process-oriented approach and were sorry to say there was too little time and resources set aside in their organisations to enable this kind of learning process. Supportive framework is one important aspect for workplace based learning to be successful (Svensson & Åberg, 2001).

Thoughts of more process-oriented training sessions were a recurring theme in all focus groups and one of the gender trainers talk about this possibility as a *hands-on approach*. It is about a learning-process where the students ask questions, reflect, ask more and the teacher is alongside, teaching, asking critical questions, also learning. These descriptions are reminiscent of Kumashiro's (2009) ideas regarding working through crisis, student and teacher together. This is in line with the experience from one of the gender trainers about *moving in* even closer to the department where the learning is taking place. If this possibility arises there is a chance to achieve some change with the help of gender training.

One of the gender trainers speaks of not having a good strategy for meeting resistance in the classroom, and has been surprised every time resistance is manifested. The gender trainer does not have any specific tool for these situations. This result is important in relation to future gender training, since not having a strategy for facing the resistance leaves the gender trainers in an exposed position.

5.3.2. Hear the angels singing

The question for the analysis asked in search for moments of conscientização throughout the data is: Are there any moments described in the data, where the gender trainers sense conscientização amongst the students *or* themselves? By asking this specific question the aim is to be able to identify experiences that can give new knowledge on transformative pedagogy within gender training.

One of the central aspects discussed amongst the participants, inconsiderate of which group it was, is the process-oriented teaching leading to transformation, sometimes after the students have been learning about the topic for a long time. One gender trainer describes a process over a long time as one of the best training moments experienced. This way of conducting the gender training lead to a transformative learning within that group.

I experienced a real change in this, which is quite rare. I'm sure they [the students] also experienced a change, just in the way they talked about the questions afterwards and how they thought about these issues, well, I can see the change is still there.

(Anna)

The passage speaks of a rare moment of real change. The group of students met the gender trainer over a long period of time; they worked side by side, learning from each other, asking each other questions within their field of expertise. If the teacher can meet the adult student as a *learning* subject as well as a *teaching* subject, a joint learning-process is made possible (Svensson & Åberg, 2001) as Anna describes. This kind of gender training has lead to real change and the change is still there, which several of the other gender trainers had not experienced in the same way.

Several of the gender trainers speak of a desire to set up gender training over a longer period of time, but do not have the resources required for this to take place. Lack of time or lack of priority within the organisation, are two examples of what gets in the way for a more long-term training possibility, according to the gender trainers.

What I miss and see as quite fundamental actually for anything to change and to realise what kind of things need to be changed, that is something I would call *awareness*. It is some kind of deeper understanding of what gender equality *is*, and *not* in the sense of understanding the *how* as in working according to a checklist¹⁴. Despite that, I've started making them [check-lists] myself, despite this intense resistance I feel against them. They feel like a *quick-fix* if there is no deeper understanding and awareness.

(Karin)

¹⁴ Check-lists as referred to here are used as a tool for implementation of a gender perspective with gender mainstreaming as the strategy. There are check-lists within physical planning, project management, budgeting, social services and more. For a closer reading on check-lists see [www.jamstall.nu].

This passage reinforces several of the gender trainers experience of the necessity of a process of learning where the awareness of power structures and a gendered society is made possible. By mixing theory with practical examples during the gender training, there is a possibility to find moments of critical consciousness, or conscientização. To just hand out a checklist will not create sustainable change. The gender trainer emphasizes a desire of being able to create a transformative moment of knowledge through awareness, here understood as critical awareness, since the gender trainer also speaks of change.

Several of the gender trainers also discuss moments of awakening, moments in the classroom that can be pointed at where there is a critical awareness taking place. Some of these moments are described and related to previous processes having occurred during the gender training, where finally, *the penny dropped*. There are also moments described where the consciousness is more like a moment of clarity, direct and clear. All students of course display a variety of ways of learning, of becoming aware, of passing through magical, naïve to critical consciousness, as in any subject being taught in a learning process. Ahmed (2017) refers to this kind of happening as a clicking moment.

Well, I think it's great if one can find a way to create these moments of awakening for each student, that they can *hear the angels singing*. One needs these moments of "Wow, *now* I get it". It has a lot to do with finding these down-to-earth everyday examples. It doesn't really help speaking about gender mainstreaming, intersectionality, bases for discrimination, equality or UN conventions. Many of the students don't understand what that all means in the real world, during an average workday.

