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Power and Intersectionality Matters!

Gender Training in Development.

Master Thesis

Empowerment Studies (M.A.)

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Abstract

Gender equality is an ongoing topic in the development field. This thesis should offer a debate and transfer about the urgency and interaction of power, intersectionality, and privilege in gender training. Hence, the thesis is an attempt to offer a critical reflection on the practice of gender training, regarding questioning power dynamics, hierarchies, and privileges, focusing and problematizing the heteronormativity of gender, homogeneity of women*s identities, coloniality of gender and context, the power of knowledge and gender training as governmentalities. Throughout, the complexity and interwovenness of different types of oppressions and resistances will be brought to light. The research should provide useful insights into the problems arising during gender trainings and should come to conclusions how they can be improved. Accordingly, the thesis will focus on the relevancy of historically grown power dynamics and challenge hierarchies of knowledge from an intersectional feminist perspective in gender practice in the development field.

Key words: Gender training, power, intersectionality, development, feminist action.

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List of abbreviations

BIPoC	Black, Indigenous, People of Color
BMZ	Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
BMFSFJ	Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DIMR	Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
EU	European Union
GAD	Gender and Development
GT	Gender Training
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organization
LGBT*QI*	Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Trans*, Queer, Inter*sex
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
RWAMREC	Rwanda Men's Resource Centre
SDG's	Sustainable Development Goals
SOGI	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity
UN	United Nations
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development

Glossary of terms and font usage

This glossary is intended to explain key terms that appear in this thesis. In addition, spelling, special features and font usage are discussed and described in the following. Further central terms are explained in their concrete context in the individual chapters.

Black, People of Color, BIPOC

The terms “Black” and “People of Color” are written in capital letters in this thesis to emphasize the potential for resistance and refer to the strategy of self-empowerment. The capitalization indicates the symbolic capital of resistance to racism, which people have been fought for and obtained. Here a clear distinction to “*white*” is made to emphasize that the construction character is different. (Eggers et al., 2009, p. 13) BIPOC refers to the self-identification of Black, Indigenous and People of Color, who are sharing experiences of racism and transform them into the adaptation of a collective stance.

Development

Development became a central normative category of global relations in colonial and post-colonial societies. Existing definitions of “development” need critical analysis from postcolonial and post-development perspectives, where “development” is understood as an ideology of the West that allows a continuation of colonialism by other means. In this sense the development concept has been heavily criticized as cultural imperialism and its neo-coloniality. (Ziai, 2012) Thereby a distinction is made between already “developed countries” and those who are “under-developed” and first need to reach a social and economical standard to be considered “developed.” (Mohanty, 1984) Therefore, various concepts have emerged from historical, ideologically, and geographical perspectives to redefine the world, to contest or assert power claims. With this in mind, the concept of development is seen as a field of discourse and practice in this thesis.

Eurocentric

Eurocentric refers to the ideology that portrays the experiences and ideas of *whites* as normal, normative, and ideal.

Feminist movement

The term is used in a very broad way, referring to a politically oriented project to challenge gender inequalities in society and to expand women*s agency at all levels of social organization.

Gender asterisk*

In this paper the gender asterisk (*) is used to make gender diversity visible and to make room for more than two genders. The asterisk is meant to be a space that can be filled with a more complex understanding of gender identity. The intention is to open and include all genders who read

themselves as women*, man*, trans*, inter*. Therefore, under women* this thesis includes cis women*, trans* women*, inter*sex and nonbinary people and all women* who read themselves as women*, regardless of their sexuality. (The same refers to man*, trans* and inter*). I also put an asterisk after the term trans* and inter* to make clear that there is a variety of different trans* and inter* identities and self-designations. Therefore, it should enable identities and self-positioning to be included in thoughts that go beyond traditional and historical attributions. Exceptions are made for direct quotations and fixed names.

Gender Training

In this work, the term gender training is used as an umbrella term in the development field for reasons of simplicity and comprehensibility. Nevertheless, the existence of other terms such as “training for gender equality” or “gender+ training” should be acknowledged. The term means different things to different people and therefore the group of participants also varies. This work mainly refers to trainings designed for development “agents” from non-governmental or governmental organizations and less to trainings for grassroots participants and beneficiaries of “development”.

Global North/ Global South

Global North and global South are used to describe different political positions in a global context. The Term global South refers to spaces and people who are negatively impacted by contemporary capitalist globalization and refers to countries who got marked as development and low-income economies without referring to a particular geographical location. (Byrne, Imma, 2019, p. 2) In contrary the global North refers to countries to describe a privileged position. (Glokal e.V., 2012) The word “global” should further enhance that there is not a strict geographical categorization of the world but one which is based on economic inequalities. It should emphasis that North and South are together and drawn into global processes rather than existing separately. (Rigg, 2007)

West/western

Western or the West are often used as places of their geographical meaning to describe the asymmetry of power between industrialized countries on the one hand and the so called “developing” countries on the other. In this sense I use Western to designate to regions that encompass the industrialized countries of Europe and North Amerika and to identify theories and concepts that have emerged from these regions. At the same time, I am acutely aware of the reductions associated with these terms in relation to cultures, religions, history, language and, of course, regarding the history of ideas.

white

The term “*white*” is written in small, cursive letters and used to point out that it is a problematic term that runs along the category of “race”. Therefore “*white*” is used to refer to the culturally, politically, and socially dominant social group, where *whiteness* is the norm in *white* perception. Hence, *whiteness* refers to the dominant and privileged position within the power relationship of racism, which mostly remains unspoken and unnamed. (Sow, 2011, pp. 190f.)

***white* feminism**

The term is used to describe a political position, not an identity. *White* feminism maintains that equality comes from accessing racist-patriarchal institutions, not dismantling them. Therefore, it fails to include BIPOC and is gaining more opportunities for *white* people, through further dispossessing the most marginalized to liberate themselves. Accordingly *white* feminism represses and suppresses others. (Schuller, 2021)

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Self positioning

At the beginning of my work, I would like to explain my own involvement in existing power structures that influence this work in terms of my own position, the knowledge I reproduce and the way I write. Therefore, I want to position myself from a social constructionist stance in which knowledge is considered as constructed and situated. (Slocum-Bradley, 2010, pp. 5f.) With the critical reflexivity of my position and own subjectivity, I aim to achieve that privileges and discriminations can be recognized and named and that their influence on the research question and the research results can be reflected to increase the transparency of my work. Neither the knowledge which is produced in this thesis, nor my research methodologies stand outside power relations. I with my study am deeply embedded in what I aim to study. My stance is not to find a general and universal statement or final truth within this thesis. Instead, it should be an examination of the topic of power and intersectionality in relation to gender training through creating impulses and suggestions which need to be critically reflected on.

One aspect is to critically question, name and recognize the “normality” of academic and social structures. This thesis is written in the university context, where the university itself is an institution of knowledge production based on certain kind of theory and methodologies and standards. This excludes certain kind of knowledge and reproduces ways of what is considered to be “academic” including standardizations, rules and frameworks. An important aspect of this “normality” is the dominance of *whiteness*, where the university can be seen as a place of formalization, standardization and academization of *white* norms. Hence, following Kilomba: “[...] academia is neither a neutral space nor simply a space of knowledge and wisdom, of science and scholarship, but also a space of v-i-o-l-e-n-c-e.” (Kilomba, 2010, p. 28) The academic works that correspond to the *white* knowledge archive contribute to the maintenance of *white* knowledge and discursively perpetuate social hierarchizations. They are the framework of every university lecture and the resource against which the students' “knowledge” is examined and graded. (Aslan, 2017, p. 754) Hence, with my thesis I am constrained in the university context which influenced the theories I choose and the format of my thesis. Accordingly, the literature of this thesis is limited due to the fact that a large amount of literature in social science emerged from cultures, norms and scientific understandings. (Lamont, Molnár, 2002, pp. 167ff.) In consequence, the understanding of feminist theory is still almost exclusively based on works and concepts of well known European and North American authors. Despite the attempt to include post-colonial, de-colonial and anti-racist theories and authors in this thesis, like Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Oyèrónké Oyéwùmí, María Lugones, bell hooks, Patricia Hill Collins, Kimberlé Crenshaw, etc. Although still hardly considered, all these theorists, are inherent to a certain extant and part of a critical canon within critical discussions and curricula nowadays. Not commonly known African, Arabic, Latin American, South American and

Asian theories instead are nearly not presented in my thesis. This includes also feminist theories like womanism, ecofeminism, and analyses which are based on religious confession, etc. This is due to the fact that it would go beyond the scope of this work and my own capacity of understanding the historical and cultural contexts, despite the accessibility to this “knowledge”. As I only speak English and German, I was only able to use this literature which restricted me to most Eurocentric and North American literature or those literature which got translated, which resulted as a huge exclusion criterion. Hence, as already mentioned above I, and this thesis finds itself in the discourse of the *white* curriculum, while trying to make critical voices heard but still remaining in the narratives of the academic landscape and its intellectual “pioneers”. Therefore, I want to be self-reflective on cultural racism and the believe that “whiteness is considered to be the universal [...] and allows one to think and speak as if whiteness described and defined the world.” (Henry, Tator, 2006, p. 327) Especially while writing in the context of development and the colonial and racist history. I want to highlight my privileged position as a *white* person, regarding the fact, that we are still living in a world dominated by racist structures with dominant power-constructions, which exploit, discriminate, restrict, exclude, and assign certain identity's. Thus, *whiteness* is a multidimensional, complex, and systematic construct, which is socially and politically created and therefore is a learned behavior. It does not just refer to skin color, but further to ideology based on beliefs, values, behaviors, habits, and attitudes which result in the unequal distribution of power and privilege based on skin color. Therefore, it is essential to mark my *whiteness*, so that the apparent neutrality of this invisible category gets taken, and it is possible to position *whites* and *Non-whites* in a racist structure and to make *whiteness* visible. (Röggla, 2012, p. 30) My own *whiteness*, my self-ascription as women* (she/ her), with a German nationality and the student status influence the way I think (despite many other positionalities and situatedness I have and am inherent). Hence, I am an active participant in the construction of the context of interaction and my choice of literature, my conclusions and my thesis are based on subjectivity, which is resulting from my social, economic context and identity. With my research I am touching a highly sensitive, complex issue, which is needed to be critically questioned in my thesis. Especially regarding the fact, how the global North has influenced the notion of “development” in the global South and the inherent colonial background and continuing neocolonial strands. For this the critical review of my project is needed during the whole process, regarding a sensitiveness and awareness of implying knowledge systems to other countries and socializations. Gender and development as concepts and in practice are deeply political as this thesis will show in the following. Therefore, it is never neutral. It involves power, knowledge, representation, contestation, struggles and processes of negotiation on local, national, and global level. Resulting my thesis is political. I am political.

I am inviting everyone to reflect critically on my thesis, so that a platform and exchange can be given for further development and transparency.

1. Introduction

“The point is to open the mind to different ways of thinking about gender, and for different ways of analyzing gender relations. Freeing ourselves from old mindsets will allow us to envision new kinds of gender relations as we look towards the future.” (Arnfred, 2011, p. 104)

The term “gender” is very contested in social and political science and is carrying a set of complex ideas and connected concepts. Until today there is confusion about the term itself and in the current development people use the term to mean different things. Despite the confusion about the term, there is consensus that gender is necessary and needs to be focused on in the development field. Hence, gender equality is one of the main targets in the development field and acknowledged internationally as a key factor for sustainable development. Therefore, it refers to a sub-section of development discourse which focuses on addressing gender inequalities and injustices that are based on socially constructed identity categories. Despite the international acknowledgement of gender equality as a key factor for sustainable development nowadays, no country in the world has achieved gender equality yet. As a result, some genders are still underrepresented in political leadership positions, take on a high proportion of unpaid domestic work, are restricted in terms of sexual and reproductive health and their rights are particularly affected by gender-based violence and discrimination. These are often structural and a result of institutionally power relations and gender-discriminatory norms. (UN Women, 2021a) Hence, male privilege, patriarchal attitudes and *white* behaviors persist all over the world. Resulting, the gender perspective has been identified as a cross-cutting task in the sector. A broad set of policies, practices and processes were established to enhance gender equality on institutional, societal, and individual level, which were influenced by gender theories and feminist movements. (Ferguson, 2019, p. 2) The development field thus changed from “women*-oriented” approaches to practices that focus on gender and gender relations. Even though, the work of governmental and nongovernmental development organizations is still characterized by institutional gender equality policies, which often relate to the advancement of women*. With the introduction of “gender” into the development field, attention was drawn to the constructions character of gender, and further strategies like gender mainstreaming were developed. One of these tools established in the context of gender mainstreaming is gender training, which will be the main subject of discourse in this thesis. Hence, gender training is a state established tool which is supported by the strategy of gender mainstreaming. Through policies and regulations, organizations are forced in a form of top-down approach to integrate gender into their organizational practice. Gender trainings are situated at the intersection of theory and practice with the aim of consciousness raising for actors from different contexts of practice who want (voluntary), or must (obliged) learn how to assess the influence of gender on their conceptual considerations, their decisions and practical actions.

(Bereswill, 2009, p. 147) The practice of gender training is facing theoretical, methodological, and political challenges, especially when looking at different situations of individuals and global and institutional contexts and the interaction of privileges and oppressions in the development field. The thesis puts therefore the focus on the role of the category gender in the context of equal opportunity policies. At the same time hegemonic and colonial perspectives and power structures within the discourses on gender will be critically reflected in a global context. Within development practice, gender mainstreaming and women*s empowerment are used as two key strategies to achieve equality, equity, poverty reduction, and improve the effectiveness of development projects. In recent years, however, their effectiveness as an effective tool for gender equality has been increasingly questioned. In this context, the relationship between academic theorizing and practice represents a constantly contested terrain, as gender studies emerged from controversies and political demands of the women*s movement and social-, political activist. Therefore, different definitions of terms, instruments and conceptual approaches such as queer-theory, critical race theory, demand for diversity and inclusion in development policy practice and thus leads to critical reflections about policy efforts in international contexts. As gender training is an institutionalized practice it is impeded in power structures and at the same time tries to deal with power inequalities. Hence, power dynamics are playing a vital role regarding achieving gender equality and need to be focused on regarding gender training. Thus, gender policy goals and strategies cannot be understood in isolation from feminist theorizing. This includes debates about the (de)construction of gender, body and sexuality and intersectionality, which are always interwoven with the institutionalization of equality policies and professionalization of involved actors. (Smykalla, 2010, p. 16) Gender theories and gender-political practice always stand in a relationship of tensions, which must be addressed. Therefore, it is not just needed to question the power dynamics between the genders, but also to question the power dynamics within the trainings itself and how actors can use their power for good.

1.1 Topic

The topic of this research is based on the interrelationship between three components with the focus on the international development context: Power, Intersectionality, and gender training. Combining these components yields to look at the intersection of gender theory and gender practice with the help of feminist and postcolonial perspectives. Therefore, this thesis aims to examine the strengths and weaknesses of gender trainings as a strategy towards gender equality and addresses some of the most significant intersections between power, development, and gender training. Accordingly, this thesis should give a critical overview of theory and practice in gender training, while looking particular on power and intersectionality to encourage readers to

rethink and develop solutions and ways of overcoming tensions in the field to maximize the potential for gender training and to contribute to transformative change.

Gender-based power structures and hierarchies are embedded in ideological, material and positional differences, which are rooted in historical legacies that are context dependent (Bustello, Ferguson, Forest, 2016, p. 5) Based on the still existing inequalities between the different genders this thesis aims to look at the power dynamics and structures which underlay them. Regarding the concept of power as structure, gender training can be thus analyzed regarding the underlying social structures or broader historical, social and cultural forces and their ways of relating and or acting. Those can occur in the framework itself regarding financial aspects, used material, environmental conditions, resources, and time, but also regarding the involved actors around gender trainings. Here power structures can be a serious form of social, political and economic oppression that produces social differences and therefore leads eventually to social injustice concerning resources, opportunities, classes, gender, nationalities, etc. The resulting structural violence is thereby usually invisible or difficult to recognize and often fails to catch the attention, to the extent that its presence becomes accepted. Here violence is an integral part of structure of human organization. (Brandt-Jacobsen, 2002, p. 17) Another aspect is the content and knowledge conveyed in the context of gender training especially from a postcolonial perspective regarding the power-knowledge complexity and the Eurocentric knowledge production. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze gender training critically and to look at what is being trained and what not while also looking at the thoughts behind gender training. Cornwall describes this as the “materiality of power” by meaning the structural violence that derives from patriarchal social arrangements, material inequalities that are produced and sustained by patriarchal ideals beliefs and practices. (Cornwall, 2016, p. 76) Hence, gender inequality is actively supported by the ongoing activities, conscious and unconscious of a wide range of actors. Including those who benefit from those configurations of gender relations. This does not only relate to the male privilege and patriarchal attitudes and behaviors that persist in most organizations. (Cornwall, 2016, p. 75) Moreover, it also relates to the inequalities between different women* and their intersections with other categories. Feminist discourse assumes that societies today are shaped by several dimensions of social inequality, of which gender relations represent only one. Based on this the focus is put on intersectional and postcolonial approaches regarding the gender approach because they are focusing more on the relation of similarities and differences, same as on the different forms of social injustice inside gender categories. Intersectionality has thus become one predominant way of conceptualizing the relation between systems of oppression which construct multiple identities and social locations in hierarchies of power and privilege. “[...] intersectionality is not just about identities but about the institutions that use identity to exclude and privilege. The better we understand how identities and power work together from one context to another, the less likely our movements for change are to

fracture.” (Crenshaw, 2019, p. 19) Therefore, this thesis uses intersectional thoughts to underscore the interconnection of fields of domination and privileges, such as social class, race, political power, gender, language, ethnicity, educations, gender, etc. Accordingly, the focus of this thesis will be also on the differential power of actors, situated in unequal relationships of dominance, submission, or resistance. Therefore, this thesis focuses on agency and the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make own free choices. Following, theories of power help to understand the different ways in which power is denied to people, but also the potential for people to generate their own forms of power and shape the way power operates. This includes to challenge dominant discourses and assumptions to make power visible and open the debate. Power intersectionality, gender and international development have each their own, multiple debates, concepts, theories, and ways of thinking. Even though, within this thesis the attempt was made to understand and connect them a little more, to show their interrelationships, dependencies, and influence on each other.

1.2 Research interest and research question

My interest in gender trainings has grown at the intersection of my own position as a woman*, facing oppression mechanisms in everyday live but also as a *white* woman*, facing privileges on multiple levels. As a student of the Master program of Empowerment Studies, with the focus on development with a bachelor’s degree in social work, I have experiences within the sector of international development in diverse organizations in the global South and global North with linkages to development cooperation and political education. I realized that I always found myself trapped in discourses and dilemmas, which included my own privileged position and background as a *white*, German, women*, working in the development field. The inherent and shifting power dynamics regarding my own position and the context appeared on multiple levels and were sometimes noticeable but often played out hidden and unnoticed. The discomfort of giving trainings about “critical thinking” in Rwanda and the inherent normative knowledge production inspired this thesis and the confrontation with the position of trainers and training programs in development cooperation, which are involved in interwoven power structures. Therefore, my aim was to look specifically at power dynamics which are inherent in those trainings according to settings and frameworks but also inherent in the training and interaction of trainers and participants on individual and group interactions. Here the intention was to identify and bring to light seemingly solid and fixed dominant power dynamics, which are often being unrecognized and invisible. Hence, the focus is on power, oppression and privileging mechanisms in the development field, which includes development policy, global and international development cooperation actors and practice and how they work out on different levels. By revealing oppressive power dynamics in gender trainings, I hope to gain more clarity about adjusting screws and mechanisms of resistance

and spaces for action to use power as agency for change and transformation. The study therefore attempts to answer the following two research questions:

1. Why do power and intersectionality matter for gender training in the development field?
2. How can power and intersectionality be addressed through and within gender training?

