



**GENDER IN NATIONAL EDUCATION DOCUMENTS
AND TEACHING RESOURCES, AND IN
TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES
AND EVERYDAY TEACHING PRACTICES IN
AUSTRIA, THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND
HUNGARY**

Comparative report

Gender in national education documents and teaching resources, and in teachers' pedagogical approaches and everyday teaching practices in Austria, the Czech Republic and Hungary

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Introduction

The main objective of the project “Towards gender sensitive education (2017-2020)” is to enhance gender sensitivity of current and future teachers and to develop, pilot and disseminate a methodology for training in gender sensitive education, with a special focus on lower secondary schools. The first part of the present report provides a comparison of three desk research reports prepared by the gender and education experts of the five partner organizations involved in the project from Austria, the Czech Republic and Hungary. The desk research aims at mapping how (if at all) gender issues are included in policy documents concerned with education, in order to provide a comparative framework in which project partners can gain an overview of the context they are to work in – both nationally and cross-nationally – and to see what are the areas they should specifically focus on during the course design process. To this end, the desk research comprises the qualitative content analysis of currently valid national education and gender equality policy documents, i.e. relevant strategies and guidelines, the national core curriculum, frame and local curricula, the teacher training curricula and local curricula. On the basis of that, the report aims to provide a comparison of the gender aspects of the relevant phase of compulsory education, especially of the educational systems from a gender perspective; the gender aspects of national education and equality policy documents; gendered contents in relevant school and teacher training curricula; and gendered educational practices.

The comparative desk research report is followed by two shorter sections: the comparative report on focus group discussions and the report on school observations. These studies, which have involved teachers, teacher trainee students and schools, provide further, very useful data about gender in education. Finally, the comparative report concludes with recommendations for the gender sensitizing courses and videos for teachers and teacher trainees, which will be designed and tested in the next phase of the project.

The three types of research were carried out simultaneously in all three countries. General templates for the national reports – from which this comparative report is compiled – were provided to the partners by the researchers of ELTE. It was clear from the very beginning of the project that despite the regional location of the three partner countries, the educational frameworks and the attitudes and awareness of educational actors towards gender and gender equality will be rather different, and therefore the contents and approaches of the courses should also be different and adjusted to local specificities, beyond a common general framework. Also, the different academic backgrounds, theoretical and pedagogical approaches and experiences of the partners were expected to result in different research outputs. As the main aim of this project was not to produce new scientific data but to gather useful information for the design of courses and videos, rather loose templates were designed for the national projects, in order to allow the researchers freedom to find and record the most useful data for their further work in the project.

This approach to research has produced appropriate and locally relevant inputs for the partners' work with the courses and videos and has offered plenty of new information and an opportunity for the partners to learn from each other. At the same time, however, it has made it extremely difficult to compile a classic comparative report within the given framework, the usefulness of which for the coursework would be questionable, anyhow. Therefore, the editors of this report have decided to compile edited but not significantly shortened versions of all the national reports and provide introductions to the different texts instead of using the national reports as a background for a new piece of academic text produced through the thorough comparative analysis of the reports. This decision has the additional benefit that this way the comparative report provides a very detailed overview of the gender-related issues of the educational systems of the three countries and makes available a huge amount of information collected in one piece to the interested public. This is especially important at the time when the notion of gender, gender equality, and the academic discipline and scholars of gender studies are receiving unprecedented ideologically fuelled political attacks in the Central European region and all over Europe.

Educational framework

In Austria, the Czech Republic and Hungary, compulsory education starts at age 6; while in the first two countries compulsory education lasts for 9 years altogether, in Hungary the end of compulsory education is set at age 16. Lower secondary school level, which lasts four years, starts with the 5th grade in Austria and Hungary and with the 6th grade in the Czech Republic. In all the three countries, at the age when students enter lower secondary school education, an opportunity to choose from different school types emerges, partly according to specific academic goals, and partly to academic results or social standing.

Specifically, in Austria, after finishing primary school (Volksschule), on entering lower secondary level at the 5th grade, students can choose from New Secondary School (Neue Mittelschule; formerly: Secondary School – Hauptschule)¹ and Lower Level of the Academic Secondary School (Gymnasium), which both cover grades 5 to 8. The beginning of upper secondary level at the age of 14/15 offers another opportunity of choice within a highly differentiated educational (vocational) system. Around 80% of upper-secondary students are enrolled in vocational schools. Moreover, at primary and lower secondary levels special needs schools are provided, which are attended by approximately 3% of the students. Around two-thirds of students at special-needs schools are boys (Statistik Austria 2016, 104) – most of them with a first language other than German.

¹ The New Secondary School has been the regulatory form of education since September 1, 2012. By the 2015/2016 school year, all Lower Secondary Schools became New Secondary Schools.

In the Czech Republic, compulsory school education² or basic education combines primary and lower secondary levels of education and is divided into a five-year first stage (attended by children aged 6 to 11) and a four-year second stage (attended by children aged 12 to 15). Most of the children receive the whole nine-year basic education at one school. However, pupils who succeed at the admissions procedure (usually children of well-educated and ambitious parents) have an opportunity to complete the second stage of basic education (i.e. lower secondary level) at a multi-year grammar school³. Multi-year grammar schools as well as classic basic schools must follow the Framework Education Programme for Basic Education, but multi-year grammar schools are considered superior. Pupils who complete the second stage of basic education at multi-year grammar schools also stay there for the period of upper secondary education, which lasts four years.

In Hungary, where public education is divided into primary and secondary schooling, primary school starts at age 6 and ends at age 14. Primary school years are divided into 4 lower and 4 upper primary years. Secondary education lasts for 3 to 5 years, depending on the type of school. It is compulsory to go to school until age 16. This age limit was reduced from 18 years by the current government. Differentiation is also possible from year 5, 7 or 9. While primary schools offer schooling for 8 years, at year 5 or 7 students can try to enrol in a grammar school (of a higher standard) or when they reach grade 9 they can choose between a grammar school, a vocational high school or a vocational school. More and more often schools offer a 1-year long intensive language training in year 9, which extends the length of secondary education by a year.

Comparison of linguistic aspects and theoretical concepts of sex and gender

The three languages – Czech, German and Hungarian – differ considerably, including in the extent to which the grammatical category of gender is present in them. A comparison in this regard provides important information on the linguistic reflection of the patriarchal gender order and whether this has been addressed by the given societies. Moreover, the extent of the use of the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ may differ in the different societies, which adds relevant information that should be considered during the design of the planned courses.

In German, there are no separate words for sex and gender, the word “Geschlecht” can refer to both. The word “gender” is used in German; sometimes “sex” is explained as “biologisches Geschlecht” (biological),

² One year of pre-school education was introduced as compulsory in 2017.

³ Existence of eight-year and six-year grammar school has been criticised for a long time, because it separates gifted children, or more precisely children from a better social background, from the rest of pupils. History of the dispute over the multi-year grammar school can be found in the article “The feud over multi-year gymnasia: historical context and empirical data.” <http://www.phil.muni.cz/journals/index.php/studia-paedagogica/article/viewFile/905/1040>

“gender” is explained as “soziales Geschlecht” (social). In German, there are three grammatical genders (male, female and neutral), and masculine generics are commonly used.

The Czech language distinguishes three grammatical families (masculine, feminine, and neutral) in most legislative and other documents using the so-called generic masculine, which the male gender considers to be neutral when designating a social group. The use of generic masculine is criticized by gender linguistics experts, who point to the fact that it leads to the linguistic invisibility of women. According to Feminist studies, most interviewees imagine a man when the masculine is mentioned (Valdřová, 2017). The Czech word “pohlaví”, sex, refers from the linguistic point of view to the biological characteristics but is usually used in many documents in the meaning that also covers the term gender. “Gender” could be translated into Czech as “rod” but this Czech translation is not commonly used. In the documents, which go beyond the term sex (“pohlaví”) and work with cultural differences, the word “gender” is used.

In Hungarian there are no grammatical genders (i.e. male, female and neutral nouns and verb inflections), therefore it is very easy to speak at length about a person without mentioning his/her sex/gender. Moreover, there are no separate words in Hungarian for sex and gender, the word “nem” can refer to both, and sometimes the English word “gender” is used in Hungarian. This is why in this report, when we quote from Hungarian texts using the word “nem” in a way that it is unclear whether sex or gender is meant or it can refer to both, we use “sex/gender”. The Hungarian equivalent of “gender” is “társadalmi nem” (i.e. social sex), which term is mainly used by gender experts in texts which recognize the distinction between sex and gender. This term is not used in the current educational policy documents.

Gender issues in education in Austria, the Czech Republic and Hungary

Attention to gender issues in education in Austria can be dated back to the mid-1960s. Over the last decades, the Austrian government has produced a number of policies on education aimed at tackling gender-specific inequalities. In 1993, OECD findings attested that women in Austria were at the greatest disadvantage in terms of educational attainment compared to men (OECD 1993). This was one of the reasons to institutionalize women's policy and gender equality policy within the Federal Ministry of Education: the “department for girls’ and women’s education” was installed in 1995 (later: Department for Gender Mainstreaming, Equality and Schools; since 2018: Gender Equality and Diversity Management in Education). Its aims have been – and still are – to overcome gender-related differences in attainment and achievement in education, gender segregation in study fields, gender stereotypes and sexism in teaching materials, and gender-based violence. The department’s effort is to raise teachers’ gender awareness, to support gender-sensitive vocational orientation, and to implement gender equality into schools’ quality management.

Nevertheless, a lot of gender-related challenges for the Austrian educational system still exist. To give some examples: In national and international tests there are big gender gaps. At upper secondary level, the majority of students (56% of girls and 61% of boys) attend gender-specifically segregated schools. Gender segregation is particularly apparent in the apprenticeship system, which combines on-the-job training with classes at part-time vocational schools. Surveys on teachers' gender awareness, their competences and knowledge show a lack of gender awareness, or resistance to gender-sensitive education. This reproduces gender stereotypes in the classroom. This fact is accompanied and reinforced by schoolbooks and teaching materials which are dominated by gender stereotypes (concerning family, profession, care work, activities, appearance, etc.) and heteronormative gender concepts.

In the Czech Republic, the issue of gender equality gained prominence already in the 1990s, with the main strategic document to promote gender equality, "Priorities and Policies of the Government in Promoting Equal Opportunities for Women and Men", approved in 1998. In the course of the last decades, the institutional, legal and policy framework for the promotion of gender equality has been set up, marked by the establishment of the Government Council for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, with its secretariat, the Department for Equality of Women and Men placed within the Government Office's organizational structure; and also by the adoption and the, albeit slow, implementation of the "Government Strategy for Equality of Women and Men (2014-2020)". Furthermore, on the issue of gender equality in education, a Gender Equality Working Group was set up within the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, with its coordinator - although somewhat destabilized by changing conditions - acting as the relevant gender focal point.

The relative stability of the above described framework, in the context of the Czech Republic's EU membership since 2004, has been beneficial with regard to the creation of academic scholarship-informed governmental policies, the establishment of relevant academic programmes on gender equality in education, as well as the implementation of projects dealing with gender-sensitive education by non-governmental organizations, supported by EU funds. Nevertheless, progress towards gender equality in the field of education seems to have been slow and unsatisfactory, as attested by, among other documents, the governmental report on equality of women and men in 2017. Common problems include gender segregation in secondary and tertiary education, and the vertical gender segregation among teachers. Given the low awareness of and, in parallel, a relatively high degree of resistance to the idea of gender equality within Czech society, continued awareness-raising and education to overcome gender stereotypes and myths about feminism and gender equality appears to be all the more necessary.

In Hungary, as the issue of gender equality has not been prominent on the agenda of any of the governments since the democratic transition in 1989, the institutional, legal and policy framework for promoting gender equality and girls' and women's rights has not been sufficiently developed. Although

anti-discrimination legislation exists, and the country, through its membership in the UN and the EU, is party to international women's rights documents and processes, there is a lack of a strategic approach to promoting gender equality and women's rights in the different policy fields. The tripartite consultation forum on equality between women and men, the Council for Gender Equality, set up in 2006 by the previous government, related working groups and a relevant strategy on gender equality passed in 2010, have been stopped. Instead, the current conservative government, in which the relevant governmental unit is the Women's Policy Unit at the Department of Family Affairs and Women's Policy at the Ministry of Human Capacities, promotes "family mainstreaming" and traditional gender roles, rather than equality between women and men, in an effort to bring about a demographic surge. The only related but controlled ministry-level fora are the human rights working group and separate subgroups on women's rights and LGBT rights.

Correspondingly, there has been insufficient efforts by governments regarding the promotion of gender equality in the field of education, and a lack of continuity with any previous positive development on related issues. No strategies or curricular contents in schools explicitly promote gender equality, and only some scattered relevant courses in teacher training and academic work exist in the field. The current educational government has introduced policies in an effort to strengthen traditional gender roles and family values, within a conservative, heteronormative ideological framework. The new MA program in gender studies at ELTE University was attacked by the government right at the moment of its establishing in 2017, and in on 12th October 2018, Hungarian language gender studies master's programs were removed by a government decree from the list of accredited programs approved by the government. In parallel, teachers' awareness of and interest in gender issues are low, they tend not to see gender inequality as a problem they should deal with, even if they are aware of the existence of gender-based violence in school, or the effect of gender stereotypes on academic performance. The above described situation, while it calls for a strengthened promotion of gender-sensitive education, may pose a considerable challenge in terms of achieving a commitment to gender equality among educational professionals and teachers.

Presence and awareness of gender inequalities in education in Austria, the Czech Republic and Hungary

In the three countries at hand, the desk research identified several widespread forms of gender inequality in the field of education. As for the organization of the school system, the Austrian case of the widespread part-time teaching arrangement at compulsory school level is based on the assumed part-time employment of mothers. Concerning the gender ratio of teachers, in all the countries the higher ratio of women at lower-level education and the higher ratio of men at tertiary level can be observed, explained

by gendered educational and career choices and the 'glass ceiling' phenomenon as well. Pertaining to differences in academic achievement, significant gender gaps in competence tests have been pinpointed. A gendered academic and career orientation at lower secondary school level can be observed based on the fact that at upper secondary level gender-specifically segregated schooling, especially in relation to grammar vs vocational schools and in the system of vocational schools themselves, is quite widespread. As for the sensitivity of teachers towards gender inequality and other related issues, a low level of awareness can be observed, for instance, of the unequal academic performance of girls and boys or of gender-based violence occurring in schools or among students. Gender stereotyping by teachers is still widely observable, which is enabled and reinforced by gender stereotypes in textbooks and teaching materials. Sexual education has also been observed to contribute to gender stereotyping. Furthermore, even where gender equality policies exist in the field of education, teachers often show resistance to the idea of gender-sensitive teaching and do not practice it widely.

Austria

As shown in national and international achievement and competence tests, the gender gap in Austria has grown in mathematics and the natural sciences, to the disadvantage of girls. The latest PISA results (2015) for Austria point to significant gender differences in achievements: in science, boys outperformed girls by 19 points – the largest gap in all countries, which is considerably higher than the OECD average of 4 points. In the field of mathematics, boys in Austria are 27 points ahead of their female peers, again, the largest gender gap in all OECD countries (OECD average: 8 points) - besides, in only about half of the countries do the mathematics performances differ in favour of the boys. In reading, girls are 20 points ahead of boys (OECD average: 27 points) (Suchań and Breit 2016). These results are confirmed and differentiated by other international tests such as PIRLS and TIMMS, as well as by national tests taken at the end of primary school and the lower secondary level (measuring of educational standards – “Bildungsstandard-Überprüfungen”). The results of student performances in mathematics, for instance, show an increasing gender gap from grade 4 to grade 8, dramatically for female students with a migrant background in New Secondary Schools (Bruneforth et al. 2016b; Schreiner and Breit 2012; Schreiner and Breit 2014).

At upper secondary level, the majority of students (56% of girls and 61% of boys) attend gender-specifically segregated schools. If more than 66.6% of the students in a school are either male or female, that school is considered to be gender-specifically segregated. Pedagogy, health and social services as well as training in the service sector and the applied arts are dominated by females, while information technology and engineering are male domains (Bruneforth et al. 2016a, 126).

Gender segregation is particularly apparent in the apprenticeship system, which combines on-the-job training with classes at part-time vocational schools. Some 38% of 15-year-olds, two-thirds of them boys,

pursue apprenticeships (WKO 2016). More than one-third of male apprentices pursue metal technology, electrical engineering or automotive engineering, while almost half of all female apprentices opt for retail sales, office administration or hairdressing (WKO 2018). However, a slight change in the above tendency has been observed in recent years.

Surveys on teachers' gender awareness, their competences and knowledge show a lack of gender awareness, or resistance to gender sensitive education. This reproduces gender stereotypes in the classroom (Finsterwald et al. 2013, Bartosch 2014, ÖLI 2016). This fact is accompanied and reinforced by schoolbooks and teaching materials which are dominated by gender stereotypes (concerning family, profession, care work, activities, appearance, etc.) and heteronormative gender concepts.

Austrian education policy particularly invested in tackling these issues through several reforms, policy measures and initiatives has of course produced some results. For instance, there has been a slight increase in the ratio of women in male-dominated educational and training options and subjects – in particular technical ones – and a similar decrease in segregation in gender-typical schools (BKA 2017).

Czech Republic

In secondary and tertiary education, gender segregation is apparent. In terms of the type of school, data from the school year 2016/2017 show that girls slightly outnumber boys at grammar schools (57%), boys outnumber girls at vocational schools without the A-level examination (65%). Most pupils attend vocational schools with the A-level examination, here the number of boys and girls is almost equal. However, the fields of studies are gender segregated. Boys are to be predominantly found in technical fields, whereas girls comprise the majority of students in health services and social science and services⁴ (Český statistický úřad 2017).

Female teachers considerably outnumber male teachers. As the level of education increases, the difference in the number of female and male teachers decreases. According to the data from school year 2016/2017, in nursery schools 99,4% of teachers are women, in basic schools the figure for female teachers is 84,3%. In contrast, there are only 36% female academics at Czech universities (Český statistický úřad 2017).

In PISA testing, Czech pupils achieve similar results as the OECD average in science and mathematics performance scores. In reading performance, Czech pupils are slightly below the OECD average. The differences between boys and girls are also very similar to the OECD average. (OECD Data n.d.).

⁴Numbers of female and male students in different fields of education can be found in the Czech Statistical Office publication - Focus on Women and Men: <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/zaostreno-na-zeny-a-muze-2017>; <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/focus-on-women-and-men-2017> (Czech - English version)

Shadow reports on gender equality have been published by academic and non-profit experts since 2004, which included a chapter on education as well. The latest shadow report from the year 2015 describes development since 2008. On the one hand, it points out that in the academic and non-profit but also in the commercial sphere interest in gender and performances of boys and girls has increased. Several research studies on gender patterns in education have been conducted, and professional discussions continue, as can be seen from academic journals and the number of master and bachelor theses on gender and education. On the other hand, the report criticizes the approach of the Ministry of Education towards gender as too formalistic. Gender equality is not considered as an important value, and school policy in this area is not systematic and consistent. Even though the Ministry published a strategic document addressing gender inequality (The Status of Gender Equality and the Proposal for a Medium-term Strategic Plan on Gender Equality in the MŠMT), the material is not used. The shadow report suggests, among other things, to include gender equality among the inclusive criteria of education, to intersect gender with other types of inequality in policy measures, to enhance the institutional security of gender equality at the Ministry, and to revise the framework curriculum so it states explicitly how education towards gender equality should be carried out (Smetáčková 2015).

Hungary

In general, there is low awareness of gender issues in education. There is little academic work done on gender and education, and gender is not part of the compulsory teacher training courses. Most schoolteachers have little awareness of and interest in gender issues, they tend not to see gender inequality as a problem they should deal with, even if they are aware of the existence of gender-based violence in school, or gendered stereotypes of academic performance. At the same time, there are some “hot potatoes” related to gender in current educational discourses and policymaking. One is the public discourse on the so-called “feminization of education” (Rédai 2018).⁵ The opinion that ‘there are too many women teachers, and this is detrimental to youth (especially boys) because they don’t see male role models’ is a trope which utilizes an outdated approach to gender as a set of roles, and lacks reflection on the social context in which this situation is embedded. This ‘set of roles’ approach to gender is visible in the school curricula this report analyses.

The other “hot potato” is the word ‘gender’ itself. The educational government seems to have declared a war on the word. However, it would be superficial to see it as a simple ignorance or lack of expertise

⁵ The research study which discusses the issue of ‘feminization of education’ is based on interviews with 30 teachers in 3 Hungarian schools. The research was conducted in the framework of the project ‘*Developing Gender Equality Charter Marks in order to overcome gender stereotyping in education across Europe (GECM)*’, No. JUST/2015/RGEN/AG/ROLE/9653, funded under the Citizenship, Rights and Equality Programme of the European Commission.

regarding the meaning and educational relevance of gender. Making gender invisible in the curricula is part of a broader political and socio-economic shift which is trying to eliminate the achievements of struggles for gender equality and reintroduce a paradigm in which people are divided into two 'opposite' sexes/genders which complement each other, match each other and work together to re-establish a social world where traditional social norms based on assumed biologically rooted differences prevail, power relations are not questioned, and diversity is not welcome. This approach seems to be fully embraced by the current educational government and those professionals who translate the political will into policy documents.

Hungarian educational scholarship is mostly quantitative. Hungary participates in international surveys, such as the PISA assessment. The PISA 2015 results⁶ show a significant drop in the achievement of both boys and girls, compared both to earlier Hungarian results and to the 2015 results of other OECD countries. Hungary used to pride itself on the high quality of public education and student achievement, therefore such bad results were a shock for the lay and the professional public (even though the trend was visible in the previous PISA results in 2012 already) (see: Ostorics et.al. 2016). According to the summary of the results by Ostorics et.al. (2016), boys performed somewhat better than girls in the natural sciences and maths, but the difference was not significant. Girls, however, performed significantly better at reading comprehension. This gendered difference, however, did not cause a shock, unlike the bad results in general. We suggest that the lack of concern for boys' 'underachievement' can be explained by a general attitude to gender. Hungarian public thinking about gender follows the line of binary oppositions and complementary gender roles. The fact that boys are better at natural sciences and girls are better at literature fits gender stereotypes and may suggest that there is a balance, the two genders complement each other, one is better at one thing, the other at another thing, boys and girls are 'different but equal'. And because the value and prestige of natural sciences and maths is higher than that of literature, and boys are still somewhat better at the former, there is no need to worry about a 'gender disorder', or 'boys' underachievement', even though the latter has been a great concern in many other European countries (e.g. Francis 2006).

Apart from quantitative surveys, which focus mostly on achievement and are sex-disaggregated, little scholarship has been produced in Hungary about gender and education, by a handful of interested scholars. As a result, the lack of knowledge and critical perspective in the field gets reproduced, because young generations of scholars do not get inspiration, encouragement or support to study gender and education issues from more senior scholars. Recent scholarship includes studies on the topic of gender

⁶ <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisa-2015-results-in-focus.pdf>

representation in school textbooks; the feminization of education and boys' underachievement; sexual violence against girls in schools; and school-based sex education.

As for textbooks and teaching materials, it is difficult to describe trends concerning gender representation. One reason for that is the scarcity of studies in this area, and the other reason is the governmental monopolisation of the textbook market. In 2013 the government restricted schools' and teachers' choice of which textbooks they should use by amending the law on school textbooks and teaching materials, prescribing that schools can only use the textbooks which are recommended by the Ministry of Human Capacities, and then sending a list of recommended books to schools, which contained only one or two textbooks per subject per year.⁷ In 2015 the ministry expanded the list of recommended textbooks, as an alleged attempt to restore the free book market, but allotted such a small amount of money per student for supporting textbook purchase that most state schools could afford to purchase only the heavily state-sponsored new textbooks, which were quickly redesigned to accommodate the new National Core Curriculum and frame curricula and were called "experimental textbooks". The quality of these experimental textbooks has been heavily criticised by professional teacher organisations (See: e.g. Baracs 2016). At the same time, two of the largest textbook publishers were bought up by the state in 2014, so the majority of the textbook market is now in state possession.

Based on her analyses of textbooks (Kereszty 2012, 2005) published before the monopolisation of the textbook market, Orsolya Kereszty claims that textbooks are not based on girls' 'real' experiences and the works of female authors and artists are scarcely included. LGBTQIA people are also not presented in textbooks and teaching materials (2014: 283-284). According to Kereszty, the books represent women/girls and men/boys in very stereotypical and simplistic ways, emphasizing that the two sexes/genders are very different from each other and should complement each other (2014: 284).

A recent study by Hajnalka Piroska Szabó (2016) analysed primary school history textbooks for years 5-8 (age 10-14), mapping how often and in what roles women are represented in these textbooks and how women's perspectives, experiences and voices are present in the textbooks. She found that the representation of women in new history textbooks ignores the latest achievements in women's historiography, and that although there is a visible intention to include more women in the books, the approach is conceptually and scientifically unfounded. Women's appearances are typically brief and scattered, women mostly appear isolated from the main topic of the given lesson, often as additional material or illustration to the given period. Most often women appear in supporting roles to famous male

⁷ 16/2013. (II. 28.) Ministry of Human Capacities Statute on the order of textbook accreditation, textbook support and textbook supply for schools.

historical figures, or as victims of historical events. There are very few examples of discussing how social-historical changes affected women's situation in the given era (Szabó 2016).

The academic discussion of boys' relative underachievement is not very widespread in Hungary, probably partly because of the relatively small gender gap and partly because of the generally low interest of Hungarian education scholars in gender issues. The few studies that examine the topic (e.g. Fényes 2010, 2009; Rostás and Fodorné 2003) use gender stereotypes, lists of dichotomous characteristics attributed to girls and boys, psychological gender role approaches and literature from the 1960s-1980s to explain the differences in girls' and boys' achievement. These studies do not engage with feminist literature on the subject.

Hungarian educational scholarship represents two approaches to the issue of the 'feminization of education'. Either scholars present statistical data about the 'feminization' of education and add comments of often questionable academic quality about 'feminization' (e.g. Rostás and Fodorné Bajor 2003), or studies tend to be completely gender-blind and treat teachers as genderless. For example, in a study about teachers' personality traits (Figula 2000), gender is only indicated in the description of the research sample, but not in the analysis. Therefore, we cannot learn anything about whether there are gendered differences in the characteristics of male and female teachers, who are treated as a homogenous group. Even those scholars who do think about gender issues in education tend to use the psychological concept of 'gender roles' (see e.g. Kovács 2011), interpreted in a traditional way, instead of gendered subjectivities. This 'gender role' approach homogenizes women and men and disregards interpersonal, institutional and social gendered power relations. This is coupled with the dominance of the quantitative paradigm in education research. To date there are only two substantial school ethnographies that use a gendered perspective and a post-structuralist theoretical and methodological framework (Mészáros 2014, Rédei 2019).

Concerning violence in schools, several research studies have been conducted and training programs have been introduced in the wake of the occurrence of several news items in the tabloid media featuring instances of school violence. However, when violence in schools is thematized in Hungarian educational literature, it is striking that gender-based violence is never mentioned, in some cases the data is not even sex-disaggregated. According to the Report on the Europe-wide survey of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) on violence against women (2014), Hungary is one of 5 EU countries where no nation-wide survey on violence against women has ever been conducted (2014: 169-170). In education policies there is no mention of sexual violence in schools.

Whereas research interest in school-based sexual violence is scarce, information on the topic is available on the internet in two forms. On the one hand, online news sites frequently report on cases of sexual violence against girls and young women. On the other hand, there are websites where information on

prevention, dealing with victims, educational materials and other online resources are available, which is very important for victims and practitioners (teachers, school psychologists, school nurses) who deal with the issue on a daily basis.

Sex education, adolescent sexuality and sexuality in schooling have not been of too much interest to Hungarian education scholars. In a representative survey (Simich & Fábián, 2010) titled “School – health education – sex education”, conducted by the National Health Improvement Institute, the authors focus on adolescents’ knowledge about sexuality, and they include plenty of data on what type of school, in which region, in which year the respondents were, but there is no data provided about how sex education was done (if done at all) in the surveyed schools or how sex education may have influenced the respondents’ knowledge about sexuality. In this survey gender, class or ethnicity are not analytical categories, the sample of over 5000 young people is treated as a monolith.

The only qualitative school-based study inquiring discussing secondary school sex education from a post-structuralist feminist perspective to date has been produced by Rédai (2019). She found that in the school where she conducted her fieldwork, sex education contributed to the reproduction of gendered, classed, ethnicity- and sexuality-based inequalities among students, because the sex education lessons were male-biased, did not address girls’ special needs regarding sexuality, and gender-based violence, non-heteronormative sexuality, ethnicity-, culture- or religion-based approaches to sexuality were also not addressed. The school nurse who was responsible for sex education complained that she did not receive any training in college to deal with such issues, so she felt unprepared to work with them. Even though girls were encouraged to explore their own bodies, desires and pleasures, they were not offered any guidance on how to do it, and boys were never encouraged to explore their own bodies, desires and pleasures; it was assumed that their pleasures were always granted, their desires fulfilled automatically either by themselves or by their female partners (see: Rédai 2019).

Part 1: Desk research reports

1. National education and equality policy documents

In all three countries equality between women and men is enshrined in their Constitutions. Besides, there are various pieces of legislation to guarantee gender equality in general and in the field of education and national strategies to support gender mainstreaming and the achievement of gender equality. Also, beyond national legislation, all three countries have ratified the CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The documents are different and not comparable among countries in every case; therefore we will briefly present the most important ones in each country and make comparisons where possible.

1.1. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

Adopted by the UN general assembly in 1979, the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW Convention) was ratified by Austria, the former Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1982. After the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic adopted the CEDAW Convention, along with all human rights protocols.⁸ In Austria it has the status of a constitutional law, in the Czech Republic and in Hungary the status of regular law.

CEDAW includes a preamble and 30 articles. It covers all areas of life, in particular the political, social, economic and cultural areas, and all aspects of human rights. CEDAW prohibits the direct and indirect discrimination of women in all areas and obliges states to implement laws and policies that guarantee *de jure* and *de facto* equality.

Concerning the area of education, article 5 (a) and 10 (c) are most relevant:

“Article 5:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

⁸ <https://czlobby.cz/en/we-cooperate/cedaw>

(a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women“;

“Article 10:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women: (...)

(c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods.” (ibid.)

Every state has to report on the treaty’s implementation to the CEDAW Committee at least every four years. In all three countries, the CEDAW Committee has found persistent patterns of inequality in education and recommended improvements in this field. In addition to the governments’ CEDAW Reports to the United Nations, so-called alternative reports are drawn up by non-governmental organisations. These “shadow reports” compile critical comments to the state measures, and they are also sent to the CEDAW Committee.

The latest Austrian Shadow Report (2017)⁹ includes the following demands regarding education:

“Demands [related to] compulsory schooling:

- study on girls with migration background dropping out of school
- more education support and career counselling for girls who are vulnerable to school dropout, especially girls with migration background. (...)”