(Petra)

Finding concrete examples that the students, albeit they are adult, can relate to in their everyday life is a key issue in reaching critical consciousness, according to several of the gender trainers. This is also something Freire speaks of and that can be found in examples from his work (1973, 1996). One of the ways in finding these examples is if the students can put words on the problem [gender inequality problem] they face, and work from that angle, when learning about gender issues. One of the gender trainers speaks of this as seeing the *hallelujah moment* of the students, and that it is an opportunity to help the student to move forward from that opening [the *hallelujah moment*] in that specific learning moment.

5.4. Summary of the main results

The main results of the analysis are presented below and are related to the purpose of the study, which is how the experience of gender trainers facing resistance during teaching, and its consequences, could be beneficial for future gender training; and also to discuss how this experience could be used for a transformative pedagogy.

The ways in which resistance is manifested in workplace based gender training varies depending on *who* is in the classroom and who is *not*. It is also about matters such as how gender equality issues are perceived as important or not at the workplace by the students. Power is at the core and quite a few situations described by the gender trainers give insight into active or more subtle and passive manifestations of resistance; of students not listening or becoming angry, outspoken and jeopardizing entire training sessions. The topics described as triggers of resistance faced by the gender trainers are the same in all groups, inconsiderate of how long time the gender trainers have been working, or what kind of organisation they represent. The most common issues are gender *per se*, gender equality, the question of power and structure in relation to gender, and when the spotlight is *on the norm* rather than on the subordinate. Also, the result is the same whether the gender trainers have previously met me, or not. As one trigger issue is discussed, the entire group has been nodding in recognition and the discussion has often included satirical comments, interpreted here as a way of showing just *how* tired the gender trainers are of the resistance.

The gender trainers speak of trigger issues, both the direct topics such as issues of parental leave or political representation, but also of triggers of resistance because the gender trainers are women or that the work adds on to an already full calendar and other similar examples. This result is important to bear in mind when planning future workplace based training. The most surprising result is that no matter which topic is discussed it evokes resistance. The trigger issues are catapults for resistance but also catapults for changed tuition and how different topics can be addressed in the classroom, where power relations are at centre.

The emotions expressed by the gender trainers of facing resistance are similar in all groups and all participants express variants of the same kind of emotions. All emotions expressed are interpreted as emotions of negative feelings, as opposed to positive feelings, apart from the emotion expressed of *fun*. Amongst the results found, one is that the resistance does indeed affect the gender trainers in several ways, and also creates

consequences for future gender training. The resistance leaves active trails of emotions and feelings amongst the gender trainers.

The snapping of the gender trainers occurs in different ways and, after facing years of low-intensity resistance in the classroom, feel tired and on their own. They snap when they are faced with extraordinary aggressive resistance in the classroom, such as shouting or a complete *meltdown* where the entire training session is jeopardised.

Almost all gender trainers in all groups discussed how the notion of resistance in the tuition situation change their ways of addressing certain topics, such as power imbalance or men's violence toward women. Several of the gender trainers refer to the importance of not losing sight of the power dimension in the topic, despite the fact that questions get addressed in a less provocative way.

The experience amongst the gender trainers reveal a few alternative ways of pedagogically addressing gender equality and approaches in gender training that might lead to a transformative pedagogy within adult education. Being two gender trainers at training sessions when possible, leaving responsibility for learning with the adult students, and to engage the students during moments of opposition, are a few examples of how the gender trainers have changed their approach.

The moments described in the data where the gender trainers sense conscientização amongst the pupils *or* themselves are not easily found, both because there are not many of these moments but also because they are not spelt out. Some moments though, are sensed as transformative. These include the importance of a process-oriented learning taking place over a period of time, enabling the student to reach critical consciousness, and the necessity of a deeper understanding amongst the students in order for a change to take place was made apparent.

6. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study has been to find out how experience of resistance faced amongst gender trainers could benefit future gender training, and to discuss how this resistance could be used in a transformative pedagogy. Let me open up the discussion with some reflections in search of a transformative pedagogy, before moving on to discuss the results in relation to the purpose and questions asked in this paper.

The silence surrounding resistance, amongst others due to the Swedish dominant discourse of success-story surrounding the area of gender equality (Alnebratt & Rönnblom, 2016) seems to hinder a discussion of how this resistance could be used as a transformative agent within gender training and how one could learn from teachers' experience of facing resistance to change. The theoretical approach of searching for trigger issues and snaps linked to an understanding of the potential of anger (Ahmed, 2007, 2017; Wahl et al., 2008) has been rewarding, in the light of this Swedish dominant discourse. I believe this understanding has indeed given insight into consequences of resistance faced in gender training. The understanding of power (Foucault, 1980) has helped throughout the analysis by displaying the shifting power relations taking place in the classroom of this workplace based training.

