

# The Sound of Silence! Absences and Presences in the Field of Gender and Education<sup>1</sup>

Elisabet Öhrn, University College of Borås, Sweden  
Gaby Weiner, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

*Absence as a concept is used in this paper to explore what is (made) silent at different times and contexts in discourses and analyses of change in the field of gender and education. We focus on three aspects: specific research settings (Britain and the Nordic countries); specific periods of research activity (1970s and 1980s, and 1990s onwards), and a range of different themes which include masculinities and boys as gendered; researching the other, place of action in generating gender change, and predominance of Anglophone voices. Our focus on absence is here used as a rhetorical device to include presence, and the configuration of power and knowledge which constitutes the field that we have come to know as gender and education. We hope to show that different themes and emphases emerge in different (national) settings and at different periods which have implications for the field of gender and education, how we interpret gender change and also in terms of comparative research. The paper is one outcome of a research project on gender and change in educational policy and practice, carried out between 2002 and 2006 and funded by the Swedish Research Council.*

## Background

This paper has its origins in a national research programme entitled Changing Sex/Gender Patterns in Sweden – Policies, Perspectives and Practices, involving four universities/university colleges. The programme includes the production of four doctoral theses, each based on a qualitative study, i.e. *Pupil masculinities and femininities in secondary school* (Ann-Sofie Holm<sup>3</sup>, University College of Borås), *Gender and ethnicity in reading-books* (Angerd Eilard<sup>4</sup>, University College of Malmö), *Gender and teacher professionalism* (Maria Hjalmarsson<sup>5</sup>, Göteborg University) and *Pre-school educational gender policy-making in Sweden and Scotland* (Charlotta Edström<sup>6</sup>, Umeå University). The project team has also carried out two national questionnaire studies of the perceptions of teachers and secondary pupils towards gender policy and practice.

---

<sup>1</sup> Paper presented at the Gender and Education Association Conference, Dublin, Ireland, 28-30 March 2007

<sup>2</sup> Contact details of authors: Elisabet Öhrn, Borås University College, Sweden (email: elisabet.ohrn@ped.gu.se); Gaby Weiner, Edinburgh University, Scotland (email: gaby.weiner@education.ed.ac.uk)

<sup>3</sup> Holm, Ann-Sofie. (2005). "Vi killar har lite mer vid sidan om." *Didaktisk Tidskrift*, 15 (1-2), 27-39. Holm, Ann-Sofie. (2006). Teachers co-constructing pupils' gender identities. Paper presented at the Nordic Educational Research Association, Örebro March 9-11. Holm, Ann-Sofie & Öhrn, Elisabet (2007). Crossing boundaries? Complexities and drawbacks to gendered success stories. In M Carlson, F Gök, & A Rabo (Eds): *Reflections on Education in 'Multicultural' Societies. Turkish and Swedish Perspectives*. Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Tauris publishers, forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> Eilard, Angerd. (2004). Genus och etnicitet i en "läsebok" i den svenska mångetniska skolan [Gender and ethnicity in reading books used in the Swedish multiethnic school]. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*, nr 4, 241-262; Eilard, Angerd. (forthcoming) Diskursiva genus- och etnicitetskonstruktioner i en samtida läslära – ett exempel på 'kritisk intersektionell diskursanalys', to be published in *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift*.

<sup>5</sup> Hjalmarsson, Maria. (2005). *A gender perspective on teachers' views of the teaching profession?* Paper presented at the Nordic Educational Research Association, Oslo March 10-12. Hjalmarsson, Maria. (2006). *The profession of teaching through a gender perspective*. Paper presented at the Nordic Educational Research Association, Örebro March 9-11.

<sup>6</sup> Edström, C. (2005) "Is there more than just symbolic statements? - Gender Equality as part of Swedish State Educational Politics". *Tidsskrift för Lärarutbildning och Forskning [Journal of Teacher Education and Research]*, nr 3 2005, 103-130.

The paper draws on the work of the research programme as above, but also arises out of our own personal research interests.<sup>7</sup> We have long been concerned about the lack of visibility (or absence) of non-Anglophone issues in the general literature on gender and education, and what implications this has had for understanding and interpretation of (changes in) gender relations in both Anglophone and non-Anglophone countries. We are also interested in how this Anglo/non Anglophone dualism is played out in key areas of gender research. We focus on two specific periods; the 1970s/1980s, when research into gender and education emerged as a new field, and from the 1990s onwards, where there has been more emphasis on contemporary gender issues. We seek to explore the relationship between the corpus of research emerging at two different periods as above and in two different settings: Britain (especially England) and the Nordic countries (especially Sweden) where the latter historically has had to pay much more attention to the former, than the other way round. We identify four themes in particular: masculinities and boys as gendered; gender research and the 'other'; action and agency, and dominance of Anglophone voices.