“Demands [related to] tertiary education:

- adjust the standards for equality in universities of applied sciences (Fachhochschulen) and private universities to those of public universities
- make the building of gender expertise an explicit objective of tertiary education institutions

⁹ In Winter 2017/18, Austrian NGOs produced a shadow report to the Ninth Austrian CEDAW Report to the United Nations. They listed demands for the improvement of gender equality in the field of education, where EFeU carried out the analysis related to stereotypes in education, Article 10(c). See: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) NGO Shadow Report Supplementing the 9th Austrian CEDAW Report To the United Nations.

https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/AUT/INT_CEDAW_ICO_AUT_31360_E.pdf

- break down barriers for women when trying to enter professorships and tenure track positions.”

“Demands [related to stereotypes in education]:

- monitoring or evaluation of gender relevant curricula and of their implementation in the classroom.
- enhanced qualification of educators through education and training on:
 - building of gender expertise apart from gender-essentialist heteronormative difference approaches
 - gender and sexual diversity, reduction of discrimination and mobbing on the grounds of homophobia and transphobia,
 - intersectionality
 - diversity sensitive education
 - reflexion of educational practice
- career and life planning as early as primary school and comprehensive responsibility for childcare – “caring masculinity”
- analyses and replacement of textbooks
- research and building of know-how of educational selection mechanisms regarding socioeconomic determinants
- Discourse about gender justice without culturalisation to dispel culturalised/racist images of migrants and refugees.”

The latest Czech Shadow Report by the Czech Women’s Lobby (2015) ¹⁰ includes the following recommendations for education:

- Review the reform framework of the tertiary education through gender perspective and increased attention to diversity. Take a definite standpoint towards social sciences and humanities that are significantly feminized, and based on expertise debate propose a strategy for their further development with respect to their society-wide relevance and sources of funding taking into account nature of their outputs, i.e. independently of the evaluation methods and funding sources of technical studies.
- Adopt active measures leading to securing gender equality in the whole tertiary education system, and most importantly call to universities to include gender issues in their Codes of Ethics.

¹⁰ Shadow report with regard to the consideration of the Sixth Periodic Report submitted by the Czech Republic to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women for the 63rd Session in 2016. Prague: Czech Women’s Lobby, December 2015.
https://czlobby.cz/sites/default/files/news_download/2015-czl_shadow_report_cedaw.pdf

- Active university support of women in their postgraduate studies.
- Obligation for all the public educational and research institutions to publish statistics classified by gender and qualification of applicants for tenders and grants, including the internal ones.
- Selection and implementation of one of the quota systems, primarily for selection of candidates to the decision-making bodies at all levels of universities as well as to the institutions directly influencing universities (e.g. RVŠ, Ministry of Education Youth and Sport).
- Balancing the representation of women in the decision-making positions, counselling and expert Science and Research groups (VaV) and all the Science, Research and Innovation (VVI) stakeholders. Active measures need to be taken in terms of increasing participation of women in decision-making and executive positions in research. (...)
- It is necessary to support the programmes for active inclusion of the Roma community, predominantly Roma mothers to effectively promote their children's right to good quality education."

The latest Hungarian Shadow Report written by the Hungarian Women's Lobby (2013)¹¹ contains the following recommendations for education:

- "To effectively include the issue of gender equality in education policy, that is, in the National Core Curriculum and related documents; and in teacher training and on the job training of teachers and educators; (...)
- To improve the situation of Romani women in access to education, employment and other public services."

1.2. National legal documents regulating gender equality in education

In Austria the legal and strategic documents that regulate gender equality are the following:

- Equal Treatment Acts (Gleichbehandlungsgesetze)
- Federal Constitutional Law (Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz)
- School Organization Act (Schulorganisationsgesetz 1962)
- Higher Education Act 2005 and Amendment 2010 (Bundesgesetz über die Organisation der Pädagogischen Hochschulen und ihre Studien - Hochschulgesetz 2005)

¹¹ Alternative report submitted to the UN CEDAW Committee for consideration in relation to the examination of the combined seventh and eighth periodic reports of Hungary January 2013 by the Hungarian Women's Lobby and the European Roma Rights Centre.
https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/HUN/INT_CEDAW_NGO_HUN_13260_E.pdf

- Service Law Amendment 2013 (Dienstrechtsnovelle 2013)
- Educational principle "Education to Equality between Women and Men" - Unterrichtsprinzip "Erziehung zur Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern" (since October 2018: Educational principle "Reflexive Gender Education and Gender Equality" - Unterrichtsprinzip "Reflexive Geschlechterpädagogik und Gleichstellung")
- Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET 2020)
- "Action Plans" of the Federal Ministry of Education

In the Czech Republic the legal and strategic documents that regulate gender equality are the following:

- The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms No. 1/1993 Coll.
- ACT. No. 111/1989 Coll. on Higher Education Institutions and on amendments and supplements to some other Acts (the Higher Education Act)
- ACT No. 561/2004 Coll. on Pre-school, Basic, Secondary, Tertiary Professional and Other Education (the Education Act)¹²
- ACT No. 198/2009 Coll. on equal treatment and on the legal means of protection against discrimination and on amendment to some laws (the Anti-Discrimination Act), amendment: 365/2017 Coll.¹³
- The Status of Gender Equality and the Proposal for a Medium-term Strategic Plan on Gender Equality in the MŠMT¹⁴
- Government Strategy for Equality of Women and Men in the Czech Republic for 2014 - 2020¹⁵
- Priorities and Policies of the Government in Promoting Equal Opportunities for Women and Men for 2018¹⁶

¹² Czech version: <http://www.msmt.cz/dokumenty-3/skolsky-zakon-ve-zneni-ucinnem-od-1-9-2017-do-31-8-2018>

English version (without the amendments): <http://www.msmt.cz/dokumenty-3/act-no-561-2004-collection-of-law-on-pre-school-basic?highlightWords=the+education+act>

¹³ Czech version: https://www.ochrance.cz/fileadmin/user_upload/DISKRIMINACE/pravni_predpisy/ADZ-2017.pdf

English version (without the amendment): https://www.ochrance.cz/fileadmin/user_upload/DISKRIMINACE/pravni_predpisy/Anti-discrimination-Act.pdf

¹⁴ Czech version: <http://www.msmt.cz/file/31791>

¹⁵ Czech version: https://www.vlada.cz/assets/ppov/rovne-prilezitosti-zen-a-muzu/Projekt_Optimalizace/Strategie-pro-rovnost-zen-a-muzu-v-CR-na-leta-2014-2020.pdf

English version: https://www.vlada.cz/assets/ppov/rovne-prilezitosti-zen-a-muzu/Projekt_Optimalizace/Government_Strategy_for-Gender_Equality_2014_2020.pdf

¹⁶ https://www.vlada.cz/assets/ppov/rovne-prilezitosti-zen-a-muzu/dokumenty/Aktualizovana_opatreni.pdf

In Hungary the legal and strategic documents that regulate gender equality are the following:

- Act CXC/2011 on National Public Education
- Act CXXV/2003 on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities
- National Strategy for the Promotion of Social Equality of Women and Men - Directions and Goals 2010-2021

1.2.1. Equal Treatment Acts

Austria

In Austria there are two federal equal treatment acts and equal treatment acts for all 9 federal provinces:

- Federal Equal Treatment Act - Bundesgesetz über die Gleichbehandlung (Gleichbehandlungsgesetz - GIBG)
- Federal Equal Treatment Act in Federal Service - Bundes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz - B-GIBG
- Equal Treatment Acts and Anti-Discrimination Act of Austrian states

Since 1979, the Federal Equal Treatment Act has regulated the equal treatment of women and men at work in private enterprises, including for teachers working in private schools. In line with EU legislation, the Act was extended in 2004 to include the discrimination grounds of ethnicity, religion or beliefs, age and sexual orientation. The term “gender” comprises women, men and transsexual persons. Sexual orientation refers to heterosexuality, homosexuality or bisexuality. The protection concerns in particular lesbian and gay persons (BMASK 2016, 9).

The Federal Equal Treatment Act in Federal Service applies to all persons employed by federal authorities or applying for employment or training with federal authorities; it includes teachers in public compulsory schools (§ 40). It forbids direct and indirect discrimination as well as (sexual) harassment on grounds of gender and sexual orientation (as well as ethnicity, age, and religion or beliefs).

Equal treatment in areas falling within the competence of the states (provinces) is regulated by individual state laws. In all nine Austrian provinces, teachers in public compulsory schools are legally protected from discrimination on grounds of gender and sexual orientation (amongst the other 4 grounds) by the service law. Students in the Lower Level of Academic Secondary Schools are protected from discrimination on grounds of ethnicity and disabilities, not on grounds of gender or sexual orientation. In contrast, students in New Secondary Schools are protected from discrimination on all six grounds, including gender and

sexual orientation in all nine provinces.¹⁷ No other requirements concerning education and schooling are mentioned within Austrian Equal Treatment Acts.

Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic two documents regulate equal treatment:

- The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms No. 1/1993 Coll.
- Anti-Discrimination Act

The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms was approved in 1991 by the Federal Assembly of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. In 1992, the Charter was declared a part of the constitutional order of the Czech Republic. In the preamble, the previous political order when fundamental human rights had been suppressed is pointed out and the importance of democratic tradition is mentioned.

In Article 3 the Charter states: “Fundamental human rights and freedoms are guaranteed to everybody irrespective of sex, race, colour of skin, language, faith, religion, political or other conviction, ethnic or social origin, membership in a national or ethnic minority, property, birth, or other status.” The charter does not explicitly list sexual orientation, gender identity or gender (it uses the word sex). However, in contrast to the Anti-discrimination Act, the list of grounds in the Charter is open.

The Anti-Discrimination Act entered into effect in 2009. The act reflects the relevant regulations of the European Union¹⁸ as well as the Charter of the Fundamental Rights and Basic Freedoms and international agreements. It defines the right to equal treatment and prohibition of discrimination with respect to ten areas of public life, including “access to and provision of education, including training (§ 1/1/ i)”. The act lists discriminatory conduct and distinguishes direct and indirect discrimination. Sexual harassment is explicitly mentioned as behaviour that shall be considered to be discrimination (§ 2/2). The Act lists eleven discriminatory grounds including sex and sexual orientation with the specification: “Discrimination on grounds of pregnancy, maternity and paternity and on grounds of sexual identification¹⁹ shall also be considered to be discrimination on grounds of sex” (§ 2/4) .

In the Commentary on the Anti-Discrimination Act, Kvasnicová (2015) states that the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of gender takes into account not only the biological differences among men

¹⁷ The reason for the difference is that there is different legislation for the federal government (Bund) and for the federal states (Bunderländer). Compulsory schools are federal state schools - Landesschulen, and Academic Secondary Schools are federal government schools - Bundesschulen.

¹⁸ The list of regulations of the European Union mentioned in the Anti-discrimination Act can be found at the footnote of the section 1/1 of the Act.

¹⁹ “Sexual identification” is considered as a synonym for gender identity (Kvasnicová, Šamánek 2015).

and women, but also those socially designed, culturally given gender differences. The Anti-Discrimination Act, according to Kvasnicová, in individual passages defining what differentiation between men and women is discriminatory or not, applies three different approaches to the equality of men and women. The principle of different life experiences of men and women prevails. The principle of equality which emphasizes the similarity of men and women, and considers social differences to be a social construction, is also present.

The specific provisions of the Anti-Discrimination Act relating to men and women refers to the field of work and employment, the provision of services and the social security system for workers. There are no gender-related specific provisions in the area of education.

Hungary

In Hungary it is the Act CXXV/2003 on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities that regulates gender equality.²⁰ The Act was introduced in 2003, before the EU accession, in order to expand the list of protected grounds of discrimination in the Constitution, and to harmonize the Constitution, the Labour Code and the relevant EU Directives. The Act contains a detailed list of 20 grounds of discrimination, including sex/gender (which is one word in Hungarian), family status, motherhood (pregnancy) or fatherhood, sexual orientation and gender identity (§ 8).

The Act includes a section on Education and Training (§ 27-29). It defines which educational institutions the Act applies to (§ 27/1), and lists the cases in which the principle of equal treatment is to be applied, including access to education and educational services, setting requirements, evaluation and assessment, issuing certificates and degrees, and access to career counselling (§ 27/2). Then it lists cases that offend the requirement of equal treatment (§ 27/3) and that do not offend the requirement of equal treatment (§ 28). Among the latter, sex/gender is mentioned in the context of providing education for only one sex/gender: “It does not violate the requirement of equal treatment if education is organized only for students of one sex/gender, provided that such participation in education is voluntary, and, furthermore, that participants do not experience any disadvantage as a result. (§ 28/1).”

1.2.2. Education Acts

Austria

In Austria the following Acts regulate public and higher education:

²⁰ In Hungarian: <http://www.egyenlobanasmod.hu/data/eselytorveny.pdf>

- School Organization Act – Schulorganisationsgesetz (SchOG) 1962
- Higher Education Act 2005, Amendment 2010 - Bundesgesetz über die Organisation der Pädagogischen Hochschulen und ihre Studien (Hochschulgesetz 2005 - HG)
- Service Law Amendment 2013 - Dienstrechts-Novelle 2013
- Educational principle "Education to Equality between Women and Men" - Unterrichtsprinzip "Erziehung zur Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern" (since October 2018: Educational principle "Reflexive Gender Education and Gender Equality" - Unterrichtsprinzip "Reflexive Geschlechterpädagogik und Gleichstellung")

The School Legislation of 1962 provides the legal basis for the Austrian school system and contains a number of laws and legal amendments. The School Organization Act (Schulorganisationsgesetz - SchOG) is the key element; it came into force in 1963.

Analysing the current Austrian education system from an equality point of view, it is worth looking at this School Organization Act and how it developed during the last decades²¹. It is significant that from 1962 on,

- basic changes could only be carried out by parliament with a two-thirds majority.
- The exemption from fees for pupils at public schools enabled more girls to attend school.
- Girl-specific school types were founded based on conceptions of women's and men's differences, women's "nature" or their specific skills and tasks; these girls-specific school types supported girls' educational access. However, they were based on an image of women that was shaped by their future roles as housewives and mothers; this specific role of women was by then institutionalized and professionalized in certain types of school (for example, "Fachschule für wirtschaftliche Frauenberufe") and "womanly-life-science" subjects.
- Different curricula were provided: the subject "girls' handicrafts" (mainly skills for the private/domestic sector) and the subject "boys' handicrafts"; "housekeeping" was a compulsory subject only for girls and showed the ideological linkage of femininity and housework as an expression of the female "essence".
- Training of teachers was raised to a higher academic level (change from "Lehrerbildungsanstalten" to „Pädagogische Akademien“) except two subjects and teachers of these subjects: „handicraft for girls" and "housekeeping".
- Coeducation was provided only in certain cases.

Within the 5th amendment of the School Organization Act in 1975, co-education was introduced in Austrian Schools (not for private schools); it came into force in 1976 (BGBl. Nr. 323/1975). This was seen

²¹ for the following summary see: Guggenberger 2017

as a big step towards gender equality: coeducation was thought to overcome gendered school choices, and subsequently the gendered labour market; furthermore, it should help girls and boys in dealing in a fair and egalitarian manner with each other. From then on, gender segregation was only possible in exceptional cases; coeducation was implemented without revising curricula or teaching materials (such as textbooks).

Coeducational “handicrafts” was implemented in primary schools due to a curriculum amendment in 1979 (BGBl. Nr. 9/1979). The curriculum for “girls’ handicrafts” in secondary schools was revised, and specific further training for teachers was offered. Between 1979 and 2012 there were several amendments regulating handicrafts subjects for boys and girls, based on the idea that girls and boys should learn different technical working skills according to gender stereotypes. In New Secondary Schools (grades 5 to 8), the formerly separate subjects of ‘Technical Work’ and ‘Textile Work’ were merged in 2012, in a bid to avoid early gender-differentiation in students’ paths of study. Because of continuing stereotypical choices of girls and boys, the former mandatory choice between the two subjects was abolished. The new system is expected to have an impact on students’ subsequent choice of subjects, particularly by reducing girls’ inhibitions in the areas of technology and crafts. A short information sheet (Sutterlüti 2014), published on behalf of the Ministry of Education, provides didactic suggestions. The new, merged subject will also be taught in academic secondary school lower level from 2021.

The Higher Education Act 2005 and its Amendment 2010 (Hochschulgesetz 2005 - HG) is a federal law on the organisation of Austria’s nine public University Colleges of Teacher Education and their studies. The studies offered have to take into account changing requirements in professionalization as well as new scientific findings; these have to be transferred into pedagogical practice (§ 9/4). Amongst others, the following principles should be considered: “to strengthen social competence (including the ability to provide social, moral-ethical and religious values, as well as gender and diversity competence)” (§ 9/6/8) as well as “equal treatment and equality between women and men” (§ 9/6/12). Furthermore, „[i]n the fulfilment of their tasks, the University Colleges of Teacher Education have to implement the strategy of gender mainstreaming; they have to take into account findings of gender studies and gender sensitive didactics” (§ 9/8).

The terminology used is gender and diversity competence, as well as gender sensitivity; it is framed as an issue of equal opportunities/equality. All this is strongly linked with quality standards of education and teaching based on newest scientific findings. Gender is not related to other grounds of inequality explicitly, except the mention of gender & diversity competence, without the text defining this competence.

The Service Law Amendment 2013 (Dienstrechts-Novelle 2013) is a federal law which lays down the service law for teachers in general education/school (primary and secondary schools). The original law dates from 1948. In recent years, especially within the framework of European cooperation, competence

orientation has increasingly become the focus of attention within educational processes. Within this frame of competence orientation and capacity building, developing gender and diversity skills for future teachers should play an important role: “teacher training programmes (...) have to ensure the development of professional competences such as general pedagogical competencies, professional and didactic competences, diversity and gender competences, social competence and a concept of the teaching profession” (annex 2 to § 38). Gender is explicitly mentioned, but not explained or defined.

The teaching principle “Education to Equality between Women and Men” is a decree of the Federal Ministry of Education (BMBWK, n.d.). Since 1995 it has been integrated into the curricula of all types of schools in the Austrian education system. It declares that the principle of gender equality is a cross-curricular theme. The principle is mandatory for all teachers; nevertheless, there are many teachers who do not know that it exists. This principle is one out of ten principles (such as intercultural learning, political education, and road safety education). In the year 2017 the Austrian Ministry of Education held two workshops with gender experts to modify the educational principle. In October 2018 the modified version “Reflexive Gender Education and Gender Equality” came into force (the following information refers to the version from 1995).

The principle is framed as an issue of eliminating discrimination against women - in accordance with Article 4 of the CEDAW Convention. Two resolutions of the National Council followed: one in 1985 that requested from the Ministry of Education “to see to it that [...] education to partnership is increasingly incorporated in all school areas as a principle overlapping the individual subjects” (2); one in 1988 when the Federal Government was requested “to see to it that the discrimination of girls in all social domains is eliminated by legal and political measures” (ibid.). Since Austria is a member of the EU there are resolutions that are important in the educational field, for example the Council Resolution of 1985, where the importance of “equal opportunities for girls and boys in education” is mentioned (ibid.).

The principle is intended to help “to increasingly consider gender equality matters in the contents of curricula, in class, in textbooks and other education materials used, and to intensify discussion of these topics in schools” (ibid., 3). It should raise awareness and support teachers to make steps towards achieving equality between women and men.

“The educational principle is meant to educate to a conduct in the daily dealings with one’s fellow beings that is carried by the principle of partnership between women and men on the basis of equality. Besides, female and male pupils are to be led towards a readiness to reflect on causes and effects of traditional sex-specific discrimination, and, on the basis of their perceptions, to develop an attitude which will enable them to contribute to equality between women and men.” (ibid.)

The six goals of the principle encompass (1) raising awareness of sex-specific socialization through family, school, the media and the world of work and the impacts of socialisation; (2) sex-specific division of labour in work and career and in the private domain; (3) understanding the role of teaching contents, education materials and the behaviour of all school partners in reproducing and perpetuating gender role stereotypes in education; (4) reflection on one's own conduct, on classroom interaction, on everyday dealings with one's fellow beings and on one's own sex-role concepts; (5) raising awareness of forms and the prevention of violence and sexism at school, at the workplace, in the media; (6) supporting the elimination of sex-specific prejudices and discrimination, encouragement of self-confidence and socio-cooperative attitudes, and promotion of a conduct of boys and girls based on the principle of partnership (ibid.).

The principle has an equality approach. Within the arguments for the principle one finds mostly "eliminating the discrimination against women". The five intents mention sex-role concepts, sexism, sex-specific prejudices, and discrimination. Furthermore, there is a reference to the strategy of gender mainstreaming: the principle is seen as a "measure according to the strategy of gender mainstreaming in the field of teaching and education requiring a comprehensive gender perspective" (ibid., 5). The educational principle is also framed as an issue of self-realisation. As is typical in documents from the 1990s, only two sexes are mentioned and there is no intersectional perspective.

Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic the currently effective Education Act was introduced in 2004. It regulates pre-school, primary (basic), secondary, tertiary professional and other education at schools and school facilities and stipulates broad principles and goals of education. The Act replaced the Education Act from 1984, which was modified or supplemented several times between 1988 and 2004. The Act introduces a new system of curricular documents - the two-level system consisting of the framework for education programmes at the national level, and school educational programmes at the school level.

According to the Education Act, "education shall be based on principles of a) equal access of all citizens of the Czech Republic or nationals of any other European Union Member State to education without any discrimination based on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, belief or religion, nationality, ethnic or social origin, property, kith or kin, or the health condition or any other status of a citizen" (§ 2/1/a). General goals of education mentioned among others are "understanding and application of the principle of equality of women and men in society" (§ 2/2/d).

The current Education Act has been modified many times since it came into force, but the principles and goals of education stipulated in the Act from 2004 remain the same. However, the principles and goals are

broad. In contrast to the Anti-discrimination Act, the Education Act does not include an explicit obligation on the part of the schools and other stakeholders to not discriminate. The Act does not operate with the term gender, does not question the binary system of gender (women/men) and does not explain what the “principle of equality of women and men in society” means and how this goal should be achieved.

Hungary

In Hungary the current Public Education Act²² was introduced in 2011. It declares the aims and guiding principles of public education and regulates its institutional operation. This Act was preceded by the Act LXXIX/1993 on Public Education, which was modified several times between 1993 and 2011. The Act introduced in 2011 has new concepts, approaches and structure. Among the aims and guiding principles of the Act is the following: “Public education, in its entirety, is defined by the moral and intellectual values of knowledge, justice, order, freedom, fairness and solidarity, by equal treatment, and by the promotion of sustainable development and healthy lifestyles. Public education jointly serves the common good and individual goals that respect the rights of others. (§ 1/2).” The principle of equal opportunities is not included among the aims, and gender equity or equality is not mentioned in any form or context, either explicitly or implicitly, in the Act. The principle of ‘equal treatment’ harmonizes the Act with the Equal Treatment Act, although there is no reference to this Act in the text of the Public Education Act.

This way the Act does not acknowledge or at least ignores the existence of gender inequalities in education and, consequently, it does not propose any measures in order to alleviate them. Equal treatment is only mentioned a few times in a very general way or in connection with ‘disadvantaged students’, which refers to students of a disadvantaged family background (i.e. poor or Roma). In the previous Public Education Act of 1993, equal treatment, equal opportunities and disadvantaged students were mentioned in the same way as in the current Act. Similarly, in the current Higher Education Act of 2011 gender or gender equality or women and men are not mentioned at all, and equal opportunities refer to disadvantaged, disabled and ethnic minority students and to those on childcare leave. The latter affects primarily women, as the proportion of men on childcare leave is very low, but it is a very specific group of women, not women in general.

Gender equality has not been considered a significant issue for Hungarian public education since the democratic transition, which is reflected in the previous and current Public Education Acts and other policy documents. Perhaps this is the legacy of the state-socialist period, during which equal access to

²² Act CXCV/2011 on National Public Education:

<http://bkmkik.hu/attachments/article/62/Hat%C3%A1lyos%20k%C3%B6zvetlen%C3%A9si%20t%C3%B6rv%C3%A9ny.doc>

education was granted for both girls and boys. Equality between women and men is also a fundamental right in the European Union. The interpretation of gender equality as equal access is restrictive, it does not consider persisting gender inequalities and their re/production within education systems where girls and boys participate in equal numbers.

1.2.3. Equality Strategies

Gender equality strategies exist in all three countries. In Austria there are two specific documents aiming for gender equality in education, one of which is an adopted EU strategy. In the Czech Republic there are four strategic documents, one specifically for gender equality in education, and two general gender equality strategies, both including provisions for education. In addition, there is also an education strategy document which mentions gender equality. In Hungary there is one general strategic document for gender equality with provisions for education, but there is no specific policy for gender equality in education.

Austria

Austria's Federal government educational policies have been drawn up with reference to the "Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ET 2020" (European Commission 2017, BMBWF 2018b). ET 2020 is not a law, but a cooperation of EU countries to develop common policy goals, and to exchange experiences in developing political projects to initiate national developments.

One of the six priority areas introduced in 2015 is "inclusive education, equality, equity, non-discrimination and the promotion of civic competences" (2015 Joint Report, 2). The ET 2020 framework considers education and training as essential for promoting these areas of social cohesion, equality and non-discrimination (4). Within this priority area, concrete issues are outlined to address the issue of gender gaps in education and training, and unequal opportunities for women and men, and to promote more gender-balanced educational choices (9). The framework underlines the impact of gender stereotypes and the responsibility of teachers and other educational staff: "Bullying, harassment and violence in the learning environment, including gender-related, cannot be tolerated. Learning institutions and teachers, trainers, school leaders and other educational staff must be equipped and supported for learners to experience inclusion, equality, equity, non-discrimination and democratic citizenship in their learning environments." (4)

The Declaration and Platform for Action of the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (United Nations 1995) stressed the need for action against worldwide obstacles to gender equality and established gender mainstreaming as a strategy to promote gender equality. Stipulated by this Beijing

Platform for Action, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education developed three so called “Action Plans” with specific gender related strategies and measures:

- “Action Plan 2000 - 99 measures to promote gender equality for schools and adult education (1997-2000)”²³ with a focus on girls’ career and life plans, girls and technology, the implementation of the Educational principle "Education to Equality between Women and Men", and coeducation. Since its release, all gender equality activities of the Ministry of Education have been linked to this action plan (Guggenberger 2017, 218-219, 723-728).
- “Action Plan 2003 - Gender Mainstreaming and the promotion of women in schools and adult education (2000-2003)”²⁴ with five priorities: school quality and equal opportunities, gender sensitive vocational orientation/girls and technology, development of networks/support for agents, equal treatment and promotion of women, adult education/women and new technologies (ibid., 729).
- “Action Plan 2003 - Gender Mainstreaming and gender sensitive education (2003-2006)”²⁵ with a focus on gender sensitive education, gender sensitive vocational orientation, and Gender Mainstreaming (ibid., 730)

Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic there are four strategic documents that are relevant for the field of gender and education. The document *The Status of Gender Equality and the Proposal for a Medium-term Strategic Plan on Gender Equality in the MŠMT* was prepared by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MŠMT) and published on its website in 2013. The study describes a framework for the definition of gender equality in education, the institutional provision of gender equality policy in education and describes the situation in the following areas: representation of women and men in the teaching profession; representation of girls and boys in the student population; school results of girls and boys; choice of their further study and career; gender equality in the formal curriculum²⁶; and gender equality in teacher training. It also deals with the funding of education and gender equality in sport, science and research. (MŠMT, 2013)

The proposal is divided into two parts: a) Medium-term strategy of gender equality in education, b) Medium-term strategy of gender equality in research and development. For both areas, the plan sets out

²³ Aktionsplan 2000 – 99 Maßnahmen zur Förderung der Gleichstellung im Bereich von Schule und Erwachsenenbildung (Aktionszeitraum 1997-2000).

²⁴ Aktionsplan 2003 – Gender-Mainstreaming & Frauenförderung in Schule und Erwachsenenbildung (Aktionszeitraum 2000-2003).

²⁵ Aktionsplan 2003 – Gender-Mainstreaming und geschlechtssensible Bildung (Aktionszeitraum 2003-2006).

²⁶ Findings on formal curriculum described in this MŠMT document are presented in Part 2.1 Framework Educational Programmes.

four medium-term objectives together and proposes sub-measures and evaluation indicators. The document is targeted at policymakers and authorities at the MŠMT. It claims the partial policy steps formulated by the annual Priorities and Procedures of MŠMT in the Promotion of Equal Opportunities for Men and Women “are not based on actual facts and do not refer to the clearly defined, long-term objective of democratic socio-economic development” (MŠMT 2013, p.5).

The aim is to: “describe the current situation in the general areas which should be addressed in the framework of the gender equality policy of the MŠMT” (p.5). Next, to propose the structure of the gender equality agenda under the MŠMT and identify the lack of information in some areas. The proposal focuses on topics that “can be solved by policy at MŠMT level and that are also relevant and important in the current Czech context” (p. 6).

According to the proposal, the main aim of the school policy is to “eliminate the negative consequences of gender stereotypes, i.e. simplifying and generalizing ideas about what men and women should be like” (p.6). Referring to international institutions (not specified,) the study states that the state of gender equality in education includes the requirement that students obtain information about gender stereotypes in order to be able (if they want to) to reject them.

The main approach is an equality approach. With reference to the documents of the European Union and the United Nations, namely *Europe 2020*, the *Lisbon Treaty* and the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. The study states that gender equality is framed by the general value orientation of European culture and economic productivity. It also mentions the idea of an individual's free choice.

The study points to a combination of gender and social background that has a greater impact on boys, who outnumber girls in apprenticeships with a professional certification, and on average gain poorer educational outcomes. It mentions the bimodal status of education for boys, which shows that the education system keeps boys who were born into elite social groups at the highest level of the social scale, whereas boys from socially disadvantaged groups remain at the lowest level of the social scale. In the introductory part, it points out that the heteronormative character of gender stereotypes disadvantages people with a different sexual orientation, however, it does not mention different sexual orientation further in the text.

The study describes the state of gender inequality in the Czech education system in different areas, relies on a number of research studies and identifies areas where data are deficient. The document consistently uses gender-balanced expressions and the term “gender equality” instead of “equality of men and women”. The study explains the usage of the term gender equality: “...gender equality is a more complex term than that of the equal opportunities of women and men, which is usually used in Czech political documents.

Equal opportunity is a concept of a narrower scope and therefore less relevant in terms of school policy” (p. 6). It emphasizes the need for a non-stereotypical view on girls and boys, women and men, but apart from the above-mentioned social status, it does not work with other types of inequality.

The second Czech document, the *Government Strategy for Equality of Women and Men in the Czech Republic for 2014 - 2020* was launched by the Office of the Government of the Czech Republic in 2014 with the aim to create a framework for the application of the policy of equality between women and men in the country. Specifically, the strategy provides a broader framework for the annual update of the *Priorities and Policies of the Government in Promoting Equal Opportunities for Women and Men*. The vision and mission of the strategy are described as follows. Vision: “Gender equality is a contribution and a value for entire society, therefore we strive to achieve this equality as a basic human right and to ensure that it is not only an ideal in the Czech Republic but also reality” (p. 4). Mission: “We strive for fair society – fair distribution of resources, equal position and balanced participation of women and men in all spheres and at all level[s] of social life, we strive to achieve identical visibility, dignity and recognition of men and women in society” (p. 4).

It introduces international, national and institutional contexts of gender equality promotion in CR with many references to both European and national policy documents. It describes the status of equality of women and men in CR and defines main strategic areas²⁷ which need to be improved. One of them is “Education, research and gender equality in knowledge society.” Identified problems, the main goal, and specific goals and indicators are described. It also suggests the implementation of the strategy.