The research question will take the perception of gender trainers into account to find out how power works out and can be addressed throughout the trainings. The discourse is not sufficiently problematized by authors and especially not in the development field. To support a development of progressive social change based on diversity, difference and commonalities, I take gender training as the topic of discourse. In a field as diverse and diffuse as gender, power and intersectionality the result is necessarily incomplete. Accordingly, the thesis cannot make the complex matters simple, though the aim is to provide valuable guides to the debates about gender training and main approaches to the inherent and interlinked concepts. Further, this thesis aims to provide an intersectional lens for evaluating this array and hopefully will give the reader ideas to think further. Resulting, this thesis contributes to the field of gender-, and development studies and its connection with power and intersectionality, by analyzing existing theory with guided interviews and thus personal experiences and viewpoints of representatives in the field of gender trainers in the development field.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis deals with the key concepts of power, intersectionality and gender, their relationship to each other, as well as their context in development cooperation, while having a particular eye on gender trainings. In this respect, the structure of this thesis proceeds as follows:

Chapter two reviews the theoretical framework of power and intersectionality. It displays first the broad field of power, to give the reader a basic understanding of existing power dimensions. This consists of a discussion of the four forms of power: power over, power with, power within and power to, as well as a description of visible, hidden, and invisible forms of power. Furthermore, Patricia Collin's power matrix will be discussed in order to show the interplay between oppressions and resistances. The chapter also explores the framework of intersectionality by introducing the reader to the principle of intersections and entanglements of different categories despite gender, the history of its origins, and the diverse and critical debates surrounding intersectionality.

After the theoretical foundations for power and intersectionality have been laid, the **third chapter** deals with gender and development. In the first step, the concept of gender is dealt with to approach the concept and the underlying understanding of "doing and undoing gender" from a theoretical point of view. Building on this, gender will be considered in the context of international

development cooperation. This will initially cover the history of the gender and development approach, as well as the gender dimension in international development cooperation. This includes the most important gender treaties and conventions, as well as the gender mainstreaming approach. Based on this, gender trainings will be discussed to define the field for this thesis.

Chapter four is dedicated specifically to the discourse of gender training. Accordingly, the literature on power, intersectionality, gender and development are brought together and analyzed in terms of their points of reference. This results in five categories that provide an intensive analysis of the intersections of power, gender training and development cooperation: "Heteronormativity of gender", "universality of women*", "coloniality and contextuality of gender and development", "gender training as part of governmentalities", and "knowledge is power".

The summary of the previous literature review and analysis will be briefly represented in **chapter five**.

Chapter six discusses the methodology of the empirical research. In the first place the qualitative research design will be introduced, followed by the data collection technique through a group discussion and semi-structured interviews. The process of analyzing the data of interviews with gender trainers related to the gender practices of development actors through grounded theory will be described afterwards. The final abstract will be about critical reflections and limitations regarding an exploration of my own experiences during the research process and a critical reflection of my own position, which has influenced the study.

Chapter seven summarizes the evaluation results and found categories based on grounded theory. This includes the emerging themes from the interviewees with gender trainers with a connection to the development field, which led to the following categories: "gender training in development", "resistance in and towards gender training", "context matters" and "positionality of the trainer". Altogether these have formed the key category "power relations and power dynamics".

The discussion of the conceptualization of literature from the previous chapters and found categories of the research findings which intend to answer the research question will be comprised in **chapter eight**. This includes a summary for the importance of power and intersectionality's in gender training with the help of the domains of power/ power-matrix. Secondly it will reveal ways how they can be addressed in transformative feminist gender trainings and provide areas for improvement.

Finally, this thesis will end with a summary and conclusion, while also critically reflecting the research process and making suggestions for future research and the way forward.

2. Theoretical framework on power and intersectionality

The precedence to the elaboration of the theoretical framework is the selection of an underlying definition and theory of power and intersectionality to guide this study. The following chapter will provide the theoretical embedding of power and intersectionality as an opportunity to understand conceptionally how multiple identities intersect and to think about the diverse and often contradictory interrelationships and overlapping's of power structures and the interweaving of power relations.

2.1 Theoretical framework on power

In this chapter several possible definitions of power are examined to lighten up some of the fundamental debates in the field and to link it up with the concept of intersectionality. The concept of power is complex and there are multiple theoretical debates over how to define it. For these reasons, the limited scope of this thesis has prompted to select some basic ideas that make it easy to understand the broad field of power, while more precise theories and concepts on specific aspects of power will be used later in the writing.

Power is often defined as a contested concept and there is a diverse variety of different understandings and standpoints on how the term power can or should be understood. For my thesis I decided to focus on particular concepts of power, because the way power is conceptualized is influenced by the political and theoretical interests that someone brings to the study of power. In addition, conceptions of power are themselves shaped by power relations. (Lukes, 2005, p. 63) Theories of power can thus help to understand the different ways in which power is denied to people but also the potential for people to generate their own forms of power and shape the way power operates. For my thesis I want to include Luke's three-dimensional power (Visible power, hidden power, invisible power) (ibid.), and the four expressions of power (power over, power with, power within and power to). (Veneklasen, Miller, 2002) Therefore, the dominant negative view of "power over", describing the domination of control of one over another can be broadened and further seen as a positive force. In addition, Patricia Hill Collins four "domains of power" will be displayed which offer a method to focus on power and enables to make visible how power is organized. Therefore, she reveals how ideas about difference are constructed and how those can uphold and challenge systems of power like sexism, racism, class exploitation, etc. (Collins, 2000; 2009; 2017)

2.1.1 Power over

"Power over" has often many negative associations and is often seen as a relation of domination and oppression. Therefore, the distinction is made between those who have power and those who have not. Accordingly, power can be seen as a zero-sum view, where having power involves taking

it away from those who have it and then dominating others to prevent them from gaining it. (Rowland, 1997, p. 9) When looking at “power over” three interactive dimensions can be described. Those occur from the obvious and visible “power over” to more unnoticed, internalized and largely hidden dimensions. Those less visible dimensions are often more difficult to identify and recognize as they are embedded in cultural, social norms, structures, and practices. (Lukes, 2005) Steven Lukes made a distinction with his concept of “three-dimensional power”, where he differentiates between visible, invisible/ internalized, and hidden power.

“Visible power” refers to formal institutions, officials, and instruments. Hence, those are mechanisms that shape the formal ground rules of society. Through formal institutions and official’s certain instruments are used to exercise “power over” through laws, policies, structures, or procedures of decision-making. Power is referred to as visible because of the roles of those involved and how they function are clearly defined. “Hidden power” refers to the unwritten rules of the game, that operate behind the scenes and give only some an advantage. Hence, it describes the exclusion and delegitimization of decision-making processes to the fact that certain groups are excluded from the outset regarding being part of decision-making tables and decisions about what gets on the agenda. These dynamics lead to exclusion and devalue the concerns and representation of other less powerful groups. “Invisible power” goes a step further, in the way that it does not assume that power operates exclusively on a conscious level. Hence, invisible power denotes to the aspect of internalized ways of thinking and domination ideologies, values, attitudes, norms and refers to social structures and their significance for self-perception. (Kabeer, 1994, pp. 226ff.) The processes of socialization, culture and ideology perpetuate exclusion and inequality by defining what is normal and acceptable and can be referred to hegemonic ideology. (Lukes, 2005, pp. 124ff.) Hegemony is thus meaning the shaping of knowledge and “truths” in a certain kind of direction that is beneficial for the interest of the dominant group. (Gramsci, 1971) Hence, invisible power represents the interface between actors and structures and is only partially capable of change.

2.1.2 Power with, power to, power within

A lot of mainstream discussion about power have been unconnected with feminist discussions of power, which focus more on power as a structural relationship and acting collectively to achieve positive views of power often called empowerment. These alternatives see power in a positive way as it can create the possibility to transform “power over” and provides a basic principle for empowering strategies. The concept of “expressions of power” (power over, with, to, within) is enabling to see power besides a negative force as well as a positive force, which supports people to identify their own sources of positive power. They provide basic principles for empowering strategies, by affirming people’s capacity to act creatively and collectively. (Alsop et al., 2006; Kabeer, 1994; VeneKlasen, Miller, 2002)

“Power to” thus describes agency and the individual ability to act. Hence, it entails a realisation of ability to change, negotiate and change decisions and existing hierarchies on an individual or collective level. (Kabeer, 1994, p. 256) “Power with” describes the collective action, which often requires people to be aware of their own consciousness and oppressive aspects of their lives with a collective interest. Therefore, a common ground, solidarity and collective collaboration can help to form collective strength across different interests to transform or reduce social conflict. (Alsop et al. 2006, p. 232) “Power within” is concerned with the self-confidence and self-knowledge and is focused on individuals’ consciousness of potential. Hence, it focusses on the capacity of individuals to act and to influence. (VeneKlasen, Miller, 2002) All these three forms of power refer to the concept of power as agency, meaning the human capacity to act and change the world. As seen, power can be defined in many possible ways with different standpoints, perspectives, and different contexts. Hence, theories of power underline the need to understand how power works. This includes to challenge dominant discourses and assumptions to make power visible and open the debate.

Power over	Domination
Power to	Agency and the ability to act
Power with	Collective action
Power within	Self-confidence and self-knowledge

Figure 1: Expressions of power

2.1.3 Domains of power

Based on this I want to focus on intersectional and postcolonial approaches regarding the gender approach, because they are focusing more on the relation of similarities and differences, same as on the different forms of social injustice between women*. Patricia Hill Collins “matrix of domination” is a heuristic framework, that deals with issues of oppression that are related to gender, race, class, and sexual orientation, to analyze and understand various levels and systems of power in our society and is therefore very useful. Collins separates between one-on-one power dynamics and broad-based structural levels of power. The matrix is looking therefore on both, the site of oppression and the site of resistance. Accordingly, it emphasizes the idea that people are active agents as well as oppressed victims. Hence, within the forms of oppression there is also always the possibility of individual and collective agency through different strategies of resistance. Therefore, “oppression and resistance remain intricately linked such that the shape of one influence that of the other.” (Collins, 2000, p. 274) The “matrix of domination” is used in this thesis to show how “intersecting oppressions are actually organized.” (Ibid., 2000, p. 18) Therefore, Collins offers a method where intersections can be seen within and throughout levels of power. With the

“domains of power” she created four interrelated main elements: Structural, hegemonic or cultural, disciplinary and interpersonal.

Structural Domain Institutional Structures	Hegemonic/ Cultural Domain Ideas and Ideologies
Disciplinary Domain Organizational Practices	Interpersonal Domain Relationships and Communities

Figure 2: Visual for the matrix of domination (Collins,2009, p. 54; slightly adopted)

The “structural domain” of power refers to the public policies that organize and regulate social institutions. Hence, it focuses on the large-scale social institutions, which reproduce subordination and organizes oppression in society. (Collins, 2017, p. 26) Here social structures like polity, law, religion, or economy are parameters that organize power relations and are setting the overall organization of power within a matrix of domination, that is slow to change. The “disciplinary domain” of power can be seen as the domain of rules and surveillance, which manages oppression. Accordingly, people are using the regulations, practices, and rules by institutions to uphold or challenge social hierarchy’s and as a result shape the social organization. Hence, power is expressed through organizational procedures that often cover the effects of oppression under reasons of equal treatments, efficiency, or rationality. (Collins, 2000, p. 280) The “cultural domain” relates to an idea of ideologies and hegemony which legitimates oppression. Hence, it refers to a system of ideas which is developed by dominant groups to justify and maintain a system of “common sense” ideas that support their right to rule and maintain power. The beliefs of dominant groups are getting normalized as common sense and often the whole society, even the subordinated groups internalize these ideas. Ideologies like patriarchy, white supremacy, heterosexism, etc. are getting constructed and reproduced. The cultural domain is therefore acting as a link between social institutions and society (structural domain) their organizational practices (disciplinary domain) and the way of everyday social interaction (interpersonal domain). (Tredway, 2018, p. 5) The “interpersonal domain” shapes the way of everyday social interaction between individuals and refers to the one-on-one power dynamics. Thus, it refers to the individual consciousness which maintains the subordination of others through routinized daily practices between individuals and everyday interactions. Individual one-on-one power dynamics are situated within all domains of power and reflect their interconnections and contradictions. Through the routinized, systematic, and internalized practices of people’s interaction, this power domain is getting so inherently familiar that it often gets unnoticed. (Collins, 2000, p. 287) Patricia Collins gives the opportunity, to focus on power and enables to visualize how its domains are organized and how they can be changed through resistance as a result. Therefore, she reveals how ideas about difference are constructed and how those can uphold and challenge systems of power like sexism, racism, class

exploitation, etc. Like bell hooks she argues that forms of oppression share a common root- which is grounded in the belief of domination, where some groups are superior to other groups and as a result dominate the inferior groups. (Ibid., p. 226) She argues that domination and resistance coexist. Therefore, resistance is embedded within domination and is always present even if it is not visible. (Collins, 2017, p. 25)

2.2 Theoretical framework on intersectionality

Intersectionality can be used as a concept that addresses how gender interacts with other social categories like race, class, sexual orientation, ethnicity, nationality, age, religious affiliation, disability, etc. that legitimize social, political, and economic inequality or privilege. Therefore, it offers the possibility to analyze the current development and political discourse from a critical perspective, which is explicit concerned with power dynamics. The concept seeks to understand how the intersection and entanglement of these factors play out in individual and collective experiences and the ways in which it produces privilege or oppression. (Graneß, Kopf, Kraus, 2019, p. 79)

2.2.1 Historical context

The concept of intersectionality has a rich history in activism and finds its tradition in Black feminism and critical race theory. The formerly enslaved feminist activist Sojourner Truth was one of the first who expressed the interconnectedness of oppressions (gender, class and race) in her famous speech "Ain't I a woman?" in 1851. She plead for the rights of Blacks and of women* and named the multiple discrimination of Black women* through racism and sexism. Therefore she "anticipated the problematic of differences between women as well as the entanglement of class, racialization and gender." (Roth, 2019, p. 331) Also important to mention is the Combahee River Collective¹, which made a major contribution to the debate through its manifesto written in 1977. Therein, they expressed that especially Black women* felt left out of the women*s movement and stated their simultaneously experienced oppression based on race, class, and sex. The Combahee River Collective used therefore the term "systems of interlocking oppression." (Combahee River Collective, 1982) Also many others, like bell hooks, Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, Patricia Hill Collins, Chandra Mohanty and many more contributed to the debate. They criticized and destabilized the notion of a "universal woman*" and felt that their experience was different from *white*, western, middle-class women*, who largely represented the first wave feminist movement. (hooks, 1990; Lorde, 1984; Davis, 1981) Therefore, they argued that only taking "gender" into account would and could not represent their complex realities. They were women*, but they were also Black, poor/ rich, urban/ rural, educated/ uneducated and so on. (Salem, 2019, p. 2) The term "intersectionality"

¹ The Combahee River Collective was a collective of Black feminists founded in 1974 in Boston (U.S.A.) The name goes back to the Combahee River, where 750 Black enslaved people were freed in 1863.

was first introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw a Black feminist, civil right activist, lawyer, and scientist from the US in 1989. She used the term as a metaphor of a street intersection to describe, how multiple dimensions of inequality do not exist separately from one another and instead are constructed in relation to one another. Thus, she problematized the color-blindness, neutrality and objectivity purported by law and criticized the single-axis frameworks for understanding domination in the context of legal discrimination. Thereby the single-axis framework is treating categories as mutually exclusive and is implicitly privileging the perspectives of the most privileged members of oppressed groups. (Crenshaw, 1989) Drawing on Black women*, she argued that Black women* are left out from feminist theory and anti-racist political discourse because each is based on a separate set of experience (*white women** and Black man*) that do not reflect the interplay of gender and race and the complexity of society. (Rudolph, 2015, p. 137) Hence, she pointed out that the U.S. legal system at this time, protected the rights of women* and Black people respectively but it did not adequately defend the rights of Black women*. Therefore, intersectionality approaches seek to make the heterogeneity of identities visible. (Castro Varela, Dhawan, 2020, p. 311) Hence, people are not just affected by one form of discrimination like sexism, rather instead at the same time they can be affected by racism, classism, homophobia, or other forms of oppression. Thus, different forms of oppression can intersect with each other. Originality articulated on behalf of Black women*, the term brought to light the invisibility of many constituents within groups that claim them as members, but often fail to represent them. Hence, intersectionality has its roots and carries the legacy of anticolonial movements, the global women*s movement, civil rights movements, and other social movements and their activists and has become one predominant way of conceptualizing the relation between systems of oppression which construct multiple identities and social locations in hierarchies of power and privilege. (Collins, 2019, p. 1)

2.2.2 Intersectionalities

Intersectionality has a multiplicity of applications and can not be seen as a uniform theory. Instead, it is seen as an analytical framework, methodological approach, critical paradigm, and a political intervention. (Davis, 2008, p. 68) Nowadays, there are many different definitions to be found:

“Intersectionality’ refers to the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power.” (Davis, 2008, p. 68)

“Intersectionality’s core insight [is] useful: namely, that major axes of social divisions in a given society at a given time, for example, race, class, gender, sexuality, dis/ability, and age operate not as a discrete and mutually exclusive entities, but build on each other and work together” (Collins, Bilge, 2016, p. 4)

Hence, different concepts occurred in the last years, conceptualizing intersectionality as crossroad (Crenshaw, 1991) as a dynamic process (Staunaes, 2003) or as “axes” of difference (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Despite no clear definition of what intersectionality is, there is also no precise understanding and way of how to “do”, approach or analyze it nor does intersectionality provide a fixed method. Even though, looking at the literature from a methodological perspective there can be named three possible approaches, which have a different understanding of categorization and its usage: 1. (Inter)categorical, 2. Intracategorical, 3. Anticategorical. (Czollek, Perko, Weinbach, 2009, pp. 39 f.)

1. The (inter)categorical approach focusses on the interaction between categories like gender with other dimensions of inequality. Therefore, it does not reject categories and instead depends on the use of categories to investigate the complex relationships and interaction of social categories.

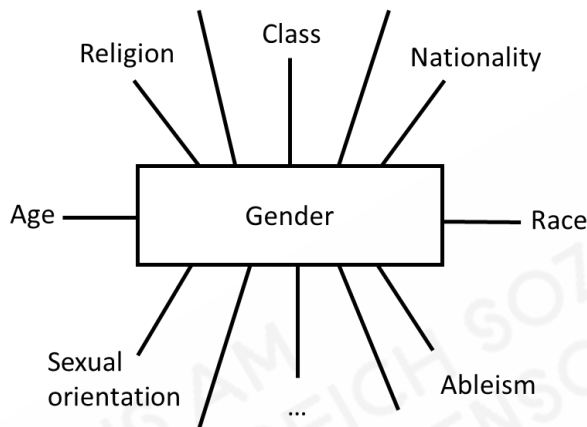


Figure 3: (Inter)categorical approach (Czollek, Perko, Weinbach, 2009, pp.39f.; slightly adopted)

2. The intracategorical approach is also not rejecting categories but is looking more critical at the formation of categorization. Hence, it focusses more on single groups or categories that are placed at the intersection of multiple categories and gives a more in-depth study of individuals belonging to one category.