In considering the concepts of silence, absence, disappearance, there is a tendency to focus on the opposite – noise or voice, presence and appearance – in order to signal the omnipresence of the powerful (Hill, 2006). So, in order to make the case for silence or absence, we necessarily and ironically are compelled to concentrate on what is evidently and hegemonically 'here'.

### Themes

We attempt in the themes identified below to show how the dominant voice is not only able to squeeze out others, but also how the field that we know as gender and education is thereby shaped and skewed.

#### *Masculinities and boys as gendered*

Studies of masculinities and boys from a gender perspective were relatively rare both in Sweden and Britain in the early period (1970s & 1980s) when the field of gender and education was being established. One reason for the creation of the field was the hitherto absence of research on the educational experiences of girls and women. It was mainly following the 'improvement' in girls' and young women's examination performance (and the relative failure of boys and young men), that masculinities and boys' underachievement came to be seen as key issues for educational researchers. Thus male performance and masculinities were developed as a strong research and policy theme in Britain in the 1990s, but in Sweden only more recently. The anxiety about and therefore focus on boys' underachievement, and how it is influenced by concepts of masculinity, may be interpreted as a 'travelling discourse' which reached the Nordic countries later than in Britain and which remains a major concern in both settings (Arnesen, Lahelma & Öhrn, 2007). Another 'travelling' discourse is the causal connection made between raised female academic

---

<sup>7</sup> For example, see Öhrn, E (2000). Changing patterns? Reflections on contemporary Swedish research and debate on gender and education. *Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*, 8 (3), 128-136. Lahelma, E & Öhrn, E. (2003). Strong Nordic women in the making? Gender policies and classroom practices. In D. Beach, T. Gordon & E. Lahelma (Eds), *Democratic Education: Ethnographic Challenges*. London: Tufnell Press and Weiner, G. (2002) Uniquely Similar or Similarly Unique? Education and Development of Teachers in Europe. *Teaching Education*, 13, 2, 273-288; Weiner, G. (2006) The Nation Strikes Back: Recent Influences on Teacher Education in Europe. *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 38, 1, 79-88.

achievement and the supposed greater flexibility and malleability of girls and young women compared to their male counterparts (Delamont, 2001).

The presentation of girls as generally successful, however, renders invisible (or absent) different female groups and individuals who are not high-achieving. Also problematic in terms of what is made visible is the recent positioning of 'ladettes' and 'wild girls' as similar to 'lads', except academically. As Jackson notes:

For boys, concerns about 'laddish' behaviours in school centre largely around raising their academic achievements and reducing disruption in class. For girls, the focus is less explicitly on raising achievement because, according to dominant education discourses, girls are 'successful'. (Jackson 2006: 355).

The emphasis on boys dominated the UK gender and education field in the 1990s to the extent that it was seen both as hampering research on girls and femininities and limiting in terms of policy-biased theoretical development. For example, Archer and Leathwood discuss this silence as follows.

Feminist academics have developed an important and detailed critique of the boys in crisis debate (e.g. Epstein et al, 1998; Francis, 2000), and it is not our intention to rehearse the debate further here. Rather, we were concerned that the overwhelming obsession with boys, men and masculinities has effectively silenced work on girls, women and femininities, and it is this situation that this special issue sets out to redress. (Archer & Leathwood, 2003:227).

In the Nordic countries, a similar decline in research on gender and schooling was noted, in particular with regard to classroom research. However, this involved a more general silence about gender research overall since Scandinavian gender research included both sexes even if it was theoretically more elaborated for girls. So the fact that gender research was less likely to be targeted at boys and masculinities in the Nordic countries meant that research on girls and women retained a stronger position, even if the overall field was weaker.

Specifically, following earlier work in both geographical settings which focused mainly on girls, the position was reversed in Britain in the 1990s with much more interest expressed in boys and masculinities and the various constraints and barriers to their academic achievement. Young men in Anglophone countries were portrayed as deprived of the 'traditional' work options available to earlier male generations which had a substantial impact on their identity formation and academic orientation (see for example, Weis, 1990). The situation for young working-class girls was less discussed. This emphasis on the problems of young men was not as marked in Sweden. Disadvantage for boys was nevertheless equated with advantage for girls; for instance, Trondman (1995) suggests that girls are advantaged in the sense that they were likely to have a brighter future due to their better (i.e. more flexible) response to 'market' demands and in relation to higher education.