In general, the Strategy addresses the government and policy makers. It is designed to be considered as a framework and background for the formulation of the annual Priorities and Policies of the Government in the Promoting of Gender Equality. In the implementation part, it addresses all relevant actors.

Gender equality is considered as a human right, a basic principle of democratic society and “an important factor for ensuring and maintaining consensus and stability through society at social as well as economic level” (p. 5). Principles of non-discrimination and equal opportunities and economic growth are also mentioned in relation to gender equality. Gender equality is described as a cross-sectional theme, authors therefore hope the strategy will “improve the real state of hitherto systematically unresolved complex agendas, such as for example multiple discrimination, eventually it will reinforce gender perspective in areas for which strategic documents already exist (for example social exclusion)” (p. 9).

The chapter devoted to education and research identifies these particular problems:

²⁷ Institutional security of gender equality; Balanced representation of men and women in decision-making positions; Gender equality on labour market and in business; Reconciliation of working, private and family life; Education, research and gender equality in knowledge society; Dignity and integrity of women; Gender equality in external relations; Everyday life and lifestyle; Horizontal strategic priorities.

1. Horizontal and vertical gender segregation in the educational system.
2. Imbalanced representation of men teachers and women teachers in various levels of the educational system.
3. Unfair conditions and treatment of girls and boys during the process of education.
4. Insufficient acknowledgment of gender problems in curriculum and lessons.
5. Low representation of women and low possibility of their professional assertion in research, science and innovations. Insufficient inclusion of gender perspective in the creation of scientific knowledge and innovations.
6. Sexual harassment in school facilities. (p. 20)

The main goals are defined as follows: “Strengthening gender equality in the educational system. Decreasing horizontal and vertical gender segregation between teachers and students. Increasing sensibility of (sic!) gender matters in the educational system. Equalization of the position of women and men in science, research and innovation (p. 20)”.

At the very beginning, the strategy states that gender equality and equality of women and men are used as synonyms, even though the authors know the terms are not identical. The wording in the English and the Czech versions is different: the English version uses the term gender equality four times more often than the Czech version, where the term equality of women and men is preferred. The Strategy uses a binary concept of gender, it does not address gender identity and intersectionality in the field of education.

The third Czech policy document is called *Priorities and Policies of the Government in Promoting Equal Opportunities for Women and Men by 2018* (“the Priorities”) and was approved in 1998 by the Government. Since then, the document has been evaluated and updated each year. The priorities stipulate measures which each ministry and other relevant authorities should implement in the relevant year. Since the adoption of the *Government Strategy for Equality of Women and Men in the Czech Republic for 2014 - 2020*, the Priorities follow the structure of the Strategy and suggested measures are based on main goals described in the Strategy.

Within the updated measures of the Priorities for 2018, each suggested measure includes the description and justification of the measure, a specific goal of the Strategy related to the measure, outputs, indicators, the deadline and a coordinator of the measure. Individual outputs within each measure are planned until the end of the year 2020. Measures within the field “Education, research and gender equality in knowledge society” are the following: to include principles of gender equality in the Framework educational programmes; to include principles of gender equality in the process of reviewing schoolbooks; to ensure the support of ICT education in connection with supporting the equality between men and women; to

support an equal approach to girls and boys and taking gender equality into account in primary and secondary schools.

The document works with the notion “gender equality” and not only with the notion “equality of men and women” and uses gender-sensitive language. In the section on education, intersectionality is not mentioned.

The fourth Czech policy document is the *Strategy for Education Policy in the Czech Republic until 2020*²⁸. It was launched in 2014, and it states that a number of objectives set out in the *White Paper* (see: the section on Curricula) have not been approached in a systematic manner and it assumes that for the upcoming period a limited number of priorities must be set. The Strategy explains why the Czech Republic needs a new education strategy, formulates its vision, describes strategic priorities and suggests the implementation of the strategy. It refers to the document *Education and Training in Europe 2020*.

The priorities set out by the Strategy are the following:

- “Reducing inequalities in education
- Supporting high-quality teaching and teachers as a prerequisite for such teaching,
- Governing the system in a responsible and efficient manner” (p. 3).

The main approach of the Strategy is the equality approach. It addresses a persisting problem of deepening educational inequality among pupils and refers to research studies which show the school performance of Czech children is strongly dependent on the pupil’s family background. Specifically, the Strategy points to the education of Roma children and young people²⁹.

With regard to gender equality, the Strategy mentions gender explicitly in only two cases. Firstly, when explaining the priority of reducing inequalities in education. “The Strategy aims to ensure that no social group faces a disadvantage in access to school education and that educational opportunities and outcomes are to the least possible degree influenced by factors such as gender³⁰, socio-economic status, region, nationality, cultural background (immigrants), etc. that one cannot influence” (p. 13). Secondly, it mentions “increasing age and gender imbalance within the teaching profession” (p. 27). Apart from these, gender equality or equality between men and women is not explicitly mentioned as a priority or a principle.

²⁸ Czech version: http://www.msmt.cz/uploads/Strategie_2020_web.pdf

English version: http://www.vzdelavani2020.cz/images_obsah/dokumenty/strategy_web_en.pdf

²⁹ Discrimination of Roma children in the Czech education system has been criticised by both internationally as well as Czech human rights organizations for many years.

³⁰ In the Czech version, the term ‘sex’ is used instead of ‘gender’.

Hungary

In Hungary the strategic document for gender equality is called *National Strategy for the Promotion of Social Equality of Women and Men - Directions and Goals 2010-2021*.³¹ It was adopted by the Parliament under a socialist-liberal government coalition in 2010. It declares the commitment of the government to the realization of gender equality and it binds every ministry to report to the government on the progress made in their areas biannually. The Strategy is based on the *Roadmap for equality between women and men (2006-2010)* of the European Commission. It has 6 prioritised areas, one of which is the “promotion of the elimination of gender-related stereotypes” (priority 5), and this is the area that specifically focuses on education, but references to education appear in other priorities, as well. The document’s frame of reference for gender is equal opportunities, anti-discrimination, and gender mainstreaming. In this line, the document lists educational targets and principles based on goals in relevant EU directives, such as rejecting social exclusion, assisting individual development and educating active citizens.

The current conservative government, which won the 2010, 2014 and 2018 elections, has not invested too much political and financial means into the realization of this Strategy. More recently, references to this document can only be found in the government’s reports that they are obliged to produce under international conventions, e.g. a report to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 2017 claimed that the current gender equality strategy was going to remain in force until 2021³². However, many of the current government’s policies and political actions, including those in education, contradict the goals and principles of this Strategy. The ambiguous status of this document, which is only nominally in force, must be taken into account when one considers its contents. As it is, it mainly serves as a reminder of how the previous government had planned to strive for gender equality, in education among other fields, in line with the EU’s goals.

The strategy identifies the existence of gender inequality in its different forms as problematic. It takes account of important statistical gender-related data and provides a detailed evaluation of the Hungarian educational system from a gender perspective. Thus, it highlights that the field of education is highly gender-segregated. Although the educational level of women is somewhat higher in general than that of men, education reinforces gender stereotypes and contributes to the maintenance of a gender-segregated labour market. As a highly worrying trend, Roma women suffer significant disadvantages and

³¹ <http://docplayer.hu/1703788-A-nok-es-ferfiak-tarsadalmi-egyenloseget-elosegito-nemzeti-strategia-iranyok-es-celok-2010-2021.html>

³² <http://ccprcentre.org/files/documents/CCPR:C:HUN:6.pdf>

discrimination in public education, their drop-out rate is high, to which early childbearing contributes greatly, significantly decreasing their future chances of social integration.

In the analysis of the educational system, the document claims that although the aim was to create frame curricula that respond to advantages and disadvantages related to gender, ethnicity, class etc., there had not been detailed background analyses on educational policy, so it was not possible to achieve this. However, gender identity was pointed out as a ground for discrimination that needed to be addressed by educational policies. A decree on integrating a gender equality perspective into coursebooks was available, however, without a specific related protocol. In teacher training, there had been no reforms with the aim of integrating gender pedagogy and feminist pedagogy, such courses were only available on an elective basis at some universities. In the field of public education, gender segregation had grown, with an increasing number of women in this professional field, who still face vertical segregation and the “glass ceiling” phenomenon, blocking their access to managerial positions.

In general, the strategy aims to promote equal access to general education and vocational training for both girls and boys, and to reduce the inequality of opportunities for Roma women vis-a-vis non-Roma women. The document also sets strategic directions and goals for education, with reference to the strategy’s specific priorities. For the promotion of better sharing of work and family responsibilities between men and women (priority 2.4), it suggests that non-stereotypical education for both girls and boys should be emphasized, especially in relation to care work - looking after babies, children, the sick etc. - and housework - cooking, working around the house -, from kindergarten on. In order to promote equal participation of women and men in science and research (priority 3.3), a gendered approach and methodology should be integrated into research, and the obstacles to women’s access to the scientific and academic field should be reduced. In connection with the goal of eliminating violence against women (priority 4), the concrete aims set by the strategy are to introduce courses on the phenomenon of violence against women (VAW), on related misconceptions and the tendency to romanticize VAW, and on how to recognize abusive behaviour. In relation to sexual self-determination (priority 4.5), the document aims to provide - in primary and secondary schools - objective knowledge related to sexual culture and behaviour, and preparation for adult life and responsible, pleasurable intimate relationships.

The section on the priority of eliminating gender stereotypes (priority 5) contains several education-related specific goals. It aims to revise the National Core Curriculum in order to promote the idea of non-stereotypical gender identity and competences for ensuring equal opportunities in society. In order to help their implementation, it aims to organize related training for educational staff. Another target is to further develop gender-related criteria regarding coursebooks and course materials in every relevant subject, and to adhere to gender equality as a horizontal aim during the development of educational tools. The strategy aims to gather researchers who would create a pool of knowledge for gender-related educational policy

innovation and development, and for the development of strategic educational policy recommendations in the field. None of the above targets have been realized since the introduction of the strategy.

2. School curricula

The compulsory education system and content regulation is somewhat different in the three countries. We have briefly described the three schooling systems in the Introduction. As for content regulation, in Austria there is a general curriculum, and curricula for individual subjects. The curricula are nearly the same for both types of schools. The current curricula date from 2000 (Academic Secondary School - Lower Cycle) and 2012 (New Secondary School), but there have been modifications – the latest one for the subject “Technical and Textile Work” dates from 2017. The curriculum for “History, Social Studies and Political Education” was modified and started progressively with the school year 2016/17. The curriculum for “Digital Basic Education” dates from April 2018 and starts progressively with the school year 2018/19. For subjects taught both in Academic Secondary School – Lower Cycle and in New Secondary School, curricula are the same (BMBWK 2018i, BMBWK 2018j). In New Secondary School “Technical and Textile Work” is one subject (the curriculum has been modified in 2017), in Academic Secondary School – Lower Cycle, two subjects still exist, “Technical Work” and “Textile Work”. The general curricula in Austria explicitly mention gender and gender equality, scholarship on gender differences in school performance and gender-sensitive teaching methodology.

In the Czech Republic the Education Act from 2004 introduced a new curricular system, which consists of documents developed at two levels: the national level and the school level. “The national level in the curricular documents system comprises the National Education Programme and Framework Educational Programmes (FEPs). The National Education Programme defines initial education as a whole. The Framework Educational Programmes define binding educational norms across various stages: pre-school education, basic education and upper-secondary education. The school level consists of school educational programmes (SEPs), forming the basis of education at the individual schools” (VÚP, 2007, p. 6). The Czech education policy documents do not mention gender or gender equality.

In Hungary learning content is regulated on three levels. The National Core Curriculum (NCC) is the document which defines priority areas in primary and secondary education and provides a general framework for contents to be taught in the different learning areas. Learning areas are divided into subjects in the frame curricula, which describe the learning contents of each subject in detail, for every year of every school type. The third level is the local curriculum, which every school has to have. The local curriculum can use up to 10% of the time frame prescribed for each subject in the frame curricula differently. The current NCC was introduced in 2012 by the conservative government, followed by the

introduction of new frame curricula, based on the new NCC, in 2012-2013. In general, the new curricula are characterised by nationalism and patriotism, and a strong focus on the heteronormative family. Gender is mostly discussed in a family context or as biologically determined characteristics, and it takes up very little space in the learning contents of school subjects and in general educational goals and developmental tasks. The curricula reflect an outdated gender perspective, in which women and men are seen as opposites complementing each other. This view reinforces gender stereotypes, does not acknowledge the diversity of women and men, people with gender identities other than women and men, and does not question societal norms and power relations. LGBTQIA people and issues, and non-heteronormative families are not mentioned in the curricula at all. In most cases, the wording of topics related to gender is completely gender-neutral, but this 'gender-neutrality' conceals gender-blindness and unproblematic male dominance.

2.1. General curricula

Austria

In Austria the general curriculum (Lehrpläne Neue Mittelschulen) contains general educational objectives, general didactic principles, school and lesson planning, and timetables. Then the curricula for the individual subjects follow. In the general part of the curricula there are some references to gender.

Within part 1 "general educational objectives" gender is referred to twice:

- as part of the „guiding principles“ gender, diversity and gender mainstreaming are mentioned: “In the wake of Gender Mainstreaming and gender equality schools are obliged to deal with the relevance of gender at all levels of teaching and learning” (Lehrpläne Neue Mittelschulen, 2).
- as part of the “educational areas” (Bildungsbereiche) one can find the educational principle “Education to Equality between Women and Men”. Within the educational area “people and society” one can read: “Pupils should be guided to deal with oneself and others in a responsible way, especially concerning gender, sexuality and partnership. They should learn to recognize and critically examine the causes and effects of roles assigned to the sexes. [...] The preparation for the private life and for participation in public life (in particular the working and professional environment) has to be oriented towards economic efficiency, social cohesion, equal participation for both sexes, and ecological sustainability” (4-5). Within part 2 “general didactic principles” there is a sub-item “diversity and inclusion, gender equality and equal opportunities”. There, schools are seen as a place for non-discriminatory learning and development opportunities, a place where girls and boys are supported regardless of attributions and background (7-8).

Furthermore, “reflexive coeducation and gender-sensitive pedagogy” is specified:

- “Coeducation is not limited to simultaneous teaching of female and male students. Rather, gender-specific stereotyping has to be dealt with using research-based approaches in order to develop girls’ and boys’ scope for action and their potential as widely as possible. It is essential to select learning contents and teaching methods in a way that they address both genders equally. Lessons have to be designed in a way that they counteract different experiences due to socialization. Teachers are obliged to create a (learning) climate of mutual respect and to reflect on their own expectations, gender roles, and patterns of interaction. Teachers should acquire basic knowledge on gender studies, both subject-related and concerning educational, psychological, sociological, and didactic issues” (9).
- It is noted that depending on specific content or situations it may make sense to perform the lessons temporarily separated by gender. This step is seen as something that can contribute to an expansion of the behavioural and interest spectrum of girls and boys – but only when conducted by gender-competent teachers (9).

Concerning performance assessment, gender research is mentioned: teachers should be aware that their expectations of their students’ performance may have possible effects (12).

Within part 3 “school and lesson planning”, concerning leisure time and all-day schools, gender sensitive education is mentioned as one of eight subitems. It is stated that different roles and behaviours of men and women in society should be reflected and stereotypes should be counteracted with appropriate offers (20).

Czech Republic

The *National Programme for the Development of Education in the Czech Republic (The White Paper)*³³ was introduced in 2001. It was conceived “as a systematic project formulating intellectual basis, general goals and development programmes of the education system in the medium term” (p. 7). The White Paper refers to the European Union, the OECD, the Council of Europe and the UN/UNESCO and states all aspects of Czech education should contribute to the deepening of the country’s integration into international structures. Nevertheless, it does not mention the principle of gender equality or equality between men and women at all. Only in the part devoted to tertiary education it states, “Discrimination in this country has

³³ English and Czech version:

<http://www.msmt.cz/dokumenty/bila-kniha-narodni-program-rozvoje-vzdelavani-v-ceske-republice-formuje-vladni-strategie-v-oblasti-vzdelavani-strategie-odrazi-celospolecenske-zajmy-a-dava-konkretni-podnety-k-praci-skol>

definitely nothing to do with race, gender, religion or political opinion” (p. 71). This sentence can be interpreted in the way that there is no discrimination in the Czech Republic based on these grounds, which is not true. In 2014, the *White Paper* was replaced by the *Strategy for Education Policy in the Czech Republic until 2020*.

*Framework Educational Programmes*³⁴ were introduced into the Czech education system in 2004 by the Educational Act. This is of similar function to the Hungarian *National Core Curriculum*, although the name is similar to the Hungarian Framework Curricula, but the latter is the second level of the three, while the Czech *Framework Programmes* are on the first level of content regulation. FEPs are published for the following educational areas: pre-school, basic and secondary education, as well as basic artistic and language education. They give the opportunity to schools to decide on the structure of educational content and teaching methods. FEPs define the common and necessary level that should be achieved by every pupil/student, which must be kept by every school, but it promotes a variability in the organization of the educational process. Each school must publish its School Educational Programme with respect to the Framework Educational Programme.

FEP for basic education introduces a concept of key competencies which “represent the system of knowledge, skills, abilities, attitudes and values that are important to the individual’s personal development and to the individual’s role in society” (p. 12). The key competencies have an interdisciplinary nature and all the activities taking place at school should aim to further their development. None of the key competencies (learning competencies, problem-solving competencies, communication competencies, social and personal competencies, civil competencies and working competencies) mention gender or the equality of men and women. However, gender-sensitive teachers could find it among communication competencies where “skills to form relations necessary for full-fledged coexistence and quality cooperation with others (p. 13)” are listed; among social and personal competencies where a creation of friendly atmosphere, strengthening of interpersonal relations, respect for others, promotion of his or her self-confidence and individual development are highlighted. The civic competencies refer to awareness of his or her rights and understanding basic principles of law and community standards.

FEP for basic education divides the educational content into nine areas which comprise one or more interlinked subjects. The description of each educational area includes the characteristics of the area, its objectives, subject matter and expected outcomes. FEP does not define compulsory content for every single year of the basic education, but it says what pupils have to know after the first and after the second

³⁴ Czech version: <http://www.msmt.cz/file/41216/>
English version: <http://www.msmt.cz/file/9481>

stage of basic education. FEP also puts across a minimal level of expected outcomes for pupils with special educational needs.

The nine educational areas for basic education are (1) Language and Language Communication (includes Czech Language and Literature and Foreign Language); (2) Mathematics and Its Applications; (3) Information and Communication Technologies; (4) Humans and Their World;³⁵ (5) Humans and Society (includes History and Civic education); (6) Humans and Nature (includes Physics, Chemistry, Natural Sciences and Geography); (7) Arts and Culture (includes Music and Fine Arts); (8) Humans and Health (includes Health Education and Physical Education); and (9) Humans and the World of Work.

Important and mandatory parts of basic education represent cross-curricular subjects. Cross-curricular subjects are considered as a formative element which promotes pupils' personal development. These subjects do not have to be represented at each grade level, the school governs their extent and manner of implementation. However, all thematic areas of cross-curricular subjects must be offered to pupils over the course of basic education. Cross-curricular subjects for basic education are the following: Personal and Social Education; Democratic Citizenship; Education towards Thinking in European and Global Contexts; Multicultural Education; Environmental Education; and Media Education. Except for the mandatory educational areas, the FEP also introduces complementary educational fields which schools may or may not apply. Complementary educational fields cover Drama Education, Ethics Education, Film/Audio-visual Education and Dance and Movement education³⁶.

Hungary

In Hungary the general curriculum is the National Core Curriculum (NCC). It is revised every 4-5 years, currently the 2012 version is in use; the latest revision was due in 2017 but will be completed only in 2018-2019. NCC 2012 reflects the conservative political shift in the government in general and in education policy in particular. This curriculum has new approaches and new contents, including the focus on national identity, patriotism, morality, and the (heteronormative nuclear) family. The document is completely gender-neutral or rather gender-blind. In the few instances where gender occurs, it does so in the context of the heteronormative family, which is one of the main discursive frameworks for gender politics under the current political leadership. This is not only a characteristic of the NCC but also other policy documents and the frame curricula.

In the current NCC gender equality is not included in the sections "Tasks and values of public education", "Areas of development", or among the "Objectives of education". However, it is included among key

³⁵ The area is only for the first stage; therefore it is not a subject of the analysis.

³⁶ The English version from 2007 mentions only drama education and second foreign language.

competences in the section called "Social and Citizenship competences", which is in the chapter called "Key competences": "It is important to be aware of fundamental concepts related to the individual, the group, the working organisation, gender equality, anti-discrimination, society and culture" (p. 10656). Despite the fact that it declares it important to be familiar with the concept of gender equality, this concept is never mentioned in the rest of the NCC or in the frame curricula.

Gender occurs in the learning contents part of NCC, although not very frequently. Learning contents, similarly to the Czech FEP, are defined under various 'learning areas', which are either divided into various school subjects, or describe one subject (e.g. Hungarian language and literature is one subject but it is also a learning area), or are cross-curricular, i.e. they do not cover distinct school subjects but their learning contents are to be embedded in different subjects.

In the learning area "Hungarian Language and Literature" (II.3.1.) "man-woman" is included among a list of "the permanent and changing meanings of some fundamental human life situations, motives, metaphors, *topoi* and archetypes" (p. 10678) for years 9-12. Women and men are indeed fundamental components of literature, but this is the only instance in this thematic section where there is any reference to gender relations.

In the learning area called "People and Society" (which comprises history, moral studies, ethics, homeland and folk culture studies, social, citizenship and economic studies, and philosophy) references to gender are somewhat more frequent. Among the main developmental tasks of the area, the "development of knowledge and skills related to equal treatment and equal opportunities" (p. 10707) is listed. This is the only mention of equal treatment and equal opportunities in the whole ca. 200-page document. In the history section, the following learning contents occur: "Figures of medieval and modern Hungarian history, female and male life paths" (years 1-4); "Kings and statesmen" (years 5-8); "Women's and men's ways of life, social situation, lifestyles"; and "Equality, emancipation" (years 9-12) (p. 10715). Typically, in the frame curricula and textbooks, women's situation and ways of life appear as additional material, and a few queens are part of the historical canon. In the rest of the learning contents for this area, the family is mentioned frequently, especially in the moral studies section. Disadvantaged social positions, social justice and solidarity are thematized in the social, citizenship and economic studies, but there is no reference to gender-based social disadvantages or social justice.

In the "People and Nature" learning area 'differentiation between women and men' appears in the general "Developmental tasks" section and the "Nature" (year 5-6) and "Biology and Health" (year 7-8) parts. Among the Developmental tasks, sex/gender appears only in the parts dealing with reproduction and is completely missing from other parts within the "Human cognition and health" section. Obviously, students do learn about males and females when they are learning about human biology, but in the NCC the language is neutral, 'humans' and 'people' comprise the learning content, not women and men. In the

reproduction sections (pp. 10739, 10740, 10746, 10748) students learn about “differences between the sexes”, “secondary sex characteristics”, reproductive organs, sex hormones, the menstruation cycle, family-planning and contraception, basic sexual hygiene, and intrauterine development and birth. A biological discourse is used in this part of the NCC, and the framework for discussing gender-related topics is “difference between women and men”.

The “Arts” learning area comprises music, drama and dance, visual culture, and motion picture and media studies. Gender appears only in the media studies part, within the learning contents section (p. 10812) under “The social role and usage of the media” thematic section for year 9-12. Students are to learn about the “representation of gender roles”. Gender-related contents appear elsewhere, but gender is implicit in them, for example “body image norms”, “self-serving sexuality” (probably referring to pornography) (p. 10810), and “stereotypes about the representation of social groups in the media” (p. 10812).

The “Home economics, lifestyle and practice” learning area is one of the cross-curricular areas whose learning contents are to be included across subjects. Gender is present there implicitly in the “Basic principles and goals” section. One of the goals is “preparation for family life” (p. 10825), which can mean many things, but it is definitely a gendered area. “The family and household” is a section within the learning contents of all three school periods. Here “labour division” is listed among the topics of this section. As there is no reference to the gendered nature of labour division in the household, it is up to the teacher how s/he treats this topic. This is true about the rest of the explicitly or implicitly gendered topics in NCC (and also the frame curricula). As there is no reference to questioning norms or applying a critical perspective when discussing such topics, they can be very broadly interpreted, and even if gender is brought up as a topic during teaching, it may reinforce gender stereotypes and the ignoring of gendered power relations if the given teacher has sexist attitudes and convictions or is not trained to deal with gender critically.

2.2. Subject curricula

This section includes a brief analysis of Austrian and Czech subject curricula from the perspective of the presence of the notion of gender. This is followed by a longer and more detailed analysis of the Hungarian subject curricula. In Hungary anti-gender propaganda based on a scientifically outdated, essentialist, biologizing and binary approach to gender is becoming more and more salient in education policy (and elsewhere) and is already traceable in the texts of subject curricula, therefore the Hungarian partners found it important to conduct a more lengthy and thorough critical analysis of the curricula, which we include here in the comparative report.

Austria

In the Austrian curricula of the individual subjects³⁷ the teaching task is defined, and references are made to the general educational objective. The part called “didactic principles” provides guidelines on how to design lessons, the part “teaching content” informs about goals and content to be achieved.

In most of the subjects (German, Modern Foreign Language, Geography and Economics, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Biology and Environmental Studies, Music Education, Art Education, Household Economics and Nutrition) gender issues are not mentioned. The same is true for the subjects “Latin” and “Geometric Drawing”, which are only obligatory for the Academic Secondary School - Lower Cycle. Gender issues are an explicit topic only in six subjects: Movement and Sports; Technical and Textile Work/ Design: Technical. Textile/ Handicraft Education; History, Social Studies and Political Education; Career guidance; Digital Basic Education; and Religious Education.

Within the subject “Biology and Environmental Studies” there are references to the body and to sexuality (e.g. “accepting one’s own body, one’s own sexuality”, sexuality/family/partnership and reproduction, conception, pregnancy are mentioned). Within the item “educational and teaching task” it is said that the lessons should be designed in such a way that the following goals can be realized; one of the goals is the following: “Students should gain an understanding of their own body, which enables them to deal with oneself in a responsible way (acceptance of one's own body, one's own sexuality, health promotion) (72).”

Movement and Sports

Gender-specific interests or issues are mentioned twice:

- The subject Movement and Sports shall contribute to develop expertise, self-competence and social competence - amongst other things through “dealing with gender roles in sport and addressing gender-specific interests and needs; acting in partnership (101)”.
- “The educational and teaching task is to be fulfilled in each of the four school levels through setting age-appropriate and developmental priorities. These emphases are to be allocated evenly to the subsections of the teaching content (movement activities) and must also be determined with consideration of gender-specific concerns (103).” There are no further details about the exact meaning of gender-specific interests or concerns.

³⁷ Lehrpläne allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen, BGBl. Nr. 88/1985 in der geltenden Fassung [Curricula for Academic Secondary School, Federal Law Gazette No. 88/1985 in its current version].
<http://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung/Bundesnormen/10008568/Lehrpl%3a4ne%20e2%80%93%20allgemeinbildende%20h%3%b6here%20Schulen%2c%20Fassung%20vom%2013.06.2018.pdf>

Lehrpläne Neue Mittelschulen, BGBl. II Nr. 185/2012 zuletzt geändert durch BGBl. II Nr. 71/2018 [Curricula for New Secondary School, Federal Law Gazette II No. 185/2012, last amended by Federal Law Gazette II No. 71/2018]. <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/Bundesnormen/NOR40201120/NOR40201120.pdf>

Movement and Sports is the only subject taught in single-sex groups from the fifth grade onwards (Schulorganisationsgesetz, § 8b/1). There are some exceptions that allow mixed-sex groups, e.g. if there are not enough pupils for separation or if it is a non-binding subject or if it is appropriate for content-related reasons - like dance, swimming, recreational sports - and if there is more than one teacher with the group of pupils. But it is also mentioned that this is only allowed if it is not “in contradiction with the performances”. The sentence does not specify what precisely is meant by that.

Technical and Textile Work/ Design: Technical. Textile/ Handicraft Education (New Secondary School - Neue Mittelschule NMS)

The curriculum for this subject was modified in 2017. Within the item “educational and teaching tasks” is written: “[The students] will find in this subject diverse approaches to different materials, tools, machines, processes, and design options. This allows them to develop their individual skills, abilities, and competencies free of stereotypical gender attributions (91).” The curriculum also states, “that the access of girls and boys to all occupational fields is promoted” (93). Within the chapter “inclusion and differentiation” individualisation and internal differentiation are seen as a method to “allow students to expand their self-concepts and scope of action, which is often limited by stereotypical attributions” (ibid.).

Within the didactic principle “Reflexive coeducation and gender-sensitive pedagogy” is stated: “A specific didactic challenge in mixed-sex/coeducational teaching lies in the fact that both female and male students have to find manifold access to the discipline without stereotypical mutual attributions and that they can build up their skills correspondingly broad” (96).

Both gender stereotyped tasks and communication should be avoided or reflected. A gender-sensitive attitude of the teachers is seen as very important for reflexive coeducation and gender-sensitive pedagogy. One of the aims mentioned is that the pupils gain confidence in technical matters - regardless of their sex (97).

Technical Work and Textile Work (Academic Secondary School - Lower Cycle)

From September 1, 2021 the Academic Secondary School - Lower Cycle will merge the two subjects Technical Work and Textile Work to one subject. Until then the two subjects are separated. There are no gender-issues mentioned. Only the curriculum of Textile Work mentions stereotypical notions within the content “clothing and fashion” (Lehrpläne allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen, 112).

History, Social Studies and Political Education

This curriculum dates from school year 2016/17. It has the most complex and nuanced approach to the topic of gender: teaching should deal with gender history (Lehrpläne Neue Mittelschulen, 45). Within the educational area “people and society” “the work on a gender-equitable and inclusive society should be in the foreground” (ibid.).

There are some examples of how to deal with gender, e.g. “knowing and evaluating the gendered division of labour” within the teaching content “medieval times” (ibid., 48), “analysing and evaluating the exploitation of women, men and children from ancient times to the present”. Pupils should learn about the women’s movement (54), they should know about different gender-concepts and discuss them (ibid.). Gender roles, their continuity and changeability are part of the curriculum (51) as well as gender disparities (49).

Within the commentary to the curriculum, it is stated that gender history “offers students access to the social and cultural mechanisms of construction and their changeability, which in different cultures can lead to very different concepts of gender. The conventional two-pole view (woman - man) has to be overcome. On the contrary, the manifold individual gender concepts should be made visible as well as their options for action in certain power structures. In addition to dominant positions, which are often prescriptive norms and apparently shape a culture, even ignored or suppressed gender concepts should be taken into account” (Hellmuth and Kühberger 2016, 14).

Career guidance

The curriculum mentions gender-related issues concerning the content “educational and teaching tasks”: “Career guidance also provides an opportunity to review traditional attitudes and prejudices with regard to career and education, and aims to broaden the scope for possible career and educational choices, especially for female pupils” (Lehrpläne Neue Mittelschulen, 109).