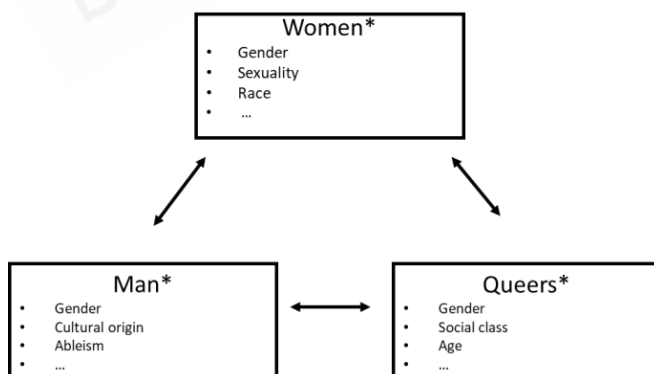


Figure 4: Intracategorical approach (Czollek, Perko, Weinbach, 2009, pp.39f.; slightly adopted)

3. The anticategorical approach in contrast to the other two described, is rejecting categories. Here, the socially construction character of categories is focused on, and a deconstruction is aimed at.

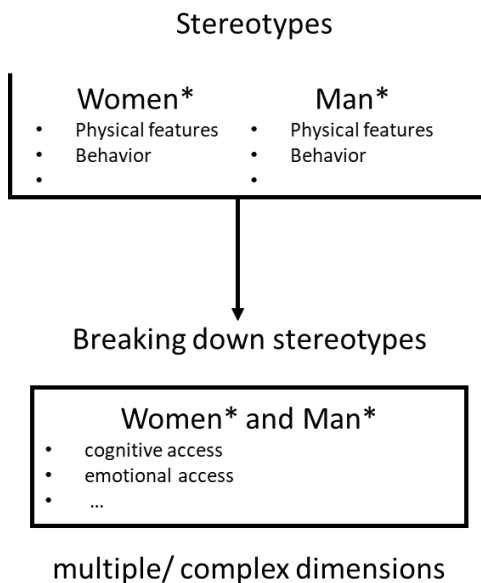


Figure 5: Anticategorical approach (Czollek, Perko, Weinbach, 2009, pp.39f.; slightly adopted)

However, besides that most feminist scholars would identify “intersectionality” as essential to feminist theory, many discussions (internal and external) have emerged around the concept. One main discussion is about the formation of categories. Some intersectional concepts focus exclusively on the triad of “gender, race and class”. This has been criticized because the restriction to only three categories leave other categories, such as sexuality, religion, ableism, language, etc. out. (Walgenbach, 2012, pp. 21f.) The critic goes hand in hand with the prioritization of certain categories. This also includes the debate about which categories and how many categories should be used in analysis. Resulting, different inequalities are getting different levels of attention and protection, which then can lead to increasingly competition. (Verloo, 2006, pp. 214 f.) This criticism is extremely important because there is a tendency to attach less importance to certain categories than to others, such as for example sexuality or gender identity. Therefore, gender-queer identities and trans* persons are rare in the discourse on intersectionality (Erel et al., 2010, p. 57). Besides the discussion about the categories there has been increasingly criticism about the depoliticization and adaption of intersectionality since it has traveled from its origin in Black feminist theory and thoughts to institutions in Europe. As a result, intersectionality is at risk to get a product of neoliberal academia and *white* feminists’ ownership while Black feminists would be left out of the discussion. Therefore, it is important to see “intersectionality” not as a new phenomenon instead the entangled character of inequalities has been problematized by especially Black feminists for a long time and should not loose its political origin. (Davis, 2020) Hence, it is necessary to

contextualize and decolonize intersectionality as a concept, while also understanding it in a contextual and power-sensitive way. On this account, Roth suggests speaking of “intersectionalities” in a plural form to open the discussion towards knowledge production with the same aim, but from different locations and positions. Therefore, it acknowledges the concept as “problem oriented” with the legacy of many political activists who have established the term, rather as referring to as an abstract and exclusive academic theory. (Roth, 2013, p. 27) Hence, there is not the “one concept of intersectionality”, instead there are many definitions, interpretations, standpoints, and understandings which are sometimes even contested. Despite the variety and complexity, the term intersectionality has the advantage of being widely received and immediately evoking an intuitive understanding about the subject matter of the debate (Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 188). Hence, Intersectionality provides an opportunity to “think” in a certain way and gives the opportunity of looking at identities and institutions, that use identity to privilege or exclude. Through an intersectional lens it is possible to understand how identities and power work together in different contexts. (Crenshaw, 2019, p. 19) Accordingly, “Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It’s not simply that there’s a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LGBTQ problem there. Many times, that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things.” (Ibid., p. 16)

3. Mapping the field of gender training

To understand the context in which gender training takes place, to get an understanding of the historical context, its embedding in development policies and to understand the conceptual tasks and demands to gender training, some of the various debates from gender studies, development practitioners and policies will be outlined in the following chapter.

3.1 Gender theoretical principles: Doing and undoing gender

Before this work deals with the intensive examination of gender and development cooperation, the following section will first look at basic gender theory to gain a basic understanding of the term and to identify underlying discourses.

The famous quote by Simone de Beauvoir: "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (Simone de Beauvoir, 1951, p. 265) refers to the theory that it is not the biological sex that determines who we are, but the social construction of it. In her work "The second Sex" (Beauvoir, 1994), she made an early contribution to gender theoretical approaches (Vintges, 2019), which are presented in the following. Gender studies was first developed in the 1970s from the so called "Woman Studies". (Degele, 2008, p. 10). The focus is on gender and gender relations, whereby a distinction is made between sex (the biological gender) and gender (the social gender). The central assumption is that gender is socially and culturally constructed and should not be understood as biological sex. (Czollek et al. 2009, pp. 18f.) So, while sex refers to anatomical-physiological differences, the concept of gender reveals that social gender ascriptions are constructions that arise in the context of social interaction and social processes and can thus also be renegotiated in each case. (West, Zimmerman, 1987). Hence, from the idea that we "have gender", became the idea that we "do gender" and thus construct it repeatedly in interactions and over time. (Peer Think, 2009, p. 43) "Doing gender" refers to the perceptions of differences between the sexes and their translation into cultural attributions of "being a man*" or "being a woman*". Hence, gender specific expectations/ assumptions are placed on girls*/women* and boys*/men*, which are internalized and are getting reproduced in everyday life. (Degele, 2008, p. 67) Accordingly, it is not a preexisting gender difference, that leads to differences in people's behaviors and characteristics. Instead, it is the opposite and actions, gestures and activities are charged with gender meanings and become signs of gender identity. This produces, shapes, reinforces, and stabilizes the gender distinction. (Rose, 2015, p. 68) "Doing gender" thus highlights the active contribution that each person makes to the construction of gender (Rendtorff, 2006, p. 101). However, this usually happens unconsciously (Rose, 2015, p. 68). On the basis, that gender is constructed, gender and gender roles are therefore changeable and variable. This requires the deconstruction of gender and the breaking down, transformation and shifting of stereotypical gender images with the aim of enabling more diversity and variability (Czollek et al., 2009, p. 22). However, the deconstruction of gender is only

possible when it is understood how gender is constructed on different but interconnected levels - on the individual, institutional, cultural and structural levels. The attempt to dismantle gender hierarchies and categorizations is called "undoing gender". (Ibid., p. 24) A major difficulty is that attempts to deconstruct stereotypical gender ideas have their starting point in the two-gender division of gender into man* and women*. The critique of the notion of a dualistic gender model is largely fed by queer² theories. They criticized the normative heterosexuality which is based on the dualistic gender. Hence, people who do not (want to) fit into a prevailing gender schema have been and continue to be socially sanctioned. (Frey, 2000, p. 6) This would be accompanied by a continuing entrenchment of heteronormativity, meaning a dominant norm of heterosexuality, which is not only defining heterosexuality as norm, but also social relations and conditions. (Rudolph, 2015, p. 16) A very prominent critic of the distinction between sex and gender is Judith Butler. In "Gender Trouble" she argues that not only the social gender, but also the biological gender (sex) is constructed. Accordingly, is the biological gender (sex) also discursively produced and would not be perceivable without the socio-cultural framework given in each case. It is therefore not possible to assume a biological gender (sex) that is given first, on the basis of which cultural and social attributions and inscriptions take place. Any division of people into the category's male* and female* is thus a construct and is constituted in social discourse through performative acts and through constantly repeated practices within a discourse. (Butler, 1990) The binary separation of women* and men*, which are perceived as two different groups of people is thus primarily the result of a series of societal attributions and expectations that are conveyed through education, media, norms, etc. (Graneß, Kopf, Kraus, 2019, p. 12) The separation of sex and gender implies that there are two natural genders. With reference to trans*sexuals and trans*people, Butler makes clear that beyond men* and women*, there are many other varieties of gender and sexuality that cannot be captured by the previous category of sex. (Rudolph, 2015, p. 16) Hence, she criticizes the notion of supposedly natural-biological facts as a pretext for exercising power. How women* and men* "embody" their gender and what is considered "natural" and "normal" is therefore always dependent on social ideas and norms. This means that even the biological gender (sex) assumed as "natural" has a history, because even the scientific and medical view of the body is also subject to historical change. (Smykalla, 2006, pp. 3f.) Thus, Butler concludes that thinking in terms of the gender categories woman*/man* must be deconstructed, since thinking in terms of these categories is already the basis for sexist oppression. (Graneß, Kopf, Kraus, 2019, p. 12) The assumptions and debates of social sciences, women* and gender studies show how the concept of gender has evolved and the different controversies surrounding the concept which had major impact on the development field. Gender as a concept stands accordingly for a changed

² Queer is not a concept of identity but refers to practices that question the dual gender and heterosexual norms. (Sauer, 2017)

understanding of gender within different social contexts. The relationship and interaction of gender and development will be displaced in the following in more depth.

3.2 Gender dimensions in international development

This chapter explores the framework on gender dimensions in the international development field. Therefore, it explains development from a women* focused approach to the gender perspective in development projects and policies. In addition, this abstract will highlight some of the main treaties and conventions as they had an influence on the gender and development policy and practice. Thereby, the priorities of development practitioners on particular areas of development practices regarding gender are made visible.

3.2.1 Historical development: WID, WAD, GAD

In the past there were two different directions of development in practice with a focus on women* and gender. On the one hand, there are practices that focus exclusively on women* and on the other those that focus on gender relations or gender sensitive development. Resulting the debate about gender in the international development field was influenced by various paradigms, which will be displayed in the following.

The first type of gender development practice at an international level was particularly applied in the 1970's with the "Women in Development" (WID) approach, mainly promoted by United Nations organizations. The concept led to shifting perspectives of development and was centered exclusively at women*. The Term "Women in Development" refers to the integration of women* into global processes of economic, political and social growth and change and was influenced by the women*s movement, feminist writings and Esther Boserups book "Women's role in Economic Development". (Boserup, 1970) The WID perspective focused on the better integration of women* into ongoing development initiatives and represented a non-confrontational approach by focusing on the advocacy for more equal participation of women* but avoided the source and origin of women*s subordination and oppression. (Rathgeber, 1989, p. 6) Hence, the approach assumed that gender relations will change themselves as women* become full economic partners in development and was consistent with liberal feminist ideas. Resulting, women* and their employment were specifically promoted through development cooperation projects and a range of activities. Accompanying, women* were seen as resources for the economic stabilization of developing countries. (Kabbeer, Natali, 2013, pp. 21f.) The concept evolved through time and in the second half of the 1970's the "Women and Development" (WAD) approach emerged and offered a more critical view on the position of women*. The demands of development cooperation at that time focused on the relationship between women* and development processes rather than purely on strategies for the integration of women* into development. (Rathgeber, 1989, p. 9) It was

assumed that the position of women* will improve if international structures will improve and become more equitable. Both WID and WAD have tended to concentrate on the development of income generating activities and reflected modernization³ and dependency⁴ theorists. Knowledge and accountability should therefore be generated in relation to the inclusion of women* in development cooperation. At that time, it was assumed that the pure inclusion of women* into the development process would result in the elimination and reduction of inequalities between men* and women*. (Espinosa, 2013, p. 172) Referring to this, feminist scholars like Nalia Kabeer, Caroline Moser and Caren Levy critiqued that WID, and WAD were attempting to integrate women* into development structures that were not only male-dominated, but inherently patriarchal. (Kabeer, 2003; Levy, 1996 [1999]; Moser 1993) Additional the growing gender research from the 1980's onwards criticized many of these standpoints and these two approaches came to be seen too narrowly focused on women* and the focus started shifting towards "Gender and Development" (GAD). At this time especially feminists identified the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women*s oppression and focused more attention on the social relations of gender, which included to question the validity of ascribed roles to women* and man* in different societies. (Rathgeber, 1989, p. 11) Especially experiences from grass-root organizations and writings from the global South like DAWN⁵ (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) put a focus on problematizing materialist political economy's, radical feminist issues of patriarchy and recognized global and gender power inequalities which inspired and influenced the GAD approach. (Parpart, Conelly, Barriteau, 2000, p. 55) Following a rethinking took place from a purely "women*-oriented" approach to a gender-focused or gender-sensitive development. This is particularly due to the recognition of the GAD (Gender and Development) approach during the Beijing Conference in 1995. The Beijing Platform for Action during the "World Conference on Women" marked the first time that the gender category had been introduced into international policy. Thus, it was recognized that gender roles and relations are embedded in social, political, economic, and cultural contexts and are therefore also changeable. (Unmüßig, 2007, p. 5) The GAD approach focuses particularly on the structural inequalities between women* and men*, as well as on the exclusion of women* in the development process. The approach assumes that different development policies have different effects on women* and men* and specifies the need to take them into account during the entire processes and circles during project planning, implementation, and evaluation. (Frey, 2005) The resulting concept of GAD was seen as a radical process at that time and broadened the perspective of development cooperation on the power relations between the

³ Development is economic growth, whereby the main actor is a leading elite, group or class.

⁴ Development is economic growth, whereby the main actor is the state.

⁵ Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is a network of feminist scholars, researchers and activists from the economic South working for economic and gender justice and sustainable and democratic development.

sexes. Therefore, GAD acknowledges the differential impact of development practices and policies on the genders and sees women* as active actors and not just recipients of development. This perspective thus challenges to question gender relations and the development process. (Parpart, Connelly, Barriteau, 2000, pp. 55f.) Building on this, the concept of “gender mainstreaming” was adopted at the 4th World Conference in Beijing in 1995, which to this day represents the paradigm of development cooperation on gender.

3.2.2 Gender treaties and conventions

The international gender treaties and conventions are providing the framework for development actors and are showing the ideas around gender that have been internationally agreed on. Hence, they are giving directions and can be used as a mechanism for civil society to hold governments accountable. In the following some treaties and conventions will be shortly named to demonstrate the thematic focus and priorities from the international development actors regarding gender.

Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

The CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in the year 1979, remains one of the fundamental legal instruments in the field of women*s human rights. It was the first legally binding basis of equality at an international and national level and provided the normative environment within which advocates could voice their demands. (Lange, 2017) The convention obligates states to provide legal and de facto equality for women* in all spheres of life, including the private sphere. The state must actively ensure that equal opportunities are achieved in everyday social life and must not itself violate the principle of equal treatment. It is obliged to pursue an active policy to eliminate discrimination against women*. (DIMR, 2021)

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

The Beijing Platform for Action marked the fourth “World Conference on Women” in 1995. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action defined a framework for change and made comprehensive commitments under twelve critical areas of concern: Women* and the environment; Women* in power and decision-making; the girl* child; women* and the economy; women* and poverty; violence against women*; human rights of women*; education and training of women*; institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women*; women* and health; women* and the media; women* and armed conflict. (BMFSFJ, 2021) Therefore the declaration provided an important guideline for equality policy and gave a comprehensive approach to address and implement gender equality and the empowerment of women* through measures, laws, and activities. Therefore, gender mainstreaming was identified as a mechanism to reach the goal. (Moser, 2005, p. 11)

“Women, Peace and Security”/ Resolution 1325

The resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” adopted by the UN Security Council in 2000, laid the foundation for a gender-sensitive peace, security and development policy that promotes the active involvement of women* in peace processes and effectively protects against sexualized and gender-based violence. (Miller, Pournik, Swaine, 2014) The resolution was further expanded by resolutions like Resolution 2467 on preventing and overcoming sexual violence in conflict situations in 2019. Resolution 2467 focuses on the victims and survivors of sexualized violence and considers the needs and rights of groups of people who have often been neglected until now. These include, for example, boys* and men* affected by sexualized violence and mothers with children born because of rape. (BMFSFJ, 2021, p. 27)

Resolution on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI)

To broaden the concept of diversity regarding gender in the development field the human rights-based Resolution on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI) has been in place since 2011 and gave much hope to broaden the dualistic gender approach. The resolution tries to circumvent western hegemonic identity and attributions and includes all people who’s physical, and sexual diversity cannot be classified in the heteronormative system of two genders (man* and women*). Accordingly, it refers to a diverse and non-heteronormative gender concept, as well as a diverse understanding of sexuality.⁶ (Sauer, Heckemeyer, 2011)

Sustainable Development Goals (SDG’s)

The SDG’s, the 17 goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development gave much hope on gender equality and women*s rights as they claim to be "transformative" and “to leave no one behind”. The member states of the United Nations thus designated under SDG 5 an independent goal for improving gender equality: Achieve gender equality and empower all women* and girls*. (UN, 2021) Following, sub-goals have been identified, which focus on discrimination and violence against women* and girls*, as well as harmful practices such as child, forced marriage and genital mutilation, unpaid care and domestic work, the participation of women* and their equal opportunities in political, economic, and public life, as well as universal access to sexual and reproductive health and rights. The sub-goals and implementation measures recognize the disadvantages and oppressions of women*. These are often structural and a result of institutionally power relations and gender-discriminatory norms. Therefore, the gender perspective has been identified as a cross-cutting task in the 2030 Agenda and is applied to eight other goals relating to

⁶ The SOGI resolution was adopted by the United Nations, thanks to the efforts of human rights organizations and LGBT*QI*-movement, but narrowly with a majority of states based on the Human Rights Council. This confirms the human rights of LGBT*QI* people and their protection, applies universal to the member states and should be implemented in an active role.

poverty, health, education, employment, and climate targets. (UN Women, 2021b) This shows that gender equality is internationally acknowledged as a key factor for sustainable development nowadays.

3.3 Gender mainstreaming

It is useful to frame the overall reflection of gender training in the broader context of development. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies and policies to frame the broader context where gender training is situated.