### ***Gender research and the 'other'***

Gender studies in relation to the 'other' and regarding relationships between different social categories have also generated new presences and absences. For example, focus on 'urban' youth cultures and formal or informal learning has tended to render invisible girls/young women and/or students living in rural settings. Preference for urban settings for gender research, in particular due to their association with inequality, poverty, cultural diversity, low academic achievement etc. has

simultaneously created boys and young men as the principal research subjects. Likewise, interest in formal and informal urban education mainly articulates (post-industrial) fears about out-of-control males running wild in inner cities, and the role that schools have in civilising them. Young 'immigrant' men have thus been demonised by 'dominant media representations [which]... depict urban youth of color as dangerous criminals and the source of urban chaos' (Nolan & Anyon, 2004: 134). The Nordic media likewise constructs young, ethnic minority males as violent, particularly in terms of sexualised violence and against women (Bredström, 2003).

Youth researchers have drawn particular criticism for ignoring the conditions and activities of young women – and indeed, of failing to take gender into account in their analysis of young men's construction of masculinity (Phoenix, 1997). The concept of citizenship also drew criticism as strongly gendered in terms of its historical association with white men (and property) (Gordon, ??).. Shifting and blurred gender patterns were also noted in how young people use space. For example, Jackson (2006: 357) found that young females are now as likely as their male counterparts to enter 'traditional' male areas such as the street and other public spaces while girls' central positioning in the home is under threat due the increasing home use of computers by boys and their gradual colonisation of domestic space (see McNamee, 1998, in Jackson: 358).

The consideration of social factors other than gender has also differed according to period and research setting. In Sweden, theoretical and analytic frameworks fusing gender, class and ethnicity were rarely developed until the 1990s; rather emphasis was placed on gender alone, perhaps including class but very rarely, ethnicity. In Britain greater interest was expressed, from the 1970s onwards in the relationship between gender and class and recently, gender and race/ethnicity (e.g. Hey, 1997; Mac an Ghail, 1994). Also, it seems easier to combine social categories such as gender and class in autobiographical and narrative research. In recent Nordic studies, 'location' (rather than class or ethnicity) has become an important signifier of future academic achievement (e.g. Arnesen, 2002; Gitz-Johansen, 2003; Öhrn, 2005) Thus, teachers refer to school students as 'typical' or 'atypical' of certain (racialised and classed) neighbourhoods rather than as specifically or typically 'immigrant', 'minority' or 'working-class'.

Criticism of UK gender and social class analysis in the 1990s concentrated on the perceived lack of validity or usefulness of grand or universal theories that "championed" social class (Archer & Leathwood, 2003: 228). Nevertheless, the focus on social class remains a means of addressing enduring social and economic inequalities, with feminist scholars such as Diane Reay, Beverley Skeggs, Jacky Brine and Valerie Walkerdine continuing to develop influential theoretical perspectives. For example, while claiming a retreat from direct consideration of class within academic spaces, Skeggs (2004) argues for the need to "reinvigorate class analysis" (p 186) and notes the 'resurgence of interest in class in feminist theory, queer theory, geography, media studies, history, and in some parts of sociology' (p 47). Walkerdine (2003: 239) likewise suggests the need of a class analysis in relation to understanding subjectivities 'because the exploitation and oppression which class politics signals, though changed, has not ceased and no other political discourse has emerged to explain or mobilise around these issues...'. Meanwhile Ball (2003: 5) asserts that contemporary research on social class takes three main forms, first "class theory, [second] the attempt to define classes theoretically, and [third] recently to incorporate race and gender within such definitions....'

The latter form is evident in recent research on gender in Sweden which strongly emphasises the use theoretically of 'intersectionality' (Molinari, De los Reyes etc.). Here it is argued that

social class needs to be understood in relation to ethnicity and 'race', as these all become increasingly relevant to contemporary Europe:

Within this new principle of urban organisation, the forms of socio-economic integration can no longer be understood solely in terms of class. More and more, class tends to be combined with ethnicity. This can be seen in France where debates over the poor suburbs and the efficacy of urban policy are systematically linked to the presence of immigrants of North African origin and their social and economic problems. (Cesari, 2005:1016)

A recent upsurge in interest in the middle classes has been noted (Ball, 2003) although there has been relatively little conceptual work on middle-class practices. An exception is the French sociologist of education Agnes van Zanten (2005) who identifies different meanings of globalisation for education (in terms of greater international interdependence and supranational integration) which affect different sections of the middle-class: For example, she suggests that entrepreneurs, managers and professionals with an international orientation have better educational opportunities than those whose training, activity and networks are more nation-dependent, as in the case of public-sector professionals such as teachers and nurses.