The item “teaching content” contains many topics that should be dealt with during vocational orientation, for example the Equal Treatment Act; partnership and division of tasks in family, marriage and domestic cohabitation; understanding of roles (biological role, social role, professional role) of girls and women, boys and men; the problem of returning to work; and part-time work. Pupils should critically reflect on and review personal life and career planning (pre-concepts, own role understanding, gender-specific socialization, etc.) (111). The specific role of girls and women is a topic, including the double burden of working women and solutions, and enhancing self-esteem, especially for girls, in terms of aptitude for a broad range of training and careers (ibid.).

Apart from this, most parts are formulated for pupils in general, for example: “Vocational orientation should support pupils to address the problem of gender segregation in vocational choices and in the labour market. Subsequently, they should consider consequences for their own future life and their future career (ibid).” It also is seen as important to perceive external influences on the development of career aspiration and to deal with gender-specific prejudices (role models, gender-specific division of labour) (112).

Digital Basic Education

Within the didactic principles of the curriculum for Digital Basic Education there is a passage which states that when various topics are elaborated one should take the everyday situation, the previous knowledge of the students and the heterogeneity of their individual media biographies into account. The passage continues: “In coeducational groups it is important to pay special attention to ensure that boys and girls receive equal accesses and opportunities of participation. [...] The promotion of equal opportunities and the elimination of stereotypical attributions must always be kept in mind (114)”. Regarding the content, it is written that the pupils should “recognize opportunities and risks of media usage and gender issues” (117), but it is not explained in more detail what exactly that means.

Religious Education

The subject “Religious Education” is obligatory for all pupils who are members of a legally recognised church or religious community. But in contrast to other subjects it is possible to sign out from “Religious Education” (by the parents or by the pupils themselves if they are older than 14) (BMBWK 2018k).

The curriculum for the New Secondary School mentions 10 churches or religious communities, including the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, Islam and Israelite Religion. The curricula of religious education are issued by the legally recognized church or religious community and the Ministry of Education publishes them (Religionsunterrichtsgesetz, § 2/2). “For religious instruction, only textbooks and teaching materials that are not in conflict with civic education may be used” (§ 2/3).

The curricula for the various religions are different in their date of origin, in length, and in content. Whereas in the curriculum for “Israelite Religious Education” (Lehrpläne allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen, 45-46) gender issues are not mentioned at all (the curriculum dates from 1985 and is less than two pages), there are some parts referring to gender in other curricula.

The curriculum for “Catholic Religious Education” (Lehrplan für den katholischen Religionsunterricht) dates from 2004. It speaks about the Christian message of Father, Son and Holy Spirit (ibid., 2), it does not offer a holistic (not gendered) image of god. It stays very vague about the meaning of the following

contents: “Being able to accept oneself as a girl or a boy and respect others in their uniqueness” (7), “roles of women and men” (ibid.) or “sexuality as a gift and a task” (10), but it seems more likely that the curriculum represents a dichotomous approach to gender and a traditional division of roles than a non-dichotomous approach (although one could also interpret the passage “respect others in their uniqueness” in such a way that there is more than girl and boy).

The curriculum for “Protestant Religious Education” (Lehrplan für den evangelischen Religionsunterricht) dates from 2002. In dealing with body and sexuality it states that sexuality has to be understood as a good gift of God (ibid., 2) and one's own body has to be accepted and appreciated, as well as taking responsibility for one's own body (3). Within the educational area “people and society” it remains very vague when stating “learning to live as man and woman” (2), but one would rather read this as a dichotomous approach to gender and a traditional division of roles than as a non-dichotomous approach. On the other hand, the curriculum speaks about different roles pupils are playing, about the courage to shape their way of life actively (3) and about dealing with traditional role models and different patterns of family and partnership (6).

The curriculum for “Islamic Religious Education” (Lehrplan für den islamischen Religionsunterricht) dates from 2011. In two parts heterosexuality is mentioned explicitly (ibid., 11, 14). One states that “the sexual relationship between husband and wife in marriage is an expression of love and devotion”(14). This paragraph also states that marriage is based on the consent of both partners (ibid.).

Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic, subject curricula are to be found in the Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education, within the description of educational areas, cross-curricular subjects and complementary educational fields. Gender is not present within the educational areas Language and Communication Through Language, Mathematics and Its Application and Information, Communication Technologies, Humans and Nature, Arts and Culture.

Humans and Society

Objectives of the educational area **Humans and Society** include: “becoming aware of their personal identity and that of others, developing a realistic self-awareness and self-evaluation, accepting one's personality and that of others” (p. 45) and “forming positive relationships with the opposite sex at school and outside of school, identifying stereotyped views of the role of men and women in the family, at work and in political life, being aware of prejudiced views of women's role in society” (p. 45). Nevertheless, the

educational field **History** does not address women's role in society at all. One of the expected outcomes of the part Modernization of Society is the ability to “describe the emancipation efforts of important social groups” (p. 47), but the emancipation of women is not mentioned explicitly in the description of the subject matter. Equality between men and women (in the English version translated as gender equality), fundamental human rights and discrimination are parts of the subject matter of the educational field **Civic Education**. However, gender equality or equality between men and women is not included in the expected outcomes.

Health Education

Within the educational field **Health Education** pupils “expand and deepen their knowledge of themselves as well as interpersonal relationships, partner relationships, marriage and family, school and peer group” (Czech version, p. 91). Moreover, pupils should be guided towards “understanding fitness, good physical appearance and mental well-being as important preconditions for choosing a professional career, partners, social activities etc.” (English version, p. 77, Czech version p. 92). The subject matter includes sexual maturation and reproductive health with the focus on “healthy reproductive system, sexuality as a part of shaping personality, abstinence, premature sexual experience, promiscuity, problems of teenage pregnancy and parenthood, sexual identity disorders” (Czech version p. 94).³⁸ Hidden forms and levels of individual violence and abuse, sexual crimes are included in the subject matter. However, gender-based violence, rape or domestic violence are not listed in the subject matter. The questioning of stereotypical roles of women and men in sexual life, partnership or family is not aimed at.

Physical Education

Within **Physical Education** gender occurs implicitly when “boys’ and girls’ sports” (without further explanation of what this distinction means) are mentioned in the subject matter “the importance of physical exercise for health” (p. 82). Next, respect for the opposite sex is put across as one of the expected outcomes. The FEP does not speak either about single-sex or mixed classes for physical education. Usually, children have mixed classes in the first five years of basic education and gender-separated classes in the second stage of basic education.

³⁸ The English version from 2007 is shorter: “premature sexual experience; teenage pregnancy and parenthood; sexual identity disorders” (p. 79).

Humans and the World of Work

The educational area **Humans and the World of Work** is divided into eight thematic areas at Stage 2. The area The World of Work is mandatory for grades 8 and 9, moreover, schools choose at least one of the following seven areas: “Working with Technology, Design and Construction, Plant Cultivation and Animal Husbandry, Household Management, Food Preparation, Working with Laboratory Equipment, Use of Digital Technology” (p. 85). The description of the education area states that the educational content “is intended for all pupils (i.e. boys and girls without differences)”. This note probably tries to prevent the stereotypical segregation of boys and girls. However, the situation is different from school to school and segregation is still present. Randomly chosen school websites show the following practices: (1) boys and girls are divided into two homogenous groups but both groups attend same subjects; (2) schools provide different content to boys and to girls; (3) pupils are not divided into gender-separated groups. According to the expected outcomes of the area The World of Work, pupils should “be familiar with the work related to selected professions; evaluate their options when deciding on a suitable profession and professional training” (p. 90). The subject matter contains “equal opportunities on the labour market” (p. 90). Nevertheless, gender segregation in the labour market or the gender pay gap is not addressed.

Complementary and cross-curricular subjects

As for **complementary educational fields**, prosocial behaviour both in personal relations and public life, solidarity and social problems, empathy and communication of feelings are among topics covered by **Ethics Education**. The subject matter for the second stage includes human rights, equality, a critical approach to media and its influence, a positive approach to diversity, and a responsible approach to sexuality, sexual identity, roles in the family, and communication in the family. Gender equality, equality of men and women are not mentioned, and neither they are in ethical education in either of the other complementary educational fields.

None of the cross-curricular subjects refer to gender equality or equality between men and women. Self-awareness and self-conception, interpersonal relationships (“human rights as a regulator of relationships” (p. 96)), respect and prosocial behaviour are parts of the **Personal and Social Education**. Democratic citizenship should inter alia “encourage an active approach to defending and respecting human rights and freedoms... teach respect for the law... encourage respect for cultural, ethnic and other differences” (p. 98).

Education Toward Thinking in European and Global Contexts is supposed to help pupils to overcome stereotypes and prejudices but does not specify what kind of stereotypes should be overcome. **Multicultural Education** mentions discrimination and stereotypes but only in relation to socio-cultural

differences. **Media Education** should “develop sensitivity towards prejudices and simplified judgements by society (of minorities in particular) and individuals” (p. 107).

In the English version of FEP the notion “gender equality” is explicitly mentioned three times, the Czech version does not use the word gender and speaks only about the “equal status of men and women”. The Czech version of the FEP is written in the generic masculine, therefore when speaking about pupils the male form of the Czech word (“žák”) is mentioned or a possessive pronoun “svůj” is used. The word “svůj” (in some contexts) can be unisex and can refer to a boy or a girl. However, when in a combination with the male version of the word ‘pupil’, it is naturally understood as referring to a boy. The English language does not have an equivalent to the possessive pronoun “svůj”, the English version uses the possessive pronouns “his” and “her”. Thanks to this language difference female pupils are more visible in the English version of the FEP. The Czech version does not explicitly mention girls or women. Generic masculine is also present within the educational content - for example when speaking about pupils’ ability to identify important representatives of Czech literature or to distinguish the features of an author’s distinctive style (p. 25, in Czech p. 24) the male version of the words representative and author are used.

Wording used in the FEP related to gender equality is vague. This fact is also pointed out by the above-mentioned study on the Status of gender equality within the MŠMT agenda. It argues that the parts which (somehow) refer to gender equality could be misinterpreted and misunderstood and could even reinforce gender stereotypes. It also highlights the fact that the autonomy given to schools for planning the teaching could prove problematic concerning new and not so commonly covered topics such as gender equality or equality of men and women. The study suggests gender equality should be a cross-curricular topic and that gender issues should be part of all (or most of all) educational areas. Moreover, it points out that it is necessary to be more concrete when formulating the subject matter and expected outcomes related to gender and that the term gender instead of sex should be used. Another proposal described in the study is to incorporate gender discrimination and other types of discrimination into the area Humans and the World of Work. (MŠMT, 2013)

Hungary

In the Hungarian frame curricula subject curricula contain the learning contents and developmental areas and tasks for each school subject. Whereas the NCC described learning contents more generally, the frame curricula provide more detailed and concrete contents. There are separate curricula in each subject for the three stages of compulsory education: year 1-4, year 5-8 and year 9-10. The curricula for year 5-8 are discussed here, as those cover our target group.

Before discussing the gender contents and approaches of the Hungarian subject curricula, we include here the description of a recently issued Ministerial Decree, because it provides an apt example and framework for our critical analysis. The Hungarian government has been promoting anti-gender ideology in the past few years, even at the highest levels of legislation, which has had an impact on education policy documents, as well. In 2017 a Ministerial Decree³⁹ eliminated all the mentions and references to gender from the frame curricula for biology and family life education. This Decree clearly reflects the essentialist, biologizing, outdated approach and lack of knowledge about gender studies of current education policymakers towards gender and its aspects.

The Decree also orders that among the topics for the maturation exam in the subject Social Studies, the topic “Gender theory and its critique” is to be deleted. It is curious how this topic originally got included among the exam topics, because in the 2012 frame curriculum for Social Studies, introduced by the same government, there was no mention of “gender theory”. What is also interesting is what gender-related items remained in the list of exam topics. In Theme 2, “Social relations”, this is the knowledge required for the maturation exam: “The definition and functions of the family. Family roles. The cohabitation of different generations. Women and men in society: changes in the relations of the two sexes.” And in Theme 4.2., “Culture and globalization”: “The transformation of the cultural, economic and social functions of the relations between the sexes and of the family.” It seems that gender is conceptualized strictly within the ‘family’ framework, and the word ‘gender’ itself is something unbearable for the current education government. However, as we have mentioned in the introduction, this is not just a war on words. The intent to eliminate the word completely from young people’s vocabulary reflects deep anxieties and rejection of the approach to gender as a socially constructed category and an axis of discrimination.

The same negative attitude to gender is reflected in the other part of the decree, where the gender content of the year 7-8 curriculum for Biology and Health Education and the year 7-8 and year 11-12 of the curriculum for Family Life Education (FLE) is regulated. In the Biology curriculum for years 7-8, the learning content “Distinguishing between biological sex and gender identity” (p. 27907) is replaced by “Distinguishing between inherited and acquired factors in sexual functioning”. This seems to be ‘just’ a paraphrasing of the original sentence, but in fact it suggests that gender is a biological functioning based on inherited and acquired traits, and biological sex and gender identity should not be distinguished. What is also reflected in these changes is that the authors of such sentences have no gender expertise and that there is a conceptual confusion regarding sex, gender, gender identity and gender roles. This applies to the original sentences as well, which were also worded by the same government, in 2012, when the anti-

³⁹ Ministerial Decree 24/2017 (03/10) on the modification of certain ministerial decrees in public education.
<https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=A1700024.EMM×hift=ffffff4&txtreferer=00000001.TXT>

gender ideology was already present in political discourse, but somewhat less intensely than in the current discourse.

In the previous FLE curriculum a reference to gender was included under “Biological topics”, which is under the larger section “The family as the most fundamental unit of society. The functioning of the family”. This sentence was included in the biology sub-section: “The biological aspects of sexual behaviour (sex/gender roles vs. gender etc.).” The decree changed this sentence to this: “The biological aspects of sexual behaviour” (p. 27907). It is difficult to understand what may be meant by what we have translated as ‘sex/gender roles’, because there is one word for ‘gender’ and ‘sex’. Also, we wonder what is meant by ‘sexual behaviour’ in the given context. Is FLE meant to teach about how to behave during sex? Or is it meant to be behaviour supposedly based on biological sex characteristics? If that is the case, then it must be “sexual roles vs. gender”, but that does not make much sense, except if what we mean by ‘gender’ is understood by the authors of this curriculum as biologically driven, essential differences between women and men. But then, “gender roles vs. gender” also doesn’t make sense, so we (and probably many teachers) are left without a clue about the meaning of this division. If the point was to clarify the content of this section, the modified sentence is clearer, but the elimination of the reference to gender or the differentiation between sex and gender suggests that the ministry does not want a FLE curriculum which contains the word gender or brings up the issue of gender being a social construct and an axis of discrimination and oppression.

The other sentence that was changed by the Decree is under the section “Sexuality - male/female identity - sexuality - relationships.” In the Hungarian sentence there are two words for ‘sexuality’, the first word is ‘nemiség’, but it’s unclear what is referred to by that word, because it means the same as ‘szexualitás’. In this section the following sentence had to be modified: “The development of sex/gender: chromosomal, so-called genetic sex, gonadal sex, genital sex, external sex, social sex (gender), so-called gender/sexual identity. The components and development of identity.” The changed sentence is: “The development of sex, the components and development of sex/gender roles.” Here the detailed list of components of biological sex and the word ‘gender’ were deleted, and identity was replaced by ‘sex/gender roles’, in the same unclear, problematic way as in the other modified sentence discussed in the previous paragraph.

Introduction to the frame curricula

The introduction to the frame curricula provides a general framework for pedagogical work in the subjects. It includes the following sections: “Goals and tasks”, “Areas of development - educational goals”, “Key competences, competence development”, “Uniformity and differentiation” and “Subject structure and number of lessons per subject”. Unlike in the NCC, gender is not mentioned in the section “Social and

Citizenship competences", which is under "Key competences". Within "Areas of development - educational goals" there are two sections that include references to gender. In the section "Development of self-awareness and the culture of social relations" (p. 2), by the end of year 8, the student is supposed to "Recognize his/her social roles (male-female, child-parent, student-teacher). S/he is able to recognize certain forms of prejudiced behaviour and the expressions of stereotypes" (p. 2). In this sentence gender is a social role and the existence of prejudices and stereotypes is acknowledged.

"Education for family life" is another area of development where gender appears. We quote the whole section here, to offer a glimpse into the family ideology of the educational government. Similar statements can be found in the NCC and other curricula.

"The student is able to recognize and articulate the roles and tasks in the family, s/he finds and completes the task incumbent on her/him. S/he is aware of the biological functions and social traditions of sex/gender roles. S/he recognizes severe problem situations occurring in family life and intimate relationships, and is able to ask for help with their resolution. By the end of [year 8] the student considers a carefully selected, deep relationship an asset. S/he is aware that sexuality is an important element of relationships and understands the related responsibilities. S/he is aware of the advantages and disadvantages of the various forms of family planning, and is familiar with the emotional and physical dangers of abortion. The student has applicable knowledge of some basic steps of caring for infants." (p. 2)

In this section the framework for gender is the family. The wording of the second sentence is rather unclear and reflects a confusion about the terminology to be used. However, the educational government's approach to gender is discernible: gender is biologically based, there are 'sex/gender roles', based on which women and men are differentiated and their roles in the family and social life are rigidly defined. The family is heterosexual and nuclear. Also, the text has an anti-abortion stance, which is especially emphasized in the family life education curriculum.

Hungarian language and literature

Some curricula, including Hungarian language and literature, have A and B versions, in order to enable teachers to choose the one they prefer. Content-wise there is no great difference between them, except learning contents are structured differently. Version B contains more female authors than Version A, especially contemporary authors. Other than female authors, gender appears scarcely in both. In both versions, in the Hungarian language part for year 5-6, the dichotomous division of women and men appears among the developmental requirements for oral communication: "Observing the differences between the communication of men and women, etiquette and rules of communication between men and

women, adults and children, children and children” (p. 4). Here the framework for gender is ‘difference’. The same dichotomous approach appears in the “Folk and fairy tales” section for year 5-6 in Version B: “Typical male and female characters and their characteristics in the folk tales” (p. 2). There is no mention of male and female characters in Version A.

Gender and stereotypes appear one more time in both versions, in the media studies part for years 7-8, among the knowledge/developmental requirements:

To recognize that the representation of genders/sexes, professions, lifestyle patterns, minorities in the media differs from experiential reality; to become aware that media texts are the cultural representations (representatives) of the community.

To define the meaning of stereotype and representation, to become aware of why it is problematic that the world doesn’t appear in the media in the same way as in experiential reality. (p. 43, Version A / p. 38, Version B)

Here we can see an intent to develop students’ critical awareness of the media representation of society. However, recognizing and becoming aware of stereotypical representations does not equal critical thinking, questioning and acting against oppressive and discriminatory social norms. Besides, media studies is a small part of the amount of Hungarian language and literature lessons, therefore, without support in other subjects, the impact of the effort to educate for critical thinking may be very limited.

History, Social and Citizenship Studies

The history curriculum is extremely male-centred. The first place where women are mentioned is after the Second World War. Even then, the context in which they are referred involves children and family. They appear in the section for developmental requirements in year 7-8; students are required to “gain information about the situation of families, children, women in the polarized world (e.g. in the Western and Eastern parts of Europe and in North America)” (p. 30). As opposed to “women”, “family” occurs 22 times in this curriculum. The only female historical figure mentioned is the Habsburg Emperor Maria Theresa. Suffrage is not mentioned in the citizenship studies part. Roma people (the largest ethnic minority in Hungary) are mentioned twice; once in the context of the Holocaust, and once in the unit about the democratic transition of 1990, where students are to learn about “the situation of the Gypsy (Roma) population”. If we imagine that a history teacher or a school would use the 10% of teaching time allotted for contents different from the frame curriculum for teaching about women and Roma in history (not to mention a gendered and raced perspective of history), these groups would still be a marginal topic. Like this, they are completely invisible.

Homeland and Folk Culture Studies

This subject is taught in year 5, for one lesson per week. Students have to choose either this subject or Drama and dance. According to the introduction, students learn about Hungarian cultural heritage, national cultural characteristics, folk traditions, learn to respect and identify with their family, their home, their neighbourhood, their homeland, the nation and its peoples. 'Family' is everywhere in the curriculum, and women appear once, in the context of family, under the topic of the 'peasant house and household'. Here students learn about "labour division within the family. Male and female tasks, the tasks of children." They also learn to "compare labour division within the family based on generations and sexes/genders centuries ago and today" (p. 4). Thus, gender appears in the 'family' framework, and the approach is descriptive and reinforces the idea of gender complementarity. The same descriptive comparison appears in the next section, where peasants' food, clothing and lifestyle are taught; here students learn about "working-day linen clothes, pieces of clothing for women and men" (p. 4). Other ethnic groups and nationalities are just mentioned, students are only required to know that there are other nationalities or ethnic groups (the same word is used for both) living in Hungary.

Moral Studies

Students have to choose either Religion or Moral Studies. The contents of Moral Studies is regulated in a frame curriculum, whereas the learning contents of Religion are defined by the given Church responsible for the Religion classes in the given school, with no intervention from the educational government.

Gender is mentioned only in the section "Relationships and love". This section includes the following topics: attraction; dating; marriage, family and homemaking; and sexual abuse. In the years 5-6 part, romantic relationships are not mentioned, despite the fact that children are known to perform 'dating' from the early years of primary school, which is a practice that strengthens heteronormativity and strongly influences the positioning of children in their classroom hierarchy (see e.g. Myers and Raymond 2010). Under the topic "attraction", students are to learn "How can a girl and a boy know that their attraction towards each other is mutual? Who should take the first step and how?" (p. 13). The wording is clearly heteronormative. Under the "dating" topic, love, pleasure, happiness, responsibility, relationship problems and conflicts, breaking up, and questions related to starting and having sexual relations are mentioned, in a neutral language. The language is also neutral in the next topic, "marriage, family and home-making". However, this is not inclusive language, as in the first topic it was declared that attractions can form only between girls and boys. 'Neutral' language is even more problematic in the last topic, "sexual abuse", where students are to discuss these questions: "What do prostitution, paedophilia, pornography and sexual abuse

mean? How to avoid becoming a victim? Where to ask for help in the case of a threat [of sexual abuse]? What to do if one of our peers is at risk [of sexual abuse]?” (p. 14). While it is important that this topic is part of the curriculum, not referring to the gendered nature of sexual abuse can give space to misguided approaches towards the topic (i.e. victim-blaming, focusing on girls’ responsibility and ignoring that of boys, ignoring that boys can be victims, too, etc.).

Gender is not mentioned in other sections where it would be relevant, for example where issues of social justice, prejudices, social exclusion, or the different opportunities of social groups are discussed. Fresh research (Rédai 2018) shows that many teachers do not think about gender inequalities unless they are prompted to, therefore if there is no reference to these in the curriculum, it is likely that most teachers will not include the issue in their teaching.

Nature

Nature is a holistic science subject for year 5-6, in which natural sciences are taught together to lay the foundations for the specific natural sciences subjects in year 7-8. In this subject sex/gender appears in the section called “The human organism and its health” (p. 25). The structure of the sections is somewhat unclear, there is one column called “Problems, phenomena, practical applications, knowledge” (p. 25) and a column called “Developmental requirements” (p. 25). These two columns are next to each other and have overlapping contents. In the first column we can find the following: “What is the difference between the sexual functioning of girls and boys? (...) The constitution and functioning of male and female sexual organs. Changes during puberty. The differences between the physical and emotional characteristics of the two sexes. The health and personal hygiene of the sexual organs” (p. 26). The related developmental requirements are the following: “Changes in the functioning of the sexual organs during puberty, analysing the correlations of physique and emotional characteristics. Differentiation between male and female roles, comparison of the typical characteristics of boys and girls, their correlation with sex/gender roles” (pp. 26-27). Here again we encounter biologically based ‘sex/gender roles’ and male and female characteristics, their binary distribution among women and men, and the emphasizing of differences between women and men.

Biology and Health

This subject is taught in year 7-8, and similarly to Hungarian language and literature, there are A and B versions of the curriculum. This is the only one of the natural sciences where sex/gender appears in the curriculum, although in a biologically determinist framework. Similarly, to the Nature curriculum discussed above, the thematic sections have “Problems, phenomena, practical applications, knowledge”

and “Developmental requirements” columns. In version A the relevant thematic section is called “From conception to passing away”, in version B it is “Human reproduction, ontogeny and health protection”. The educational aims of both versions are to prepare young people for responsible partnerships, pleasurable sexual relationships and family planning.

In version A, the “Problems, phenomena, practical applications, knowledge” column has a broad interdisciplinary reach of the topic: it includes biological learning contents such as the male and female reproductive organs, sex hormones, puberty, gametes, menstruation, conception, the development of the foetus; and it also includes topics typically discussed in the frame of sex education: masturbation, sexually transmitted diseases and their prevention, contraception. In addition, it includes “the health-related, moral and social issues of abortion”, “the emotional, social and psychological characteristics of puberty”, the components of personality, social norms and rules of behaviour, the role of relationships in personality development, and “girls’ and women’s, boys’ and men’s roles in the family and society” (p. 51).

Correspondingly, the “Developmental requirements” column of the same section in version A includes the following: “Distinguishing between inherited and learnt factors in the course of sexual functioning” (p. 14); “Interpreting the psychological characteristics of sexes/genders” (p. 14); “Arguing for conscious family planning, and for pleasurable sexual life based on mutual responsibility for each other” (p. 14); “From which point can the foetus be considered a human/living creature? Arguing for conscious child expecting” (p. 15). The learning contents in both columns reflect a heteronormative, dichotomous approach to genders based on polarized biological and psychological differences, and gender means fixed ‘roles’. The language is vague enough to leave space for the discussion of controversies around abortion, but it also gives space to an anti-abortionist approach.

According to the aims of version B, in this thematic section students are supposed to learn about the importance of regular gynaecological screening and HPV vaccination, the risks of early sexual relations, understand that love is not only a physical relationship, and familiarize with the notions of fidelity and family, in order to prepare for family life and joyful, responsible relationships (p. 16). The “Problems, phenomena, practical applications, knowledge” column introduces the topic of reproduction and motherhood with quotes from poetry and a reference to Dr. Semmelweis.⁴⁰ The whole section has a strong focus on motherhood. So much so that the “Developmental requirements” section includes tasks that have nothing to do with biology: “Pregnancy or a blessed state? Arguing about the use of terms”; “Analysis of the concept of fidelity”; “Collection of phrases connected to motherhood” (p. 16). In the “Problems, phenomena, practical applications, knowledge” column sexual organs are called “male and female

⁴⁰ A Hungarian 19th century doctor who discovered that “childbed fever” (postpartum infections) could be prevented by the use of hand disinfection by doctors assisting at birth-giving. For this, he has been called the “saviour of mothers”.

reproductive organ-system”, and the learning contents are all related to reproduction, especially female reproduction. Besides the reproductive organ-system, students are supposed to learn about stages of foetal development, pregnancy, giving birth, infant care, the role of hormones in sexual development, the prevention of STD, child-gynaecology, gynaecological screening, pregnancy counselling, family-planning, the possible consequences of abortion, and frequent causes of infertility (p. 17). There is no mention of fatherhood in the thematic section, and female sexuality seems to be reduced to reproduction. The language is tricky: there is no clear suggestion of an anti-abortionist stance, but such a strong emphasis on motherhood implies the rejection of the possibility of a woman not becoming a mother.

Home economics, lifestyle and practice

This subject has several curriculum versions, for different numbers of lessons per week and for schools in cities and the countryside. All versions contain the same implicit references to gender: students are to become “more conscious about labour division in the family”, and they are supposed to seek information about “balancing career, profession and family life”, they should learn about “the concepts of career and profession, and their impact on family roles, values and labour division”. It is curious how this is all put in a ‘gender-neutral’ language, without any suggestion for critical reflection, despite the fact that it is well-known nowadays that women are more affected by issues of work-life balance than men.

Natural Sciences Practice

This is a new, elective subject, aiming to provide opportunity for practically examining the phenomena which pupils learn about in the natural sciences subjects. It aims to support students in gaining confidence and motivation to study in the fields of natural sciences and technology and pursue further studies in these fields. Despite this declared aim, there is no mention of specifically supporting girls in gaining confidence and motivation for studying STEM subjects, the curriculum refers to pupils in a gender-neutral way. Gender is present in the curriculum only as a practical measurement category.

Physical Education and Sports

The introduction of the physical education curriculum is completely gender-neutral, it mentions bodies in very general terms. It does not suggest either single-sex or mixed classes. All required sports activities are described in detail. Most of the aims and the learning and developmental requirements do not mention girls or boys separately, there are no specific ballgames ascribed for girls or boys, and with a few exceptions, other gymnastic and physical skills developmental exercises are gender-neutral. The few

exceptions include a few different exercises for boys and girls on rings, wall bars and the vaulting box (p. 13, 33); and some floor gymnastics exercises (p. 33). Only girls have to practice balancing exercises on beam (p. 33, 34), and rhythmic gymnastics is also only for girls (p. 14), although this sports discipline is practiced by boys in other countries. Aerobics and jump rope, however, is for both girls and boys, which is specifically indicated in brackets (p. 15, 33). Perhaps these brackets imply that earlier these exercises were required only for one sex (probably girls).

In the first four years of primary education children usually have their PE classes together, without gender separation. In the upper primary and secondary years, in most schools there is gender separation for PE classes or at some places there are separated classes for individual exercises and mixed ones for group games. Recent research (Rédai 2018) shows that in practice the division of boys and girls in gym classes is diverse and complex. This is partly a necessity: a few years ago the number of mandatory gym classes per week was raised from 2 to 5, i.e. children are required to do sports and exercises on every school day. This poses logistic difficulties for schools, because many of them do not have enough sports facilities to provide space for the increased demand. This is why in some schools some of the gym classes have become mixed-gender. In addition, school leaderships and PE teachers tend to have different ideas about the pros and cons of mixed PE classes.

Family Life Education

The curriculum for Family Life Education was introduced in 2012. It is a cross-curricular subject, whose contents and teaching goals are to be integrated into other subjects. This curriculum is a perfect demonstration of what the (educational) government thinks about gender, families, reproduction and sexuality. The following paragraph of the introduction, to Section 5: “Sexuality – male/female identity – relationships” is the essence of the gender approach of the current political leadership:

[Family life education] aims to assist pupils from an early age in strengthening their sex/gender identity in accordance with their genetic sex, in learning about the fundamental differences between the sexes (sexual characteristics, brain functioning, communication, etc.), in the deconstruction of harmful stereotypes regarding male/father and female/mother roles, in the positive experiencing of biological, emotional and psychological changes during puberty, and in developing a fertility-conscious attitude, where the child appears as a gift. It aims to contribute to the success of partner seeking and partner choice. It is important that pupils learn about the forms of male-female relationships and the possibility of happiness/disillusionment that can be experienced in them, and that they develop a family-friendly perspective. They should become sufficiently prepared for mature, responsible, balanced, healthy sexuality based on a harmonious,

happy committed relationship (marriage). In addition, they should acquire the knowledge necessary for a healthy sexual life. As a result of learning about the beauty of human conception and foetal development, they should understand that human life is a treasure from conception till natural death. (pp. 2-3)

The text of the curriculum is heteronormative and makes the existence of LGBT people and sexualities other than heterosexuality completely invisible. It has a biologizing and essentializing approach to gender differences; gender appears to be a set of fixed and complementary set of male and female roles. It positions marriage and the nuclear heteronormative family as the ultimate form of social existence. It projects a reproduction-centred view of sexuality, and it has an anti-abortionist stance, with motherhood as the ultimate form of womanhood. In the text the order of genders is always boys - girls, men - women, father - mother. This reflects a deeply held conviction of masculine superiority, not even mitigated by an attempt to express 'politeness' or 'respect' towards women by putting them first (which is also a problematic approach though), or an attempt to show 'equality' by alternating who comes first.