An option considered for studying resistance would be to identify different types of resistance and how different consequences can be found through this approach. This approach has been done regarding questions of close proximity, although not focusing on teaching, but rather implementation of gender mainstreaming and change within organisations (Amundsdotter, 2010, 2015; Callerstig & Lindholm, 2011; Lombardo & Mergaert 2013) I have drawn attention to these results and seen a need for a different approach within the pedagogical realm.

The methodology used has been a way of creating interaction and a learning process during the group itself, *living transformative pedagogy* whilst searching for it. In the same way as resistance experienced by gender trainers is studied in this paper in order to search for a transformative practice, the focus group itself is seen as a platform for a transformative practice. Ahmed (2017) and Freire (1973, 1996) would both be thrilled with this, since their similar viewpoint on teaching and learning is of process-oriented character and working together towards conscientização. Rönnblom (2011) might have added questions to the groups related directly to the Swedish rhetoric on gender equality politics. This could have opened up to more complex discussions amongst the groups

regarding the gender trainers and their work. Several of the informants reflected upon the conversation as a learning moment, giving a rare opportunity to reflect upon their own work amongst colleagues. This response, in my eyes, is evidence of the methods vitality.

The results presented in this study address questions from a new angle within the field. Using Freire's theory on critical consciousness through the term *conscientização* and Ahmed's term *snap*, the study focuses on the resistance experienced during *teaching itself* and its consequences for future gender training, compared to a focus on issues of resistance and change in organisations, such as the studies of Amundsdotter et al. (2015), Lombardo & Mergaert (2013) and/or resistance toward implementation of gender mainstreaming, such as Callerstig & Lindholm (2011) and Heikkilä (2013). This opens up a new way of looking upon how gender training could become transformative and, as Freire might reflect, how *conscientização* amongst the students in gender training at national, - regional, - and local government bodies could be part of changing society in a gender equal direction. I would argue though that this is not enough. Viewing the results of this study in relation to the dominant discourse of Swedish gender equality politics, indicates the need for something more.

Freire argues that teachers that have attempted to teach democracy while dismissing "participation in the exercise of power as "absurd and immoral"", as non-functioning. On the contrary, participation is necessary alongside teaching. Alongside any struggle for freedom and emancipation from oppressive power systems, it is necessary to work in practice as well as *at the desk*. Rönnblom (2011) would remind us of the importance of the political struggle and that political decision-making is an important arena where changes can take place. In the neo-liberal management mentality of today, this political power can be hard to find though, and gender equality politics is also part of a depoliticized politics, as Rönnblom puts it.

The gender trainers work with the goals of the Swedish gender equality politics and within the Swedish context and rhetoric of gender equality. The gender trainers in this study are all perceived as women and are positioned in power relations and society/political space. They are caught in between the political ambitions and the reality of teaching about power issues as subordinate. It is crucial to see the results in relation to their surrounding organisations, society and power displayed within and outside the classroom. Two or twenty gender trainers, no matter how skilled they are at teaching, cannot alone be the bearers of overthrowing a gendered power structure.

One surprising result is the fact that no matter which topics were addressed during the workplace based gender training, they were perceived as trigger issues by the gender trainers. The result implies there is *not* consensus, on the contrary, there *is* conflict within the Swedish success-story and it might be more complicated than what it is set out to be. One conclusion is that the most problematic consequence is that the adult students in power positions undermine the gender training through manifestations of power, leading to a probability of power issues not being addressed in the classroom. Even though I have been working in the field for more than fifteen years, I was surprised *all* topics were triggers for resistance.

I would also like to discuss how the experience of resistance affects the gender trainers and their future pedagogical standpoints. The gender trainers speak of snapping in a subdued and more subtle way than I understand Ahmed's (2017) thoughts on snapping. The gender trainers describe entering the classroom, making numerous decisions on what kind of knowledge and training sessions can be performed, depending on the power positions present. They snap when they are faced with extraordinary aggressive resistance in the classroom, and when high power-positions in their own organisations come crashing down on them. Power is displayed and the male privilege is guarded, despite consequences for both the teachers and the aim of the training. I think the snapping is necessary and reinforces the idea that the more resistance you stir up as a gender trainer, the closer you are to transformative gender training, closer to the core, the real problem, closer to exposing the norm and exposing layers of power. This conclusion confirms the potential of anger as transformative.