The utilisation of the concept of social class differs between European countries, however. In Sweden, for instance, social class is rarely used in everyday discourse since workers do not see themselves as belonging to a specific class (Ahrne, Ekerwald & Leiulfstrud, 1985). However there was a dramatic rise in working class identity in the 1990s (Cigéhn, Johansson & Karlsson, 2001:126) following a period of economic restructuring involving reductions to the welfare state, raised unemployment and a widening gap between rich and poor (Bunar & Trondman, 2001). We are not sure, however, that class identity inevitably sharpens at times of economic retrenchment or if similar trends regarding perception of social class are discernible in Europe more widely. Ironically, increased interest in the relationship between gender and class/ethnicity may have contributed to greater emphasis on boys and men in Nordic educational discourses, since issues of gender are generally associated with girls and women, and issues of class and ethnicity, with boys and men (Öhrn, 2002).

### ***Action and agency***

The place of action in generating gender change to improve the conditions of girls and women was much emphasised by second-wave feminism and in the early development of the gender and education field. This emphasis is less evident recently in what might be termed the post-structural turn of third-wave feminism or what Sue Clegg (2006: 310) calls the 'retreat into theoreticism'. Clegg proposes that a 'critical realist approach' perhaps might be more useful.

The essence of critical realism lies in its rejection of crude realism, including the idea of a *unified* human subject, and against idealism. At the ontological level critical realism entails the view that the world has depth and that the real cannot be reduced simply to experience, including of course the simple experience of the subject...The real includes mechanisms, events and experiences (Clegg, 2006: 316)

In other words, 'real' actions are as important as words! Earlier, gender researchers regarded themselves as activists as well as researchers. More recently, due to the combination of greater attention to gender theory (as above) and the demands of performance culture and new public management within universities, gender researchers are more likely to view themselves

as having specific scholarly expertise in a legitimate disciplinary field, rather than as change agents.

In both geographical settings though perhaps to different degrees, the locus of action seems to have shifted - from *feminists* arguing for better conditions for girls and women to *male* researchers promoting the interests of boys and young men (often state-sponsored via policy-makers, politicians and municipalities). In the 1970s/80s British action focused on girls improving their exam scores, taking up male dominated subjects, and gaining access to 'male' careers and professions. However, once examination patterns started to favour girls (in the late 1980s, following the introduction of a national curriculum), action shifted to exploring the reasons for boys' and young men's relative academic failure. In Sweden emphasis until recently was placed on improving the conditions of girls in schools, getting more girls and women into male-dominated subjects and occupations, and recognising the impact of the hidden curriculum on girls and women more widely. Currently, however, funding for gender research in Sweden is primarily oriented towards raising boys' achievement and improving their anti-academic and antisocial behaviour. Meanwhile in both countries, younger feminists have developed new 'pro-feminist' or 'post-feminist' activist agendas. For example, the university-based Warwick Anti-Sexism Society (WASS) established in 2004, has as its main aims to campaign against sexism, and to develop a new language of action more suited to 'post' feminist times (Lambert & Parker, 2006).

Trying hard to create coherence amidst the 'ruins' of feminism, WASS members have worked hard to distance themselves from (their own and others') negative perceptions of 'loony raving feminists', while establishing a meaningful collective identity around anti-sexism, and developing an understanding of feminism as being relevant to their lives (Lambert & Parker, 2006: 474)

A combination of traditional and new forms of feminist protest and awareness-raising are used alongside deliberately 'cool' campaigns, to create a form of pragmatic action which seeks to engage with the widest possible audience. The aim is not only to challenge stereotypes but to attract men to the anti-sexist cause, a particular feature of what Whelehan (2000) terms 'new' or 'post feminism'.