Among the aims of this subject, it is repeated several times that it is supposed to "support pupils in strengthening their sex/gender identity which is in correspondence with their genetic sex". Referring to 'genetic sex' has connotations of eugenics, and it reveals that gender diversity is completely rejected. This is clearly a discriminative approach, as it makes identities, self-representation and experiences of pupils who do not conform to an imposed very narrow dichotomous gender division based on outdated biological and socio-psychological categorisation invisible or it wants to repress them if they occur.

The term 'equal opportunities' appears several times in the text, under the heading "Equal opportunities - shaping attitudes". It is the aim of the subject to "develop tolerant, positive attitudes towards disadvantaged persons (old people, Roma, disabled people, etc.)" (p. 1). Whether women are meant to be under "etc." is not clear, but they are never mentioned as a disadvantaged group. It should be mentioned that disadvantaged people are not referred to as a social group but as individuals, and that implies a lack of reflection on macro-level social inequality and unequal power relations. It should also be mentioned that the text of the curriculum never suggests that the students addressed may also be Roma or disadvantaged. The curriculum is apparently designed for able-bodied white middle-class heterosexual students.

The curriculum has a thematic unit called "Family as the most fundamental unit of society. The functioning of family" (p. 4) for both years 5-6 and years 7-8. This unit aims at internalizing "family values" and "developing a positive attitude towards the institution of the family" (p. 4). What these values are is not defined. In years 5-6 students should become familiarized with "various family types" and learn to form opinions about them, "in which one they can be happy, which one is the ideal for them, which one is acceptable and unbearable" (p. 4). The family types are not listed here, but what is implicitly suggested is

that quality of life and happiness depends on the type of family, instead of the relations and behaviours of family members. As the heterosexual nuclear family is considered to be the ideal one, it is likely that teachers are expected to implicitly push students towards identifying with the ideology of the superiority of that one type of family.

Later, in the thematic unit about dealing with changes in one's life, mosaic families are mentioned among "knowledge and developmental requirements": "[Discussion] about divorce and the specific difficulties of living in a mosaic family (tension handling problems)" (p. 13). This suggests that divorce and living in a mosaic family is inevitably something problematic, where tensions are difficult to handle. Given that approximately half of marriages end in divorce in present-day Hungary, this framing is not very constructive.

The theme appears again in year 7-8. The aims and contents are similar to those of year 5-6, but the approach is somewhat more nuanced and reflexive. Curiously, family forms appear not in the "family sociological themes" section, but in the "psychological themes" section. Here the topic of "Extended families, families with one child, childless families, the lack of establishing a family, single lifestyle" (p. 15) is to be discussed. While this list acknowledges family diversity to some extent, the listed family forms are still based on the assumption that families are units formed by heterosexual couples. Not forming a family is a "lack", and being single is a "lifestyle".

The curriculum aims at students internalizing a dichotomous view of genders. The "knowledge/developmental requirements" section under the theme called "Sexuality - male/female identity - sex - relationships" in years 5-6 highlights the "differences between men and women" as something students should learn about, through the following subtopics:

- The biological, psychological and cultural differences between men and women.
- Is it good to be a man, is it good to be a woman? Why?
- The real man and the real woman.
- Initiation ceremonies in the old times and today. (p. 10)

While the last item is somewhat puzzling, it does emphasize the dichotomy of being a woman and being a man, like the other three items. This polarized view of genders does not allow for gender diversity, does not acknowledge similarities between women and men, the 'differences' between women and men are based on essentializing, stereotypical, heteronormative ideas.

In years 7-8 the theme recurs, and that is where the ministerial decree discussed earlier interferes: it deleted the word 'gender' and reduced its meaning to the "components and developments of gender roles". In this part, besides the emphasis on the differences between women and men, students are also supposed to discuss "cooperation between men and women" (p. 22).

Polarized gender relations and heteronormativity come up again when the theme is friendship and romantic relationships. As for making friends, age and gender are posed as issues to discuss: "Choosing friends, friendship between age groups and sexes/genders. Can there be real friendship between a girl and a boy?" (p. 16). In the section about communication in romantic relationships, the difference of the sexes is suggested again, this time in the way they communicate: "The specificities and differences of male and female communication; miscommunication, problems caused by them" (p. 17). The "types of male-female relationships" are listed: "marriage, cohabitation, partnership, dating, loose relationship" (p. 22). There is no hint in the whole text about non-heterosexual relationships, and what is referred to as "loose relationship" is unclear.

So-called "responsible sexuality" is clearly associated with fertility and childcare, i.e. sexuality is presented as primarily a reproductive function, although pleasure and the means of expressing love are also mentioned, but only after reproduction (p. 22). Fertility is usually accompanied by words of almost religious devotion: "fertility is a treasure to care for"; "the miracle of insemination"; "fertile love: the child as a gift" (p. 11). In order to "develop a fertility-conscious attitude" in students and make them "feel responsible for protecting life" (p. 14) by the end of the years 5-6 period, they learn about "the emotional and physical dangers of abortion" and "the value of human life from conception to natural death will become internalized" (p. 11). Based on this internalized 'pro-life' (i.e. anti-abortion) attitude, in year 7-8 students are supposed to "say YES to real values and NO to sexual promiscuity" (p. 21). "Real values" are not defined here but we can discern that they are marriage, sexual abstinence till marriage, reproductive heterosexuality and having children. Let alone that these are not values in the philosophical sense of the word, it is a question whether 'sexual promiscuity' means having casual sexual relationships without having a romantic relationship, or even having sex in consecutive monogamous romantic relationships in adolescence counts as promiscuous.

Other topics to discuss within the theme of 'responsible sexuality' include "The value of virginity; what purity means. Self-control and abstention", "sexually transmitted diseases - the prevention of STDs and AIDS", "Pornography, prostitution." A separate section within these themes is "Sex and marriage", where instead of topics to discuss, there is a list of statements to be internalized, which seem more like warnings: "sexual relations involve the possibility of being blessed with child." "There is no 100% safe method of prevention." "[Sex] ties you to the other hormonally as well" (pp. 22-23). With such a strong emphasis on sexual abstinence before marriage, the emotional issues of a relationship and sexuality, such as the value of equality in a relationship and the importance of consensual sex, do not get to be discussed.

Another theme within the "Sexuality – male/female identity – relationships" section in year 7-8 is called "Fertile love: the child as a gift." This unit encompasses the process from conception through foetal life and giving birth to baby care. The importance of responsible family planning is emphasized, and a

“comprehensive education about family planning methods”, including “artificial and natural family-planning methods” (p. 22) is suggested. Given the conservative approach of the curriculum, we suspect that abstinence and/or the counting method and/or coitus interruptus are referred to as natural methods, which assume a degree of self-control that inexperienced, sexually curious teenagers are not so likely to possess. By the end of year 8, students are expected “to be familiar with the mechanisms of action and side-effects of family-planning methods, and to be aware of how the modern method of natural family-planning works” (p. 26). What this ‘modern method’ is is left undefined.

This section deals with parenthood in a quite neutral language (although the idea of dichotomous roles is present): “Responsible parenthood, conscious preparation for the parental vocation.” “Child in the family - father/mother - husband/wife roles” (p. 2). However, the polarizing ‘sex/gender roles’ approach to men and women implies that childcare is women’s responsibility. There is never any talk in this conservative discourse about fathers taking parenthood as a ‘vocation’, but the trope that motherhood is women’s primary role in life, or the fulfilment of their womanhood, is widespread. The care for infants is especially often considered to be exclusively women’s task, and students are to learn about “the basics of infant care” and “the nourishing of infants, the importance of breastfeeding” (p. 23).

Pregnancy and the protection of the foetus is a topic in this section, presented in a ‘pro-life’ discourse: “Life protection, foetus protection - abortion prevention. The stages of foetal life.” “The film ‘Human life is the greatest miracle’ about foetal life.” “Being expectant - not ‘pregnant’. A blessed state.” “The role of word usage in shaping public thinking (pp. 22-23)”. The topics also include “getting to know about the event of birth-giving and baby-mother-friendly ways of giving birth”, and discussions of difficulties and problems related to conception and giving birth: “Natural birth and Caesarean section”. Discussing the fear of giving birth, difficulties and side-effects.” “The issue of fertility problems and infertility. Adoption.” “Early pregnancies.”⁴¹ The emotional and physical consequences of abortion” (p. 23). Apparently, it is considered essential by the authors of this curriculum to discuss all the aspects of the topic of conception and childbearing in great detail, from a specific perspective, in order to instil the importance of having a child when the targeted 13-14 years old students grow up.

In this section sex is the means of reproduction, the biological aspect of family-making. Adolescent, non-reproductive sexual activity is considered dangerous and harmful, as becomes clear in the theme unit called “Decisions and choices”. Here the topic “Consequences of juvenile sexuality” is one in a list of topics such as health protection, disease prevention, addictions, failures, accident prevention, and juvenile crime (pp. 23-24). Learning about youth sexuality in such a company inevitably frames young people’s sexuality as something one should avoid at all costs, unless s/he is ready to face the ‘consequences’, which can only

⁴¹ “Early pregnancies” refers to teen pregnancy.

be negative by default. This contradicts the other theme “responsible sexuality”, or rather suggests that only adult sexuality - preferably in a marriage - can be responsible. This approach is counter-productive in terms of sex education, which is trying to teach young people to be responsible and caring for themselves and their partners in sex (Rédai 2019, Allen 2007).

According to the introduction of the curriculum, family life education classes are different from traditional classes, as they “presume a new form, a more relaxed atmosphere, equality in the relations of the teacher/school nurse/expert of mental hygiene, and they require flexibility, in which the involved parties give each other the necessary respect, the opportunity for self-expression and the freedom of opinion” (p. 3). Such a pedagogical approach certainly encourages students to “dare to communicate about intimate topics honestly and openly” (p. 13), which is an expected result of development by the end of year 5-6. However, given the exclusively heteronormative, conservative, value-laden teaching contents of this curriculum, it is questionable whether the majority of the usually diverse body of students can identify with such contents and can feel free to express themselves without fearing suppression, discrediting, disciplining or even verbal abuse.

3. Teacher training curricula and syllabi/course descriptions at universities

3.1. Teacher training curricula of universities

Austria

In Austria the development of gender and diversity skills in teacher training programmes for future primary and secondary teachers is stipulated by a number of laws, such as the Higher Education Act 2005 – Federal Law on the Organisation of University Colleges of Teacher Education (Hochschulgesetz 2005) and the Service Law Amendment 2013 (Dienstrechts-Novelle 2013).

Since 2010, the Ministry of Education has increasingly promoted the development of gender competence for future teachers. In 2013, the implementation phase started under the “Teacher Training New” programme.⁴² This programme is conducted as a cooperation of University Colleges of Teacher Education and universities in four regional development alliances. Nationwide implementation at primary-school level began in October 2015, followed by the secondary level in October 2016. Each student has to attend

⁴² LehrerInnenbildung NEU

courses in “basic principles in educational sciences” (“allgemeine bildungswissenschaftliche Grundlagen”) in addition to the study subject(s). Further explanations refer to teacher training programmes for general education/ secondary schools (“Sekundarstufe Allgemeinbildung”), not for vocational education.

An evaluation of these new teacher-training programmes is complicated because of the lack of a uniform nationwide curriculum, with several different curricula being implemented. Gender and gender competence are part of the new curricula, although to varying extents. Gender is dealt with as general matter and an interdisciplinary issue, sometimes connected with diversity or multilingualism, or as an aspect of inclusive education. On the other hand, gender and gender sensitivity are part of the curriculum as an explicit topic in a course, e.g.: lecture “Basics of Gender and Diversity”.

An example of the implementation of gender and gender competence as a general matter is the teacher training curriculum for general education/ secondary schools for one cluster of teacher training universities⁴³. Out of 10 leading principles, teachers have to acquire the following competences and responsibilities:

In a plural heterogeneous society teachers have to have competencies in individualization as well as be able to meet the general education goals for a common school for all female and male students. Crucial educational objectives for all courses [at the universities of “cluster middle”] are: perception of differences combined with an inclusive attitude, and multidimensional judgement in diverse situations. [...] Students need basic knowledge of transdisciplinary concepts of inclusion and diversity as well as an introduction to specific aspects of diversity such as transculturalism, migration, multilingualism, inter-religiousness, talents, disability, gender, and socialisation.” (Curriculum, 12)

Diversity and gender are relevant parts of many lectures within the “basic principles in educational sciences”. In some lectures gender represents the main focus. If so, the Educational Principle “Education to Equality between Women and Men” is mentioned in the module description as well.

For subject curricula, gender is - on the one hand - mentioned as a component of inclusive education. For instance, graduates of the teacher training bachelor’s programme Biology and Environmental Studies should be able to implement aspects of inclusive education (talent, gender, interculturality, multilingualism) in their teachings’ planning and developing (ibid., 103-104). On the other hand, gender sensitive education is an explicit competence to develop, theoretically based on gender studies. For

⁴³ Curriculum Bachelorstudium Lehramt Sekundarstufe (Allgemeinbildung), Entwicklungsverbund “Cluster Mitte” [Bachelor Teacher Training Curriculum for General Education/ Secondary Schools, Development Alliance “Cluster Middle”]. https://www.lehrerin-werden.at/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Bachelorstudium_Lehramt_Allgemeinbildung.pdf

example, the Learning Outcomes for the subject Informatics include: “Students [of Informatics] know theoretical bases and methodological concepts of gender studies and are able to recognize their relevance for the subject informatics; they are able to organize interactive processes in schools in a gender sensitive way (ibid., 265-266) .” Sometimes the same wording is used within various studies’ curricula.

Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic the Higher Education Act stipulates formal requisites of degree programmes at universities and lists the fields of study. There are two fields of study related to education - “Non-teaching Pedagogy” and “Pedagogy”. Both fields of study are provided by several universities and high schools in the Czech Republic. At Masaryk University, “Non-teaching Pedagogy” is provided by the Faculty of Education and Faculty of Arts. “Pedagogy” can be studied at Faculty of Education, Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Science, Faculty of Informatics and Faculty of Sports Studies. Graduates of the degree programmes within the field of study “Pedagogy” should be able to “plan, implement, monitor and evaluate the teaching with respect to the individuality of their pupils and educational and social context” (Government Regulation No. 275/2016 Coll., part 30/C/b)/1.)

Individual degree programmes have been approved by the National Accreditation Bureau for Higher Education⁴⁴ since its establishment in 1998. The Accreditation authority applies the Standards for Accreditation⁴⁵. The Accreditation authority published a document called “Recommended procedures for the preparation of degree programmes”⁴⁶, which includes a chapter on “Degree programmes on teacher education and training”.

MŠMT prepared a methodical material that describes framework requirements that should be fulfilled by study programmes which train students to be pedagogical professionals.⁴⁷ The document determines the composition of the degree programmes. Programmes preparing for teaching at the Second Stage of Basic Education (lower secondary level) should consist of 20-25% of teaching propaedeutics, 25-30% of the first field (for example mathematics), 25-30% of second field, 10-15% of didactics, 8-10% practice, 8-10% of preparation of the final thesis. This material states that teaching propaedeutics, which consists of

⁴⁴ In 2018, Masaryk University received the so-called ‘institutional accreditation’ which allows the university to approve degree programmes. It means the National Accreditation Bureau will be replaced by the Internal Evaluation Board.

⁴⁵ Standards and other legislative documents concerning higher education can be found here (also in English): <http://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/vysoke-skolstvi/legislativa>.

⁴⁶ https://www.nauvs.cz/attachments/article/71/Dopor_postupy_pro_pripravu_SP_2017_01_08.pdf

⁴⁷ <http://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/dalsi-vzdelavani/ramcove-pozadavky-na-studijni-programy-jejichz-absolvovanim>

pedagogical-psychological preparation, includes “for example” inclusive didactics. The development of gender competence for future teachers is not addressed in any of the above-mentioned documents.

Hungary

In Hungary the initial teacher training curriculum is determined by the Ministerial Decree 8/2013. (I. 30.) EMMI (the Ministry of Human Capacities). The same document is the basis for the system of career development for teachers, so it is not only a curriculum, but it outlines the profile of the teacher profession in general. It is a crucial document that has an important role both in the elaboration of the teacher education curricula of individual universities and in teachers’ continuous professional development and in-service learning process (and also in the evaluation of teachers). It is also a symbolic document that represents a professional profile that the actual government wants to create in the teaching profession. Nevertheless, since the document is the result of the work of various professionals with different ideological commitments, it does not offer a coherent picture of the profession. It represents a hybrid concept of being a teacher and of teaching. On the one hand, it clearly returns to an older concept of teacher as the source of knowledge: an erudite individual who transmits clearly definable knowledge and values, especially those in relation to conservative ideology: national identity, family values, etc. On the other hand, the competencies of teachers represent a more modern concept of the profession, and the teacher also appears as a facilitator who helps students’ own learning and as a person is open to the individual characteristics of pupils and to multicultural values. The document outlines 8 major competencies that describe the general pedagogical profile of teachers. In this part, the second, more modern concept is clearly prevalent. The competencies do not prescribe concrete curricular contents for courses, they are very general and mention human rights, multicultural values, respect for individual characteristics. The other part of the document describes more concretely the curricular content for teachers of each teaching subject (history, biology, languages, etc.): both the competencies and the knowledge in relation to that subject. In this part of the curricular content, the first, more conservative concept is prevalent.

Gender (and sex) is not mentioned at all in the document, nor the words ‘man’ and ‘woman’. While in the first concept of teacher the profile supposedly contains the promotion of equality (including gender equality), the silence of the document on gender represents a certain “gender-blind” attitude that does not reflect on the importance of gender relations, the gendered order in society, nor does it acknowledge the fact that approximately two thirds of teachers are women, which has significant implications for teaching as a profession. Persons seem to have no sex/gender in the text, while other personal characteristics in relation to religion, culture, ethnicity and generally diversity are present. Sexuality itself is mentioned rarely and only in relation to biology (sexual selection, genetic basis of sexual behaviour, etc.). Sex education is mentioned only once under the subject biology. Sexual behaviour is represented as dangerous in the text once in the curriculum of special physical education and health education, taught together with

topics like drug addiction and alcohol consumption. In the same part, family life education is also mentioned (it is a sort of “more complex” approach instead of sex education in the conservative discourse of the government, based on previous Christian initiatives). This absence is accompanied by some clearly conservative dimensions in the text: national identity and values are mentioned several times. While the concept of gender is totally missing, the word family appears around 20 times.

While this fundamental text of teacher education that offers a normative profile of the teacher profession enables interpretations that include gender equality in the curriculum, the total silence of the text on sex and gender is significant, and represents the unreflectedness of gender issues in teacher education. Moreover, a conservative ideology is (directly and indirectly) presented, which does not want to consider gender as an issue, focuses on the “traditional family” as an ideal, and in this way, indirectly reinforces the gender order, and goes against gender equality.

3.2. Teacher training course descriptions/ syllabi of the participant universities

Austria

In Austria the “Teacher Training New” programme was started in 2013. This programme is conducted as a cooperation of University Colleges of Teacher Education and universities. An evaluation of these new teacher-training programmes is complicated because of the lack of a uniform nationwide curriculum, with several different curricula being implemented. Gender and gender competence are part of the new curricula, although to varying extents. Gender is dealt with as general matter and an interdisciplinary issue, sometimes connected with diversity or multilingualism, or as an aspect of inclusive education. On the other hand, gender and gender sensitivity are part of the curriculum as an explicit topic in a course, e.g.: lecture “Basics of Gender and Diversity”.

As for course descriptions/syllabi, there are many more or less different curricula for teacher training programmes in Austria, therefore it is not manageable to analyse syllabi or course descriptions. Syllabi change from term to term. Furthermore, there is a lack of quality standard in gender specific lectures at universities in general, as well as for gender specific lectures in teacher training programmes in particular.

Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic, at the Faculty of Education at the Masaryk University, students of teacher training study programmes at the second stage of basic schools (lower secondary level) must attend (among others) courses within so-called “common basis”⁴⁸. The common basis consists of obligatory courses, obligatory elective courses and elective courses. Within the obligatory courses, there is only one course which mentions gender in its syllabus: the Introduction into the Education and Psychology course includes a topic “A pupil at the school. Characteristics of pupils (gender, social status, ...)”. However, the syllabus states no further details.

In the second term of the bachelor degree programme, the common basis offers 13 different courses, students have to choose at least one. Three of these thirteen mention gender in the syllabi: (1) The course “Multicultural lessons at the basic school” lists gender issues and the discrimination of people with different sexual orientation as possible topics of multicultural lessons. (2) The course “Social pathologies in the life of pupils at basic and secondary school” offers a topic “gender aspects of socialization into deviant subcultures”. (3) The course “The educational situations in schools” includes a topic on “Gender education in schools. Analysis and interpretation of data from Jarkovska's publication (2013)”. There are several other departments, including the Department of English Language and Literature, the Department of Civic Education, the Department of Czech Language and Literature, and the Department of Social Education that also offer courses with gender studies content.

From the academic year 2016/2017, the Institute for Research in Inclusive Education offers an elective course “Gender sensitive education”. This course was led by experts from NGOs dealing with gender equality and the last term was led by gender expert Lucie Jarkovská. The course provides a broad knowledge of gender and education including stereotypes, gender segregation, gender stereotypes in textbooks, gender equality within the curriculum, methods of gender-sensitive education. The course is open for all students. In the last term (spring 2018), the course was conceived as an online course based on reading articles and online discussion. The opportunity of the distance course significantly increased the number of candidates.

The Faculty of Education at the Masaryk University does not have an explicit strategy for gender mainstreaming and promotion of gender-sensitive education. Gender theory is present in several courses, however, with no further details on how gender is conceptualized. Only one elective course on gender-sensitive education is provided, which means that just a small number of students receive education on this issue.

⁴⁸ https://is.muni.cz/do/ped/stud/studk/2017_2018/P/SZ_BP_2016.html

Hungary

In Hungary the basis for the national curriculum of teacher education (TE) is the above analysed document that offers only some competencies and contents for the TE curricula of the universities. It is important to mention that after the TE reform of this government, the more general psychology and pedagogy credits have been reduced significantly against the credits related to the subject of teaching (history, biology, etc). It means that the teachers gain more expertise in their own subject than in pedagogy; they become primarily teachers of their subjects, not educators of young people. This fact also means that the above-described document's more conservative part has a clear prevalence in their TE. Pedagogy and psychology courses could offer (more) opportunity to transmit a more modern concept of teaching, but the students spend much less time in those courses. To understand the whole normative and educational framework of initial teacher education, we would need to consider all the courses of TE students, but they are greatly varied subject by subject, so here we only focus on the curriculum of pedagogy and psychology courses - keeping in mind that this is only a small part of their TE training. This part of the curriculum can be also very different in different institutions.

At ELTE University the structure of the courses in the teacher training curriculum is divided in blocks.⁴⁹ The blocks try to integrate pedagogical and psychological knowledge. In the blocks there are pedagogy and psychology courses with competencies and content description. On the one hand, this curriculum reflects the concept of psychology- and pedagogy-dominated teacher training in which social and sociological dimensions (and concepts) are much less represented, and so are gender issues. On the other hand, it clearly represents the modern concept of the teaching profession, and a modern interpretation of the learning process. Moreover in some pedagogy courses the social and sociological dimension of education is strongly represented: in one course in relation to childhood studies (Educational experiences and views - Childhood, the concept of child and individual characteristics), and in two others in connection with socialization, education system and schooling (Education in the changing society; Society of all - School for all). The very titles indicate an evident value orientation of the curriculum towards a more inclusive and equitable education (system). In this way, although gender is mentioned only rarely in the descriptions, there are several topics (diversity, multicultural society and education, changing norms in the society, etc.) that offer opportunities to work on the issue of gender equality. In addition, the course materials (literature and text books) contain texts that address the issue of the gender order, gender discrimination and gender equality. The literal mentions are the following:

⁴⁹ One of the experts in this project participated in the elaboration of this curriculum, so gender aspects are present partly due to his contribution.

- “Gender differences - biological sex and gender” in the course description of Psychology of personality development and socialization in the context of social and peer relations (friendships, teenage love).
- “Gender roles in school. Views about genders, gender-based discrimination; schooling (and learning) characteristics of boys and girls and their career” in the course description of *Social psychology and psychology of health* and under the topic: Group structures and norms.
- In the course *Pedagogical views and experiences - the concept of child and individual characteristics*, gender and sexual orientation is mentioned (among many other identity categories).

The lack of more explicit references to gender is probably due to a certain unreflectedness of gender issues in the education field, and in spite of the progressive dimensions of this specific curriculum, it is clear that there is a lot to be changed in it in order to develop a more gender-sensitive teacher training at ELTE.

It is important to note that this actual curriculum will be changed drastically in the nearest future for economic constraints. The teaching hours will be shortened, and so the content will be reduced, too. In the proposal of the new curriculum, the only reference to gender remained in the course *Psychology of Group Processes and Socialization*: “Gender differences in school” in relation to the topic: Group structures and norms.

4. Handbooks and guidelines on gender issues in education

In Austria and the Czech Republic there are several state-issued handbooks and guidelines to support teachers in gender-sensitive education. In Hungary there are no such educational tools available, neither from the time of the current conservative authoritarian government, nor from the time of earlier socialist-liberal or conservative democratic governments. The number and contents of the Austrian handbooks and guidelines and the fact that most of them are governmental publications reflect a conscious attention to gender equality in education and expertise in the field on the policy level. The Czech publications also reflect a conscious political attention, although the level of expertise involved is more varied.

Austria

The Austrian Ministry of Education provides several guidelines for schools concerning teaching material, language, school development, and school quality:

- Guideline for Representation of Women and Men in Teaching Materials - Leitfaden zur Darstellung von Frauen und Männern in Unterrichtsmitteln (1999, 2012).

- Guideline on how to identify Discrimination in Textbooks, focusing on Gender and sexual Orientation - Empfehlungen für nicht-diskriminierende Schulbücher, Fokus Gender und sexuelle Orientierung (2016).
- Guideline "How to formulate gender inclusively" - Geschlechtergerechtes Formulieren (2002, 2016).
- School Walkthrough – a Tool for Criteria-based School Development - School Walkthrough. Ein Werkzeug für kriteriengeleitete Schulentwicklung (2015).
- Gender competence & Gender Mainstreaming: Criteria catalog for schools - Gender Kompetenz & Gender Mainstreaming: Kriterienkatalog für Schulen (2015).
- Set of guidelines for gender equality and equal opportunities as a task of SQA - Geschlechtergerechtigkeit und -gleichstellung als Aufgabe im Rahmen von SQA (2016).
- Gender sensitive and gender competent School Development Consulting - Gendersensible und genderkompetente Schulentwicklungsberatung. Leitfaden für SchulentwicklungsberaterInnen (2014).

These documents could support teachers in their work for gender equality. However, that requires knowledge about the existence of these documents, the will to work towards gender equality, and resources. For example: the Walkthrough instrument is a tool for school development but it is not mandatory, and even if there are teachers interested in dealing with it it is not certain that they get remunerated (Werteinheiten) for it. And one should not forget that there is big resistance against gender-sensitive measures, e.g. inclusive language. In 2015 the Federal Association of Parents' Associations in lower and upper secondary level schools criticized the "gender madness in school books" through an initiative "Against gendering in textbooks".⁵⁰

Guideline for Representation of Women and Men in Teaching Materials (BMUKK 2012)

This Guideline was published by the Ministry of Education, Art and Culture, as a recommendation. The first version was published in 1999, and the current updated version in 2012. The guideline refers to the policy documents analysed in the first section of this report. The primary target groups are assessors of teaching materials and authors of textbooks or of audio-visual or new media. Teachers and pupils are also mentioned as a target group (5).

The Guideline helps to sensitize textbook authors and people that are responsible for the approbation of teaching materials to "encourage the development of materials that offer girls and boys a variety of

⁵⁰ "GeGendern – Gegen Gendern in Schulbüchern"

identification to broaden the range of interests and behaviours” (ibid.). The guideline helps gender to become a cross-sectional matter in teaching materials. It supports teachers in selecting their teaching materials from a gender-sensitive point of view, and pupils in dealing with inequality, gender-specific roles and discrimination especially in teaching material (ibid.).

Teaching materials are seen as part of school socialization, they make explicit or implicit statements about gender relations and they transport norms and values. Therefore they “play a central role in the creation of equal opportunities and gender equality” (ibid., 10). Teaching materials contributing to gender equality through language, content and pictures is seen as an opportunity to open up new perspectives for pupils and to offer options for non-traditional life concepts and for non-traditional vocational concepts.

The main approach of the Guideline is an equality approach, but it also refers to the concept of gender construction, of doing and undoing gender. Many aspects are cited: equal opportunities, gender equality, gender stereotypical attribution, gender construction, doing gender, undoing gender, discrimination. The terms “doing gender” and “undoing gender” and the concept of gender construction are explained (ibid., 10-11), but the dualistic concept of men and women is not questioned. In the subchapter “society” the question is asked if a certain teaching material deals with discrimination “based on ethnicity, religion or belief, age or sexual orientation” (ibid., 9), in other parts gender is linked to other categories (like the above-mentioned ones but also to people with special needs).

Guideline on how to identify Discrimination in Textbooks, focusing on Gender and Sexual Orientation

This Guideline is an adaptation and translation of a guideline which was created within the EU-Twinning-Project “Fight against Homophobia and Transphobia in Kosovo” (<http://normallydifferent.eu>) (Hladschik 2015). It is a contribution to the National Action Plan for the Protection of Women against Violence (Hladschik 2016, 6), and it serves as a recommendation.

It includes information about the importance of textbooks, about the aims and target groups of the guideline, about how to use the guideline, about the dimensions which were analysed, and some more information as well as further literature. Target groups of the guideline are authors and editors of textbooks, publishers, public and private institutions who publish their own teaching materials, teachers, multipliers, pupils, and students (ibid., 8).

This guideline is to sensitize textbook authors and people responsible for the approbation of textbooks and publishers about discrimination. It provides a “quick-check” tool (6). It also supports teachers when choosing their teaching materials and it sensitizes students and pupils for the topic of anti-discrimination in schoolbooks and other materials (8). The guideline points out that textbooks are not objective or neutral: they determine which contents are presented or ignored and therefore are visible/important or

invisible/unimportant for pupils. Therefore, it is important to support people dealing with textbooks to work against discrimination. The guideline supports avoiding stereotypes (with a focus on gender and sexual orientation/identity), and it wants to promote (cultural) diversity (7). The authors point out that textbooks have the potential to initiate changes in society (5).

The guideline deals with the following five so called dimensions (10): (1) anti-discrimination / diversity; (2) gender; (3) sexual identity; (4) didactic and methodical approaches; (5) illustrations. Each chapter starts with a short introduction, then certain statements follow and next to them one finds a red, a yellow and a green circle (like a traffic light), where one can mark whether the statement applies or not (9). It is not seen as crucial to have as many green lights as possible, but to show best-practice-examples, to identify areas of improvement and to initiate a process of reflexion (ibid.).