Gender mainstreaming was created in the context of social movements and got transported to the national level via international political institutions like the UN and the EU. (Frey, Kuhl, 2003, p. 2) The term was mandated in 1995 by the Beijing Platform for Action and is since then one of the key organizing frameworks and instruments for achieving gender equality and women*s empowerment at all levels of development. Therefore, the declaration commits all stakeholders in development policies and programs including United Nations and entity member states, the international development community and civil society actors to take action. „Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively.” (UN, 1996, p. 38). In this regard, it was adopted in the sphere of international development by multilateral organizations, donor governments, international organizations, national governments, and non-governmental organizations (Davids, van Eerdewijk, 2016, p. 84). Since then, the term “gender mainstreaming” has been defined in a range of ways since it emerged in the 1990’s. The European Commission defines it as follows:

“Gender mainstreaming is the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making.” (Council of Europe, 1998, p. 15)

Gender mainstreaming has been embraced internationally as a strategy and concept towards realizing gender equality which includes to address and challenge the inherently gendered character of policymaking in its many manifestations. Therefore, gender mainstreaming has the goal to led to transformation of institutional and organizational cultures, which requires changes in policy processes, mechanisms and involved actors. (Lombardo, Mergaert, 2016, p. 45) Hence, it involves the integration of a gender perspective into the preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, regulatory measures, and spending programs, with a view to promote equality between women* and men*, and combating discrimination. (EIGE, 2016, p. 5) This shows that the strategy is concerned to anchor the category “gender” as a crosscutting issue

in the mainstream of politics and administration. (Frey, Kuhl 2003, p. 2) Accordingly, it indicates that gender mainstreaming is not an isolated exercise that merely adopts certain measures to address the imbalance between the genders instead it should be an integral part of policies, which addresses the structural character of gender inequality. Therefore, the mainstreaming policy should be a starting point to reorganize policy processes and to enable actors to incorporate a gender perspective throughout their current activities with the intention to consciously perceive and consider inequality between women*and men* in all areas. (Blickhäuser, von Bargen, 2015, p. 15) Additionally, the approach aims to incorporate gender analysis and frameworks in policy and planning. This indicates the establishment of institutional mechanisms, like gender units and gender focal points, in addition to a developing training and capacity building for all staff. (UN Woman Training Centre, 2020, pp. 9f.)

In order to gain an understanding of what such a gender mainstreaming strategy looks like in a particular context, the example of Germany is used in this thesis to deal more explicitly with the content-related aspects of the topic. The example of Germany was chosen because the gender trainers interviewed often worked in the context of German NGO's or were funded by state government organizations such as the BMZ and are therefore subject to a German understanding of gender mainstreaming in development cooperation. German development policy sees the promotion of equality as an overarching task and cross-cutting issue of the German development cooperation. This is also shown by the cross-sectoral concept on "Gender equality in German development policy" published in 2014. (BMZ, 2014) The developmental action plan for gender equality 2016-2020 (GAP II), based on this, defines priorities and objectives to describe how gender equality can be achieved. The BMZ tries to cover the following thematic areas: Access to justice and political participation, rural development and food security, violence prevention, protection of women* and girls* in armed conflicts and on the run, promotion of vocational training, economic participation, drinking water and sanitation, climate change and sustainable development. (BMZ, 2016) The concept is based on the three-pronged approach of 1. Gender mainstreaming, 2. Women*-specific support measures (empowerment) and 3. Development policy dialogue and thus replaces the previous "pure support of women*". It also aims to combat discrimination and to strengthen women*s rights in a targeted manner. In addition, the policy dialogue will address equality issues in the bi- and multilateral development dialogue and negotiations in order to achieve concrete agreements and their effective implementation. (Ibid., 2016) Nowadays, the BMZ also assumes gender equality in German development cooperation based on the social gender (gender) and describes the socially constructed side of gender as opposed to biological gender (sex). It considers social, traditional, and lordly positions, rights and duties of women* and men*, which are constructed and thus changeable. In this respect, gender equality does not only mean the pure promotion of women*, but the extension to the social gender. The BMZ therefore sees gender

equality as a task for society as a whole. In this respect, the BMZ focuses on working with women* and men* to reduce gender inequalities and structural disadvantages. Thus, Germany also emphasizes the active role of men* in working on gender stereotypes and traditional role models, as they restrict both women* and men* in their possibilities of action and development. Therefore, projects of development cooperation try to critically reflect through specific male and boys*' work solidified images of masculinity and traditional understandings of roles. In addition, men* are actively involved as "change agents" in the elimination of gender injustices and in strengthening women*s rights, such as lobbying, reforming legal issues, and combating violence against women*. In this regard the German development cooperation's foster gender training to achieve gender equality. (BMZ, 2014)

In the last years since the strategy of gender mainstreaming got established criticism has displayed in the way gender mainstreaming has played out across a range of institutional contexts and the constraints often imposed by policies and practices in institutions. One criticism relates especially to "mainstreaming" as a political strategy, where the implementation is characterized by a top-down approach. This is often to be seen in contrast to previous gender equality policies, which tended to be rather bottom-up and from the grass roots. The process of systematic implementation of gender mainstreaming in organizations is seen as a representation of an institutionalization of social movements. Therefore, the systematic establishment of gender mainstreaming in institutionalized systems and structures risks the depoliticization of political practices. (Smykalla, 2004, p. 37) Here, critical literatures are problematizing the relation between "Gender" and the "mainstream". Therefore, gender mainstreaming is having on one side an integrationist approach, which means the integration of gender concerns to particular issues and hence "gender mainstreaming is inserting something that is normally marginalized in the mainstream." (Jong, 2016, p. 100) On the other side gender mainstreaming is having a transformative approach, which refers to change, thereby mainstreaming is transforming the mainstream itself. Accordingly, the double attempt of gender mainstreaming can be recognized, whereby gender is inserted into the mainstream and at the same time tries to change the direction and pathways of the mainstream. Therefore, Jong criticizes not the depoliticization per se, but the certain type of politicization of technical aspects, which risks undermining, distract, divert and counteract gender equality. (Ibid., p. 98) Although, the recognition and acceptance of gender mainstreaming in the development sector and thus the understanding of shifting perspectives towards a gender perspective in organizations and gender equality in general, there would often be a lack of resources and appropriate strategies to implement it. As a result, institutions are still dependent on committed gender expertise and desired change from program managers and decision makers. (Mukhopadhyay, 2004) Furthermore, the implementation of gender mainstreaming requires a high degree of gender awareness and many of the organizations, persons, and actors in charge of

implementing the strategy are not gender experts and find themselves “trapped in gender discourse.” (Roggeband, Verloo, 2006, p. 629) The responsibility and accountability for the implementation of gender mainstreaming is additionally difficult to track. Mukhopadhyay, highlights the lack of professional and political accountability, as well as a lack of opportunities for asserting and enforcing accountability. Especially the focus on technical exercise in development practices would leave out the political outcomes and keeps as a result unequal power relations intact. (Mukhopadhyay, 2016, pp. 135f.)

3.4 Mapping the field of gender training

Gender training serves as one instrument of analysis and education tool for the gender mainstreaming strategy and brings into focus a powerful instrument of contemporary gender policy. By doing so gender trainings represent an import link between legal requirements of gender policy and the actual practical implementation in organizations and for individuals to achieve gender equality. (Smykalla, 2004, p. 39) The following abstract will give an overview of gender training while scratching the surface of discourse in the field to get an understanding of the subject of the research. The prevailing discourse around gender training will be discussed more detailed in chapter four.

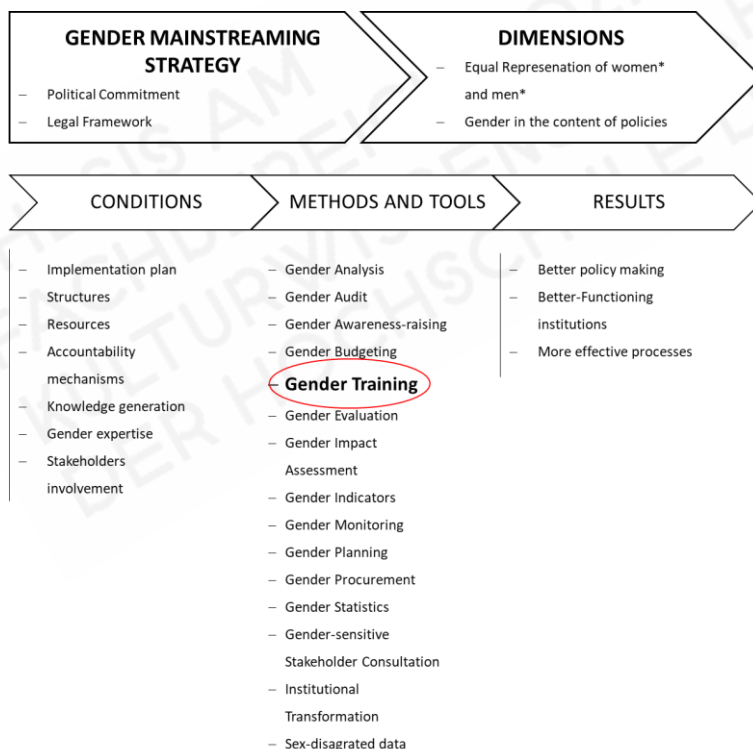


Figure 6: Overview of the different components of GM (EIGE, 2021; slightly adopted)

Historically, initial gender training was carried out as part of the Women in Development (WID) approach in the 1960’s to train employees in gender analysis, focusing on women*. The gender and development (GAD) approach proposed more emphasis on gender relations (see chapter 3.2.1.).

Therefore, in the late 1990's several training manuals were developed in the context of development policy. Originally, the gender training approach was designed to improve the quality of projects in the partner countries, the so called "global South." This led to protests and critique against the western definition power in addition to material dominance. (Frey, 2005, pp. 3f.) Criticism displayed, that the partner organizations were given requirements regarding gender equality by the international development organizations, who would not implement the gender approach within their own organizations. (Kirleis, 2004, p. 21) The 1995 World Women's Conference in Beijing led to resolutions, as a result of which gender training was introduced in institutions of education, business, politics and administration internationally. Only then gender training was also taken on for employees of e.g., German development organizations. This clearly shows that postcolonial theory not only changes and enriches gender theories, but also that the further development of gender training is an international project that incorporates the perspectives of different women* from different social contexts. (Frey, Kirleis, 2004, pp. 9f.) Nowadays, there is a diverse nature of training for gender equality and its characteristics and impact vary widely from their length (days, month, etc.) modalities (online, physical) and their objectives (awareness raising, skills development, etc.). (UN Woman Training Center, 2019, p. 29) Gender training can therefore be understood as an umbrella term, even if the trainings differentiate in their framework conditions, actors, goals, content and process, methods, and quality. The variety of approaches include subject specific training events, training courses, workshops, and seminars on gender, gender roles, gender relations, gender equality policy, gender mainstreaming etc. Accordingly, gender trainings are often seen and defined as tools to effect individual and collective transformation towards gender equality, by means of consciousness raising, empowering, knowledge building and the development of certain skills. (UN Woman Training Centre, 2014, p. 8) This includes also to incorporate a gender perspective in all organizational policies. Thus, gender training can be seen as a transformative measure with the potential to change personal, organizational cultures and institutions. The UN Woman Training Center offers the term "training for gender equality" as opposed to gender training, with the aim of broadening the scope of what such training can achieve. Therefore, they define training for gender equality as follows:

"A transformative process that aims to provide knowledge, techniques and tools to develop skills and changes in attitudes and behaviours. [...] It is a tool and a strategy to effect individual and collective transformation towards gender equality through consciousness raising, empowering learning, knowledge building, and skill development. Training helps men and women to build gender competence and acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for advancing gender equality in their daily lives and work." (UN Women Training Center, 2015, p. 11)

The content of training depends often on the context and characteristics of potential participants and framework settings. Even though, most trainings are composed of three components. Firstly, they often consist of sensitization. This includes in particular exercises for becoming aware of and reflecting on one's own gender constructions, stereotypes and enabling the possibility of a change of perspective. Secondly, they consist out of basic gender knowledge. That includes the clarification of basic concepts and definitions such as gender and gender mainstreaming as well as gender theories. The third component would be action orientation. Therefore, a practical connection to the respective field of work and life are given through instruments, methods, and suggestions for further implementation. Ideally gender trainings would start at the beginning of an implementation process and thus form the start for a long-term integration of gender issues into the organization and individual lives. (Smykalla, 2004, p. 40) Therefore, it requires individual, collective, and institutional transformative courage to support change and the objective of gender equality. This arises new demands on employees to provide the technical tools and to make the staff aware of the importance of gender equality. Hence, internal and external gender expertise is central to the gender-sensitive implementation of development policy measures. Frequently partner organizations and NGO's need ongoing methodological and content-related measures for the so called "gender training". (VENRO, 2010, p. 30) As a qualification measure, gender training plays a central role in communicating the gender mainstreaming strategy. At the same time, it is a central intersection between science and practice. The training courses are necessarily based on a gender theory, i.e., usually a certain theory is thus imparted implicitly on the subject of gender and gender relations. (Wendl, 2004, p. 401) The relationship between gender knowledge and social learning in practice touches therefore on different dimensions of knowledge. On one side on the question of how to deal with people's implicit knowledge and common ideas in gender training processes, while including one's own involvement in interrelated social relations, which are connected to privilege and power imbalances. On the other side is the question, what kind of knowledge and by whom is transferred into praxis of political agendas, education, and organizational development. (Bereswill, 2009, p. 146) As seen in the literature review, as a result different programs, materials, and methodologies could be identified which were developed by gender trainers and organizations that prioritize gender training as a tool for education and solidarity to understand and intervene in deconstructing and reconfiguring gender and power in society. Hence, diverse forms of specified interventions could be found in the context of gender training: Gender awareness workshops, panel training programs, gender coordinator training programs, train the trainer programs, policy making programs, local government training and gender budgeting work, men*s awareness, and masculinities programs, etc.

Gender training is one of the important tools to implement the gender mainstreaming strategy since it builds capacities and aims and provides people with awareness, knowledge and practical

skills. Additionally, gender training should motivate participants to work towards gender equality and to implement gender mainstreaming. (EIGE, 2016a, pp. 4f.) Following gender training has a great potential to change social attitudes towards gender and enables the analysis of power relations and helps to eliminate social inequality. Despite the promising transformative change of gender training the current utility of gender trainings is also increasingly questioned (Ahikire, 2007, pp. 42ff.) Hence, gender trainings are facing the critique of being heavily influenced by the demands of the development sector. This would lead to short term trainings and reduced frameworks which makes gender training a normalizing technology, which lost its political intention and has established itself as a fast-growing profession. (Davids, Eerdewijk, 2016, p. 87) Additionally gender training is an institutionalized activity, which is highly contextual, involves a diverse number of actors and is finding itself in all kinds of geographical areas and policy sectors. (Bustello, Ferguson, Forest, 2016, p. 7) There are numerous other aspects of gender training that will be critically examined in the next chapter.

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DER HOCHSCHULE DÜSSELDORF

4. Discourse of gender training

As we could see in the literature review of intersectionality and power in combination with the field of gender and development it is quite difficult to analyze gender training as an overall project because of the multiplicity of diverse training contexts, environments, and actors. Additionally, the topic arouses to be very complex and interwoven when we consider gender training with its political feminist roots towards achieving gender equality and the context of mainstream international development where gender training takes place. Power, intersectionality, gender, and international development have each their own multiple debates, concepts, theories, and ways of thinking. As I am interested in understanding and critically reflecting gender trainings in looking at power relations of domination and privilege as these intersect with other axes. I conclude that specific focuses on power should be used in terms of how well they describe and fit to certain contexts. Hence, a few aspects were chosen which seemed to be helpful in conceptualizing a certain context or aspect of power. Therefore, I used the theory as a tool, to make certain parts of power-relations, structures more visible and use the theories in a fruitful way. The theories are sometimes contestant but still can be useful for different aspects and can enhance each other while looking from different perspectives on situations and contexts of power. Through my literature review I identified five important aspects and categories, which seem to be very essential regarding the focus on power and intersectionality in the way they emerge in gender training. This should not by any means say that this are the only aspects, but the ones which were very heavily discussed by researchers and practitioners and appeared during the literature research. Additionally, the categories are interwoven and connected on multiple levels and influence each other.

Categories:

1. Heteronormativity of gender
2. Universality of women* and feminist agency
3. Coloniality and Contextuality of gender and development
4. Gender training as part of governmentalities
5. Knowledge is power

4.1 Heteronormativity of gender

The term “gender” is very contested in social and political science. As we saw already in previous chapters regarding the change in the development field from WID to GAD, but also through the gender theoretical principles of “doing” and “undoing” gender. Until today there is confusion about the term itself. Some are criticizing that development would just use another new label, by replacing “women*” with “gender”. Correspondingly, the term gender would get thinned out into meaning only women* and can become synonymous with the roles, responsibilities, and rights of

women* only. (Abou-Habib, 2007, p. 53) Another criticism lies in the entrenched dualisms and heteronormative gender understanding conveyed by institutions and development practitioners. Thus, the gender-differentiating implementation and project planning in development can lead to the perpetuation of gender hierarchies. (Frey, 2000, p. 6) In the current discourse people use the term “gender” but mean different things. Hence, the term is carrying a set of complex ideas and concepts which are dealt with in gender trainings. Nowadays most development actors and institutions are referring to the separation of gender and sex while referring to the construction character of gender (see. BMZ, UN, etc.) Although the gender approach is mainly subject to the two-gender distinction and categorization of gender. This makes the work with gender predominantly contrasted in women* and men*, femininity and masculinity. In practice these binary approaches are still predominantly implemented. For example, the heteronormative core family remains a basic analytical unit for the distribution of relief supplies and non-binary sanitary facilities are rarely implemented. Therefore, the focus on a binary understanding of gender despite the “gender approach” leaves the confrontation with people of other sexes aside. (Holloway, Stavropoulou, Daigle, 2019) Hence, although the gender approach replaced the pure promotion of women*, it is mainly subject to the dual-gender distinction and categorization of men* and women*. This can be seen in many definitions:

*„Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on **women and men**, respectively.” (UN, 1996, p. 27),*

*“Gender mainstreaming has been embraced internationally as a strategy [...] with a view to promoting equality between **women and men** and combating discrimination.” (Eige, 2016, p.5)*

Hence, the dual categorization can be seen as a form of power of inclusion and exclusion. The power system and ideology of heteronormativity is therefore often used to refer to the belief that there are two separate and opposing genders with associated natural roles that match their assigned sex and that heterosexuality is given. (Toorn, Pliskin, Morgenroth, 2020, p. 160) A heteronormative social order is a view that there are only two genders and that each person has only one gender, which can be clearly defined and cannot be changed. Accordingly, heteronormativity determines what is considered to be a “normal” sexuality and is at the same time a component of socially anchored norms and ideas about gender, body, family, identity, etc. that are internalized. (Czollek et al, 2009, p. 37) The worldview entrenched in this ideology is that it conceives heterosexuality as normal and thus describes for example homosexuality as normative deviation. Therefore, heteronormativity functions to violently oppress everyone that lives outside or in the interspace of

its binary logic. Often transgender* and intersex* people are oppressed by the dichotomous rule of the two-gender, heterosexual worldview. (Horchlacher, 2016, p. 115) Accordingly, heteronormativity can be understood as a historical-cultural knowledge formation, which structures society and individuals in power relations. (Götsch, 2015, p. 130) Hence, heteronormativity is embedded in institutions and passed on through socialization and ideologies. Accordingly, processes and effects of socialization produce the binary gender, heterosexuality as the norm and evoke hierarchizations, naturalizations and normalizations. (Wagenknecht, 2007, pp. 16ff.) Against this background, Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony can be connected to heteronormativity. Therefore, it illustrates a formation of power that gains its stability through consensus, social struggles, and compromises. According to Gramsci, hegemony is a concept in which one class or group rules over others, in which it is able to formulate its own interests in such a way that they are presented as the general, societal interests and as a consensus. Thus, a hegemony is created often without the use of direct violence, but through a successfully enforced claim to authority. (Gramsci, 1991) Out of this heteronormative hegemony of a dualistic gender which is implemented through definitions of institutions, transported to manuals and tools, and builds in the end a consensus in society about what is "normal" and what not. This leads to questions and dilemmas regarding the gender practice in development. (Wöhl, 2007, pp. 80ff.)