Meanwhile in the Nordic countries, feminism continues to have an important impact on public debate and politics. Frangeur (2004: 1) suggests that 'again we have an active feminist women's movement', pointing to the emergence of new organisations and networks. Indeed, during the late 1990s, efforts were made to make feminism more attractive to young women through for example, publications such as *Fittstim* ('The pussy herd'), a phrase reportedly used by a male trade union leader for women politicians in the Social Democratic Party (Skugge, Olsson & Zilg, 1999). Similar publications appeared in Norway in 1999 and Denmark in 2000. Also, following the Left Party's claim in 1996 to have become feminist, *all* the Swedish political parties made declarations about their feminist politics. Recently, younger feminists together with academics etc. have set up a new party called the 'Feminist Initiative'. However, its decision to run for parliament in 2006 met with strong media criticism, particularly of the party's perceived hostility towards men and reported conflicts within the leadership. Initial public support collapsed, the party failed to get any women into parliament, and it was announced early in 2007 that the party would not make a similar parliamentary challenge in the future.

### ***Dominance of Anglophone voices***

We have also become disturbed by the ways in which the Anglophone/non-Anglophone dualism is played out in gender and education. This has been a concern of the young researchers in our project who while aware of their need to publish in reputed journals, nonetheless face the twin obstacles of having to write in a second language and from a cultural context that is seen as outside the gender and education 'norm'. The outcome is that they (as well as their more senior Swedish colleagues) in the project have had substantial difficulties in getting articles accepted with reasons given including:

- too many Swedish references
- Swedish context too fully explained
- Swedish context too little explained
- quality of written English poor

Responsibility for remediating these inadequacies is placed with the unsuccessful author rather than the overall system of reviewing and support offered by the field. The consequence at the individual level is that many new researchers stop trying to publish in English, thus restricting themselves to publication in the few existing Swedish- or Nordic-language journals. At a more general level, non-Anglophone concerns and discourses become invisible, as can be seen in the recent overview of articles in the *Gender and Education Journal*. Skelton and Francis (2005) note the relative over-representation of contributions from the UK, Australia, New Zealand and Canada viewing them as more generally applicable compared to those from developing countries which are seen as 'case studies exploring specific issues in particular countries' (Skelton and Francis, 2005: 2) Perspectives from non-Anglophone sources, where they exist, thus are judged as illuminating the specificity of the region while Anglophone perspectives are seen as generalisable to other countries and contexts.

### **Concluding Points**

We have attempted in this short paper to discuss what we see as a number of disturbing absences and thus of necessity presences in the field that has come to be known as 'gender and education'. We identify four specific areas that have given us cause for concern; debates and discourses around masculinities that have not been at all uniform, despite claims to the contrary; research discourses that seek to be inclusive towards the 'other', meanwhile perpetuating 'othering' in various ways; lack of attention to political action and agency; and hegemony of Anglophone interests and issues. While we acknowledge that the creation of a new disciplinary field is complex, and the struggles over status, power and knowledge are not to be underestimated, it seems to us that as in other more established disciplinary fields, gender and education which originally was created to reveal and eradicate bias, is itself biased. To counter this, more could be attempted to make the field more equal and inclusive; for example, by offering language and editorial support to researchers/contributors for whom English is not a first language, extending theorising to embrace those who offer different perspectives on and experiences of 'our' field and/or mobilising gender researchers to political action. This will demand new understandings of gender and education as a field in terms of issues raised, and the changes and developments that occur, which do not automatically assume Anglophone-as-norm, theoretically, empirically or politically. The key question will be which methods, theories and contexts do we (as researchers from different countries) utilise that best illuminate how gender stability and change occurs locally and globally.