The experience amongst the gender trainers on alternative ways of pedagogically addressing gender equality consists of different strategies to *avoid chaos* and *total meltdown*, enabling the training to take place. Almost all gender trainers in all groups discussed how the notion of resistance in the tuition situation change their ways of addressing certain topics, such as power imbalance or men's violence toward women.

What are the consequences of this in a wider perspective? Several of the gender trainers refer to the importance of not losing sight of the power dimension in the topic, despite the fact that questions get addressed in a less provocative way. One example found by Lombardo and Mergaert (2013) is about this precise choice to speak or not to speak about power structures during a teaching situation, depending on the intensity of resistance toward the gender training. These results are important in relation to the

Swedish rhetoric on gender equality and its success-story, and that *knowledge* is the way to create the gender equal Sweden.

If the gender equality work at national, regional, local level partly has been based on gender training, and the gender trainers are faced with so much resistance, apart from limited, to say the least, work resources, how is a transformative pedagogy possible? Is Freire's conscientização a possible way forward despite these doubts, or does gender equality work need to consist of more than gender training? Freire would, as Ahmed, argue for gender training as well as neighbourhood action, workplace based and school based organisations where activists change and/or disrupt the power imbalance and create change with the help of learned critical consciousness.

As with the problem presented for this paper, I would like to ask the reader to relate back to the dominant discourse of Swedish gender equality presented in the opening chapter and the problem of *not* addressing resistance to gender training. This would demand that there is a problem presented, as Rönnblom would see it. This is a crucial point I wish to make here. If no problem is presented because of a Swedish dominant discourse of success-story surrounding the area of gender equality, how come the students show so much resistance? And if there is no problem presented, how come the gender trainers get angry? The *F's* and *Killjoys* in this study are all surviving the consequences of what they come up against by finding strategies to work around what they come up against, I would say, inspired by Ahmed's thoughts on feminism (2017). This, I would argue, is transferrable knowledge into other areas of adult education, be it workplace based or of other kind.

Most teaching is related to dominant discourses where multiple layers of power is acted out (Kumashiro, 2009). If the tuition can focus on the problem and teachers and students working side-by-side, as some of the gender trainers had succeeded in doing with transformative results, some interesting change could take place. Kumashiro's *crisis* in the classroom and working *through* the crisis can be seen as a way forward and focusing on the problem itself (Kumashiro, 2009). I would say it is the dominant discourse on *how* to create a gender equal society that blurs our sight of how we can change in a transformative direction. Gender mainstreaming *per se* leaves very little option for a gender trainer since the strategy is *the* decided way to teach, learn and reach gender equality. There is very little room for transformative pedagogy such as the anti-oppressive processes Kumashiro (2009) discusses.

The power positions between the teacher and the adult students are of absolute significance, and the data reveals many situations of the female teacher as the subordinate, addressing the power structure and its consequences, within the dominant power structure represented in the classroom (Pleasants, 2011; Falter, 2016; Amundsdotter et al., 2015). This manifests how power hierarchies are linked to gender in this workplace based setting and one consequence is the exposed position of the gender trainers being involved in relations of power and resistance. Pleasants (2011) results head in the same direction, although comparison is not entirely obvious since the results of Pleasants are addressed from the students' point of view alone, the adult male students. Falter and Pleasants speak of the subordinated teacher and how this is manifested during training. At the same time, the position of the teacher as the person in power in the classroom cannot be ruled out, despite gender or other subordinating categories.

How the emotions of the gender trainers are expressed, is here concrete and related to the exact tutorial activity, giving an insight into the reality of gender trainers and their teaching job. Interestingly, the emotions presented in the work by Wahl et al. (2008) are similar to these results, although the setting of Wahl et al. is somewhat different compared to this setting. Could it be that the setting is irrelevant whereas the topic itself, the trigger, is at the core? I would say, yes. The topic reveals the power structure, the oppression, the potential transformation and this is why I argue, the topic must be addressed in a different way. If the topic is addressed *liberated* from the Swedish dominant discourse of success-story, the oppression becomes more clear, enabling conscientização. I also sense this understanding amongst the gender trainers in this study. I believe this is a transferrable knowledge into other areas of adult education when addressing classicism, racism, sexism.

A process-oriented learning taking place over a period of time, enabling the student to reach critical consciousness, as well as teachers and students working side-by-side, are two conclusions of this study, of ways of working in a transformative way. The work of Freire (1973, 1994/2014), Kalonaitytė (2014) and Kumashiro's (2009) all point in this very same direction. Reflecting on my own experience, I can only agree with these conclusions. The gender training courses where I have had a favourable setting and working side-by-side, as Freire would ask for, have been the teaching moments where I have sensed conscientização clearly. Another conclusion in this paper is that

there is not *one* way of creating a transformative learning moment, but several, as Amundsdotter et al. (2015) and Kumashiro (2009) also have found.