The dimension "Anti-discrimination / Diversity" lists the following topics: legal framework; historical background / society; representation of different social groups. The dimension "Gender" lists the following topics: historical background / legal framework; behaviours, lifestyles; job; society. The dimension "Sexual orientation" lists following topics: historical background / legal framework; behaviours, lifestyles.

The guideline is referred to as "a tool for raising awareness" about the topics of gender, sexual orientation/identity, anti-discrimination, diversity, and inequality. Mechanisms of discrimination should be explained, diversity should be named as value and "positive possibilities for identification for all social groups" (11) should be offered. It also speaks about historical fights for the rights for different social groups, the legal situation, the segregation of the labour market and participation of girls/women and boys/men in professional, private and public life. The main focus lies on anti-discrimination/diversity, on gender and on sexual orientation/identity. These topics are not linked, they are not treated intersectionally.

In the guideline one finds an equality approach. What stands out is that there is sometimes a confusion between sexual orientation and gender identity. The chapter with the headline "sexual orientation" also deals with gender identity. An example for this is the following statement in the checklist: "The textbook explains heterosexuality as well as homo-, bi- and transsexuality and thus doesn't declare heterosexuality to be the normative concept" (Hladschik 2015, 25). There are also contradictory statements about gender binarism: One of the statements one can mark in the chapter "sexual orientation" is the following: "The textbook overcomes the binary system of gender (male/female)" (ibid., 25). Nevertheless, in the chapter "Gender" one only finds the binary system of gender: "Both, men and women are shown in private as well as in family and job-related situations" (ibid., 21).

Guideline "How to formulate gender inclusively"

Since the beginning of the 1980s, linguistic studies from Germany have stimulated a discussion within Austrian government and ministries as well as in public. These studies explored the cognitive effects of masculine generics in German (i.g. “Schüler” – “pupils” instead of “Schülerinnen und Schüler” – “female and male pupils”). Their finding: these generics make girls and women invisible. Subsequently, the Austrian Federal Chancellery and the Council of Ministers published several circulars and recommendations, first with regard to gender-equal formulations in job advertisements, but also with regard to subjects and the avoidance of gender-specific distinction in teaching objectives (Guggenberger 2017, 158-159).

In 1990, the Recommendation on the Elimination of Sexism from Language was published by the Council of Europe, addressed to all governments of the Member States (Council 1990). It recommended to promote the use of a language reflecting the principle of equality between women and men and to take action to reconcile the terminology used in education with the principle of equality (Guggenberger 2017, 302). For the education system, curricula were one of the fields of action: they influence and shape both the language of textbooks and the language of teachers. In the curricula of Austrian Primary Schools, Secondary Schools and Lower Academic Secondary Schools, female and male pupils (“Schülerinnen und Schüler”) were first mentioned explicitly in 1993; in all other curricula only in 2003 (ibid., 306).

Subsequently, the guideline “How to formulate gender inclusively” was published by the Austrian Ministry of Education in 2002 and is still in force. It provides information on the principles and strategies of linguistic equal treatment and serves as a manual for gender-fair and gender-neutral formulations. Target groups of the first edition in 2002 were the Ministry of Education and its subordinate offices as well as universities: In the 2012 edition, teachers, pupils as well as publishers and authors of schoolbooks became target groups (BMUKK 2012).

Most examples relate to education and schooling. It briefly mentions the regulations for gender-specific use of academic titles. Furthermore, it cites references on linguistic studies and other guidelines on Gender-Neutral Language in English (UNESCO 1999) as well as guidelines from German speaking governments. Its aims are (1) visibility: women and girls should be made visible in language; and (2) symmetry: women and men should be named equally and symmetrically. These goals are based on the assumption that the exclusive use of the masculine form in the language affects thinking and ideas and that gender-equitable formulations contribute to gender equality and serve as a basis for Gender Mainstreaming.

The guideline is considered as a legal regulation at the level of an administrative regulation (general directive), its measures are obligatory for the Ministry of Education and its subordinate bodies, the University College of Teacher Education, and all staff (Guggenberger 2017, 520, BMBWF 2018g). Nevertheless, a so-called “general clause” is still used in national education policy documents, such as in

the beginning of the School Organization Act (BGBl. Nr. 242/1962): “§ 2a. Any references in this Federal Act as well as in its regulations, that refer to persons such as ‘students’ and ‘teachers’, include boys and girls or men and women alike, unless otherwise expressly stated” and in the School Education Act: “§ 2a. “Any references in this Federal Act that refer to persons shall apply in the female form”.

The terminology used concerning gender is ‘gender-fair’, ‘gender-sensitive’, ‘gender mainstreaming’, and ‘equal linguistic treatment’. The guideline presents a binary concept of gender: women and men, girls and boys, female and male pupils. Although since 2000 several official Austrian guidelines have been published (Akademie 2010, AAU 2014, Traunsteiner 2015, WU 2017), offering non-binary designations (like “Schüler_in”, “Schüler*in”) which refer to gender as a continuum, none of these formulations are listed in the reviewed guideline. The guideline exclusively focuses on gender without any relation to other grounds of inequality; intersectionality is not dealt with in the document.

Comprehensibility, readability, and correct language – or rather the lack of them - have often been raised as an argument against gender-fair language, not only in the 1990s, but also today, not only in the public opinion, but also in academic statements: gender-inclusive formulations are said to be factually incorrect or contradict the common sense language, far from reality, unusable, annoying and awkward; they are a feminist coercive measure to change language usage; they were ridiculed or rejected. In 2015, the Federal Association of Parents' Associations in lower and upper secondary level schools (Bundesverband der Elternvereine an mittleren und höheren Schulen – BEV) criticized the “gender madness in schoolbooks” with an initiative “Against Gendering in Textbooks” (Guggenberger 2017, 525). In March 2016, the right-wing party FPÖ tabled a resolution “Stop gender madness” (ibid.).

In December 2017 the new Austrian government was built as a coalition of the conservative “Austrian People's Party” (Neue Volkspartei, ÖVP) with the right-wing “Freedom Party of Austria” (Freiheitliche Partei Österreich, FPÖ). The chapter “Education” in their current government programme (Zusammen 2017) mentions gender, in particular gender-fair language as follows: “In textbooks, attention must be paid to the symmetrical presence of women and men, unless there are objective reasons not to do so. However, gender-fair language should not be practiced at the expense of comprehensibility” (65). This is the only mention of gender concerning educational policy.

The need for gender-fair language is questioned once more with the well-known argument. In relation to this, announcement in the new government program (2017) to delete and adapt unnecessary educational circulars has to be seen critically: “As an immediate measure, all enacted decrees, regulations, and circulars are to be reviewed completely with regard to their practicability and necessity. Based on that, those decrees and provisions which do not appear to be absolutely necessary or appropriate are to be deleted and adapted” (ibid., 62).

School Walkthrough – a Tool for Criteria based School Development

The introduction of the New Secondary School NMS in 2012 provided new possibilities. For instance, it was possible to merge the subjects “Technical work “ and “Textile work” into one subject – hoping that this step will enable to work against stereotypes and will allow “both sexes” an access to both learning areas (Tschenett 2013: 1).

The “School Walkthrough”, published in 2015, is a guidance paper which provides support for school development in NMS (ZLS 2015). It serves as a supporting tool for schools to evaluate their school quality and to identify development areas; it is not obligatory. The main target groups of the paper are heads of schools, teachers and contact persons for gender. Parents and pupils are mentioned as well.

With reference to gender it includes the statement: “The NMS supports the development of young people without gender constraints. Gender-specific attributions and barriers are avoided. Deliberate examination of gender differences is addressed and considered in class” (ibid., 15). The “School Walkthrough” lists 14 development areas with “Gender competence and gender equality” as one of them (15-16, 47-50). Frame conditions are seen as important (e.g.: Are there resources for and is there knowledge about the relevance of gender?).

On pages 47-50 one finds a *set of criteria* to determine if the school * did not start - just started - is on its way - reached the objective - leads further * referring to the following topics: (1) contact person for gender; (2) head of school and teachers; (3) vocational orientation; (4) resources and cooperation; (5) teaching. According to the category “leads further” of the criteria set, gender competence is seen as something that teachers and pupils not only can achieve but also pass on: teachers can become advisors in further education, trained pupils act as advisors between their peers, gender sensitive teaching can become a “best practice example” for other schools, the parents’ association supports gender equality and so on. There are also *practical hints* (websites, literature) relating to “Gender competence and gender equality” (15-16.).

The guidance paper has an equality approach and a difference approach. To overcome gender stereotypes a set of measures is suggested, some are compensatory (as girls’ day, boys’ day, supporting girls in the field of STEM (or MINT in German), and boys in the social area). Gender – without defining it – is used in conjunction with gender contact persons, gender sensitive education, gender competence, and gender sensitive vocational orientation. Emancipatory literature for children and young adults is mentioned as well as girl and boy-specific projects. The dualistic concept of men and women is not questioned. The focus is on gender only within the pages 15-16 and 47-50; gender is not linked to other categories of inequality. Gender is one out of 14 criteria, another is “diversity and inclusion”.

Gender Competence & Gender Mainstreaming: Criteria catalogue for schools

Gender Mainstreaming as a political strategy to implement gender equality was a basis for establishing *Gender Competence Schools* (project GeKoS) which led to this catalogue of criteria for a gender equality focus at schools (BMB 2015). The guideline describes the compiled tasks for “Gender Competence Schools”, which are specialised in sustaining and increasing gender competences and reducing conventional hierarchical gender roles and gender constraints. The criteria can be seen as an assistance and guideline for schools which are interested in implementing measures for a gender equality focus. It is a recommendation and a guideline.

The catalogue has pupils, teachers, school management and external relations for target groups, that is, it follows a whole-school approach. It offers suggestions to all four groups in order to develop into a gender-sensitive school. For example, it suggests that for the benefit of students, teachers should create a teaching place/space where each student, female and male, is addressed, motivated and able to participate actively; offer several different role models and identification possibilities; offer girls and boys appropriate proposals to deal with their own gender identity, anxieties, hopes and imaginations to find new ways to expand perspectives; support and encourage girls and boys at being non-conventional and help them finding non-conventional career aspirations.

For teachers’ benefit, teachers should, for example, reflect about their own gender identity and the responsibility as a role model as well as the expectations towards girls and boys; have knowledge in the field of gender and identity development and in the field of doing gender processes in relation to other diversities; exchange mutual support and good practice examples; are able to analyse and comment on school books with a gender focus.

The head of school/ school management should, for example, communicate gender competences and gender mainstreaming as an important topic internally and externally; implement measures with the aim of promoting women and men in domains, where either gender is underrepresented; implement a steering group to coordinate and organise resources to plan and realize gender mainstream goals; develop reviewable annual targets, measures and indicators of establishing gender competences and gender mainstreaming.

To address external relations, the school management should, for example, communicate the importance of gender competences and gender mainstreaming transparently outward; include school partnership committees and parents in main questions about gender competences and gender equality; promote co-operations with relevant educational and extracurricular organizations and initiatives with a gender focus.

The authors operate with several different approaches to reduce gender-based discrimination. The equality approach can be read as the main one, leaning on the concept of gender mainstreaming. But the social constructed differences between woman and man should also be considered and compensatory measures are listed. The short paper sums up important contents for gender competent schools, including gender identity, gender sensibility, gender reflection, gender difference, diversity, gender specific roles, gender relations, and gender-inclusive language, which is taken for granted. *Gender* is defined as a social construct. Society and culture shape role models, abilities and the way of life. Biological sex is understood as given or pre-existing, but roles and abilities influenced by gender are seen as changeable. *Gender competence* is defined as a “basic knowledge about gender relations and about the forming conditions for gender differences; it contains the motivation to establish gender equality; it requires the willingness to reflect one’s own socialisation as woman/man and one’s own attitude [...]; it provides a central basis for the gender mainstreaming process” (3). *Gender mainstreaming* is defined as a “structured process for the integration of gender equality at all levels and measures; it needs the participation of each member especially the management level; it requires process and procedural knowledge as well as knowledge of the structures of one's own organisation” (ibid.).

The significance of gender tied with other diversities like ethnicity, social and economic background, religion etc. is mentioned. This can be read as a reference to intersectionality approaches, but it is not certain what this means in detail. The guideline speaks about other diversities which can lead to unequal conditions for women and men, but offers no special solutions or measures to compensate them. Therefore, gender is seen as a social construct influenced by stereotypes, which prevents equal opportunities and equal progress for two sexes, female and male. The concepts of gender competence schools in combination with gender mainstreaming can lead to new and diverse opportunities for both genders and can reduce gender-based discrimination, but the concept of dualism of men and women is not questioned.

Set of guidelines for gender equality and equal opportunities as task of SQA

SQA - School Quality in General Education’ is the Ministry of Education’s pedagogical quality management system. “SQA is based on an amendment to §18 of the Federal School Board Act (2012). It defines the main points of a national quality framework, which has been further concretised for the general education system as ‘SQA - School Quality in General Education’ in a participatory process. The legal bases are the §18 of the Federal School Board Act and §56 of the School Education Act, which defines school quality management as one of the tasks of school management. SQA compiles resources, offers support and creates structures and binding regulations for quality development at all levels of the system” (BMB, n.d.a). This also includes gender competence as an explicit quality criteria for schools. On the one hand, the

guidelines are a reference to legal requirements, on the other hand, they are an overview of the current directives, quality criteria as well as a recommendation for implementation strategies of gender-sensitive teaching methods and recommendations in general education schools. Target groups are school administration of general education schools.

The document emphasizes the necessity of gender equity and equality in general education. It refers to tests on national and international levels to quantify equity. It presents a theoretical and practical approach of gender competence, different guidelines and quality criteria for gender sensitive education, as well as practical examples of implementation strategies.

The first part describes the implementations of gender equality as a quality issue for schools and the legal framework conditions. First of all, goals of the Federal Ministry of Education are described: "The 'promotion of equal opportunities and gender equality in education' is defined as one of *the Federal Ministry of Education objectives* and thus provides a central reference framework for measures taken by the Ministry to support quality development in general education schools" (Tschenett and Bors 2016, 2). Secondly, concrete measures and forms of implementations are described. Besides referring to the "Educational principle Education to Equality between Women and Men", the curriculum for the New Secondary School which comprises 'reflexive coeducation' and 'gender-sensitive education' is mentioned. To sustain and secure implementation, several laws for 'gender-diversity-competences' at schools are anchored in the Higher Education Act, Hochschulzulassungsverordnung and in the Service Law Amendment from 2013 (ibid., 3). Finally a short summary of a basic paper with competence models and a definition of gender competence for teachers, which was developed in cooperation between teachers, gender experts and the Ministry of Education, is presented: gender competence requires basic knowledge about gender topics, motivation to improve gender equity and equality and the ability to deal with differences and diversity. Four main levels of gender competences are listed: personal competences, professional competences, social-communicative/ interactional competences and didactic-methodical competences (ibid., 3-4).

The second part deals with an international context and refers to regulations, recommendations and published studies about the necessity of establishing gender equality measures in education. The reduction of segregation processes, reduction of stereotypes and prevention of (sexual) violence against women are seen as the main subjects of educational tasks. The document emphasises international comparisons and national research (OECD 2015; Stadler 2010; Bartosch 2014) indicating that differences between female and male performances cannot be explained biologically, they have to be analysed as a result of social construction processes and structural factors.

The third part presents quality criteria and goals for gender competent schools. It refers to the project GeKoS (Gender Competence Schools) and the catalogue with criteria for different target groups. Finally,

some particular implementation strategies are described. Because of different positions on gender sensitive measures, the school management should have a clear and supportive position. An orientation at the compiled set of criteria and '5 stages of development' from 'School Walkthrough' is recommended. It could help to inspect their own test results of 'standards of education evaluations' to figure out where gender differences are located and what that means. To prevent defensive reactions, data respective unequal test results could also help to bring forward the argument to deal with gender related disadvantages. Further on, gender-specific literature as well as emancipatory children's and youth literature in the library is suggested. Also, advanced trainings and excursions can be organised with a gender-sensitive or gender-specific focus.

The author's intent is based on intersectional constructivist theoretical approaches. This means not just that gender competences but also diversity competencies are important. Using this approach, one should be aware of diverse processes of inclusion and exclusion, based on several categories like social and economic background or ethnicity. But gender is the main category.

The document's main content is about competences – especially gender and diversity competences – which in turn comprise different competences (ibid., 3-4). *Personal competence* includes the willingness of self-reflection of one's own gendering process and social background, as well as gender role concepts and norms, categorization patterns and interaction patterns. *Professional competence* means to have expertise about (current) school and education-related gender concepts like 'doing gender' and 'doing student', explanations for gender and social gaps, knowledge about gender-sensitive didactics or educational intervention concepts such as reflexive coeducation as well as theories about gendering. *Social-communicative/ interactional competences* are about reducing gender stereotyped communication patterns and creating gender equitable interaction processes. *Didactic-methodical competence* means to create an environment for pupils to build up their interests and participate regardless of gender.

At several points the construction process of gendering is mentioned, as well as the importance of social justice at international and national level. Challenges by implementing gender-sensitive education, such as the negative and defensive reaction of colleagues, are discussed. The authors propose an intersectional constructivist theoretical approach and name other diversities than gender, but the criteria, guidelines and implementation strategies refer primarily to two genders (boys and girls) and only to gender-specific discriminations.

Gender Sensitive and Gender Competent School Development Consulting

Since 2000 the Ministry of Education has supported several projects to implement gender mainstreaming at schools, like "School development from below" (Schulentwicklung von unten), so called "Gender

Mainstreaming Cluster-Schools” (Gender Mainstreaming Cluster Schulen) or “Gender Competence Schools” (Gender Kompetenz Schulen / GeKoS). The evaluation of these projects revealed that there were isolated successes but no longer-term organisational developments. From 2010, the focus was therefore on school development and school development consulting, and a group of school development consultants have worked out this concept for gender-sensitive school development consulting. It addresses school development consultants as well as school development consulting centres.

This guideline is divided into six parts:

- 1) *Why a gender-sensitive focus? – basic conditions and reference points* (2-3).
- 2) *What does gender sensitive school development consulting mean?* (4-5)
- 3) *Basic gender knowledge and concepts* (6-7)
- 4) *Resources for gender sensitive school development consulting* (8-9)
- 5) *Information about the development context* (9)
- 6) *Sources* (9)

The authors use a critical and reflexive understanding of the term gender and of gender theory. They operate with a deconstructionist theory of gender. In their understanding, neither *the* women nor *the* men exist, they want to avoid homogenization and make differences visible. Their understanding of gender is intersectional, not dualistic and not heteronormative. They also emphasise the importance of questioning power relations. The “potential of diversity” (2) and the importance of seeing gender as a fluid and changeable social category, influenced by region, media, socialisation or political circumstances are emphasized. “Dosed irritations” (4) should be used to break with stereotypes and focus on gender as a social constructed category. Heterosexuality has to be questioned and diverse desires and genders need to be recognised. Also, other categories like “age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, social and economic background, disability” (6) and their linking and correlation with gender have to be considered. In addition to the individual level, the inequalities at the social, political and economic levels must be addressed too. The “unlearning of gender stereotypes as an opportunity instead of a threat” (6) and the implementation of gender sensitivity tools at “School Development Consultations” are seen as a chance and necessity to deal with and benefit from diversity.

Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic four state-published resources are available, which deal with various gender-related areas, including homophobia and sex education.

A tool for assessing the gender correctness of textbooks⁵¹

The one-page material was one of the outputs of the MŠMT project called *Assessment of the gender stereotyping in textbooks*, implemented in 2004. The document itself is not dated, the authors are J. Valdrová, I. Smetáčková, B. Knotková. The document consists of a series of questions that reviewers should ask while reviewing a textbook from a gender perspective. Questions are divided into six themes: curriculum selection; depiction of women and men; illustrations; examples for interpretation and practicing of the subject; how students are addressed; and the language of description. The tool is intended to guide reviewers of schoolbooks to recognise whether a book is gender stereotypical or not.

The guideline presents a binary concept of gender: women and men, girls and boys etc. The wording used concerning gender is 'non-traditional/alternative/non-stereotypical depiction of women and men'. It does not work with gender identity, sexual orientation or other types of inequalities.

The tool is a recommendation published on the MŠMT website. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned study on the status of gender equality at MŠMT points out the fact the tool is not systematically used in the book reviewing process (MŠMT, 2013).

Homophobia in pupils' collectives: Homophobic harassment and bullying at elementary and secondary schools - how it is manifested and how to prevent it: Additional teaching material for primary and secondary schools including the didactic application of the topic.⁵²

This Handbook was issued by the Governmental Council for Human Rights in cooperation with the MŠMT in 2009, as a supplementary material for primary and secondary schooling prepared by Irena Smetáčková, including the didactic application of the theme prepared by Richard Braun. It is a recommendation intended for teachers at primary and secondary schools, school counsellors, school methodologists and prevention methodologists. It aims to provide lecturers guidelines on "how to identify homophobic harassment and bullying, and which preventive measures to take to deal with it as well as to solve it" (p. 14). It brings examples of homophobic harassment among pupils/students.

In the introduction, the handbook defines the basic terms (homophobia, heterosexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality, transsexuality, LGBT, gender, prejudice), explains the issue of homophobic harassment and bullying, how it can be recognized, how to prevent it and how to solve homophobic bullying. The second part of the handbook presents selected techniques and possible ways of working in the classroom. It points out that according to the Anti-discrimination Act, the Education Act, the Constitution and the Charter of

⁵¹ Czech version: <http://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/zakladni-vzdelavani/pomucka-pri-posuzovani-genderove-korektnosti-ucebnic>

⁵² Czech version: https://www.vlada.cz/assets/udalosti/homofobie_web.pdf

Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, schools are responsible for ensuring equal treatment. To pay attention to homophobic harassment is one of the ways to fulfil this commitment. The handbook emphasizes the need for understanding the gender order (its heteronormativity, dichotomy and complementarity), to understand the nature of homophobic bullying.

Sexual Education - Selected Topics⁵³

The handbook published in 2009 is a work of fourteen authors. The handbook aims to complete already published publications on health education. Another intention is to help with the implementation of sexual education in schools, to respond to the urgent need to tackle the issue of sexual education in a comprehensive way.

The publication refers to three government documents: *Health 21 – a long-term program for the improvement of the health of the population of the Czech Republic* (Government Resolution No. 1046); *National Program on HIV / AIDS in the Czech Republic in the Period 2008-2012* (Government Resolution No. 130); *Strategy for the prevention of risky behaviour of children and the youth in the frame of Ministry of Education 2009-2012 activity* (MŠMT 2009). It is in accordance with the UNAIDS World Anti-AIDS Program. It focuses on the health aspects of sexual life, the protection of reproductive health, the prevention of sexual diseases and the prevention of risky behaviour on the internet. Sexual education is linked to ethics, the framework educational program for basic education, and legislation. The table of contents includes chapters on sexual orientation, “sexual dysfunctions”, “sexual deviations” and deviant behaviour, gender aspects of sexual education.

When it comes to sexual orientation and gender identity, the terminology used by the manual is confusing and reflects an essentialist and medicalised approach to sexual minorities. The topic of gender identity is not discussed separately but is included in the chapter on sexual orientation. Sexual orientation (heterosexuality, homosexuality) is described as an inborn sexual preference. The author claims that according to some experts bisexuality is classified as a sexual orientation, but according to some experts, bisexuality is considered as sexual behaviour, not sexual orientation (p. 34). Transsexuality is described as a state when someone feels they are a member of opposite sex. It is considered to be a congenital disorder which only 0.1% of society suffers from.

In the chapters on sexual orientation and sexual dysfunctions, some stereotypes about men and women’s sexuality are explained. It points out that boys are usually under greater pressure if they cross stereotypical expectations about femininity and masculinity. The author does not use heteronormative

⁵³ Czech version: <http://www.msmt.cz/file/8304>

language and makes homosexuality visible. For example, when speaking about premature ejaculation it claims men can solve the problem by the open communication with their female or male partner. The chapter on sexual deviation and deviant behaviour defines pedophilia, hebephilia, ephebophilia, fetishism, zoophilia, exhibitionism, voyeurism, frotteurism, toucherism, pathological sexual aggressiveness, sadism and masochism. The chapter on gender aspects of sexual education addresses prevalent stereotypes associated with masculinity and femininity. The role of language and symbolic expressions is mentioned.

The manual uses generic masculinum. In the section dealing with gender identity, it does not use the term "gender", but uses the term "sex" or the Czech translation of gender "rod". Only the chapter devoted to gender aspects of sexual education uses gender-sensitive expressions.

The book, after its publication, has prompted opposition from conservative Catholic parents. The Committee on the Protection of Parental Rights (V.O.P.R., now the Alliance for Family) has created a petition entitled "Are you sure you want to teach your children at elementary school to have sex without any moral scruples or compunctions with anyone, anytime and anyhow?" In the middle of the year, a new (later very controversial) Minister of Education Josef Dobeš, met members of V.O.R.P. and promised them to remove the handbook from the website of the Ministry and to ask all school directors to respect the parents' wish related to the sexual education (MŠMT 2010). The handbook was likely removed from the website of MŠMT for some period, but currently it can be found there.

The culture of gender-balanced expression⁵⁴

The Ministry of Education published this textbook in January 2010. The aim was to introduce suggestions on how to reduce discrimination against women due to existing linguistic practices in Czech. Further, to "... make communication courteous, cultivated and comfortable both to women and men, and to express and acknowledge the real share of women in public affairs" (p. 33). The handbook refers to the Council of Europe's recommendation on the elimination of sexism from language from 1990. It declares itself as the first Czech contribution to this topic addressing the general public. It refers to the commitments of the CR arising from the European Union's policy of equal opportunities. Its publication initiated a discussion and a criticism from linguists as well as from the general public. MŠMT immediately removed the manual from its website. Austria has a similar publication, which also had a controversial reception when it was published.

The textbook is divided into three main chapters. The chapter "Languages, Discrimination and Democracy" deals extensively with gender discrimination as well as with linguistic discrimination, links gender

⁵⁴ Czech version: http://data.idnes.cz/soubory/studium/A100125_BAR_GENDER_PRIRUCKA.PDF

correctness and equal opportunities, and asks the question, "How language is related to democracy?" The chapter "Gender culture of speech in the Czech language environment" deals in detail with the generic masculine, responds to the ten most frequent objections against the change of the way of expression and provides recommendation for gender-balanced expressions in Czech. The section dedicated to Gender-Correct Expression in English and German describes how gender-correct expressions are employed by other states and provides a number of practical examples of the possibilities of gender-balanced expression in English and German.

The handbook mainly deals with sexism and sexist language. Language "bears the culture of interpersonal relations and relations of both genders" (p. 18). Gender equality is defined as follows: "neither of the two sexes will be favoured over the other, nor any sexual orientation will be prioritized over the other" (p. 15). The handbook refers generally to the principle of equal opportunities; racism and ageism are only subordinate issues, with gender in its binary male-female form and does not link it to other types of inequality.

The handbook devotes substantial space to defending its position, responding to a number of examples of sexism in language, feminism, and gender equality in general. In some parts, the text is written in a somewhat confrontational style or uses informal emotionally coloured expressions. The handbook was written with the anticipation of criticism and tries to prevent it by disproving the critical arguments put forward. Thus, the handbook has the effect of not knowing who its target group is. Was the original intention to give guidance on gender-balanced expressions, or was the aim to prove anti-feminists are wrong? Despite the above-mentioned issues, the handbook provides the first comprehensive insight into gender-balanced expressions along with a number of practical examples.

Conclusions of the desk research studies

As could be seen in the desk research studies, the three countries have more differences than similarities in terms of gender-related education policies, regulations and learning contents. In general, Austria is the most advanced with regard to such documents, both in numbers and the level of gender awareness. The relevant documents are based on gender scholarship and follow the European requirements of gender mainstreaming. Most of them are also reflexive of issues of sexual orientation and gender identity. Gender equality has also been on the agenda of policymaking in the Czech Republic, although the level of gender awareness and reliance on gender scholarship is rather varied across the various documents. Unlike in the Czech Republic, gender equality has not become a major concern of education policy since the democratic turn. Currently in all three countries there is a political backlash against gender, which affects education in different ways.

Our research has revealed that in Austria there have been a lot of important milestones and measures for gender equality in the education system in the last decades; on the one hand, because of the pressure from international organisations (UN, EU) and on the other hand, because of the women's movement (and later on also because of pro-feminist parts of the men's movement). The Ministry of Education (especially the "department for gender mainstreaming, equality and schools") has supported gender equality in schools in various ways: with laws, guidelines, it has provided material to support teachers and schools in their engagement towards gender equality, it has supported activities (like girls' day and boys' day).

However, there are still many problems and challenges. First of all, Austria shows a big gender gap (concerning payment of women/men, the labour market, achievement and competence tests, etc.). Secondly, although there are many measures to support equality in schools many teachers are not familiar with these measures, they are not aware of their responsibility to contribute to equality or are even negative about the topic. On the other hand, there are teachers who are eager to support the idea of gender equality (and for whom it is very important that they are supported by laws and guidelines) but have to struggle with the framework conditions of school that work against these ideas. Thirdly, the above-mentioned guidelines are mostly not mandatory. But even if something is mandatory, like the principle of "Education to Equality between Women and Men", there is no nationwide evaluation of implementation. And last but not least, there is a backlash concerning gender topics in Austria. Austria has a new government (a coalition between a conservative and a right-wing party) and it is to be feared that measures will be taken against what we work for. In order to counter prejudices and resistance and overcome ingrained approaches to and heteronormative ideas about gender and sexuality the efforts to spread knowledge about equality and how to develop gender-related skills - especially among the key actors (teachers, principals, inspectors and school staff) - must therefore be continued.

Concerning the Czech Republic, the improvement of gender equality in the field of education appears to be insufficient in the long run. Very little progress has been made in the past years and high gender segregation persists. This unsatisfactory situation is also described in the Report on equality of women and men 2017⁵⁵ published by the Office of the Government CR (2018). The Updated measures of the Priorities and Policies of the Government in Promoting Equal Opportunities for Women and Men for 2018 suggest several concrete outputs which could foster the progress. The question is whether the measures will actually be adopted and fulfilled.

The Government Strategy for Equality of Women and Men in the Czech Republic for 2014-2020 describes the state of gender (in)equality in detail and represents the cornerstone for implementation of further

⁵⁵ <https://www.vlada.cz/assets/ppov/rovne-prilezitosti-zen-a-muzu/dokumenty/zprava2017.pdf>

measures. However, the will of the political representation to truly support gender equality and fulfil the goals stipulated in the Strategy is questionable.

In general, there is some scepticism, resistance or even insufficient awareness of what is meant by gender and equal opportunities for men and women. In political representation, the issue of gender equality is not taken seriously enough, in some cases it is even explicitly undermined. The previous Government (2014-2017) led by social democrats raised hope and had the potential to foster gender equality. Several changes were made - mainly the field of work-life balance, however, the implementation of gender mainstreaming and institutional security of gender equality remains very slow. Unfortunately, the current composition of the Parliament is not favourable for gender equality as conservative and populist parties prevail.