Gender trainings are often seen as a place between science and practice and are playing a central role in the communication of gender strategies. The trainings are necessarily based on a gender theory, i.e., a certain theory on the subject of gender and gender relations is usually implicitly conveyed. (Wendl, 2004, p. 401) Gender trainings are often given priority towards the binary power dynamics between men* and women* to understand their interactions, unequal and hierarchical experiences. This dual understanding is also expressed in most gender training manuals, which are based on the distinction between sex and gender. However, most manuals don't problematize gender in terms of coercive nature of dualistic gender order. Instead, they use terms as "both genders" and as a result leaving other gender-categories or identities out. (Frey, 2000, p. 9) Hence, for example "doing gender" is also taking place in gender trainings and can be seen as a process of producing and validating social gender (Gildemeister, Wetterer, 1992, p. 213) The problem which can arise when gender trainings are seeing gender in the heteronormative way of two-genders and heterosexuality, while also not acknowledging the interwovenness with other social categories/constructions is that it contributes to stereotyping and a limited worldview. The danger of prevailing gender relations and categories needs to be recognized, because despite the necessity of thinking in categories it produces exclusion. The complexity of gender theory and the theoretical openness of diverse gender categories leads to dilemmas and practical questions regarding the development field. On one side it's about being open for diverse and intersecting

gender categories and on the other side it's about the reduction of the complexity to make gender "teachable" and plannable for projects. The dilemma that gender trainings and the development field are facing is how to make a complex matter simple, with the aim to address the importance of gender, to get its importance to the people and organizations, and to create simplified tools to work with. In doing so, the reduction of complexities can become problematic as it always leads to exclusion and inclusion. Hence, gender trainings and gender planning tools which are based on heteronormativity contribute to stereotyping and "doing gender" as they just capture differences between women* and men*. (Frey, 2000, p. 9) Accordingly, there is always a tension between addressing "all" and addressing "the dominant normal" (Jong, 2016)

4.2 Universality of women* and feminist agency

The development field often uses "women*" as analyzing category and builds upon their gender programs. Thereby, the focus on the heteronormative binary identity of gender and construction of "women*" often excludes different types of women* that deviate from dominant ideas of femininity and womanhood. Especially the assumption of women* as a homogenous identity was criticized by intersectional and postcolonial feminists for long time. "Who is, who is not a woman?" (Truth, 2006 [1851]) The construction of women* as a homogenous category and the sexual difference between the different genders can become additionally conterminous with female subordination, whereby power is automatically defined in binary terms: People who have it (men*) and people who do not (women*). Man* as oppressors and women* as oppressed. This presents the simple top-down models of oppression of women*, which presents women* as passive victims and ignores the diversity and complexity of women's* experiences and their agency. (Frey, Dingler, 2002) According to this perspective, which is often referred to as identity politics⁷, the homogeneity of female identity ultimately results in the political position of all women*. This assumption was especially criticized by African American feminists, by women* from the South, and by postcolonial criticism and queer theory, because these groups do not see themselves represented in such a representation. They argue that their reality of life gives rise to completely different experiences than the homogeneous concept of gender describes it (Mohanty, 1991; hooks, 1990). In addition to their ethnic origin, women* also differ, according to other positionalities in their social class or in their sexual orientation, resulting in different experiences or interests. Women* in different contexts thus also have different interests and experiences. (Frey, Dingler, 2002) Feminist scholarship Chandra Talpade Mohanty, puts her focus therefore especially on the development field while analyzing the "western" feminist discourse and criticizing the construction of "Third World Woman." Therefore, she expressed three main principles which are taking place in the

⁷ Identity politics refers to the organizing of groups around identity markers for generating understanding and change. On one side it can serve as a source of strength and power. On the other side, identity politics can be in risk of ignoring in-group differences, which creates tensions among groups.

development field: 1) The universalization of the category “woman*”, 2) Methods and analyzing strategies to demonstrate the universality of the category of “women*” across cultures, 3) A certain model of power which is inherent in the analytical strategies, which makes it possible to collectively define “women*” and especially “women* in development countries” as oppressed. (Mohanty, 2003, p. 505) Same as Mohanty also bell hooks declares in her essay “Sisterhood: Political Solidarity among Woman” (hooks, 1986) the assertion of a universal victim status of women* and the assumption of a universal oppression of women* to be false in content and strategy. Therefore, the victim status would deny the power of women* and their agency and would leave out of sight that some powerful, privileged women* would oppress other women*. (hooks, 2000)

The discourse around the category women is not only reflected in the development context but is a fundamental discussion feminist voices are dealing with and therefore also results in the perception, inclusion and implementation of development policy issues. Especially feminists from the global South (Amina Mama 2001/2011; Ogunjipe-Leslie, 2015; Oyèwùmí, 1997) are criticizing that there is lacking the recognition and blindness of *white* woman*. This includes their own entanglement in the systems of oppression of colonialism and neo-colonialism, from which they had benefitted just as much as *white* man* and to racist elements in the “western” women*s movement and feminist theory. Many activists and theorist therefore deliberately avoiding calling themselves feminists because they see “western” feminism as an ideology. (Graneß, Kopf, Kraus, 2019, pp. 124ff.) One of the main arguments in these debates is the critique that mainstream feminism speaks in the name of “all woman*”, but only represents the interests of *white*, western, heterosexual, middleclass woman*. Hence, when it comes to issues of sexuality, violence, division of labor etc. only *white* women*s experience is getting problematized. Women* with disabilities, Black women*, migrant women*, lesbians, etc. are getting represented as “others” in mainstream feminism and their issues and demands are not perceived or getting trivialized as “special interests.” (Walgenbach, 2017, p. 56) Therefore migrant and Black women* in particular pointed out the problems of representation and speaker positions while questioning the “feminist we.” Who speaks? For whom? With which purpose? What is being addressed? In this regard, the different dimensions of identity in feminist movements who are fighting violence, discrimination, patriarchy unequal systems of power, etc. should be noticed and recognized because different form of discrimination intertwine and must be addresses collectively. (Laperrière, Lépinard, 2016, pp. 2 ff.) Even though, in the women* and feminist movement has been always a tension between collective identity and intersecting inequalities. On one side the collective search for identity is a central aspect of movement formation, where members can feel powerful and challenge dominant systems. (Poletta, Jasper, 2001, pp. 286 f.) On the other side the recognition of differences among women* from an intersectional viewpoint is important. (Jonston, Larana, Gusfield, 1994, pp. 12 ff.) Hence, the issues feminist movements advocate reflects the concerns and situations of participants

and individuals in the form of newly defined global concerns and overlapping interests and values are the basis to common purpose. Specially looking at the women*s movement, having a fixed identity “women*” can help bring people together to fight for social injustice. At the same time, the essentialist idea of women* as fixed identity ignores real conflicts, competition, and hierarchies between different types of women* inside the movement. (Emejulu, 2011, pp. 380f.) Accordingly, feminist movements are facing intersecting inequalities from individuals regarding class, race, age, etc. and should be focused on regarding the gender and development context. Black feminism challenges therefore the undifferentiated sisterhood of all women* and rather puts emphasis on their social differences with the aim of expanding the feminist movement and putting it on a solid basis. Audre Lorde therefore suggests naming and recognize differences within these social and political movements and to embrace it as a strength:

“As women, we have been taught either to ignore our differences, or to view them as causes for separation and suspicion rather than as forces for change. Without community there is no liberation, only the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression. But community must not mean a shedding of our differences, nor the pathetic pretense that these differences do not exist. [...] In our world, divide and conquer must become define and empower.” (Lorde, 1984, p. 112)

Bell hooks sees in the connection of women* in the sense of mutual support and solidarity a basis for building and sharing strengths and recourses, what she calls transformed and transformational “sisterhood.” (2000, p. 46) Therefore, power with (connection of women*, building and sharing), power within (capacities) and power to (strength and resources) are presenting the way of women*s agency and their potential to resist the oppressive form of power over. As seen the feminist movement is trying to respond to multiple forms of oppression persistent in society and the development field and found in their own movement formation, in form of different intersecting positionalities. Therefore, they are trying to use their power with each other through finding common grounds to build collective strength and agency while dealing with uncovering the nature of sameness and differences. Therefore, gender must be thought of as a concept that is fundamentally intertwined with other forms of social differentiation or other axes of power. (Frey, 2000, p. 9)

4.3 Coloniality and contextuality of gender and development

There is a need to look from a decolonial perspective to look critically at long-established norms and structures especially regarding the development field. Looking at power dynamics which emerged during and after the colonial period and have long lasting effects until today including the privileging of *whiteness*, concepts of modernity, Eurocentric conceptualizations, and creations of financial systems, which privileges a few and oppress others. Hence, values, knowledge and

practices of development reflect a Eurocentric interpretation of modernity and progress. As a result, implemented programs and training impose these values on beneficiaries and participants. (Peace Direct, 2021, pp. 15ff.)

Here can be named for example the coloniality of power and gender. Because it needs to be recognized that people all over the world have long lived outside the gender binary system. The western gender-binary system was used as a tactic of colonialization. The coloniality of power over was used to create a system that justified colonial control and a knowledge system which was based on certain values. Hence, gender can be seen as a mechanism of colonial domination and power over “non-Westerns” racialized bodies. (Lugones; 2016, pp. 13ff.) An example therefore is the Yorùbá culture⁸. In Yorùbá culture the category “women*” did not exist prior to European colonialization. The Nigerian post/de-colonial feminist scholar Oyéronké Oyéwùmí critiques in “The invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discours” (1997) the maintenance of western gender categories as universal and argued that “gender was not an organizing principle in Yorùbá society prior to colonialization by the West.” (Oyéwumí, 1997, p. 31) Therefore colonialism violated and forcibly created gender categories to “divide and conquer” and the concept of gender was used as a tool for domination that designates binary gender and hierarchical social categories. The oppressive colonial gender system, which was imposed on Yorùbá society included the subordination of females in every-day-life as women* became defined in relation to man*. (Oyéwumí, 1997) Additionally gender categories were developed as a measurement to distinguish between “civilized” *white* people and demonize Black people as “savage” and “sexual ambiguity”. Therefore, the colonial system used the exclusion of Black people from the gender system for the dehumanization of Black people and the justification of their imprisonment/captivity. Hence, gender and sexual categories are not neutral, as they were created specifically in the context of colonial oppressor states to naturalize slavery and colonialism. Thus, gender is not just a “social construct” but a “culturally specific western bourgeois social construct”. (Thomas, 1997, p. 49) Whereby Black, Indigenous and colonized knowledge systems outside of the western gender binary got erased. The current application of the concept of gender as a universal and timeless category is closely linked to the dominance of European- North American culture in the global system and cannot be considered separately from the biological determinism that underlies the “Western” system of knowledge. (Lugones, 2016, pp. 14f.) The pure adoption of foreign categories for the description of e.g., African contexts had implications not only in the meaning and interpretation but also epistemological, as they influenced the kind of knowledge that was produced. Hence, Oyèwùmí critiques that intellectual tools (concepts, thought patterns, methods) shape thinking and research same as political practice. This leads to an imposition of

⁸ Contemporary Nigerian, Benin and Togo states.

western categories, structures and concepts of gender identities and gender roles to other societies. (Pala, 2005, pp. 300ff.) Resulting, colonialism not only led to a destruction or dissolution of existing structures but also to a distorted representation of pre-colonial conditions and contexts. The “patriarchal lens” is therefore leading to a misrepresentation of gender and family relations and social roles in different societies. (Graneß, Kopf, Kraus, 2019, p. 156)

Another important aspect is language itself. Hence, there is a controversy about the terms and meaning of gender, which arouses for example through the translation in different languages and regarding the various meaning which the term is attributed to in different languages. The term “gender” is an English word and in contrast to many other languages the English language is retaining relatively little grammatical gender language. Other languages like German or Arabic instead, nouns, adjectives and pronouns are gender specific, and the language is highly gendered. Hence, the term cannot be easily translated into some languages because it is not part of popular vocabulary and could thus risks to remain an alien concept. (Abou-Habib, 2007, p. 53) Also, the practice of labelling individuals into groups can look very different in different context, which differ from the identity politics of the global North. Hence, the notion of the heteronormative “gender” may be different in different societies, gender categories may not be male or female and same-sex intimates may not be labeled as lesbian or gay. (Oinas, Arnfeld, 2009, p. 154) Therefore one example should be given in looking at the critical issues that can arise from terminology. LGBT*QI* has emerged as a term based on westernized self-attributions and definitions. Thereby, the terminology does not consider local and indigenous self-descriptions and definitions such as Hirja (Hindi), Jotas (Mexico), Lesbi (Indonesia) or Shamakhmi (Bengali).⁹ (Sauer, Heckemeyer, 2011, pp. 55f.) Furthermore, in some countries, “men who sleep with men” are referred to, but these would not describe themselves as gay and thus would not feel addressed by the term LGBT*QI*. (Holloway, Stavropoulou, Daigle, 2019, p. 28)

Understanding the constituents of power and coloniality of gender in the current/colonial gender system is crucial to understand the differential gender arrangements along different contexts and along “racial” lines. (Lugones, 2008, p. 2) Therefore Maria Lugones pleads for decolonizing feminism and highlights the importance of reviewing modernity/coloniality from a consciousness of race, gender and sexuality. Western gender concepts which have been normalized needs to be deconstructed and indigenous and diverse worldviews and understandings of “gender” need to be included into feminist development discourse. (Lugones, 2016) Postcolonial feminist theory is therefore essential as it critically engages with various colonial power relations that continue into the present. “If we take the feminist contention that gender is socially constructed seriously, it is inevitable that constructions of gender differ from one geographical location to another. Thus, the

⁹ Local and indigenous self-definitions.

gendering of society in Africa does not automatically take on the same form as we observe in the Western world” (Okome, 2005, p. 10)

4.4 Gender training as a part of governmentalities

As we saw in the previous chapters, gender training is embedded and part of gender mainstreaming and thus part of a political intervention. Hence, it can not be seen as a neutral process and instead gender training becomes part of contested power dynamics and power dimensions, because the practices and policies impose their own mechanisms and methodologies on the strategy.

The Foucauldian concept of governmentalities can be used to understand ways of power, that are structuring and shaping the process and practice of gender mainstreaming and gender training. (Mukhopadhyay, 2016, p. 133) Foucault’s concept of governmentalities is characterized by the way how power is acted out, to shape, guide and affect the conduct of a person or individuals. (Gordon, 1991, p. 2) Therefore, the concept gives the opportunity to explore the negative and positive power of governments role while it looks at ways how the government operates and at the same time shows how individuals become governable subjects themselves. (Foucault, 1991, pp. 90ff.) The concept helps to explain the mechanisms by which decisions and actions of actors and organizations in the development field are linked to the political goal of gender equality in heterogenous ways with the aim to maintain the wellbeing of citizens. (Gundula, Wöhl, 2009, pp. 17ff.)

As shown in previous chapters gender mainstreaming is not solely what states do, instead it refers to all the actions and decisions of authorities and involved actors that seek to frame what and how gender is introduced and dealt with in practice and policy. Therefore, gender mainstreaming can be seen as a mechanism by which actors shape, normalize and instrumentalize the behavior, thinking, choices and aspirations of citizens and individual subjects to achieve particular goals. (Mukhopadhyay, 2016, p. 133) The decisions, behavior and thinking of individuals are influenced by those mechanisms through the establishment of vocabularies, categories, standardizations, interventions and materialization of expertise. Here the construction of a certain kind of reality becomes a tool to address manage and change the subject/ individual. By doing so the topic of gender becomes accessible to the programs of development and government. As a result, a common discourse is created between actors and organizations that impact and shape the lives of individuals. Following, the subject of gender was addressed, managed, and aimed for change throughout the intervention of gender mainstreaming established by governments. Mechanisms and interventions like gender training were established with the aim for the political objective of gender equality and gender became governable. (Ibid, p. 135) In order to make gender governable, certain truths about gender standards had to be created that were considered acceptable through certain knowledge and research frameworks within governance. This was done using feminist knowledge, gender expertise and information, as well as through the implementation of training

and other tools. This created a normative and governable version of gender, indicating what gender is and how it should be dealt with. Therefore, gender trainings, gender experts and feminist knowledge also contribute to the programmability and governability of gender through the production of knowledge and an inherent discourse around gender and its implementation in practice. Hence, gender training and feminist ideas become part of governmental practices and institutional power as knowledge, goals and ideas are implemented. "Thus, in becoming part of international institutions, feminist strategizing develops its own rationality: to govern through subtle and indirect means. In this context feminist strategizing is turned from a mode of resistance into an instrument of power." (Caglar, Prügl, Zwingel, 2013, pp. 5f.) At this point many raise the criticism of depoliticization of feminist knowledge. According to Prügl, gender mainstreaming is a bureaucratic endeavor as part of governmentality that integrates aspects of gender equality, but only in relation to the actual goals of government and development agendas, such as economic growth, security or infrastructure. Therefore, gender mainstreaming can be seen as part of a governmental technology that conveys normative truths and supports the continued existence of governmental goals and objectives. In doing so, a neoliberal logic in the development agenda continues to be pursued and represented as common sense. (Prügl, 2011) In addition there is the risk that the understanding of gender differences as unequal and structural falls apart and is getting "smothered" in a context of neoliberal mentalities. (Davids, Eerdewijk, 2016, p. 81)

Governmentality approaches can explore the relationship of development agents and gendered structures of power. Therefore, it raises the question of how power operates, and enables one to recognize that power is not only imposed in a hierarchical power over oppressive force but is also productive. The entry of feminist knowledge and practice into the mainstream has created both empowerment and constraint. Additionally, power is also produced and embedded in language and practice of gender training and gives the opportunity for practitioners to challenge, change and expand the possibilities for strategies and to resist domination of discourse. This also includes the production of "new" knowledge which can resist the "normative gender mainstreaming". (Mukhopadhyay, 2016, p. 141)

4.5 Knowledge is power

When looking at the aspect of knowledge-power relations we can see a very complex and interesting discussion when we look at feminist roots of knowledge and the context of mainstream international development where gender training takes place. Therefore, knowledge production exists within and is shaped by power relations of history and society and resistant movements. On one side knowledge can be an important tool of building and even transforming power, but on the other side it is also a powerful tool for domination and oppression. This very much depends on the way how the knowledge is used and generated. (Miller et al., 2006, p. 12) In loan to this, this chapter

will discuss the knowledge-power relations with a special focus on “gender expertise” and explores the often-implicit assumptions about knowledge transfer in gender trainings.