I *do* believe gender training can be part of changing society, but not gender training alone. The political and activist movement is crucial, I would say, as part of a struggle for a gender equal society. The example of #metoo clearly shows an activist movement and its potential of creating change.

The teacher's interface with the adult student is an area of interest for further studies. This has become clear, especially after analysing the data in this study. This is of interest, not only to develop a better understanding of the demands on adult education but also since a higher demand for adult education has developed in Sweden, partly due to recent migration patterns in Europe.

One result of great concern points at how power positions manifested in the classroom lead to a changed content and it would be interesting to see further studies on this specific issue but also on consequences of addressing power relations linked to other topics and what they look like.

The specific relation between subordinated teachers and adult students in power positions would be interesting to gain new knowledge around, and specific detail could be given to teaching where addressing prevailing manifestations of power and questioning dominant discourses is present, as in this study.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, Sara (2004). Collective feelings: Or, The Impressions Left by Others. *Theory, Culture & Society* 21(2), 25-42.
- Ahmed, Sara (2007). 'You end up doing the documents rather than doing the doing': Diversity, race equality and the politics of documentation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (4), 590-609.
- Ahmed, Sara (2014). *The cultural politics of emotion*. (2nd ed.) Edinburgh: University Press.
- Ahmed, Sara (2017). *Living a feminist life*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Alnebratt, Kerstin & Rönnblom, Malin (2016). *Feminism som byråkrati*. Stockholm: Leopold förlag.
- Amundsdotter, Eva (2010). *Att framkalla och förändra ordningen: aktionsorienterad genusforskning för jämställda organisationer*. Luleå: Luleå Tekniska Universitet
- Amundsdotter, Eva; Ericson, Mathias; Jansson, Ulrika & Linghag, Sophie (2015). *Motstånd och strategier i jämställdhetsarbete*. Karlstads universitet: Karlstad University Press.
- Amundsdotter, Eva; Ericson, Mathias; Jansson, Ulrika & Linghag, Sophie (2016) I och med motstånd. Förändringsaktörers handlingsutrymme och strategier i jämställdhets- och mångfaldsarbete. *Tidskrift för genusvetenskap* 37 (3) 9-28.
- Apple, Michael W (2013). *Can education change society?* New York & London: Routledge.
- Bacchi, Carol (2009). *Analysing Policy: What's the problem represented to be?*. Pearson Education.
- Beckman, Mary (1990). Classroom methods mirroring workplace values: pedagogy of the oppressed, feminist pedagogy and writing across the curriculum. *Review of radical political economics*, 22 (2-3), 139-157.
- Borgström, Lena & Gougoulakis Peter red. (2006). *Vuxenantologin. En grundbok om vuxnas lärande*. Stockholm: Atlas.
- Bryman, Alan (2008). *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*. Malmö: Liber.
- Callerstig, Anne-Charlott & Lindholm, Kristina (2011). Det motsägelsefulla arbetet med jämställdhetsintegrering. *Tidskrift för genusvetenskap*, 2(3), 78-96.
- Cohen Louis, Manion Lawrence, & Morrison Keith (2011). *Research methods in education*. (7th ed.) Abingdon: Routledge.
- Dahlin-Ivanoff Synneve & Holmgren Kristina (2017). *Fokusgrupper*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Esseveld, Johanna (2008). Reflexivitet, kvalitativ forskning och samhällsvetenskap in Sjöberg, Katarina & Wästerfors, David (ed). *Uppdrag forskning: konsten att genomföra kvalitativa studier* (p. 184-214). Malmö: Liber.