## REFERENCES

- Ahrne, Göran, Ekerwald, Hedvid & Leiufrud, Håkan. (1985). *Klassamhällets förändring*. [Changes in the class society]. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Archer, Louise & Leathwood, Carole. Editorial: New times – old inequalities: diverse working-class femininities in education. *Gender and Education*, 15 (3), 227-235.
- Arnesen, Anne-Lise. (2002). *Ulikhet og marginalisering. Med referanse til kjnn og sosial bakgrunn. En etnografisk studie av sosial og diskursiv praksis i skolen*. [Difference and marginality in relation to gender and social background. An ethnographic study of social and discursive praxis at school], University of Oslo: Unipub Forlag.
- Arnesen, Anne-Lise, Lahelma Elina & Öhrn, Elisabet. (2007). Travelling discourses on gender and education: The case of boys' underachievement. Paper presented at Nordic Educational Research Association, Turku Finland, 15-17 March.
- Ball, Stephen J. (2003). *Class strategies and the education market. The middle classes and social advantage*. Oxon: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Bredström, Anna. (2003). Maskulinitet och kmap om nationella arenor – reflektioner kring bilden av "invandrarkilar" i svensk media. I de los Reyes, P, Molina, I & Mulinari, D (Eds), *Maktens (o)lika förklädnader*. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Atlas.
- Bunar, Nihad & Trondman, Mats. (2001). (Red). *Varken ung eller vuxen*. [Neither young nor adult]. Stockholm: Atlas.
- Cigéhn, Göran, Johansson, Mats & Karlsson, Lena. (2001). *Klassamh%ollets Återkomst. Om klassidentitet, arbetsliv och fritid vid tr^skeln till ett nytt sekel*. [The return of the class society. On class identity, working life and leisure at the threshold of a new century]. Umeå: Umeå Studies in Sociology, no 116.
- Clegg, Sue (2006) The problem of agency in feminism: a critical realist approach. *Gender and Education Journal*. 18 (3): 309-324
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1995) Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color. In Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (Eds.) *Critical Race Theory: The key writings that formed the movement*. New York: The New Press
- Cesari, Jocelyne. (2005). Mosque conflicts in European cities: Introduction. *Journal of Ehtnic and Migration Studies*, 31, 1015-1024.
- Delamont, Sara. (2001). *Changing women, unchanged men?* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Frangeur, Renée. (2004). *1930-talets kvinnorörelser och dagnes – svensk feminism i medgång*. Paper presented at NIKK's Nordic Women's conference on Iceland 10-12 June.
- Gitz-Johansen, Thomas. (2003). Representations of ethnicity: how teachers speak about ethnic minority students. In Dennis Beach, Tuula Gordon & Elina Lahelma (Eds), *Democratic Education. Ethnographic challenges*. London: the Tufnell Press.
- Gordon, Tuula (2007, forthcoming). Urban citizenship. In A Luke & W Pink (Eds), *International handbook on urban education*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Hey, Valerie. (1997). *The company she keeps*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Hill, Tobias (2006) You might become a park. *Review Saturday Guardian*, 4 November. 10.
- Jackson, Carolyn. (2006). 'Wild' girls? An exploration of 'ladette' cultures in secondary schools. *Gender and Education*, 18 (4), 339-360.
- Jackson s 4 ???
- Lambert, C & Parker, A (2006) Imagination, hope and the positive face of feminism: pro/feminist pedagogy in 'post' feminist times. *Studies in Higher Education*. 31 (4), pp. 469-482.

- Mac an Ghail, Máirtín. (1994). *The Making of Men*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Nolan, Kathleen & Anyon, Jean. (2004). Learning to do time. Willis's model of cultural reproduction in an era of postindustrialism, globalization and mass incarceration. In Dolby & G. Dimitriadis with Paul Willis (Eds). *Learning to labor in new times*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Öhrn, Elisabet. (2002). *Könsmönster i förändring? En kunskapsöversikt om unga i skolan*. Stockholm: Skolverket.
- Öhrn, Elisabet. (2005) *Att göra skillnad. En studie av ungdomar som politiska aktörer i skolans vardag* [To make a difference. A study of young people as political actors in school] Göteborg University, Department of Education.
- Phoenix, Ann. (1997). Youth and gender: New issues, new agenda. *Young*, 5, 2-19.
- Skeggs, Beverly. (2004). *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge
- Skelton, Christine & Francis, Becky (Eds.) (2005) *A Feminist Critique of Education: 15 years of Gender Education*. (London: Routledge/Falmer)
- Skugge, Linda Norrman, Olsson, Belinda & Zilg, Brita. (1999). *Fittstim*. [The pussy herd], Stockholm: Borförlaget DN.
- Trondman, Mats. (1995). Vem talar för framtidens förlorare? [Who speaks for the future losers?]. In G Bolin, K Lövgren, (Eds), *Om unga män (On young men)*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- van Zanten, Agnès. (2005). New modes of reproducing social inequality in education: the changing role of parents, teachers, schools and educational policies. *European Educational Research Journal*, 4, 155-169.
- Walkerdine, Valerie. (2003). Reclassifying upward mobility: femininity and the neo-liberal subject. *Gender and Education*, vol. 15, 237-248.
- Weis, Lois. (1990). *Working class without work. High school students in a de-industrializing economy*. New York: Routledge.
- Whelehan, I. (2000) *Overloaded: popular culture and the future of feminism*. London: The Woman's Press