“Gender expertise” is a particular form of knowledge and is getting legitimacy by their posture of seemingly neutrality. Therefore, gender trainers and gender experts can be seen as “the Trojan horses of feminism in government processes [...] [because] they also reinterpret feminism to match governmental processes and thus become Trojan horses of governmentality in feminism. In this sense, gender experts and gender training are instruments in the government of gender.” (Prügl, 2013, p. 60) Hence, once knowledge becomes an instrument of government it becomes embedded in particular governance projects. Therefore, this knowledge and “expertise” takes part in the political discourse through generating, creating, and validating certain kind of truths that support power relations. This power is not always recognizable, because it is often effective in a hidden way, because society provides language, concepts, chains of argumentation and is entitled to the power of interpretation. Interpretation and decision-making are not about a particular direction, but about setting a framework for what can be considered as knowledge at all. (Schaal, Heidenreich, p. 227). Following, the gender discourse manifests itself through the canonization of knowledge. In this process, not all knowledge is included in the canon, legitimized as knowledge, and thus considered “valuable”. A hierarchy of knowledge production is thereby created that disqualifies, silences, and reproduces dominant forms of knowledge. (Steyerl, Rodríguez, 2012, p. 7) Accordingly, knowledge can be seen as a very powerful tool, especially when it is used as a universal truth. (Adichie, 2009) As we saw in the chapter above gender training cannot be seen as a neutral process as it is part of a broader structure. Therefore, also gender training as a tool can not be seen as a neutral activity as it reflects a certain understanding of the nature of knowledge and its reproduction. (Mukhopadhyay, Wong, 2007, pp. 12 f.) It needs to be an awareness that knowledge is situated. Hence, also gender knowledge is situated knowledge, with different standpoints, where some knowledge is more privileged over others (Bustello, Ferguson, Forest, 2016, p. 3) Gender training, toolkits and gender trainers are having specific meanings and understandings of gender which are getting produced and also reproduced in the training context. “The world-views implicit in gender training methodologies will bear critically, not only how issues are formulated for policy purposes and implemented and evaluated through the planning process but also on what issues are considered important and who are identified as the main actors in the development process” (Kabeer, 1992, cited in Mukhopadhyay, Wong, 2007, p. 15) One important aspect when looking at hierarchies of knowledge is to think about who’s knowledge counts and who is the knower. Hence, it is important to focus on power dynamics inherent in the so called “gender expertise”. On one side there are experts and knowers and on the other side people who need to learn. This goes hand in hand with the term “training”. People who train and know and those who need to be trained. Accordingly, gender training can be seen as a place of knowledge production, where positioned

knowledge and perspectives are expressed and worked with. The knowledge of gender trainers, same as the knowledge from institutions conveyed in forms of handbooks and tools or from national and international level through laws and policies needs to be looked at. Following, gender trainers are finding themselves in a dilemma which leads to the question: How one can get gender open and exclusive when there is a particular agenda? (UN Women Training Centre, 2018) The complex effort to enhance participants gender knowledge and capacities comes with a lot of challenges and tensions. Especially regarding the development field where trainers are embedded in multiple crossings of institutional, language and cultural contexts, which occur on power imbalance regarding distribution, resources, and privileged positions. Therefore, knowledge and power interrogate on structural, institutional, social, cultural, and interpersonal level. (Bustello, Ferguson, Forest, 2016)

Despite the importance of the production of knowledge, Patricia Hill Collins outlines also the validation of knowledge as a central category. Therefore, she names two political criteria that influence the validation of knowledge. On one side she names that knowledge must be asserted and enforced against a scientific community that represents the viewpoints of the group from which its members predominantly come. In a Eurocentric, masculine academic landscape, this means that a female academic has to defend knowledge against a community that is *white* and male dominated. On the other side every expert community derives its legitimacy and credibility from being recognized by the larger community to which it is situated and from which it derives its basic and self-evident knowledge. Communities that challenge established beliefs of the larger cultural community will find less recognition than those who support them (Collins, 2000, p. 253) This results in further questions not only based on: Who creates knowledge and how? But instead adds the questions of: Who validates knowledge and how? If we look at gender trainers and how they recognize gender knowledge as valuable, social hierarchies and power dynamics become clearer and visible from a perspective of validation. In this way, development practitioners can be seen as knowledge transmitter, who develop different strategies for gender interventions based on their personal experiences, organizational contexts and own beliefs and values. (Mosse, Lewis, 2006, p. 10)

Another aspect is the content and knowledge conveyed in the context of gender training especially from a postcolonial perspective regarding the power-knowledge complexity and the Eurocentric knowledge production. Cornwall describes this as the “materiality of power” by meaning the structural violence that derives from patriarchal social arrangements, material inequalities that are produced and sustained by patriarchal ideals beliefs and practices. (Cornwall, 2016, p. 76) Also, Grada Kilomba names these power relations and underlines the violence that is inherent in the knowledge production. In doing so she refers to the “academic center” which is a *white* location

where Black people have been denied speaking and are silenced. (Kilomba, 2009, p. 81) Feminist knowledge production is also infused with these dynamics (see the critique to *white* feminism in chapter 2.2.1). Hence, Mohanty points out that in the development field most of the literature and practitioners would lack contextual knowledge about the respective societies especially in contexts of South and North cooperation's, including economic, social hierarchies, historical contexts and would use and spread uniformed generalizations, despite the growing influence of women* and gender studies in organizations. (Mohanty, 2003) Hence, there is a tension between academic research and political practice, especially in the context of global development. "Western" intellectuals and development practitioners are often not aware of the influence and reach of development policies, political standards, guidelines, and policy recommendations. Those are made by "donor-institutions" like the World Bank, the EU and are tied to the granting of loans and investments. (Graneß, Kopf, Kraus, 2019, p. 66) Accordingly, in the development context power over is exercised through the production of explicit knowledge of gender. This is firstly implemented by governments and international organizations through laws or definitions of what gender is and what it is not. Hence, the term gender, nor gender trainings are neutral but entail political meaning and are loaded with power regarding understanding and knowledge production.

5. Summary of literature review

The following section will provide a summary of the literature review and analysis before the next part deals with the empirical research of this thesis.

Theories of power can help to understand the different ways in which power is denied to people but also the potential for people to generate their own forms of power and shape the way power operates. Accordingly, the work has shown a vast array of approaches that focus on power in terms of the social structure or as agency. It became clear that power includes visible manifestation through decision making and formalized structures, same as hidden forms of power through e.g., the exclusionary barriers to influence the political agenda concerning representation and invisible forms of power, which shape the way people think referring to culture and ideology which perpetuates inclusion and exclusion. The concept of intersectionality, with its origins in the Black feminist movement and political activism, has been presented to give the possibility to look at gender in interaction with other categories and entanglements resulting from different positionings, circumstances and contexts. Intersectionality gives the possibility to look at power and understand the interaction and entanglement to show how different factors produce oppression and privilege. The literature review has also shown the context in which gender training takes place in the development field. Here the historical context from WID to GAD and international development policies have been displayed to understand the conceptual tasks and demands to gender training. Therefore, gender training was presented as an instrument of gender mainstreaming by governments and policies, which should contribute to gender equality in the current development agenda. Resulting from the above presented areas a literature analysis was carried out which presented five found categories and addressed main focal points from the literature. Accordingly different discourses related to power and intersectionality in combination with gender and the development field were examined. On the one hand, the discourse around the heteronormativity of the gender understanding which is often conveyed in the development field and thus also in gender trainings was discussed. The heterogenous understanding of gender thus emphasizes, produces, and reproduces the binary gender of men* and women* and excludes other people outside the binary gender categorization. On the other hand, the often-implied universality of women* in development contexts was addressed. Black and postcolonial critique in particular showed the diversity of women* and the false assumption that all women* are oppressed. The emphasis on feminist agency highlighted the difficulties as well as the potential of networking with each other, considering inequalities and commonalities to address gender injustices collectively. Another aspect of the analysis showed that the concept of gender as well as the development context is related to and influenced by histories of oppressive colonial power. Therefore, the gender categories were presented as not neutral, as they were created in specific contexts and have an

inherent discourse of colonial legacies which need to be considered and acknowledged while shedding light to the colonial power relations that continue into the present. Additionally, gender training was presented as part of governmentalities, whereby it explores the power of governments and displays the way by which actors shape, normalize and instrumentalize the behavior, thinking and aspirations of individuals. Building on this, power was discussed in relation to the creation, reproduction, and validation of certain knowledge in gender training and the problematic dynamics of gender expertise. Addressing that gender knowledge is situated knowledge, with different standpoints where some knowledge is privileged over others. Furthermore, the danger of universal truth claims was addressed, whereby a certain gender knowledge is taken up and gets legitimated from governments and then presents itself as expertise in gender trainings, by e.g., determining what gender is and what it is not.

Based on the underlying theoretical discourses and highlighting of the interconnections between power, intersectionality and gender training, the following section will empirically examine the practice of gender training in order to gain a deeper insight into the discourse from a practical perspective from gender trainers in the field.

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6. Research methodology

The literature about power, intersectionality, and gender in development, provides the background information on the actual research topic. It gives a general understanding of the discourse and the current situation in gender training. The literature research has amplified the research subject with general information on scientific work. In the following, the actual implementation and practice of gender training will be analyzed by closer inspection with gender trainers. Therefore, the research questions are attempted to be answered through the findings of my empirical work:

1: Why do power and intersectionality matter for gender training in the development field?

2: How can power and intersectionality be addressed through and within gender trainings?

This chapter describes the methodology and research design for the study of gender trainers, referring to the broader principles of research implementation and how interpretive paradigms were applied. In the first place the qualitative research design will be introduced, followed by the data collection technique through a group discussion and semi-structured interviews. The process of analyzing the data of interviews with gender trainers related to the gender practices of development actors through grounded theory will be described afterwards. The final abstract will be about critical reflections and limitations regarding an exploration of my own experiences during the research process and a critical reflection of my own position, which has influenced the study.

6.1 Research design

The research design refers to the overall strategy to effectively address the research problem. For my thesis I used qualitative research, which is a firmly established method in social science and has been widespread since the 1970s. Qualitative research is used as a collective term for different approaches in the social science field. In terms of content, qualitative research deals with the everyday life of people, whose views are considered in order to understand social processes. In addition, qualitative research claims to evaluate living environments “from the inside out”, meaning from the point of view of acting participants. (Flick, 2007, pp. 1f.) Hence, qualitative social research is not looking for the confirmation of already existing theories but is open and strives for a theory-based formation of the subject. (Flick, 2011, p. 12)

Research topic: Power and intersectionality matters! Gender in development			
Research questions:			
1. Why do power and intersectionality matter for gender training in the development field? 2. How can power and intersectionality be addressed through and within gender trainings?			
Sampling strategy/ Gaining access	Data collection	Data analysis	Evaluation results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Purposive sampling: ▪ Database EIGE + Internet ▪ Interview request was sent via E-Mail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Semi-structured interview ▪ Expert Group-Discussion ▪ 5 Gender trainers (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5) ▪ Date: 01.02.2021 ▪ Medium: Zoom conference ▪ Language: German 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Interview transcription ▪ Notes ▪ Grounded Theory (Open, axial and selective coding) 	Found categories: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gender training in the development field ▪ Resistance in and towards gender training ▪ Context matters ▪ Positionality of the trainer ▪ Key category: Power relations/ power dimensions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Semi structured interview ▪ Expert-Interview ▪ 1 Gender trainer (P6) ▪ Date: 07.05.2021 ▪ Medium: Zoom conference ▪ Language: English 		

Table 1: Research design

6.2 Collecting data through interviews

There are a variety of different qualitative interviews, which are very common as a method in social research. Guided interviews were chosen as a survey method for my research to obtain the individual views of gender trainers on the issues and practices of power and intersectionality. The purpose of the interviews with gender trainers was to identify and explore ways, how power and intersectionality are relevant regarding the training context itself and regarding the broader context of development policy. Interviews with six gender trainers¹⁰ working in the development field were conducted. Therefore, the study brings together diverse practices from different world regions, different sectors, types of training (modality, length), and types of organizations (NGO's, government, external) where gender training takes place. Therefore, one expert group discussion¹¹

¹⁰ For this research, gender trainers are defined according to two-nonexclusive criteria: Individuals who present themselves professionally as gender trainer and practitioners designated by organizations as gender trainers.

¹¹ See appendix: 13.4.1 Interview transcript

with five gender trainers from the “Netzwerk für Gender Training”¹² and one expert-interview¹³ with one gender trainer from RWAMREC (Rwanda Men’s Resource Centre)¹⁴ were conducted. The group discussion was held in German while on the other side the interview with the gender trainer from Rwanda was held in English. The duration for the expert group discussion was around two hours, while the expert-interview took about fifty minutes. Due to the distance and the current Corona pandemic, both interviews were conducted via the telecommunication provider Zoom.

The group discussion served as one survey instrument for the study. On the one hand group discussions are presenting opinions and attitudes of individual participants and on the other hand they are also suitable to investigate collective orientations and patterns of an entire group. (Lamnek, Krell, 2016, pp. 388f.) Through a shared space of experiences, through the discussion setting, collective knowledge can be elaborated. (Przyborski, Riegler, 2010, p. 440) Throughout the group discussion participants were able not just to share their own standpoints and views but also to relate to or get involved with the ideas of other participants. Therefore, the group discussion offers the possibility of explaining, extending, shaping or modifying one's own opinion in dialogue with the other participants. (Lamnek, Krell, 2016, p. 394) In the context of the group discussion, the participants were not just the subject of the study regarding an unnatural conversation, instead they were part of a conversation. Hence, I, as the researcher didn’t carry the conversation alone, and interviewees were mutual conversation partners. This created a communication situation among the participants that felt naturally and supported active participation. Another advantage of group discussions is their efficiency, as the group setting allows several participants to be interviewed at the same time (ibid., p. 396) The data collection was carried out by means of group discussions, which were selected due to the objective of collecting as many and diverse orientations on gender practices and gender pedagogy as possible. Due to the limited time available and the relatively complex evaluation method, just one group discussions was carried out. The group-discussion was moderated by me with the help of a written interview guide that was prepared in advance. In addition, one expert interview was conducted, with a gender trainer from Rwanda to retrieve the expertise in the specific field one on one. Therefore, the expert-interview allowed and gave the opportunity to express attitudes and opinions without personal discomfort of group constellations. For the research I used semi-structured interviews, to initiate a dialogue between

¹² The network is a nationwide association of gender trainers in Germany. It was established in 1997 within the framework of the NGO Women's Forum, an association of women* from development and women*s non-governmental organizations and academia. Its roots lie in feminist research and international women*s movements. The trainers organized in the network regularly exchange ideas on the content and methods of gender training. The focus is on their own practice, experiences from other countries and theoretical discussions on current developments in women*s and gender studies.

¹³ See appendix: 13.4.1 Interview transcript

¹⁴ The Rwanda Men’s Resource Centre is a Rwandese NGO and was established in 2006. The organizations aim to promote gender equality through the promotion of positive masculinities and male engagement approaches in development programs in Rwanda.

me, as the interviewer, and the interviewees. (Flick, 2011, p. 122) To do so, I developed a semi-structured interview guide¹⁵ based on topics related to the research questions in German and English. I used open questions which gave scope for specific and personal views and focused questions, which intended to lead the interviewees. The aim was to obtain the individual views of the interviewees on my research topic. When conducting the interviews, the sequences of the questions could change as well as the way I posed the question, depending on the interviewees setting and position. During the interviews I embodied the role of the interviewer, note taker and observer at the same time. Both interviews were audio- and videotaped with the permission of interviewees and later transcribed by me.

6.3 Sampling strategy and gaining access

For this thesis I employed a purposive sampling method in which I relied on my own judgement, while choosing participants/ interviewees for the study. This method was chosen due to the nature of research design, aims and objectives. I aimed to engage with the reflections of interviewees who identify primarily as gender experts and/or trainers. Therefore, I tried to bring together interviewees from different backgrounds, contexts, organizational hierarchies and levels, genders, age, location, religion, etc. Hence, the interviews should offer a substantive contribution to the existing literature by focusing on gender training while providing a mix of practice oriented and more theory focused insights. In a first step, interviewees were searched in the database of gender trainers, provided by the European Institute for Gender Equality. (EIGE Database, 2021) A request was sent to several gender trainers by e-mail, which led to the contact with the “Netzwerk für Gender Training” and resulted in the group discussion. In a second step, internet research was conducted on NGO’s and gender trainers located and situated in the global South. Out of several e-mail requests resulted the Expert-interview with the executive director of RWAMREC. The total number of individuals interviewed was six. The thesis tried to obtain a representative sample to illustrate different perspectives, objectives, and practices especially from an intersectional standpoint, even though the research cannot give fully account to the multiple positionings and self-definition’s in the field.

The following chart will demonstrate the interviewed gender trainers, to restive and understand their context and embedding in the field. Even though the information shown in the chart refers only to positions mentioned or named in the course of the interviews. Consequently, the completeness of the information is not guaranteed. Nevertheless, the overview serves to provide an understanding of some of the positions of the gender trainers interviewed.

¹⁵ See appendix: 13.3 Interview guide

Gender trainer	Organizational experiences	Work Position	Work Context (location)	Gender
P1.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Brot für die Welt ▪ Caritas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cooperaation women*s unit/department ▪ “Frauenreferentin” ▪ Equal opportunity officer ▪ Freelancer ▪ Gender trainer 	Chile, Germany, South America	Woman*
P2.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NGO in the development field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Freelancer ▪ Gender expert ▪ Gender trainer 	Germany	Woman*
P3.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gossener Mission ▪ Accord ▪ GIZ ▪ Brot für die Welt ▪ Misereor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gender officer ▪ Freelancer ▪ Gender trainer 	Zambia, Somalia, Germany	Woman*
P4.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Brot für die Welt ▪ Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst ▪ Evangelisches Missionswerk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Head of the gender strategy committee ▪ Gender trainer 	India, Bangladesh, Netherlands	Woman*
P5.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Brot für die Welt ▪ Christian aid ▪ Careford 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gender advisor ▪ Gender expert ▪ Gender trainer 	India, Pakistan, England	Woman*
P6.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Men’s Resource Center (RWAMREC) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive director ▪ Gender expert ▪ Gender trainer 	Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Ivory Coast	Man*

Table 2: Information about gender trainers/interviewees

6.4 Data preparation

All interviews were audio visually recorded via Zoom video call. Each interview was then manually transcribed by the researcher to make the transcription process reflexively useful. (See appendix 13.4.1) This made it possible to relive and experience the interview situation again audio visually. The transcription process thus formed an important element of the engagement with the research results. Simple transcription was chosen (Dresing, Pehl, 2018) and adapted in the process regarding gaining knowledge. Literal translations were used, and dialects or slurred words and colloquial

language were retained. Word and sentence breaks were also retained, to better understand thought processes and to preserve the potentially "unsayable". Pauses were marked by ellipsis in brackets (...) and longer pauses or interruptions were also indicated. Signals of understanding as well as "yes/ja" or "mhhh" and laughing or sighing were noted in brackets. The researcher was replaced by "I" and the interviewees by "Px" (x corresponding to the number of interviewees). Ethical issues are relevant to social research and should be pursued only under the condition of informed consent and without harming participants. (Flick, 2011, p. 222) Hence, it was important to assure the anonymity and data protection of the interviewees. While making the appointments and arrangements for the interviews, I always mentioned that anonymity is guaranteed as much as possible. I also always pointed out that a digital recorder is used to conduct the interviews. It was especially important for me to ensure the anonymity of interviewees who accepted the interviews to create an open and safe space especially according to the sensitiveness of power dynamics. Hence, the names of interviewees are anonymized in the transcription and for this research.