- Falter, Michelle M. (2016). Threatening the patriarchy: teaching as performance. *Gender and Education*, 28 (1) 20-36.
- Fejes, Andreas & Nylander, Erik (2015). How pluralistic is the research field on adult education? Dominating bibliometrical trends, 2005-2012. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 6(2) 103-123.
- Fejes, Andreas (2017). "Adult education research – what is it?" Higher Seminar 14th November 2017, RePESE - Research Platform for Education and Special Education, Malmö University.
- Foucault, Michel (1980). *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. Gordon, Colin (ed). Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Freire, Paulo (1973). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York: The Seabury Press. (Original work published 1969)
- Freire, Paulo (1996). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin Books. (Original work published in 1970)
- Freire, Paulo (1994/2014). *Pedagogy of Hope*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Jämställdhetsintegrering i staten (2017). Göteborgs universitet. Attained 2017-01-09 from <http://www.jamiprogram.se>
- Hartman, J. (2004) *Vetenskapligt tänkande. Från kunskapsteori till metodteori*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Hedin, Anna & Svensson, Lennart (ed.) (2011) *Nycklar till kunskap. Om motivation, handling och förståelse i vuxenutbildning*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Heikkilä, Mia (2013). Challenges and areas of interest when developing gender mainstreaming teaching. *He Kupu, The Word*, 3(3) 75-88.
- hooks, bell (2000). *Feminist theory: from margin to centre*. London: Pluto Press.
- Iddings, Ana Christina; McCafferty, Steven G.; Da Silva, Maria Lucia Teixeira (2011). Conscientização Through Graffiti Literacies in the Streets of a São Paulo Neighborhood: An Ecosocial Semiotic Perspective. *Reading Research Quarterly*. Jan-Mar 2011, Vol. 46 Issue 1, p5-21. 17p. Database: Education Research Complete.
- Joseph, Trunette; Gouws, Amanda & Parpait, Jane (2011). A transformative approach to gender mainstreaming: changing the deep structure of organisations. *Kvinder, kön og forskning*, 20(1) 7-21.
- Jowett, Madeleine & O'Toole, Gill (2006). Focusing Researchers' Minds: Contrasting experiences of using focus groups in feminist qualitative research. I: *Qualitative Research* 6: 453-472.
- Kalonaityté, Viktorija (2014). *Normkritisk pedagogik – för den högre utbildningen*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Kumashiro, Kevin K. (2000). Toward a theory of anti-oppressive education. I: *Review of educational research* 70(1) 25-53.

- Kumashiro, Kevin K. (2009) *Against common sense. Teaching and Learning Toward Social Justice.*(2nd ed.) New York & London: Routledge
- Lenz Taguchi, Hillevi. (2004) *In på bara benet. En introduktion till feministisk poststrukturalism.* Stockholm: HLS Förlag.
- Lilja, Mona & Vinthagen, Stellan (2009) red. *Motstånd.* Malmö: Liber.
- Lombardo, Emanuela. & Mergaert, Lut (2013). Gender mainstreaming and resistance to gender training: a framework for studying implementation. *Nora*, 21(4) 296-311.
- Lorde, Audre (1984). *Sister Outsider. Essays and Speeches.* New York: Crossing Press
- Pincus, Ingrid (2002) *The Politics of Gender Equality Policy. A study of implementation and non-implementation in three Swedish municipalities.* Örebro: Örebro University.
- Pleasants, Robert K. (2011) Men learning feminism: protecting privileges through discourses of resistance. *Men and Masculinities* 14(2) 230-250.
- Prop. 1993/94:147. *Jämställdhetspolitiken: delad makt – delat ansvar.* Stockholm: Fritzes Offentliga Publikationer.
- Prop. 2005/06:155. *Makt att forma samhället och sitt eget liv. Nya mål i jämställdhetspolitiken.* Stockholm: Fritzes Offentliga Publikationer.
- Delmål 6 om mäns våld mot kvinnor. Regeringen (2017). Attained 2017-11-09, from <http://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2017/05/delmål-6-mans-vald-mot-kvinnor-ska-upphora/>
- Rönblom, Malin (2011) Vad är problemet? Konstruktioner av jämställdhet i svensk politik. *Tidskrift för Genusvetenskap*, 2(3) 33-55.
- Skr 2016/17:10 *Makt, mål och myndighet – feministisk politik för en jämställd framtid.* Stockholm: Fritzes Offentliga Publikationer.
- Smith, William A. (1976) *The meaning of conscientização: the goal of Paulo Freire's pedagogy.* Center for international education, University of Massachusetts.
- SOU 2015:86 *Mål och myndighet – en effektiv styrning av jämställdhetspolitiken.* Stockholm: Fritzes Offentliga Publikationer. Tillgänglig: <http://www.regeringen.se/rattsdokument/statens-offentliga-utredningar/2015/10/sou-201586/>
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1988) Can the subaltern speak? In Morris, Rosalind C. (2010) *Can the Subaltern speak? – Reflections on the history of an idea.* Columbia University Press.
- Svensson, Lennart & Åberg, Carina (2001). *E-learning och arbetsplatslärande – en revolution av vuxenutbildningen?* Stockholm: Bilda Förlag.
- Program för hållbar jämställdhet* (2017). Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting. Attained 2017-01-09, from <https://skl.se/demokratiledningstyrning/manskligarattigheterjamstallldhet/jamstallldhet/jamstallldverksamhet/programforhallbarjamstallldhet.5860.html>
- Torres, Rosa Maria (2004) *Lifelong learning in the South: Critical issues and opportunities for adult education.* Stockholm: Sida Studies no 11.