The notion of gender equality is not popular within society. Therefore, it is important to continue in awareness-raising and education which would help to overcome gender stereotypes and myths about feminism and gender equality as such. Otherwise, even if some measures were adopted, a successful implementation of these measures would be difficult.

Out of the three partner countries, it is Hungary where the least attention, expertise and political will have been devoted to gender equality in education. This has been the case since the democratic transition, little progress was made on the issue between 1990 and 2010. Even this little progress was halted in 2010 with the current authoritarian government coming into power and was replaced by even less expertise, a hostile attitude and setbacks. A conservative and traditional approach to gender prevails in educational documents and elsewhere, with essentialized and biologized family values promoted instead of gender equality, and there is no continuous legal, institutional and policy framework for the promotion and implementation of gender equality in education, there is a lack of reference points and accountability. Gendered issues, such as the gender gap in academic performance, gender stereotypes in educational materials etc. are scarcely addressed. In the current political situation, when governmental decision-makers go as far as to decide that gender studies is 'not a science' and should be eliminated from higher education, we are afraid that it will be more and more difficult for academics and non-governmental organisations to work with gender in education in Hungary, not only on the level of discourses and policy-making but also on the level of actual schools, as the current anti-gender public discourse infiltrates public attitudes and behaviour, including that of teachers, school leaders, students and parents.

Part 2: Focus group reports

Two focus group discussions were conducted by the Austrian partner EfEU, one by the Czech partner Masaryk University and one by GIC NORA, and one by the Hungarian partners ELTE and HWL jointly. One of the Austrian focus groups had participants who were practising school teachers, the other group had teacher trainer participants. The Czech focus group by MU had teacher education students of the university for participants, the GIC NORA group had school teachers. The Hungarian focus group was conducted with teacher trainee BA students of ELTE. The focus groups in the three countries were not conducted using identical methodology and questions, because comparability was less significant than finding out about the specific views, knowledges and needs of the specific groups in both countries.

Austria

In Austria the two focus groups were conducted in May 2018. Their aim was to gain information on how and whether school teachers are aware of gender issues and stereotypes, about their willingness or refusal to deal with gender topics, and the reasons for this. Furthermore, to hear about their expectations of the course to be designed. The focus group with teacher trainers (in initial and vocational training) was on their experiences concerning topics, methods, stumbling blocks, group dynamic etc. as well as their ideas about the short videos to be produced. To reach both target groups EfEU contacted schools and teachers they had known and colleagues in the Ministry of Education, in University Colleges of Teacher Education and universities, in NGOs working on gender issues via their newsletter, homepage, via facebook and by email. Both focus groups were facilitated by three researchers from EfEU and an audio recording was made, with all the participants' informed consent.

1. Focus group with teacher trainers

The **focus group with teacher trainers** had the following 13 participants:

- Participant A: artist, art pedagogue carries out art projects in schools and further training for adults; age 50-59, female;
- Participant B: freelance consultant for Universities and Schools, offers gender trainings for 15 years; age 40-49, female;

- Participant C: project coordinator in a company specialised in applying a gender-oriented view on technology and engineering, carries out workshops in kindergarten and schools and consulting for teachers; age 20-29, female;
- Participant D: formerly lecturer at a University College of Teacher Education, responsible for gender topics; further gender trainings for teachers; retired; age 60-69, female;
- Participant E: coordinates a school network for gender and diversities in especially STEM subjects since 2015; since 2005: workshops for self-empowerment and group dynamics; age 30-39, female;
- Participant F: teacher for Biology and Environmental Studies at Academic Secondary Schools; further teacher training for 5 years; lecturer at a University for future teachers; age 50-59, female;
- Participant G: teacher for students with special needs from age 6 to 14; since 1982 dealing with the topic gender and school in further trainings; staff representative; age 60-69, female;
- Participant H: coordinator at a centre for gender pedagogy and gender research; teacher for 30 years, dealing with gender issues since 15 years, teacher trainer; age 40-49, female;
- Participant I: organisation for gender sensitive work with boys; trainings for teachers officially responsible for gender issues at their school; formerly teacher for students with special needs from age 6 to 14; age 40-49, male;
- Participant J: teacher at a New Secondary School which provides future teachers experiences in teaching; offers further training for teachers at a University College of Teacher Education in individual support for pupils; age 40-49, female
- Participant K: university lecturer for gender pedagogy; vocational orientation trainings for young women, anti-sexism trainings for universities; cooperation with teachers on a feminist critique of science; youth worker; age 30-39, female;
- Participant L: association for feminist scientists, university lecturer; age 60-69, gender not specified;
- Participant M: organisation for gender sensitive work with boys; university lecturer; age 40-49, female

The focus group had the following structure:

1. Introduction of the facilitators, the project, the concept of the focus group and the program of the focus group.
2. Introduction of the participants (name, organization, since when have they been working as trainer in the field of gender sensitive education, special topics).
3. Lead-in for the topic: 5 statements about the use of the term 'gender'. Participants are to decide which of them appeals most for them and why and explain their choice.

4. Discussion in small groups what participants thought was important for a training on “gender-sensitive education” (content, methods, didactic, ...). Sharing their results with the whole group.
5. Showing the video “Inspiring The Future - Redraw The Balance”⁵⁶ and asking the participants for other examples for “What works” when thinking about a training “gender sensitive education”.
6. Asking the participants about situations in school or during teaching (with the focus on gender) which they would like to be the content of the videos that are going to be prepared in the course of the project.
7. Closing the group, saying goodbye.

The findings of the focus group with teacher trainers can be summarised as follows:

The use of the term ‘gender’

- Based on their experience in gender trainings with teachers, most of the participants carefully consider the use of specific wording and the structure of their trainings. Concerning the use of the term “Gender” there are several and sometimes contrary positions and explanations, pros and cons. Gender trainers have to be prepared to meet resistance and pejorative reactions; they should find out the needs of teachers and treat them as experts.
- Concerning the target group “teachers” it was questioned, whether it is necessary to put academic discourse concerning wording and gender theories into practice/ to teachers. According to the participants of this focus group, this discourse should stay within Universities.
- On the other hand, it was seen as important for gender trainings that trainers explain terms and concepts, including ‘gender’, and their own theoretical background, remarking that there are other theoretical backgrounds as well. This ensures understanding and predictability (B) and should be taken up for the course’s content.

What is important for a training on gender-sensitive education?

The participants collected their ideas concerning the content, methods, and didactics of the course. These can be summarised as follows; the concrete suggestions are listed in the Austrian focus group report.

- The participants collected a huge number of topics and contents they consider useful and important for a gender training: stereotypes, socialisation, facts on the legal and social situation, “the making of gender”, language and its impact of women’s and men’s living conditions in general; concrete situations within schools and classrooms as space, conflicts, and the teacher’s

⁵⁶ “Inspiring The Future - Redraw The Balance”: www.youtube.com/watch?v=qv8VZVP5csA

responsibility to protect students against sexism as well as extracurricular or outside of school topics such as pornography.

- Supporting, encouraging and strengthening students was seen as important duties for teachers and as relevant topics of the courses.
- Besides specific methods (e.g. tableaux vivants, clownery, positioning to statements, etc.), it was pointed out that gender as a crosscutting topic has to be part of teaching methodology and didactics. This has to be well considered in the planning of the courses.

Participants' positive experiences with gender-sensitive education

- The gender trainers of the focus group reported about their positive experiences when using short videos as impulse for talking about gender issues, gendered expectations and limitations.
- They also stressed on methods working with one's own body, such as roleplay and movement.
- Making historical changes visible - either in one's own family or in society in general - was mentioned as another useful method.
- Gender trainers sometimes were supported by external role models as well as external experts and interest representatives.

Suggestions for the content of the short videos

The participants suggested the following themes, topics and issues to be considered when making the videos:

- gendered distribution of functions in class;
- how teachers act unfair and reproduce stereotypes;
- reactions to violence – victims/perpetrators: how to deal with it;
- irritation of one's own expectations;
- testing their strength in a playful way;
- space – taking up room, impacts of taking up more room;
- animated video or alternative representation;
- positive ending.

Conclusions for the course

The focus group with teacher trainers - most of them (very) experienced in the field - has provided a lot of input and lessons for the future course. Here follow the most important findings for the Austrian course. Gender trainers should...

- be prepared to meet resistance and pejorative reactions; irritations and provocations help to break and dissolve prejudices, stereotypes, and paradigms;
- connect gender with the teachers' experiences and their observations, hear what teachers say and treat them as experts;
- avoid academic wording and discourses, but explain terms, concepts and theoretical background, remarking that there are other theoretical backgrounds as well;
- concerning target group-oriented methods and didactics: include pupils' learning worlds (media, apps, youtube, platforms) and learning spaces, but consider which pupils (don't) have access to these media;
- treat gender as a crosscutting topic which has to be part of teaching methodology and didactics;
- have a collection of concrete situations within schools and classrooms, which can be supportive;
- make teachers understand that it is their duty to protect students against sexism in school;
- make teachers understand that supporting, encouraging and strengthening students are important duties for teachers and relevant topics of the course;
- invite external "role models" as well as external experts and interest representatives and integrate them into the course.

2. **Focus group with teachers**

The following 7 teachers attended the group. All of them had a positive approach towards gender and gender-sensitive education. However, their gender expertise differed to a great extent.

- Participant T: teacher at an Academic Secondary School, teaching Technical Work and Art Education for 5 years; age 30-39, female
- Participant U: teacher at an Academic Secondary School, teaching German (and Psychology and Philosophy) for 5 years, is part of a gender team at her school; age 40-49, female;
- Participant V: teacher at an Academic Secondary School, teaching Mathematics (and formerly Psychology and Philosophy) for 27 years; age 50-59, female
- Participant W: teacher at a Montessori private school, projects for girls and boys, teaching English and Natural Sciences, working as a teacher for 19 years; age 40-49, female
- Participant X: teacher at an Academic Secondary School, teaching Spanish and Geography and Economics for 4 years; age 30-39, female;
- Participant Y: teacher at a New Secondary School, teaching German and Geography and Economics for 15 years, officially responsible for gender issues at her school; age 40-49, female

- Participant Z: former teacher at a Commercial Academy for 30 years, at a University College of Teacher Education for 6 years, responsible for Gender Mainstreaming since Winter term 2017/18, has to recruit teachers responsible for gender topics in New Secondary Schools; age 60-69, female.

The focus group had the following structure:

1. Introduction of the facilitators, the project, the concept of the focus group and the program of the focus group.
2. Introduction of the participants (name, kind of school, subjects, since when they are teachers, if they have a special role in school concerning gender).
3. Participants are to write on two posters their first thoughts when reading/hearing about the term 'gender' and gender sensitive education.
4. Sociometry. Participants are to position themselves along the following questions:
Was the topic "Gender" part of your vocational training? yes ----- no
Do you have experiences with further education in the field of gender sensitive education?
Was this further education helpful?
5. Five corners exercise: 5 statements about the use of the term 'gender'. Participants are to decide which of them appeals most for them and why and then explain how the chosen statement is related to their teaching or school.
"Femininity" and "masculinity" are acquired and socially determined and therefore changeable.
Just as important as gender are the characteristics of age, sexual orientation, origin, religion, belief, class, physical and psychological abilities.
"The women" and "the men" do not exist. The dualism of men - women and heterosexuality are violent norms.
Women and men are by nature fundamentally different and therefore have different competencies and needs.
Women and men are equal in their abilities and humanity.
6. Discussion in small groups what participants thought was important for a training on "gender-sensitive education" (content, methods, didactic, ...). Sharing their results with the whole group.
7. Asking the participants about situations in school or during teaching (with the focus on gender) which they would like to be the content of the videos that are going to be prepared in the course of the project.
8. Closing the group, saying goodbye.

The findings of the focus group with teacher trainers can be summarised as follows:

First associations of 'gender' and gender-sensitive education

- The compiled words/items (see details in the Austrian focus group report) showed the wide spectrum which opens when teachers - all of them more or less experienced in gender issues - are asked to make associations to the term 'gender': for instance, 'conflicts and respect', 'sex', 'more than 2', 'boys' work' and 'space for no decision'.
- This wide range was even expanded with the next question (first thought about gender-sensitive education).
- In several items the participants stressed the differences - in students' behaviour, learning, or performance as well as teachers' assignments or their own behaviour. They are aware of these differences, but at the same time they question if making differentiations is useful and appropriate and how they should deal with gender specific differences.

Experiences about gender in participants' teacher training education:

- Some teachers of the focus group had experiences with gender topics as part of their vocational and/or further training; they considered it helpful concerning teaching materials, language and self-reflection.
- What is still missing are various concrete teaching methods and concrete options or examples for action.

Perceptions and assumptions about gender

- Some teachers emphasized diversity and intersectionality as well as 2 genders and heterosexuality as violent norms.
- Two participants focussed on the challenge of cultural diversity in the classroom (in the context of migration and refugees) without taking gender into consideration when speaking about their difficulties. This can be interpreted as a kind of culturalisation and ethnicising.
- For the design of the course, the concepts of diversity, intersectionality and anti-discrimination have to be well considered in order to prevent a gender-blind culturalisation.

What is important for a training on gender-sensitive education?

As in the focus group with teacher trainers, the participants collected a huge number of topics and contents they consider useful and important for a gender training. These can be summarised as follows; the concrete suggestions are listed in the Austrian focus group report.

- For teachers, some topics appeared for the first time, such as a legal framework for gender-sensitive education. This point could be interpreted as a demand for justification of gender-sensitive education to others (colleagues, students, parents, etc.).
- The demand for concepts, measures and methods seems not very concrete and can be interpreted as a wish for clarification: What is gender-sensitive education about?
- Again, concrete examples will be useful to provide 'material' for sensitisation to gender issues, analysis and reflection of teaching practice, as well as self-reflection.
- Including the respective curricula of participants of the course - and not only the niches in them - will help to address their individual needs.

Suggestions for the content of the short videos

The participants suggested the following themes, topics and issues to be considered when making the videos:

- Boy is disturbing the lesson, teacher confronts him; girl says: he's just a boy. Nearby boys and girls are drawing calmly. Teacher points at them, asking: "Look, aren't they boys, keeping calm?" Girl is confused but agrees. → Make stereotypes a subject, show heterogeneity (T);
- Leisure time in all-day-schools: only boys playing on the football field; girls also want to play; teacher supports them, finally they have the courage (X);
- Public space: football field, with the support of parents and teachers girls and boys make a compromise (U);
- Teachers talking to each other, reproducing stereotypes (good girls, their appearance, girls should not be wild, boys should not be weak) (W) → The participants of the focus group questioned if this will work when participants of the courses are not yet sensitized (at worst it will just strengthen their stereotypes)!;
- The videos should not only show stereotypes but ways to act gender sensitive;
- Pupil points out gender stereotypes in textbook, teacher encourages her to write an email to the publisher; she gets a positive answer (they are aware of it and will revise the book) → empowerment, react, criticise! (U);
- As a teacher: be responsible for acting! What happens when I'm listening, what happens when I'm ignoring? (T, X).

Conclusions for the course

- The concepts of diversity, intersectionality and anti-discrimination have to be well considered in order to prevent a gender-blind culturalisation;

- The legal framework for gender sensitive education has to be part of the course;
- The demand for concepts, measures and methods seems not very concrete and can be interpreted as a wish for clarification: What is gender sensitive education about?
- Concrete examples will be useful to provide “material” for sensitisation for gender issues, analysis and reflection of teaching practice, as well as self-reflection and concrete options or examples for action;
- Including the respective curricula of participants of the course - and not only the niches in them - will help to address their individual needs.

Czech Republic

1. Focus group with teacher trainee students – Masaryk University

This focus group was held in May 2018, facilitated by two researchers. It was video and audio recorded, with all the participants’ informed consent. There were 6 participants, 2 men and 4 women, all of them students of the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University. Three participants studied Social Education, the others were teacher trainees from different fields of study (Biology and Chemistry; Czech Language and Literature and Fine Arts; Information and Communication Technologies and English Language and Literature).

The focus group consisted of two parts. The first one aimed to gain participants’ opinions on the state of equality between women and men in the Czech Republic in general and particularly in the education system. Participants were asked to share experiences of oppression as a consequence of gender stereotypes. Within this part drama techniques, such as living pictures, were used to stimulate the discussion. The second part was arranged as a group discussion with a semi-structured scenario.

The literal transcript of the interview was analysed using open coding. Findings were organized into five categories:

1. *“We are on the right path”: opinions on the equality between men and women.*
2. *“Boys are a little different”: different treatment of boys and girls.*
3. *“Some cooked, some were outside”: gender stereotypes in the school practice.*
4. *“A quiet process”: the influencing of future life choices of pupils.*
5. *“We came across it a couple of times”: gender at the Faculty of Education.*

Findings from the focus group

“We are on the right path”: opinions on the equality between men and women

- The interviewees spoke about the state of equality between men and women in the Czech Republic and compared it to other countries. They believed the country is on the right path and that equality is legally guaranteed. They compared the Czech Republic to the Middle East, saying that we are far better in comparison, and Norway, which one of the interviewees considers an extreme case of how far gender equality can go. They saw the Czech Republic in the middle of the spectrum.
- The interviewees linked the idea of equality between men and women primarily with the workplace. Female interviewees discussed the pay gap and discrimination of young women (especially married ones) during the hiring process because of possible maternity. They saw a connection between work and family life, which is mainly a task for women. The pressure on women to coordinate work and family contributes to the stereotypical expectations that prevent men from taking part in childcare.
- The participants also discussed the position of men in terms of paternity leave, male teachers in preschool (a feminized and underfunded field), and infrequent child custody following divorce. Male interviewees expressed the desire to care for their children, which does not agree with social expectations and is met with misunderstanding or the exclusion of men from childcare responsibilities.

“Boys are a little different”: different treatment of boys and girls

- In response to the question about whether Czech schools are conducive to gender equality, some participants said that they did not encounter inequality, that no differences were made between boys and girls, or that the differences were small and tolerable.
- However, during later discussion, they remembered different treatment when dealing with "disciplinary issues" as well as during lessons. Different treatment of boys and girls when addressing disciplinary problems took the form of applying a different moral standard for boys and girls, which was rooted in traditional notions of how boys and girls function and how members of each gender should behave. On the one hand, they believed teachers considered the bad behaviour of boys to be a normal state of affairs, whereas the good behaviour of girls was insisted upon more strictly. In addition, a boy who does not get into fights and does not fit the common notions about the behaviour of boys may lose acceptance not only among his peers, but also among teachers.
- On the other hand, the interviewees said that boys were blamed for the misdoings of girls, because the teachers did not believe that girls would act that way. One of the participants believed that primary schools favour girls, since they, unlike boys, do not need to let out as much energy and have less trouble maintaining discipline.

- Concerning performance, one of the participants believed that girls at his primary school received better grades. Another participant spoke about her experience when a boy received a better grade for the same performance (neat notes), which she and her friends felt was unfair, because their own neat notes were considered a standard, whereas a boy's notebook received special praise.

“Some cooked, some were outside”: gender stereotypes in the school practice

The Framework Educational Programme does not specify how schools should implement the teaching of practical skills.

- According to the interviewees, the way this is done varies from school to school. Some schools offer a selection of courses in which the children can enrol. Some schools offer two courses (e.g. home economics and industrial arts), where the pupils attend one for half a year and the other for the second half. Another difference is whether the courses are taught in mixed groups or in groups segregated by gender. The participants are aware of schools where practical skills are taught to groups of only girls and only boys, each attending a different course. In hindsight, the interviewees appreciated mixed-gender lessons and took a dismissive stance towards classes segregated into boys and girls.
- The question of work was also connected with career counselling. One of the participants described the experience of his female classmate from secondary school who, even though she was always interested in mathematics and wanted to study architecture, was dissuaded by the counsellor, arguing she should study something “more womanlike”.
- Interviewee P described his own experience from a geography lesson during which the teacher, coming from a position of power, pointed out his gender as a reason for why he should know the material. The situation was aggravated by the interviewee's knowledge that as a boy he must not cry in that situation, because he would lose social credit.

“A quiet process”: the influencing of future life choices of pupils

- The influencing of future life choices takes place very inconspicuously. The interviewees agreed that this influence may have had an effect on their own life direction. However, they believed that if a girl or a boy truly wishes to pursue a qualification in a field not typical for his or her gender, he or she will succeed, though not without some difficulties.
- The participants viewed positive measures for equal representation of men and women in gender-segregated fields as wrong, unfair, and even foolish. They based this on their own personal experience or instances from elsewhere. Whether it is a technical or another field, the participants

believed that the members of the gender, which is in a minority in that field, may not be competent enough to succeed. In education, there is apparently such demand for male teachers that male candidates enjoy an advantage both during the hiring process as well as over the course of their teaching. Similarly, in technical fields, women benefit from quotas specified in grant descriptions, which guarantees their position in a research team without additional effort.

- The participants emphasised an individual approach to children and supporting the interest of each individual. They do not consider the possibility of children without specific interests or ones who do not want or cannot take the difficult path. The fact that children do not have ambitions to succeed in non-traditional fields is, according to them, due to different interests of boys and girls rather than external influence.

“We came across it a couple of times”: gender at the Faculty of Education

- The topic of gender equality is more familiar to participants who graduated in the field of Social and Free Time Education. The course of Social Politics, in which students explored issues related to gender equality, often involved, according to the interviewees, heated discussions in which men and women stood on opposite sides. A similar situation arose also during a Forum Theatre performance, which dealt with sexual harassment in bars and which all students of social education had attended. They considered the discussions interesting and fruitful, although occasionally inconclusive.
- Interviewees from other fields of teacher training encountered the issue of gender on a more indirect basis. Interviewee T shared the complaints of a teacher who said he was forced to include an equal number of male and female authors in a literature textbook. He claimed the request lacked logic, because there were too few female authors in certain periods. The interviewee used this instance as an example of excessive gender correctness. Another female interviewee remembered being warned during methodology courses that as women teachers they will not possess natural authority and, because of their vulnerability, will have to be more careful in front of the class. A male interviewee described sexist jokes made by a teacher of electrical engineering, which made him uncomfortable.

Conclusions

- The participants conceive of gender as a dualist notion of two opposite sexes. They recognise that some differences between men and women are biological and do not feel the need to question those.

- However, they are aware of the stereotypical expectations placed on both sexes and regard this as something which has an influence on them as well as on pupils at school. On the individual level they take a negative stance towards the expectations of the family or teachers which inhibit the fulfilment of the individual's desires or are the origin of his or her deviation from the norm. They believe in an individual approach to male and female pupils and developing their specific interests.
- They associate the word gender with a vague idea as to what the word means and with mostly negative emotions. They link the issue of equality between men and women primarily with the job market and family care.
- A discussion about the pressure put upon men and women and about stereotypical expectations with which individuals are met is, according to the participants, a suitable tool of raising awareness of the influences of the environment and understanding what "the other side" is faced with. They would welcome the opportunity to learn how to discuss these topics with a group of children. Aside from the influence of school, they consider family and leisure time activities to be critical as well.

Recommendations for the course

- Start with the participants' own experience and progress towards more general topics.
- Allow enough time for discussions and topics brought up by the participants themselves.
- Work with model situations where the participants will test how gender-related situations can be addressed and how the topics can be introduced.
- Devote a part of the course to techniques of working with emotions - how to discuss emotions in the classroom, learning to describe one's own emotions, deconstructing stereotypes that ascribe specific emotions to men or women only.

2. Focus group with teachers – GIC NORA

This focus group was held in May 2018. Two participants from GIC NORA facilitated the group. There were 4 participants, one of whom also occupies the position of a school counsellor. All participants are active teachers in a state grammar school in the South Moravian Region of the Czech Republic. The age composition varied, so did the length of pedagogical practice (from 4 to 35 years). A scenario was used reflecting the following topics:

- role of teachers and school counsellors in the education system;
- teacher education;
- influence of education on the life of boys and girls;

- gender at school / in classes.

Findings from the focus group

- According to the teachers, the role of a teacher rests in "teaching" and "education". Teaching refers to the transfer of information and knowledge in a classical sense of the word. Education refers to a general development of key competences of pupils and to their overall cultivation. The aim is to contribute to a general but especially professional success. An important role is played by a teacher who acts as the so-called significant other with whom it is possible to identify. Education at school does not substitute for education in families.
- School counselling serves to prevent, and correct problems related to misbehaviour, a bad school performance and to meet the needs of persons with special educational needs. Career counselling has a direct and indirect impact on pupils. Any impact of gender of pupils on functioning of career or school counselling was refused by the interviewees. According to them, career and school counselling is strictly gender-neutral – gender does not play any part.
- Participating teachers are not aware of any connection between their practical behaviour and a gender order, or more precisely of gender socialization in education. The impact of teachers on pupils in relation to gender is, according to them, a purely personal matter of the given teacher (sexist attitudes and behaviour of teachers etc.). According to the respondents, a formal curriculum of natural sciences is, to some extent, a guarantee of gender neutrality of teaching. Likewise, according to them, career guidance is gender-neutral. Though career guidance realizes that there may be gender wise non-standard career paths, it does not deem necessary to highlight them anyhow.
- The concept of gender is generally not well-known to participating teachers, it has no specific content for them. However, a more rigorous analysis revealed that gender is seen by them as something to a great extent essentially given, as a difference of a binary and complementary nature linked to biological sex or early socialization in the family. In this perception gender is practically identical to the concept of gender roles. On the other hand, the participants realize that gender is also a matter of social performance and social bargaining.
- The teachers are not acquainted with the notion of gender-sensitive education. All the same, there is a certain sensitivity to gendered aspects of social reality, social institutions and gender inequalities that, according to teachers, deserve attention. Education, which would be anyhow explicitly sensitive to the gender of pupils, carries with itself, according to respondents, a potential risk of "social engineering" and disintegration of the gender order and also of the moral order

associated with it. On the other hand, teachers are aware of the phenomenon of sexism, gender discrimination in education and in the labour market, including pay inequalities between men and women. Efforts to eliminate the above-mentioned inequalities are perceived positively by them.

Recommendations for the course

- To proceed from an "educational" role, build on the assumption that gender-sensitive education is a more efficient tool for transferring key competences for a further life (above all professional).
- To justify the need for a personal identification of a teacher with a gender-sensitive approach to achieve a deeper identification of pupils with the teacher in the teaching process.
- To develop an understanding of gendered aspects of school and career counselling. To remember the possibility of transferring a gender-sensitive approach to career guidance outside of school (influencing parents).
- To emphasize the importance of cross-cutting education and education in humanities, such as in gender issues, as a significant part of modern pedagogy with an emphasis on benefits for both practical pedagogical activities (sensitivity to group dynamics and inequalities) and for students with respect to their future life (e.g. career choice, differences in competencies and behaviour strategies of students).
- To make visible the connection between a daily pedagogical practice and the gender order of society. To present school as a gendered institution that participates in the construction and reproduction of the gender order both at the organizational level (structure and organizational processes) and at the level of interactions (individual identities). To emphasize the role of teachers in this sense and to present the role of the formal and hidden curricula.
- To proceed from examples of the gendered nature of everyday interactions and behaviour in the classroom and at school in general. To introduce natural sciences and science in general as a social institution that is also structured by the gender order of society.
- To introduce implications of gendered school socialization for pupils (for example popularity of certain subjects, prejudices and "sexism", bullying, career choice).
- To introduce the concept of gender as a theoretical concept and to introduce how the gender order functions (Harding 1986). To develop an understanding with teachers of the gender structure of society and to differentiate among sex, sex category and gender (West, Zimmerman 2008), or rather between sex and gender (Butler 1999). To put an emphasis on the social construction of gender. To show a multitude of gender identities without the necessity to perceive their various

manifestations such as "marginality" or "deviation from the norm" which does not deserve attention.

- To use the familiarity of teachers with the above-mentioned phenomena and link their existence to the gender order and gender socialization at school. Not to put too much emphasis on "classical" concepts and approaches focused only on "gender stereotypes" and "gender roles". To make sure that the solution is not a simple "turning over" of the current gender division and social order (e.g. social roles and expectations). To make clear that the goal is not the destruction of moral and social standards, but sensitivity to individual needs of pupils with the purpose of the most effective and respectful approach in education, school and career counselling.

Hungary

The Hungarian focus group was held in the beginning of June 2018 at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Hungary. The group had five participants; all of them were students of the teacher training programme of ELTE. There were four female and one male participants. Specialization-wise they were students in the following teaching programmes: two of them were from the class of Mathematics and German; two of them from the class of English and French; and one of them from the class of Hungarian and English. They were all BA level students, in the age group of 20-23.

To be a participant in the group, they only had to meet the criteria of being a teacher trainee student; yet only one of them participated by applying to a call on a mailing list (she was the most active in the focus group). The other students were directly invited by the organizer of the focus group who struggled to raise interest towards the topic at the end of the spring semester. Some of them had known each other before. We assume that the participants were more informed about the subject than an average teacher trainee student would have been. Participants had not had any teaching experience at the time of the focus group, and they were relying on their own primary and secondary school experiences and on some school observations during their teacher education when discussing the various topics. Three researchers were present at the focus group: one was facilitating the discussion; one was taking notes about the content of what the participants said; and one was taking notes on the metacommunication of the participants. The focus group lasted nearly two hours and was audio-recorded, with the informed consent of the participants. After the focus group took place the researchers transcribed the audio-data and then conducted a content analysis on the transcript and the fieldnotes.

Topics and directly asked questions

For the facilitation of the focus group a previously prepared interview guide consisting of 9 main questions was used. The set of questions was the following:

1. Introduction of project
2. When I say, “gender and school”, what comes to your mind first? Are there any gender issues in school?
3. Do you think gender equality prevails in schools?
4. If you think about yourself as a future teacher, what kind of pedagogical problems may occur in your everyday work which may be gender-related? (If they don’t bring up anything, we ask them to think about their own primary school years or we mention some examples.)
5. Do you think gender appears in the national core curriculum or the curricula of the subjects you are going to teach?
6. You can hear of cases of gender-based violence (explain, give examples) in schools. Do you think it is the role of teachers to deal with these cases? What do you think you would do if you encountered such cases in your future work as a teacher?
7. Based on our discussion, do you think teacher trainee students should receive training on gender issues in education?
8. Would you attend a university course about gender in education?
9. What sort of tools, skills, and knowledge would you be interested in studying at such a course?

Regarding the dynamics of the focus group, the whole conversation had a positive, relaxed and respectful atmosphere. This is probably mainly due to the fact that some of the participants had already known each other, and they were open to the overall theme of the conversation. Divergent interpretations emerged pertaining to some topics, especially from one participant, but the participants remained respectful, argued calmly and the opinions were never extremely different. One of the participants was particularly knowledgeable in some of topics of the focus group, because she had studied gender issues in relation to education. The others paid attention to her more elaborated comments that were often based on facts and arguments from the literature.

Findings from the focus group

Gender and schooling

Participants’ associations about gender and schooling were the following:

- The feeling of slight/ignorance and neglect with regard to the topic of gender in schools;
- thoughts on gendered PE classes and sex education;
- love and intimate relationships between students and teachers;
- love and intimate relationships between students;

- gendered preconceptions and reactions of teachers (like girls are kinder and nicer, boys are more competing; or boys like STEM subjects more or are better at them).

It is relevant what the first thoughts of the students were. They were aware of the phenomenon of gender bias, and this topic came up several times during the discussion. However, the most striking dimensions were related to sexuality, and that is the field in which they also felt the most unprepared. This is in line with what the literature indicates about school as an “asexualized” place.