6.5 Data analysis

6.5.1 Data collection techniques

For my data analyses I used grounded theory, which was developed by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. The aim was to reduce the discrepancy between empirical research and formal theory and to develop a subject-related theory formation. (Przyborski, Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014, p. 195) The method of grounded theory is suitable for many data forms, including interviews, observation protocols, documents, and letters. (Brüsemeister, 2008, p. 151) Therefore, it can be applied to various social sciences that deal with human behavior in their research, such as pedagogy, sociology and psychology count. (Böhm, 1994, p. 123) It was assumed that grounded theory was a purely inductive method and hence research should be approached without prior knowledge. Today, there is a broad consensus that existing concepts and theories should be included, even though it should be approached unbiased to the field. Consequently, in the grounded theory, both inductive and deductive steps are taken. (Mey, Mruck, 2009, pp. 106ff.) Thus, grounded theory emphasizes the simultaneous and inter-relatedness of data collection, analysis and theory formation. (Strauss, 1998, pp. 46f.) An established theory is therefore not the end point of the research, because new data can be collected in the field and analyzed later, which in turn yield new theories, falsify, or verify others. Accordingly, the grounded theory work steps take place continuously and parallel. (Mayring, 2016, pp. 105f.) Hence, a grounded theory emphasis in ethnography leads the researcher to compare data from the beginning, to compare data with emerging categories and to demonstrate relations between concepts and categories. (Charmaz, 2006, p. 23) Strauss sees the investigating subject as part of the research process, since it can never be completely neutral and invisible, but is always the interpreter of the data collected, hence theories are subjectively

influenced products. (Strauss, 1998, p. 12) For analyzing the data in grounded theory, coding is used for translation or encryption of data, which includes the naming of concepts and their explanation and discussion. (Böhm, 2012, p. 476) Therefore, a distinction is made between three phases of coding: open, axial, and selective coding.

6.5.2 Open coding

Open coding deals with the categorization and conceptualization of qualitative data in order to make it comparable. The process of coding begins with the naming of phenomena, which means that a name is assigned to each important part of the record. (Strauß, 1998, pp. 58f.) Similar elements are given the same name to allow later comparability and prevent a variety of codes. In addition, a first conceptualization takes place. (Brüsemeister, 2008, p. 159) The next step in the analysis process is to categorize the concepts designed in the previous step, meaning that similar or relating concepts are grouped. (Przyborski, Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014, p. 201) In summary, Strauss and Corbin define open coding as the process of breaking down, studying, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data. (Strauss, Corbin, 1996, p. 43)

6.5.3 Axial and selective coding

The focus by axial coding lays on interrelating and comparing categories, while qualified relationships between concepts are worked out based on the material and tested by continuous comparison. (Strübing, 2014, p. 16) The categories found in the previous step need to be further sorted and recoded to create new connections and thus to work out core categories that are of central importance. The categories are sorted according to whether they relate to an action or an interactional strategy, a consequence, or a causal condition. (Böhm, 2012, pp. 479f.) The core categories found and their meanings for the questioning of the respective work are examined in selective coding by systematically compiling references to other subordinate categories and subcategories. (Strübing, 2014, p. 18) The aim of selective coding is therefore to form core categories that are relevant to the question and to create a more sophisticated analysis perspective, which ultimately leads to the development of a theory that is anchored in the collected and sorted data. (Przyborski, Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014, p. 211)

6.5.4 Procedure of data analysis

The focus of the qualitative research about gender training was on the subjective perceptions and opinions about practices, definitions, and realities of gender trainers. The individual attributions of meaning were taken up in the coding process. It was started with the open coding. The resulting codes and memos were compared with each other to recognize relationships and differences and to rearrange them according to the criteria. The codes referring to a common phenomenon were grouped into categories. By axial coding, these were compared in return and correlated to identify

key phenomena and form key categories. Selective coding has been partially performed already during axial coding since it is not a completely separate step in grounded theory. The codes and memos formulated during open coding were re-examined, supplemented, and corrected regarding the key categories.¹⁶ It should be noted that the present work does not generate a saturated theory. The grounded theory analysis method only produced categories close to the data that led to a first theoretical approach. To get closer to a saturated theory, a theoretical sampling would have to be carried out, following the performed selective coding. Subsequently, data from other actors like gender-experts, trainers, activists, and participants would have to be collected and analyzed, to compare with those already evaluated, until a theoretical saturation occurs, and no new aspects could be added. Indeed, this would go beyond the scope of this study.

6.6 Critical reflections and limitations

In my research are several critical considerations and practical, methodological dilemmas that need to be put in relation to the participants, knowledge production and power relations inherent in this thesis.

Firstly, my thesis is limited regarding language. Solely German-, and English-speaking gender trainers were chosen, based on limited resources and my own language barriers. Furthermore, the expert-interview was conducted in English, even though this is not the mother tongue of neither parties of the conducted interview, which could have caused some insecurities, as well as limiting the ability to express thoughts distinctively. In addition, the translation from the German held group discussion which was then summarized in English could have led to missing opportunities for translation and understanding. Hence, the dominance of English and German posed a barrier regarding different contexts, where trainers got excluded from the research who did not meet the language criteria. Additionally, the sampling method and the selection of potential interview partners was limited, due the fact that the method relied on internet research. Gender trainers who were not presented on internet platforms or do not have the resources and access to internet and online presentation got excluded. This requires a self-critical examination of the research process and findings. In addition, me as a *white*, western researcher could have affected the interview situation, especially given the history of social research as a tool of oppression under colonialism. (Ziltener, Künzler, 2013, pp. 303f.) Therefore, the power dynamics between researcher and participant should not be obfuscated, while marking the privileges of *whiteness* in the research context and by social, political, and historical forces. (Deliovsky, 2017, p. 18) During the interviews I realized that participants of both interviews were surprised to see me, as a *white* person. I assume, this was due to the fact of my Rwandese surname at that time. I realized that especially in the

¹⁶ See appendix: 13.4.2 Data analysis

expert-interview with the Rwandan gender trainer my surname might have been useful as a door opener. Additionally, I would like to provide more clarity about the interwovenness of the research findings based on grounded theory. It was tried to capture the different understandings of interviewed gender trainers by using their given definitions and interpretations. Therefore, the results and founded categories are standing in the discourse of “truth claims”. By analyzing the way gender trainers speak and think about topics, the research findings represent the way interviewees reproduce and contribute to the creation and reproduction of gender knowledge and categorizations. Despite the interwovenness of interviewees knowledge reproduction, I also want to highlight my own involvement in the reproduction of knowledge. During the data analysis, I decided on related codes that resulted in the formulated categories. Although I tried to approach strong objectivity (Harding, 2015), which considers the researchers bias, my own involvement can never be completely removed. Hence, I determined the codes and memos and ended up in finding categories based on my own subjectivity. If someone else would have analyzed the data, probably other categories would have occurred, leading to different results. Nevertheless, by revealing the memos and codes, as well as the individual steps that led to the research results higher transparency should be created. The question on ethics and power is another important part in the research setting. Here the danger and exploitation in the research relationship always exists at the participants expense and in favor of the researcher. (Patai, 1991) Because at the end the researcher has the power to structure the research, choosing participants and interpret the data. These elements of inequality are inherent in the research relationship. Many argue that there is a notion of unequal power dynamics in the research relationship where the researcher holds most, if not all the power. Less attention is given to the ways participants are exercising power that change the perceived absoluteness of the researcher’s power in data collection, analysis, and interpretation. (Blee, 1998) Goffman therefore argues that the research interview can be seen as a social performance between researcher and researched participants, where a positive self-image is constructed and as a result leaves a manipulated impression on strangers. This occurs on both sides of the researcher and participants. (Goffman, 1959, pp. 10ff.) Accordingly, the knowledge production and research relationships are “socially situated” activities (Fonatana, Frey, 2008, p. 145) Hence, is the power between researcher and researched inscribed with multiple power dynamics which are not always visible but have a tremendous influence on data gathering and analysis. (Hoffmann, 2007, Deliovsky, 2017) Resulting, it is necessary to treat the data with “critical skepticism” and reflexivity because they are not free of bias. Following, I tried to make visible the social positioning of myself (as the researcher) and research participants in relation to processes of interpretation, representation, and knowledge production. Nevertheless, these are incomplete to understand and address the full complexity and interwovenness of power relations and would require separate research.

7. Evaluation results

In the previous chapter the methodology for my thesis was explained. Based on grounded theory, the evaluation procedure was applied to the interviews. The evaluation results are presented below. First, a description of the central categories, which have been developed analytically by the axial coding and which are relevant for the topic of the present work, are given. Starting with the category “gender training in development” interviewees perception and understanding of gender training from their point of view, including framework conditions, actors, reflections of implementation and impact are analyzed. Followed by the category “resistance in and towards gender training” the category “context matters” will be presented. Furthermore, axial coding has created the category “positionality of the trainer”. The key category “power relations and power dynamics” created by selective coding summarizes the categories found. Therefore, previous categories are again analyzed and correlated in relation to the key category.

7.1 Gender training in the development field

This category is about the individual perception of gender training from interviewees. This category is relevant, because it clarifies the interviewees definition of gender training and builds the foundation for the following categories. Therefore, four overarching areas of analysis were created to characterize the field of gender training. It shows how gender trainers are drawing on practices and definitions in their organizational and individual practice to make claims about the relevancy of power and intersectionality in practice. The individual areas of analysis are very closely related and partially overlap.

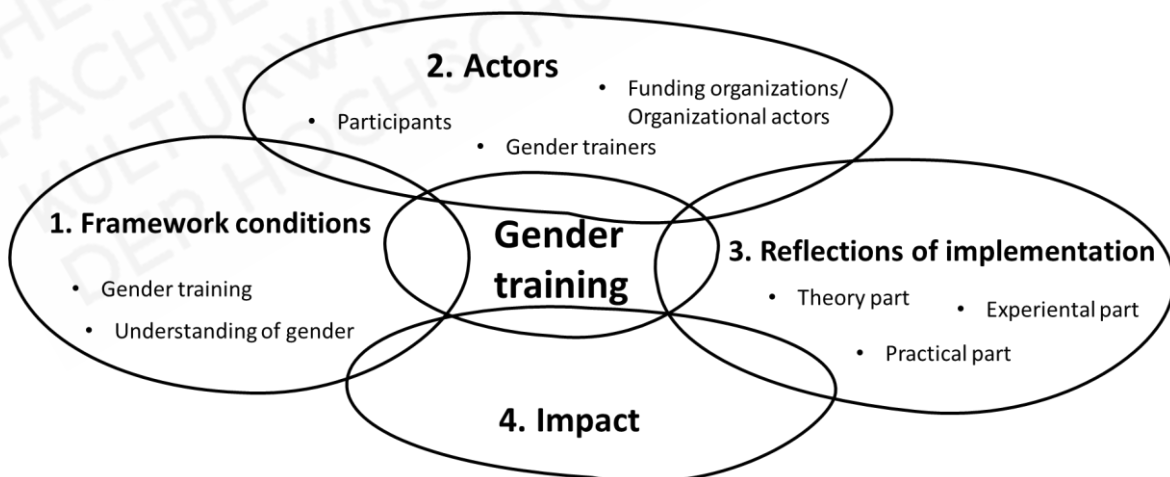


Figure 7: First Category: Gender training in the development field

7.1.1 Framework conditions

The frameworks of gender trainings differ in each situation and are usually planned in consultation between gender trainers, organizations, and participants. Trainers and commissioners mostly negotiate the framework conditions and goals of the training in a meeting or contract. The

composition of participants is therefore largely determined by the definition of the target group and thus mostly by commissioners. Hence, gender trainers are mostly requested to do a gender training in a very specific context. *„Also immer, wenn [...] dieses elende Gendermainstreaming beantwortet werden muss und man nicht weiß wie, dann sucht man sich [...] eine außerinstitutionelle Expertin.“* (P3: 00:49:50#) Experts are invited into a specific context to support participants in implementing and raising awareness of gender issues. *„Ich wurde angefragt von den sogenannten Genderdesks oder genderfokal People, die in Projekten bereits so ne Aufgabe hatten, dafür zu sorgen das Gender als Querschnittsthema berücksichtigt wird und die dann nicht wissen, wie sie weiterkommen und dann quasi mich gebeten haben als Beraterin dazu zu kommen.“* (P3: 00:49:50#) The framework conditions, content and goals of each training course are discussed and negotiated in the clarification assignment and in accordance with the requirements of the organizations and their objectives between gender trainers and the clients who request the training. The participants are therefore usually not involved in the decision-making process before the training, but during the training itself through participative and process-oriented designs, they have a significant influence on what happens during the training. This gives rise to a variety of framework conditions. Hence, the duration of gender training differs and ranges from one-day frameworks up to one week training settings or follow up trainings over a longer period. Interviewees stressed, that gender training would be just one element of a longer process, including follow up trainings. Accordingly, a single gender training would not have a major impact and is just one part of a bigger process. *„[...] wir gehen davon aus, dass das Lernen was Gender betrifft ein Prozess ist der [...] länger dauert. Und Gender Training wäre sozusagen insofern ein Bruchstein für einen größeren Prozess und nicht eine Maßnahme, die in sich sozusagen dann fertig ist. [...] Sondern dass es eben wirklich um Veränderungsprozesse geht, sowohl organisatorische, institutionelle, strukturelle als auch individuelle.“* (P4: #00:44:36#)

7.1.2 Actors

As shown already in the different positions and work environments of gender trainers (see table 2) the various organizations and individuals with several mandates, objectives, deliverables, or job descriptions can be seen that relate to gender training. There is not a clear separation between the various actors involved in the process and individuals and organizations are often taking a multiplicity of positions and duties as practitioners, donors, activists, network members and participants in the development policy. Even though certain groups of actors involved were identified. Those can be examined in gender trainers, participants, funding organizations/ organizational actors.

Gender trainers

As shown in the methodology part, gender trainers consist out of a diverse group and working contexts on different hierarchical levels. Hence, gender trainers are called as freelancer and external experts to a gender training. Another possibility is a permanent employment as a member of an organization, responsible for gender thematic areas. (P3: #00:15:42#; P1: #00:24:00#) Resulting, gender trainers have different areas of expertise and work for a wide range of institutions and clients, both nationally and internationally. Trainers interviewed had special knowledge and backgrounds in development cooperation, gender-related education and gender research. In addition, they were equipped with methodological competences in relation to adult education, gender diversity, women*s and gender studies. (P4: #00:18:57#) Especially, gender trainers who worked in different contexts and countries where additional equipped with the specific regional context knowledge. The trainers were often tasked with diverse responsibilities and the thematic area of gender is often combined with other development areas. (P5: #00:22:55#)

Participants

The participants who take part in gender trainings are diverse. On the one hand, a distinction can be made between people who are compulsorily obliged to participate in the trainings due to gender mainstreaming and those who participate voluntarily. (P3: #01:24:25#; P1: #01:25:54#; P2: #01:27:04#) Furthermore, there are different compositions in the trainings of the participants. Therefore, the trainers interviewed mentioned a wide variety of participant constellations. Hence, depending on the context and different levels of training, participants are coming from the community at grassroot level, from NGO's at organizational level, up to governmental representatives at the highest level. *„Und das ging von der Basis her, entweder ländliche Entwicklung, wo man direkt mit Bauern und Bäuerinnen redet bis hin zu Berufsschuldirektoren wie man da Geschlechtergerechtigkeit in der beruflichen Bildung quasi einführt bis hinzu irgendwelchen hochkalibrigen Dialogen, wo eben auch auf höchster Ebene dann der Genderansatz mitbedacht werden soll. Und je nachdem hast du eben auch andere Teilnehmende [...]“* (P3: #00:39:04#) Additionally the participants often have different levels of prior knowledge about the topic of gender, which is reflected and taken into account in the implementation and design of knowledge transfer in trainings. Thus, some trainings start at the bottom, where basic knowledge is imparted, up to trainings where specialized and more profound knowledge is provided, due to the already existing knowledge of participants.

Funding organizations/ organizational actors

Gender trainers often practice within a context of development organizations. Therefore, the organizations were seen as key actors, as they influence the practice of gender training through their mandate, structures, and organizational culture. Here the variety of organizations involved in

the implementation of gender policy especially NGO's, INGO's (international nongovernmental organizations) and governmental institutions were named, who influence the framework conditions and the implementation of gender trainings. Thus, most organizations are obliged to integrate gender into their practice, due to gender policies and consequently consult and request gender trainings to educate their staff. The government is another actor named by interviewees, even if just slightly mentioned. Hence, the government is putting mechanisms and policies like gender mainstreaming on the agenda and thus obliges institutions to integrate gender into their everyday practices. Accordingly, the government is putting the normative framework and standards through laws and policies, which effect gender training. *"We also have government, which is the ministry in charge of gender and family promotion, which also is an important actor in charge of assuring the polity, assuring assurance but also it provides finances."* (P6: #00:12:39#) This leads to the aspect of funding, whereby organizations and projects rely on the funding of donors. Through the normative policies, gender is getting to be a category of choosing projects and fitting training concepts for funding and further support on which organizations rely on.

7.1.3 Gender training

Accordingly, to the interviewees, there are no standards for the content or procedure of gender trainings and in this respect, the question of what a gender training is cannot be precisely answered, because of the variety of frameworks, target groups, objectives and understandings of gender from commissioners, organizations and gender trainers. Nevertheless, approaches and characteristics as well as goals and contents were mentioned that apply to gender trainings in general but are also modified or implemented in diverse forms depending on the context.