Yang Chia-Ling (2016). Encounters between the “oppressed” and the “oppressor”: rethinking Paulo Freire in anti-racist feminist education in Sweden. *Race, ethnicity and Education*, 19 (4) 835-855.

Vetenskapsrådet (2011). *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning*. Vetenskapsrådets rapportserie: Stockholm.

Wahl, Anna (ed) (2008). *Motstånd och fantasi. Historien om F. Pozkal*: Studentlitteratur.

Weiner, Gaby & Berge, Britt-Marie (2001) *Kön och kunskap*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Wernersson, Inga (2006). *Genusperspektiv på pedagogik*. Stockholm: Höskoleverket

Wibeck, Victoria (2010). *Fokusgrupper. Om fokuserade gruppintervjuer som metod*. Lund: Studentlitteratur

APPENDIX

1. Invitation focus group II

INBJUDAN 2017-xx-xx

Till fokusgrupp xxx.

Hej

Mitt namn är Helene Brewer och jag skriver till dig för att höra mig för om dina möjligheter att delta i en fokusgrupp om lärandeprocesser och motstånd. Jag skriver en masteruppsats vid Fakulteten för Lärande och Samhälle på Malmö Högskola i år, och den beräknas vara klar januari-18. Efter många år som ”jämställdhetsintegrerare” själv, har jag nu fått möjlighet att fördjupa mig i ett av flera intressanta områden kring lärande och motstånd.

Syfte

Uppsatsen rör frågor om lärandeprocesser och motstånd, och studiens syfte är att undersöka erfarenheter och lärdomar hos ”jämställdhetsintegrerare” (gender trainers) av motstånd till jämställdhet och jämställdhetsintegrering vid undervisningstillfällen, samt undersöka hur dessa erfarenheter skulle kunna användas i en förändrande (transformerande) praktik.

Jag undrar därför helt enkelt om du skulle kunna tänka dig att delta i en av tre fokusgrupper som kommer att genomföras under året? Jag bjuder in dig till den fokusgrupp som kommer att äga rum i xxx den xx .

Vad är en fokusgrupp?

Fokusgrupper används vid kvalitativa studier och är ett samtal kring ett specifikt tema, där samtalet präglas av en grupps möjlighet att föra fram kunskap och erfarenheter om ett ämne som kanske inte alltid lyfts fram. Det ger möjligheter att samla in data som är svårfångat vid enkäter. Det är också en metod som kan skapa ett lärande bland deltagarna under själva fokusgruppen. Samtalsledarens roll är bland annat att se till att deltagarna känner sig trygga och bekväma, och att alla kan delta i samtalet på ett aktivt och inkluderande sätt. Fokusgruppen avslutas med en möjlighet

för deltagarna att reflektera tillsammans över själva samtalet.

Varje fokusgrupp består av tre till fem personer. De personer som tillfrågas att medverka i denna studie är tjänstemän som i sina uppdrag arbetar eller har arbetat med någon form av undervisning/utbildning om jämställdhet och jämställdhetsintegrering. Samtliga tillfrågade har arbetat med frågor kring jämställdhet och har erfarenhet av att leda och planera utbildningar och undervisning om frågorna. Fokusgruppen träffas under min ledning och har ett öppet samtal kring några teman och centrala frågor. En dryg vecka innan vi träffas kommer du att få ytterligare information om de teman som kommer att lyftas under fokusgruppen.

Praktiskt

Fokusgruppen kommer att äga rum xxx.

Jag kommer att ordna ett rum i anslutning till xxx.

Praktiska detaljer om plats kommer att skickas ut veckan innan.

Fokusgruppens samtal spelas in, transkriberas och översätts därefter till engelska.

Materialet används sedan för analys till att besvara studiens syfte och frågeställningar.

Full anonymitet garanteras och innan fokusgruppen börjar kommer du att få ytterligare information om detta, samt om dina självklara möjligheter till att avbryta medverkan om du önskar det.

För att meddela mig om din medverkan är jag tacksam om du hör av dig, gärna så snart som möjligt, dock senast xxx. Kontaktuppgifter finner du nedan.

Om du har några frågor om uppsatsens syfte och frågeställningar, praktiska funderingar eller bara vill veta mer tveka inte att kontakta mig.