Gender equality in schools

When participants were asked to talk about gender equality in schools, the following thoughts emerged:

- They were aware of gender stereotypes that influenced teaching, such as “boys are clever, girls are hard-working”.
- The participants saw the occurrence of the topic of gender equality in school as dependent on individual teachers and their preconceptions and reactions. The main reason behind this problem is a lack of gender awareness, gender bias or implicit discrimination.
- They pointed it out that the hidden curriculum could vary from lesson to lesson.
- One of the participants cited studies and data about school dropouts, pointing out that it affects girls more than boys. They tried to identify the reasons behind this (for example early marriage or teenage pregnancy), but one of the participants contended that behind discrimination there were no systemic reasons, just personal biases. They argued most intensively about Physical Education classes, where they recalled differentiated methods of dealing with boys and girls, and many memories of girls being discriminated based on preconceptions.
- They also argued about the impact of socio-economic background on one’s school performance, as they felt that a person’s background had a lot to do with his or her performance and equality. Yet, they seemed to agree on the fact that for girls it is harder to achieve in certain areas (like STEM or in PE classes) in school.
- Concerning positions of power in schools they had different opinions and experiences. About the positions of students in student governments or other representative bodies they had mixed experiences about gender: some of them stated that they had only seen boys in leading positions and that girls might not have the confidence that they have the capacity to be leaders. Others said that students in high school had a preconception of girls being more trustworthy, so they had elected girls to be leaders.
- As for positions of teachers they agreed that they had rarely met male teachers, and if they did they would have been PE teachers, STEM class teachers or headmasters. They felt the need for

more male teachers, in order to provide male role models to the students. They did not critically approach the trope of “boys need male role models” or talk about female teachers being role models. One of them had the impression that male teachers had a more impressive character (bad or good).

- They saw the tendency that there were even less male teachers in training. They thought that there were many reasons behind this process, including low wages and poor recognition. One of the participants pointed out that to be a teacher is a perfect path for a woman, since – in her opinion – women are less money oriented, and if one is a teacher she can have a freedom to give birth and return to her job, without gaining a significant backlog. While they were not very explicit about it, they seemed to understand the main lines of the gender-structures behind the feminization of the teaching profession.
- They tended to agree on the fact that teachers work more than an average person, for less money. They argued that there was no gendered wage gap in the teaching profession, though they mentioned that this gap existed in other professions.

The participants certainly had an awareness of gender-related issues and problems. The aspect of gender was an interpretational dimension for them, and they could realize how gender issues were behind some problems. This is probably not true for the majority of teacher trainees, but there will always be some with this mentality whom trainers can rely on. On the other hand, sometimes they interpret the category of gender in an essentializing way (for example when they talk about role models), and they can hardly see the structural or systemic (social) factors behind gender inequality. They search for personal reasons, and stereotypes or biases are interpreted as the main reasons for gender-based discrimination or inequality.

Problems in relation to gender that the participants could encounter as future teachers:

When we asked them what gender-related problems they can expect as future teachers, they focussed mainly on issues related to sexuality and erotic attraction:

- One of the girls was very worried that while she was at the start of her career as a teacher boys would fall for her, and she wouldn't be able to handle it.
- They all seemed to be somehow professionally frustrated with the issue of LGBTQ+, since they experienced unpreparedness about the issue when it came to practical solutions.
- They had similar feelings about the issue of student sexuality, whether it was with another student or with a teacher. All of them had heard about or seen teachers being in an intimate relationship with students, and they had questions about how to handle it as a colleague or as a professional.

- As for the topic of student sexuality, they were trying to figure out how to deal with the issue with regard to school regulations, but they experienced uncertainty in this field as well – and this topic was highly connected with sex education in their minds.
- They had a discussion about clothes, make-up, appearance and sexuality: whether schools should regulate appearance or not. They mentioned the example of girls (using make-up at an early age, or wearing sexually provocative clothes), without reflecting on the wider issue of sexualization in society. Their approach was also very teacher-centred: they only searched for concrete solutions for how teachers can handle such situations, and they had no reflections about the controlling and disciplining power of schooling (in a Foucauldian sense). It was difficult for them to grasp any social dimensions, and again it is evident that they did not have a more social and structural interpretational framework. This is probably partly due to their teacher education curriculum that lacks proper social studies, and the lack of social studies instruction in high school, as well. This will be a challenge for the training, because it is very important to enable the students to recognize these social dimensions, but it won't be easy to raise awareness about them without some prior knowledge.
- Nevertheless, later on the phenomenon of sexualization appeared in one opinion (teachers should help girls reflect on why the models they follow dress in that particular way), although not in an explicit and sophisticated way. This shows that some students might have some sensitivity to social factors, but they do not have the knowledge to explicitly use them as an interpretational framework.
- Also, they expressed uncertainty about the topic of sexual or gendered harassment between students. They had varied opinions on the usage of porn at a young age, or on the productiveness of the #metoo campaign, and they didn't have a clear method of solving any related problems (they even disagreed about whether harassment could be prevented by educating boys, girls or both genders). They did not clearly distinguish between sexual harassment and abuse, and they didn't see it as their right to interfere in such a relationship in a professional way.
- In relation to this topic, they were aware of the problem of victim-blaming, but they tried to find practical, educational solutions that would make girls reflect on their clothing and behaviour that might trigger reactions. They seemed perplexed about the effectiveness of the main method that they knew: talking about the issue in groups or individually.
- They appeared to be well-informed about civic initiatives or organizations in the field, but they were not clearly positive about their roles. It is a question if the training which is being developed should aim to work with this topic as well.

- They mentioned the problem of women's media representation, and while the male participant said that in his opinion there were more women characters in films and series than men, others argued that the women characters' acceptance was not the same, as well as the attitudes towards them.
- Finally, one of the participants raised the issue of how teachers could transmit their own values.

Gender and curriculum

Regarding the curriculum, all of the participants said that they were not so well-informed in this matter, and neither were they familiar with currently used textbooks in their subject fields. Yet, there were some observations worth mentioning.

- Our participants discussed the topic of women being represented in each of the school subjects, but especially in literature and history. They pointed out that they hadn't learned about women in these subjects. Still, they did not agree on whether the contents and methods of teaching these subjects should be changed. One of the participants suggested that contemporary information should be taught, where women are more equally represented. There were differences in their sensitivity. They agreed and understood that in some eras there were very few women authors or important characters in history because of male domination (without using this term), but only some of them understood that there are also socio-historical reasons why women authors or important women in history are not recognized in our present view of that era. It seemed that literature and history were presumed to be neutral subjects without any value or interpretive orientation. Some of them, however, were familiar with feminist interpretations of texts, and they thought that introduction students to feminist interpretation can be a solution to this problem of missing women as a subject of studying.
- The illusionary value of 'neutral' teaching emerged: some participants suggested that a feminist reading of texts shouldn't be imposed. This common view does not take into consideration teachers' power, which is already given and it considers the curriculum to be a neutral reality. Therefore, if the teacher offers other interpretational frameworks (like feminist interpretation) it is not imposing something but offering different values from the unreflectedly patriarchal framework of the curriculum. Besides social dimensions, power is another factor that is difficult for students to recognize.
- As for textbooks, the participants agreed that it is a problem that there isn't a wide range of books to choose from in Hungary, due to a central regulation of the book market. They also pointed out that language classes give a lot of freedom to teachers, since in a foreign language one has to be

able to speak about any topic. Therefore, films and extra topics are often presented in such lessons, which provides opportunities to present gender topics.

Gender-based violence and teachers' responsibility (and teacher education)

After a short discussion about what gender-based violence or harassment is, the facilitator made the participants focus on the question of teacher's responsibility and what they could do if they encountered such a case.

- The students felt powerless and incompetent in confronting such situations. They even diverted the conversation (for example, by starting to talk about the general dangers of the internet). This unconscious strategy appears also in other cases during the focus group session, and it seems related to the feeling of incompetence.
- Sexuality is again an important topic here, not only teachers but also parents appear powerless.
- They entered into a long discussion about their teacher education and its usefulness. They did not agree on the importance of pedagogy and psychology courses and on their quality. This discussion was not related to gender anymore, but the conversation about this topic was the most heated one out of the whole focus group. The participants' interventions became longer and more elaborated. They carried on a very interesting conversation about what teacher education should be like (with good ideas and critical responses to the ideas raised).
- Similarly, to teachers, teacher trainee students expect to receive concrete, practical methods they can use in class. This need or expectation of practical knowledge could be fulfilled during the training if a lot of concrete cases and situations are used as starting points, but the training should also guide participants to find the deeper implications of situations.

Training on gender issues

In the last part of the focus group the facilitator talked with the participants about the upcoming gender course and their suggestions.

- First, all of the participants said that there was no need for further courses in their BA program – but this was because they were generally unhappy with the training methods and system at the university. They did not think that in such a system a gender awareness-raising course would be useful. They had a strong opinion that they did not receive enough practical knowledge in pedagogy and in psychology and that the contents of their courses were often repetitive. Also, they were unhappy with the teaching methods at the university: they would be more open to practical teaching, workshops, trainings, etc. It seemed that the reason why they did not see the need for a

gender course was that they assumed it would be delivered using the same teaching methods and repetitive bits of knowledge.

- They didn't even agree that every future teacher should excel in such topics, but they agreed that one should know their own competencies.
- Still, when they were told more about the planned course they all seemed to be interested and asked for a notification. It was a plus for them that the training would not be obligatory, and that it would use interactive teaching methods. They expressed their wish to have more space in their study program where they could choose from elective topics/lessons of their own interests.

Conclusions for the planned course

- The students of this focus group already have a certain understanding of gender issues in education, and they have sensitivity to look at situations with this "gendered lens". Probably, in the course there will be some students who do not have this sensitivity. The more sensitive ones could help them to acquire this gender framework for interpretation. It is necessary to have a lot of tasks in which students will interact.
- Despite their sensitivity and understanding of gender bias and stereotypes, they hardly recognize the more structural and social dimensions of the related issues. This is probably due to the lack of sociological knowledge. While the training cannot compensate for this lack, it could help students become sensitized for these dimensions, as well. It is particularly important to show them that the curriculum already has a fundamental value orientation, and that power relations are an inherent part of schooling.
- Sexuality is a very important topic for them, and that is the field where they seem to feel the most incompetent as future teachers. It is important to include this topic in the course and connect it with gender.
- They are also not prepared to deal with gender-based violence and harassment in schools.
- They expect practical methods and solutions from teacher education. This expectation has its problematic sides, and students should understand the importance of reflection in their teaching practice, but the expectation should be considered in the course, and the trainers should use a lot of concrete situations as starting points for analysis and as illustrations and offer various concrete teaching methods, as well.

Part 3: School observation reports

School observations were conducted by the Czech and Hungarian partners. The observations followed different methodologies. The Czech partner GIC NORA visited various lessons of several teachers in schools on open days. The Hungarian partner ELTE was involved in an ongoing ethnographic study in two schools, part of which was focusing on questions pertaining to this project. The Austrian team did not do school observations.

Czech Republic

In the Czech study, observations were carried out by two trained researchers within 12 primary schools situated in the South Moravian Region in the Czech Republic. The observations took place at various types of schools (state / private, religious) from February to April 2018 within the so-called open days. The observations were conducted at both the first and second school levels and concerned both natural sciences and humanities. The observations had a non-involved and hidden character. Persons conducting the observations acted as visitors to schools on the open days and immediately after the visit they wrote down their findings in fieldnotes and later in a field diary. The observations were guided by a scenario defining general observation units that are intertwined:

1. gender dimension of a physical school space: decorations, use and division of space between girls and boys (class, corridors, etc.);
2. gender aspect of teaching materials: nature of the formal and hidden curriculum;
3. gender aspect of interactions / gender in the approach of teachers: dynamics of relations and interactions among students and between students and teachers + character of the pedagogical practice with respect to gender.

Findings from the study

- It is evident that school is a gendered institution (Acker 1990). The gender order is applied both at the symbolic level, at the level of division of labour and also at the level of individual identities (Harding 1986). Thus, school acts as an institution of social reproduction (Bourdieu, Passeron 1977) and also as a space for the reproduction of the gender order.
- At the symbolic level it is obvious that women are less often represented in comparison with men. Science, arts, sports are in representations predominantly a male project. While masculinity is visibly associated with activity, technical competence, "brightness" and public sphere, femininity

is on the contrary connected with passivity and care and role of the "uninformed" one. This pattern is visible with decorations in the form of photographs, busts, posters, designs and creations of children themselves etc.

- Relax areas are highly gendered, oriented towards "boys' games" (table football, table tennis, billiards) and as such they are also associated with significantly gendered leisure time activities ("active/passive"), often in gender-exclusive groups. Thus, playing areas serve to perform boy/male gender (West, Zimmerman 1987) and their characterisation as "boyish" is likely to discourage girls from similarly active leisure time activities.
- Girls' gender is associated with a service-care role not only at the level of symbolic representations, but also at the level of negotiations and individual identities (distributing exercise books and factsheets, girls as hostesses). The role is often delegated by teachers. The boys' role is typically of a technical-supporting nature and as such it is not openly delegated to the same extent. Boys act as the more active ones (to a greater extent they take on this role, they actively express their answers to the questions asked, they do not respect the rule of "raising their hands", they disrupt the lessons), which is enhanced by an approach on the part of teachers, especially in natural sciences (typically mathematics, physics). Girls are explicitly called to perform in situations where others "do not know".

Recommendations for the course

- To familiarize teachers with the gender structure of society and develop sensitivity to gender representation.
- To point out the importance of symbolic representation in relation to the construction of a gender-based image of the world and self-identity, together with practical examples of these implications (for example at the level of educational or career paths of pupils) (e.g. Valdrová 2001a, 2001b; Valdrová 2005; Valdrová in Smetáčková, Vlková 2005).
- To encourage teachers to understand gender roles and identities in a multifaceted way so that this view is ideally imprinted in the pupils' view.
- To acquaint teachers with the performative nature of gender (West, Zimmerman 1987, Butler 1999) and with a "potentially seeming free choice" of children in relation to their actions (e.g. leisure time activities).
- To highlight the need for an equal access to school equipment regardless of the pupils' gender.
- To proceed from the focus group evidence and draw attention to the possible unexpressed assumptions of teachers in relation to gender and gender roles of girls and boys (expected

difference between girls and boys in relation to learning patterns and needs) together with an illustration of practical cases of their application and their consequences.

- To attempt a strictly non-accusatory approach in relation to teachers.
- To make visible inequality between girls and boys in the education process in the categories of dynamics, learning space and pedagogical support.
- To emphasize a potential inequality for girls and boys in the degree of usefulness (utilitarian point of view) of participation in the education process.

Hungary

In Hungary participant observations were conducted as part of an ongoing ethnographic study. The main researcher had been doing ethnographic study in two schools since 2017 spring. The original purpose of the study was to inquire into the concepts, ideologies and everyday practices of two different schools regarding their education of the student subjects as citizens, members of the Hungarian society. Studying intersections of class, gender, ethnicity, etc. has always been part of the inquiry. One of the institutions, Petőfi High School is an average upper secondary and high school with middle-class students in a town near Budapest, where a class of 16-year-old students were observed. The other one, Calvin Primary School is a primary, lower secondary school in a very disadvantaged, slummish zone of the capital city with Rom/Gypsy population, where I several classes from 1st to 8th grade were observed. The first is a public school; the second is a private church school. Calvin is a very small school with just around 70 students altogether, while Petőfi has approximately 540 students. Both institutions are gender-balanced in terms of pupils' proportions. The names of the schools are pseudonyms. In the course of the ongoing ethnography the researcher spent 8 days in the two schools in spring 2018 writing fieldnotes focusing particularly on gender issues. Since this is an ongoing fieldwork, the data cannot be limited to this period, but they are encapsulated in the rest of the ethnographic fieldwork which serves as a framework or context in which the interpretation is situated.

The observations were based on the following themes:

1. Settings: spaces, times, structures and persons
2. Content: curriculum
3. The hidden curriculum of gender order
4. Everyday interactions and gender

Findings of the study

- Schooling itself, with its spaces and time-frames, reinforces gender hierarchies, represents and reproduces patriarchy. For example, by offering spaces and times favouring competitive performance (considered masculine) and putting less emphasis on care and personal relations (considered feminine), or celebrating boys' achievements more.
- Male dominance could be traced in decorations and images, but altogether this aspect of gendered schooling was not very emphatic in the two schools, especially on the corridors. Gender issues are more relevant in the classroom decorations in Petőfi, but only because they are related to the curriculum that is clearly male-dominated (male figures in history and literature). In Calvin there are no particular gender aspects to the corridor decorations. Classroom decorations (especially) in the primary part of the school are more stereotypically girlish with butterflies, flowers, colours, etc. Decorations were made by teachers and students together. The decorations directly related to human science curriculum are male dominated here, as well.
- The staff of both schools is female-dominated, but the principal is male. Male teachers are generally more represented in leading roles, underlining a common tendency in these reproductive (educational) structures. In Calvin the female majority could be interpreted as something represented in the physical environment, too (although it is not sure that the prevalence of caring aspects is due to that), while in Petőfi the school environment is quite traditional. In Petőfi the proportion among male and female teachers is more balanced. One of the male teachers in Calvin is an out gay man. The environment is very accepting: he sometimes makes jokes about his sexuality in the teachers' room, children and parents accept him (although even in this school there are often homophobic performances among students).
- The curricula are male-dominated and reproduce the patriarchal gender order. The reproduction of the gender order occurs in different ways: in a quantitative way, in a qualitative way and in terms of unreflectedness. Quantitatively, there are much fewer female figures, or they are much less important in the curriculum. Qualitatively, female figures are usually represented in relation to main male personalities.
- Typical gender roles are usually not questioned but presented as normal. Sometimes breaking the norm of gender roles is seen as positive, but only to a certain extent, and remaining in the general normative framework of femininity or masculinity. While the subverting of gender norms is present, even against the will of the parent(s), the normative framework in relation to gender remains. Here, performances that go beyond the stereotypical gender role that women should not play football, are 'allowed', considered normal, but the aggressive behaviour performed remains unpermitted and not simply because it is against social norms, but because it is not according to the soft, feminine performance expected from a girl.

- Gender and feminist issues are not reflected even on those occasions when it would be almost obvious (as if school was a gender-neutral place). In the curricula of the different subjects, there could be a lot of opportunities to help students reflect on gender (or at least raise questions), but it is very rare that this reflection is initiated by the teacher. And when it happens, the questions often remain again in the normative framework of the gender order.
- Whereas in Petőfi there were some students and teachers who found interest in gender issues, in Calvin we did not observe any direct reflection on gender or women's oppression by students. It seems that they have much fewer resources for that, coming from their class and ethnic background.
- Teachers' performances often represent the gender order when they have different expectations towards girls and boys (girls should be the hard-working, silent, disciplined students, boys should be the active ones), when they create a classroom climate where the fact that boys' interventions are more frequent is taken for granted, when they react to boys' and girls' aggression differently (see next section), or simply when they unreflexively reinforce social gender stereotypes through their comments, expecting intellectual achievements and discipline from girls. Teachers' attention is also often more focused on boys.
- In Calvin, early marriage and teen pregnancy are pressing issues. One of the teachers told us that a girl wanted to continue her studies, but her mother did not want her to continue, because she was expected to get married and have a new family with kids soon. It was claimed to be their tradition. Teachers feel powerless in such situations. They cannot deal with this gender regime where class, gender and ethnicity intertwine in a way that reinforces the oppression of girls.
- Gender roles, norms and performances infiltrate the everyday life of schooling. Beyond the curriculum, gender is present in a lot of interactions among teachers, students, between teachers and students. Some of the interactions can be interpreted as part of the hidden curriculum but there are many other dynamics that are interesting to look at regarding gender in the everyday life of schools, including the dynamics of girls' and boys' communication and performances. In the two schools, there are several differences in this regard. First of all, in the primary school section, the gender differences are somewhat less salient, although even here, typical boys' and girls' performances are already present (for example: boys like playing soccer and computer games). Nevertheless, playing around with being aggressive (for boys) already starts here.
- In the secondary school section, the male students of Calvin perform hegemonic masculinity much more saliently. They very often play with aggression. They imitate hard fighting, boxing, they fight with words (swearing), etc. Teachers usually do not intervene. It is (considered) part of students' subculture. Hegemonic masculinity can be traced in several other things, too, in Calvin. There are a lot school performances that these students do not consider masculine enough: intellectual

achievements, reciting a poem or dancing in school performances (for example a waltz at the school ball). It was interesting to note how much the masculinity represented (performed) by male teachers was different from the hegemonic masculinity desired and sometimes performed by the male students.

- Students performed quite different masculinities in Petőfi. Here, hegemonic masculinity was less salient as a normative framework. However, even here some fundamental gender roles and performances are also present, like boys as the active members of the class and girls who represent care, etc.
- Femininities are also different in the two schools and their performances are classed. In Calvin, the girls are 'womanlier' in their appearance and use make-up at quite an early age, and in their communication they are louder and more direct (not girlish and fine in a 'middle-class way'). In their desires and plans they are more household-centred.
- Sexuality (in its heteronormative form or conceived in a heteronormative way) also plays an important role in the gendered relations among the students. This is especially present in Petőfi, where the students are older, but in a finer and more subtle way than in Calvin, where it is more explicit. There are a lot of allusions to sexuality in everyday conversations and interactions.
- This is true not only regarding students. In Petőfi, it is interesting to note that there is a continuous playful dynamic between the young male homeroom teacher and the girls in his class. His presence is much more marked by his gender, and sexual allusions and a certain erotic tension are palpable in the interactions, but without going beyond certain limits (it can be traced mainly in meta-communication). It always remains more of a joke and a game. Nevertheless, it would be important to pay more attention (especially in secondary education) to how teacher-student relationships are framed also by gender and sexuality.
- There is certainly not enough reflection on these gendered everyday interactions, either. Teachers do not interpret and reflect on the gender component in a lot of interactions. They do not seem to recognize gender issues, let alone gender regimes or gender order. Even the teacher in Calvin who is more sensitive to these issues and a self-declared feminist, often fails to interpret certain situations through these 'gendered lenses'.

Recommendations for the course

- We shouldn't use theoretical terms like gender order, gender regimes at the course, but we should try to make teachers understand (to a certain extent) how gender appears in relation to actual social structures.

- We can present concrete examples of how gender roles, gender hierarchies are operating within schools by the vignettes and examples of this study. We should use not only these (more analytical-interpretive) findings, but the “raw material” of the ethnographic inquiry (always adhering to ethical standards of anonymity, of course).
- While school is an evidently gendered institution where an ‘instructed’ or sensitive eye can see a lot of issues in relation to gender, this reflective interpretation is missing in teachers’ work. Probably it is not easy to help teachers acquire this consciousness or reflexivity. It is not certain that during the course it is a realistic goal to develop this deeper reflexivity, but it could be viable to raise the sensitivity of teachers through examples and discussion, and maybe through reflections on their own gender configurations (performances, roles, personal gender his/herstory, breaking norms, etc.), and then on their own teaching practice (or the other way around).

Conclusion: recommendations for the courses

As a conclusion to this extensive transnational research project, we collect here the recommendations of the participating researchers from the three countries for the contents and methodologies of the gender-sensitizing courses for teachers and teacher trainee students, which will be developed and piloted in the next phase of the project. As could be seen in the various parts of this comparative report, there are many similarities and differences between the three countries in terms of gender awareness and gender issues in education. The courses in each country will reflect these differences and similarities, which will have to be considered when preparing the final courses as the main outcome of this project. In the rest of this brief conclusion first we list the recommendations that came out of all the national reports, then we discuss some country-specific insights.

Concerning the course for teachers, both the school observations and the focus group reports concluded that most teachers have little or no gender-sensitivity, they may even feel hostility or resistance towards the term or attribute misunderstood meanings to gender-related concepts, which trainers have to be prepared for. Even those teachers who have some gender-sensitivity may not have an in-depth knowledge or critical approach or methodological tools to teach in a gender-sensitive way. Therefore, it is important to familiarize teachers with the most important notions of gender, gender equality, the gender order, gender performance, diversity, intersectionality and anti-discrimination, and make them understand why gender is relevant in education. However, the excessive use of gender studies terminology is to be avoided. Instead, we should try to explain these concepts through teachers' experiences and consider them as experts whose teaching knowledge and experiences are an important asset for the courses. Besides teachers' experiences, examples from the observation studies are useful material for sensitisation, analysis and reflection on teaching practice, as well as for self-reflection and concrete options or examples for action. We should allow time and space for teachers to bring up their own concerns and issues related to gender in education. It is important for the trainers to have positive examples at hand, not only ones that are to be criticized from a gendered perspective. Gender should not only be the content of the courses but equally integrated into the methodology and pedagogical approaches of the courses.

Teachers should be made aware that it is their duty to protect students against sexism and gender-based violence in school, and that supporting, encouraging and strengthening students in their gender identities in non-stereotypical ways are important duties for teachers and relevant topics of the course. It is important to make visible the connection between daily pedagogical practices and the gender order of society and to present school that has gendered power relations and as a gendered institution that participates in the construction and reproduction of the gender order both at the organizational level

(structure and organizational processes) and at the level of interactions (individual subjectivities). Teachers' role in this sense should be emphasized, and the role of the formal and hidden curricula should be presented. The implications of gendered school socialization for pupils (for example the popularity of certain subjects, prejudices and "sexism", bullying, career choice) should be introduced. Also, the studying of the relevant parts of the respective curricula taught by participants of the course would help them understand that the curriculum is not a 'value-free', 'objective', 'gender-neutral' description of teaching content and help them address their individual needs in terms of gender-sensitive teaching content and methodology.

However, it is important not to make teachers feel that they are expected to carry the 'burden' of gender-sensitive education on their individual shoulders or that they are blamed for reproducing gender inequality. They need the supportive institutional framework of the school. Therefore, it is important to highlight the social reproductive function of the school system and society, and encourage them to do what they can to move their school towards adopting a whole-school approach to gender equality.⁵⁷

Some further recommendations were made in the Austrian focus groups. The teacher trainer group suggested that pupils' learning worlds (media, apps, Youtube, platforms) and learning spaces should be involved, but it should be given consideration which pupils have and don't have access to these media. They also suggested that external "role models" as well as external experts and interest representatives are invited and integrated into the course. For the teachers in the focus group it was new information that there was a legal framework for gender-sensitive education. Making this legal framework part of the course content would have the benefit that teachers could use it as a justification for the necessity of gender-sensitive education when confronted by colleagues, students, parents, etc.

In the Czech focus group for teachers the following further recommendations were made with regard to helping teachers understand the benefits and importance of gender-sensitive education. The Czech partners find it important to proceed from an "educational" role and build on the assumption that gender-sensitive education is a more efficient tool for transferring key competences for future professional life. Emphasizing the importance of interdisciplinary education and education in humanities, such as in gender issues, as a significant part of modern pedagogy with an emphasis on the benefits for both practical pedagogical activities (sensitivity to group dynamics and inequalities) and for students with respect to their future life (e.g. career choice, differences in competencies and behaviour strategies) is suggested.

⁵⁷ This is the aim of the previously mentioned project "Developing whole school Gender Equality Charter Marks in order to overcome gender stereotyping in education across Europe (GECM)" (Project No.: JUST/2015/RGEN/AG/ROLE/9653), which will end in July 2019. The final outcome of the project, the European Gender Equality Charter Mark will be a measurement tool which enables schools to measure their progress in dealing with manifestations and impacts of gender inequality and gender stereotyping in school, on the level of teachers, students, management and the whole school culture and environment.

Besides focusing on gender as part of humanities, natural sciences and science in general should be introduced as a social institution that is also structured by the gender order of society. Also, it is argued that a personal identification of a teacher with a gender-sensitive approach helps to achieve a deeper identification of pupils with the teacher in the teaching process. Teachers should also be helped to develop an understanding of the gendered aspects of career counselling and realize the possibility of transferring a gender-sensitive approach to career guidance outside of school.

The participants of the Czech focus group with teacher trainees conceived of gender as a dualist notion of two opposite sexes. They recognised that some differences between men and women were biological and did not feel the need to question those. However, they were aware of the stereotypical expectations imposed on both sexes and regarded this as something which has an influence on them as well as on pupils at school. On the individual level they took a negative stance towards expectations of the family or teachers which inhibited the fulfilment of the individual's desires or were the origin of his or her deviation from the norm. They believed in an individual approach to male and female pupils and developing their specific interests. This is an attitude that provides methodological challenges and has to be taken into consideration by trainers, because it suggests that the participants identified with a neoliberal individualist approach to people's self-fulfilment and did not understand the deeper social structures of inequality that underlies gender stereotypes. Nevertheless, the participants expressed a wish for the opportunity to learn how to discuss the topic of gender stereotypes with groups of children. Giving future teachers methodological tools for critically approaching gender stereotypes with children would also give them the opportunity to acquire a more critical thinking about them as well. Finally, the facilitators of the focus group had a good experience with drama techniques during the group and recommend devoting a part of the course to techniques of working with emotions: how to discuss emotions in the classroom; learning to describe one's own emotions, deconstructing stereotypes that ascribe specific emotions to men or women only.

The Czech school observation has added some further recommendations to the ones discussed above. It was noted that the need for an equal access to school equipment regardless of the pupils' gender should be highlighted. Inequality between girls and boys in the education process in the categories of dynamics, learning space and pedagogical support should be made visible. Also, it was found important to emphasize a potential inequality for girls and boys in the degree of usefulness of participation in the education process.

Similarly, to the participants of the Czech teacher trainee focus group, despite having some sensitivity and understanding of gender bias and stereotypes, students hardly recognized the more structural and social dimensions of gender inequality in education. While the training cannot fully compensate for the lack of such structural knowledge and critical thinking, it could help students become sensitized for these

dimensions, as well. At the same time, it is expected that at the future course there will be some students who will have a certain understanding of gender issues in education and sensitivity to look at school situations through this 'gendered lens' (even if it is not a deep structural understanding), and there will be students who will not have this sensitivity. The more sensitive students could help the less sensitive ones acquire this gendered framework for interpretation. It is necessary to have a lot of tasks in which students will interact.

The students of the Hungarian focus group expressed their need for further knowledge and methodological training in several fields. They realised that sexuality was a very important issue in education, and that was the field where they seemed to feel the most incompetent as future teachers. It is important to include this topic in the course and connect it with gender. They are also not prepared to deal with gender-based violence and harassment in schools. And, similarly to participants in other focus groups, they expected to acquire practical methods and solutions. This expectation has its problematic sides, and students should understand the importance of reflection in their teaching practice, but the expectation should be considered in the course, and the trainers should use a lot of concrete situations as starting points for analysis and as illustrations, and offer various concrete teaching methods, as well. Similarly, the school observation report concludes that while school is an evidently gendered institution where an 'instructed' or sensitive eye can see a lot of issues in relation to gender, this reflective interpretation is missing in teachers' work. Probably it is not easy to help teachers acquire this consciousness or reflexivity. It is not certain that during the course it is a realistic goal to develop this deeper reflexivity, but it could be viable to raise the sensitivity of teachers through examples and discussion, and maybe through reflections on their own gender configurations (performances, roles, personal gender his/herstory, breaking norms, etc.), and then on their own teaching practice (or the other way around).

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