Kontaktuppgifter xxx

Med hopp om att du ska tycka ett deltagande kan vara spännande och av intresse för dig, hoppas jag du har möjlighet att delta.

Vänliga hälsningar, Helene Brewer

2. Guide for focus groups

Guide till fokusgrupp no 1/3

Äger rum XXX

Plats: XXX

Rumsligt arrangemang: ordna vatten/dryck, tekniken på central plats för ljudupptag. Möblera så att alla har ögonkontakt med varandra.

Planerad gruppstorlek: fem personer. En triad undviks, samtidigt som subgrupper kan undvikas genom att inte överstiga sex till antalet (Wibeck 2010, s 62)

Några dagar innan fokusgruppen äger rum skickas ett brev ut med en kort information om de tre subteman som kommer att behandlas, samt praktiska detaljer. Detta görs dels för att deltagarna skall känna sig välinformerade, men det görs även för att minimera risken för återbud genom att skapa nyfikenhet inför träffen.

Preliminärt tidsschema

1. Introduktion

10 min

- Möt upp, välkommen o presentation
- Vem är jag, masteruppsats, MAH...
- Informerat samtycke samt inspelning (har informerats om tidigare också)
- Om fokusgrupper samt gruppledarens roll: att lyssna på samtalet och att föra in nya frågor i den mån det behövs. Syftet är inte att kontrollera deltagarnas kunskaper och få fram rätta eller felaktiga svar.

2. Temat

5 min

Syfte samt kort introduktion till temat

3. Fokusgrupp

75 min

Nyckelfrågor ska påbörjas innan halva tiden gått.

4. Avrundning av samtalet

15 min

Reflektion, frågor o funderingar

5. Tack!

5 min

110 min + 10 min marginal om totalt 120 min.

Frågeguide till fokusgrupp I

Instruktion/kom ihåg/förklaring till samtalsledaren i standardtext.
Formulerade frågor i kursiverad stil.

Kom ihåg:

- Använd t ex: *Vad säger/tycker/anser du om det här?* till den som har svårt att göra sin röst hörd.
- Låt samtalet flöda fritt
- Gruppen kommer att ta ansvar

Syfte med studien

Uppsatsen rör frågor om lärandeprocesser och motstånd, och studiens syfte är att undersöka erfarenheter och lärdomar hos ”jämställdhetsintegrerare” (gender trainers) av motstånd till jämställdhet och jämställdhetsintegrering vid undervisningstillfällena, samt undersöka hur dessa erfarenheter skulle kunna användas i en förändrande (transformerande) praktik.

Studiens frågeställningar

- Which specific kinds of topics within gender training are triggers for resistance?
- What is the learned experience amongst the gender trainers on successful/different ways of addressing resistance and trigger issues?
- Which approaches/praxis in gender training, according to the gender trainers, could lead to a transformative pedagogy?

Öppningsfrågor

Alla kan svara på dessa, ett slags faktafrågor

Berätta om hur länge ni varit verksamma inom fältet, vilken roll ni haft.
Vilken typ av undervisning har ni bedrivit?

Introduktionsfrågor

Ämnesöppnande, ingång till reflekterande tankar

Berätta om en undervisningssituation när du inte tyckte att du nådde fram, när det inte blev som du tänkte.

Kan det du upplevde beskrivas som motstånd?

Berätta om en undervisningssituation du själv upplevt eller som du varit med om där du upplevt motstånd.

Vilka typer av frågeställningar och teman i undervisning om jämställdhet skapar mer eller mindre motstånd – hur är era upplevelser kring detta?

Beroende på hur undervisningen är upplagd – hur manifesterar sig ett motstånd? Hur ser olika typer av motstånd ut?

Nyckelfrågor

Frågor som skall komma med, även om deltagarna själva inte styrt samtalet dithän.

Vad tänker ni på när ni hör ordet motstånd?

Vad tänker ni på när ett motstånd äger rum?

Vad tänker ni på när ni väljer strategier hur ni hanterar motstånd?

Vad tänker ni på när ni planerar undervisning i relation till motstånd?

Vilka är era ”framgångsrecept” i själva mötet med motstånd, i undervisningssituationer?

Hur hanterar ni motståndet över tid?

Finns det specifika situationer av motstånd som dröjt sig kvar hos er som ni vill dela med er av? Hur gestaltar sig kvardröjandet? Konsekvenser för kommande undervisning, tankar, kroppen?

Slutfråga

Avrunda lugnt och metodiskt. ”Stäng rummet”.

Alla kan svara på den sista frågan, se det som en runda.

Är det någon som vill tillägga någonting?

Hur upplever ni samtalet?