Two different types of training could be derived from the interviews. The first training type refers to technical and instrumental trainings, which are often requested by clients and organizations. Participants should be given tools that they can then implement in their everyday work, but without any profound change in behavior and consequently values and gender norms remain. This kind of training has often developed in the course of instrumentalization and led to gender being implemented in organizations as a kind of checklist. (P4: #01:45:22#) As part of this instrumentalization, gender indicators were defined for the individual projects, gender analyses were included in project evaluations, etc. However, this was all done on a bureaucratic and mechanical level without really changing the underlying structures. *„[...] Wir haben als Netzwerk mal einen Auftrag gekriegt für die Bundesministerien [...] dann so Trainings zu machen und es war so eine vertechnisierte, übertechnisierte Arbeitsinstrumente, einsatzentwickelnde Geschichte. Furchtbar. [Das war] wirklich auch zum Teil sinnentleert.“* (P2: #00:54:57#); *„Aber das das Ganze dann so stark bürokratisiert und mechanisiert worden ist, dass es nicht mehr zu einer wirklichen Auseinandersetzung und Reflektion von Machtverhältnissen geführt hat und in den Projekten dann*

auch nur noch ein technisches Tool war und gewesen ist.“ (P4: #01:45:22#) This type of training was highly criticized by the interviewees, who called for more political ambition and structural change. Therefore, the second type of training was described as transformative training, which aims to change hierarchical social gender relations and prevailing values, to question and dissolve gender constructions. (P6: #00:37:06#; P2: #00:54:57#; P4: #00:56:43#) This type of training would create opportunities for participants and organizations to challenge gender norms and to address power inequalities between persons of different genders and of different power inequalities and structures. The different orientation towards more structural, mechanical, or more transformative trainings depends on the demands on the market and on the professional and political positioning of gender trainers. Gender trainers described gender training mostly as an educational training with the aim of imparting gender competences to the participants. Those competences include elements of knowledge transfer, sensitization, and operational tools. The participants should, therefore, be given tools and solutions to be able to continue working with them. This includes also passing on knowledge, to develop manuals and policies to equip staff with gender competencies. „Also mein Wunsch ist [...], dass die Teilnehmenden auch sowas wie Instrumente an die Hand bekommen, mit denen sie dann ihren eigenen Arbeitsplatz gendermäßig aufpeppen können und dass sie quasi auch mit Handwerkszeug und Lösungen aus dem Seminar rausgehen und wissen, wie sie damit möglichst weitermachen können.“ (P3: #00:38:01#) In the trainings, participants learn, which strategies can be used to realize gender policy and which instruments and methods are available for the individual purpose. In addition, gender trainings can also be sensitization workshops in which one learns and trains to recognize and critically reflect on one’s own, often unconscious gender roles and stereotypes. By reflecting one’s own attitude and behaviors, it is possible to initiate changes or to give impulses. This should be done in terms of the personal private sphere as well in terms of the professional sphere, the field of work and in terms of organizational action and communication in the team. The aim of gender training is therefore to reflect on one’s own attitude regarding gender relations, but not only in a pure form, but also regarding the interconnection with other power relations or categories. „[...] ein Gender Training hat zum Ziel [...] die eigene Haltung zu reflektieren mit Blick auf die Geschlechterverhältnisse aber [...] eben auch in Hinblick auf die Verschränkung mit anderen Herrschaftsverhältnissen oder Kategorien.“ (P2: #00:36:42#) Additionally gender trainings should look at complex structures, whereby gender is just one structural category of discrimination despite many others and should oppose simplistic essentialist approaches. „Gender Training ist kein Training darüber wie Männer sind und wie Frauen sind und wie sich das Verhältnis zwischen Männern und Frauen verändern soll. Sondern es geht um das Geschlecht als eine Kategorie der strukturellen Diskriminierung. Und [...], dass es um mehr geht als nur um das Verhältnis zwischen Männern und Frauen. Und dass eine strukturelle Analysedimension da eine Rolle spielt.“ (P4, #00:44:36#)

7.1.4 Understanding of gender

The understanding of the term “gender” from trainers is important, to understand their perception for the following analysis. The trainers understanding of gender was quite vague, but there were several points of commonsense which got addressed. Accordingly, interviewees attention was drawn to the distinction between sex and gender. *“[...] we [...] always differentiate gender and sex [...]. For us when we talk about gender we mean the social constructions, the roles and the responsibilities, the perceptions about men and women and also other genders.”* (P6: #00:10:29#) Accordingly gender was ascribed as a social construction. Additionally, the deconstructive debate was highlighted to represent also “sex” not as a seemingly fixed biological category and instead was marked by it’s social constructed and attributed character. *„[...] dass wir es eben mit ner sozialen Zuschreibung zu tun haben [...] und nicht mit einer quasi „Natürlichkeit“. Und dann weitergeführt mit der dekonstruktivistischen Debatte wo eben auch dieses Sex dieses scheinbar biologische oder das scheinbar festgelegte biologische Geschlecht eben auch sozial konstruiert ist und zugeschrieben ist.“* (P2: #01:00:09#) The interviewees addressed additionally the critique of the binarity of gender into man* and women* and the need to deconstruct gender, while addressing the variety of different diverse genders. Therefore, they named trans* and inter*people, even if it was often only named as an extra. Another important aspect was the changing character and understanding of gender depending on the contextual context. *“Gender is dynamic, gender changes with time and society, gender is about human rights and gender is about development and it changes with time and society.”* (P6: #00:10:29#) Hence, the construction of gender reflects the social, political realities of different cultures, from which they are drawn and thus differ from geographical location and society. Accordingly, each training is individually designed and adapted to the respective situation, to the type and composition of the respective group, group size, time frame and the strategic goal of the commissioning institution and their understanding of gender.

7.1.5 Reflections of implementation and practice

Regarding the trainings, different methods and approaches were presented by trainers in terms of what a training looks like in practice or how these are dealt with in the different contexts. This varied depending on the trainer and the training context, scope, frameworks, and participants. Nevertheless, central, and common approaches and similarities could be recognized. Accordingly, most of the trainings had a mixture of theoretical parts in combination with practical and experiential parts. Therefore, interactive methods were mixed with knowledge-based and experience-based parts.

Theory part

Most trainings would have a theoretical part at the beginning of the training to introduce the topic and to formulate a basic understanding of gender, especially if required by commissioners. Here

the theory part is sometimes based on a specific manual or toolkit and can vary from trainers and organizations. In the theory part, some trainers gave a historical overview of the women*s movement as a starting point, as well as the different tendencies in the course of history and development field. Others presented the milestones from solely women*oriented approaches to gender approaches in order to give an overview of the different development steps in the field of development cooperation. *“also mein Überblick sieht eigentlich immer ganz schlicht aus. Ich fange mit der ersten Frauenbewegung der Suffragetten kurz an dann mach ich weiter 75 Mexiko, 85 Nairobi, 95 Peking dann Peking +10 und die letzte Kolumne für mich ist dann die SDG’s. Und ich versuche dann quasi immer in den 10 Jahren so die Hauptentwicklungsschritte in der Praxis [...] darzustellen. Aber ohne, dass ich jetzt auf bestimmte Autoren oder richtige theoretische Hintergründe eingehe.”* (P3#01:06:37#) Another trainer referred to statistical figures of representation in different social spheres as eyeopeners for participants. (P1: #01:04:35#) Depending on the demands of commissioners more or less theoretical input would get included into the training. Here the trainers particularly mentioned that the sole success of a training cannot be the knowledge about gender concepts and the historical embedding, which would mean to equip participants just with tools, definitions and theories. Instead, a more personal shift of thinking would be needed to stimulate participants and to support gender equality and change. (P2: #01:10:56#) Accordingly, the trainings were retained regarding the participants knowledge and background and regarding the training context.

Practical part

A much more important aspect that has a more lasting effect and was considered essential by trainers is the practical part. Therefore, trainers are focusing more on practical examples from participants rather than engaging with gender theories. Therefore, pedagogical principles were used to approach participants through music, energizers, role play, and other exercises to provoke critical reflection, discussions, and debates. (P6: #00:37:06#; P4: #01:15:04#) The trainers often stated that they worked with gender stereotypes to introduce the topic, so that participants would become aware of their gender stereotypes and to break them down in a next step. (P2: #01:27:04#) Therefore, they worked for example with proverbs that are often full of gender stereotypes. These were then critically questioned and discussed in the group and often served as an ice breaker for diving deeper in the topic. (P5: #01:19:09#) Another example was the presentation of stereotypical questions or statements to which the participants were asked to respond. (P6: #00:37:06#) In addition to the potential of the exercises as a means of reflecting on one's own entrenched thought patterns, the danger of stereotyped exercises was also mentioned. Hence, through repeating stereotypes, the risk of potentially “reinforcing” a simplistic track can be dangerous. *„[...] bei fast allen Übungen, die auch mit Stereotypen zu tun haben und die immer potenziell gefährlich sind, weil man in so eine vereinfachungsschiene hineinrutschen kann, können*

aber auch gut genutzt werden durch ne geleitetet Reflexion, um eben genau auch diese verschieblichen Faktoren deutlich zu machen." (P4: #01:15:04#) For this reason, guided reflections would be necessary, when working with stereotypes, as well as sufficient time to devote and to break down stereotyped gender attributions and to deal with them.

Experiential Part

In all training contexts it was central to work especially with the lived experience of participants and to include experience-based parts in the training, while emphasizing on the everyday relevance of gender for participants. (P3: #01:24:25#) Through self reflective exercises and the sharing of individual experiences, the needs of participants were picked up and identified. Through individual and group exercises, participants shared, discussed, and exchanged their lived experience regarding gender and also other interwoven categories within the topic. (P4: #01:15:04#) The exchange was described as an empowering process for participants, which ended in fruitful outcomes of understanding and change. The active participation and interactive collaboration between participants and trainers, while engaging with each other and critically reflecting on topics lead to a learning process for all actors involved. Here the aspect of mutual learning was highlighted: *„Und im besten Fall ist es ja dann auch nochmal so ein gemeinsames Entwickeln. Also [...], ich nehme auch echt jedes Mal für mich selbst etwas mit.*" (P1: #01:50:54#) Therefore, the building of relationships between participants and trainers was important in terms of trust and openness.

7.1.6 Impact

The impact and outcomes of gender trainings are difficult to measure, and the following impacts are based on interviewees personal impression. Especially the effects of one-day trainings were described as not being explicit measurable in regard of their long-term efficiency. On the other side processes which are accompanied by trainers over a long term would lead to noticeable results. *„[...] immer da wo die Trainings nicht allein gestanden haben, sondern eingebettet waren in Prozesse der Umsetzung nach den Trainings in den Organisationen hat sich in den Organisationen nachhaltig etwas geändert.*" (P4: #01:45:22#) Changes could be first identified on a personal, individual level of participants. Those emerge from the immediate reaction of participants to the training. These were reflected in terms of knowledge, skills, and awareness about gender related topics. (P2: #01:39:08#) Furthermore, changes were reflected in the behavior and attitudes of the participants. Also including the sensitivity and understanding to life situations of diverse genders or the situation of certain origin and cultural groups increased. The rethinking of stereotypical gender attributions and responsibilities was named additionally as an immediate result of trainings. *„Ich geh davon aus und wenn du Übungen machst, wo die selber an ihren eigenen Erfahrungen sind, sich dann an der eigenen Haltung und ihrer eigenen Wahrnehmung etwas ändert, dass das einfach bleibt. [...] nämlich, wenn sie mal über solche Fragen reden können, da verändert sich glaub ich wirklich auch*

nachhaltig was.“ (P1: #01:43:25#) Measurable changes resulted also in the working practice of participants. Those can be seen as indicators where participants apply the learnings from gender trainings in practice within their organization and everyday life. The changed perception of participants led then to organizational changes. These could be shown for example through the new implementation of a broader range of programs and activities. In this context, P2 gave an example of an organization that expanded its projects to include services for queer youth as a result of the gender training, which led to an intensive engagement with gender diversity. (P2: #01:39:08#) Changes and impact were also described on a higher level, where gender aspects got included on structural level and policies. These long-term impacts are related to the implementation and promotion of gender equality in society. Relating to this, P3 gave an example where she accompanied staff of a forest protection project in Indonesia in form of gender trainings over a period of four years. In cooperation with NGO's and governmental organizations the impact of trainings resulted in gender aspects being included in the regulations of the governmental provincial level in the annual planning. (P3: #01:42:20#) Accordingly, in this case the gender trainings resulted in gender being taken seriously on a higher level and led to better informed policies and decision-making processes. In general, there was consensus that gender trainings could make a difference, especially if implemented in long term processes. This would lead in a first step to individual changes and could result in long term organizational and structural changes.

7.2 Resistance in and towards gender training

The trainers stated that resistance to and in gender training comes in many different forms. Therefore, it would be important to understand why, how and from whom the resistance comes to deal with resistance and problems and to take them as positive indications from which transformation and change can emerge. In doing so, the resistance in gender trainings offers clues to social blockages and obstacles in relation to gender equality. The next category describes therefore the challenges and limitations of gender training mainly under the aspect of resistance as a “power move” while analyzing the dynamics of backlashes and resistance on two different levels which could be identified: That of “individual resistance” and “institutional resistance”. Here, individual and institutional resistance can take shape separately but can also operate on both levels simultaneously in practice.

7.2.1 Individual resistance

Resistance from participants

The resistance which appeared on individual level was mostly identified as the ones of training participants. The main forms of participants resistance that were found are the “resistance against change and transformation”, “resistance against the trainer/training” and “resistance against gender theory”. Starting with the resistance against change and transformation, gender trainers

encounter that participants would often minimize the importance of gender. The trainers stated that there was often resistance to change and transformation, due to existing gender stereotypes and in maintaining the status quo. This appears in situations where resisting participants deny the importance of gender or refuse to take on responsibility. The resistance to change often lay in entrenched traditional gender roles and attributions as well as patriarchal structures. Therefore, gender trainings would face resistance from *“especially men and women who don’t want to get out of their gender box and who don’t want to change their social norms”* (P6: #00:31:35#) This often results in refusal by disrupting the training, ignoring the content through other activities, not participating, or even blocking the entire training setting. *“Und da kenne ich auch die Situationen, dass eine Führungskraft Zeitung gelesen hat [...]”* (P2: #00:28:15#) With regard to resistance to the trainer, the main issue was the recognition and credibility of the trainer and her/his/it’s position. This was felt to be particularly difficult in connection with people who were obliged to trainings, which often-included people in high positions, managers and government representatives. (P5: #01:22:28#) Additionally, resistance was coming from critical feminists who questioned gender theories and knowledge in the training. Therefore, gender trainers would take a difficult role as the participants are often suspicious, judgmental, and skeptical before the beginning of the training. Depending on the context, whether trainings were voluntary or mandatory the resistance changed. Training contexts where participants attended voluntarily were mostly facing less resistance in contrary to mandatory trainings where resistance often occurred on a larger scale. Especially when people were compulsorily obliged to trainings, gender trainers described situations where participants would read newspaper during the training, checked their phones and computers, did not participate in discussions, disturbed with irritating questions, and actively blocked the training. *“Die haben das Training total blockiert, dass ich mit dem Kollegen durchgeführt hab. Egal was wir gemacht haben [...], um einfach deutlich zu machen „hey wir haben das jetzt gerade nicht gewählt und wir haben wichtigeres zu tun.“* (P2: #01:27:04#) This indicates that participants consider gender not as a necessary issue that needs attention, which was described in several attitudes by interviewees, where participants showed their lack of interest in the topic.

On another side trainers described the feeling of not been taken seriously in the training context. The lack of credibility and respect was described especially when working with high managers, and governments as well as feminists. *„Also das eine sind gestandene Feministinnen, die alles besser wussten als ich. Also es sind nicht immer nur Widerstände von Patriarchen oder Machos oder so. Sondern selbst einfach sehr erfahrene Frauen in diesem Bereich, die dann bei jeder Übung immer schon gleich was gefunden haben was ich falsch gesagt habe oder was ich so gesagt habe wie sie das meinten und immer so ganz stark bewertet haben. Also, das fand ich super schwierig.“* (P4: #01:31:23#) In addition, resistance to the concept of gender training as a western concept was mentioned, especially in the context of development cooperation when trainings are organized in

the global South. In particular feminists from the global North criticize the knowledge of gender as a western concept which is partly perceived as a cultural imposition, where gender trainers act as a part of an executive force and put issues like gender on the agenda. (P4: #02:05:31#); (P3: #02:04:50#) Another aspect of resistance could be found in gender theory in relation to the deconstruction of gender as well as in relation to binarity. Here different views and positions of participants were identified. On the one hand, there could be found the resistance to queer, trans* and inter* movements as something that is not known and rejected to maintain the status quo in relation to heteronormativity and homosexuality. On the other hand, there was also criticism of the often implied binarity of gender into man* and woman* in trainings. (P2: #01:27: 04#) In general, it was described that participants often assume that trainers have their own fixed ideologies and standards and prescribe what is right and wrong to participants. „[...] *die meisten Leute, die mit nem Widerstand kommen die gehen davon aus, dass ich mit einer Ideologie komme, die fest steht und die ich ihnen beibringen will [...] Und das kann in alle möglichen Richtungen gehen aus allen möglichen Ecken kommen und ich glaube, dass dieser Widerstand, dieser Widerstand ist gewissermaßen ja sogar berechtigt, ja. Also den hätte ich, auch wenn ich in einem Training säße und da käme jemand mit irgendeiner ideologischen Brille und würde mir versuchen die aufzustecken.*“ (P4: #01:31:23#)

Resistance from gender trainers

The resistance coming from trainers was not explicitly mentioned by the interviewees. Nevertheless, resistance was also found here, especially regarding the discussion with organizations and commissioning institutions concerning the framework conditions. In the negotiation talks about the composition of trainings and their content. (P3: #00:52:54#) Trainers expressed resistance, when a training was not planned efficiently and appropriately from their point of view, or when the content did not correspond to their own political and ethical values. Thus, for example, resistance to technical and bureaucratic training was expressed in the confrontation with the commissioners. This resistance may take the form of political discourse where ideas and goals that move away from the goal of promoting gender equality are getting criticized by the standpoints of gender trainers. „*Die Spannung zwischen unserem politischen Anspruch sag ich jetzt mal einerseits und eben den Rahmenbedingungen in denen wir jeweils unterwegs sind. Aber ich glaube keine von uns hat mal an irgendeinem Punkt mal gesagt ich gebe jetzt auf und ich gebe jetzt diese Spannung auf und mach jetzt mal so nen Technik Gender Training oder so. Sondern [...] ich glaube es hat auch einfach etwas mit der Werte Positionierung zu tun [...]. Also, dass es uns nicht darum geht, irgendwelche Management Aufhübschungen zu machen, sondern wirklich darum geht die Fragen von gesellschaftlicher Ungerechtigkeit in den Mittelpunkt zu stellen.*“ (P4: #00:56:43#)

7.2.2 Institutional resistance

Resistance was also identified on the institutional level. This included the negotiation process with employers or commissioners of NGO's and Governmental Organizations. Depending on how the commissioners consider the importance of gender, more or less budget, funding and resources were made available, which has an impact on the implementation in terms of length and sustainability of training content. (P1: #00:43:04#) Here especially the resistance from actors with high ranks or power in organizations can hence develop into institutional resistance through passivity towards the status quo and through non prioritization in issuing and funding of gender related education and staff. *“When we are dealing with organizations, you are dealing also with different organizational cultures [...] And we are dealing with different behaviors from intellectuals who are gender biased, who are not gender sensitive who don't have the culture of inclusion. So, all that are challenges at organizational level.”* (P6: #00:35:27#) Hence, institutional resistance can occur on several levels, in terms of budget of funding, time and organizational culture, and interests of organizational leadership in relation to gender and change. The organizational culture plays a particularly important role here whereby the political will would be crucial. The political will of an organization determines whether it actively promotes changes in the organizational culture that is gendered or if it only implements the measures due to compulsory obligations without tackling gender issues in depth. This leads to gender trainers being particularly involved and important in the negotiation processes. (P1: #01:58:33#) Interviewees also highlighted the cultural structures in institutions as resistance factors. Organizations with religious backgrounds, such as the catholic church were mentioned, who would have difficulties to talk and include gender into their organizations. In one example given, a trainer conducted gender trainings in catholic structures for bishops and priests and was faced with old structures and thought patterns. *“Oft war es [...] einfach so ne Art Ignoranz oder ne Angst: „Wir kennen uns da nicht so aus“ und das [ist] „so ne Sprache, die wir nicht so kennen“ als katholische Kirche.”* (P5: #01:22:28#) Accordingly resistance to the unknown, or the persistence to old thought patterns lead to resistance towards gender training. Trainers referred to the dominance of norms in organizations and the way the organizations are even perpetuating gender inequalities. Hence, gender inequalities in organizational contexts would reflect the broader cultural and structural inequalities of society. This was leading to the conclusion that gender is often not perceived as something important in the organizational context, which impacts the way how organizations distribute to resources. (P2: #01:00:09#)

7.3 Context matters

The contexts, in which gender trainers are operating are diverse. Interviewed gender trainers worked on behalf of organizations, institutions associations and federations, occasionally even commissioned by individuals. Additionally, they worked all over the globe in regional areas of

Europe, Afrika, Asia, etc., in the education sector, in administration, churches, in the social work field and development cooperation on national and international levels. Here interviewees named a wide variety of fields, places and context-settings for the application of gender trainings and consultations. Therefore, gender trainings are purchased in different contexts and on different levels including micro- meso- and macrolevel. Hence, organizations and experts are trained and sensitized to gender issues, who work as local organizations in the respective country at the national level. Gender trainers also provided trainings for organizations and experts abroad and at the international level. In addition, gender trainings, are requested by governmental organizations and organizations in development cooperation to train their outgoing staff as well as internal staff. Interviewees also mentioned situations where trainings are given to people in the field and to the civil society, who are part of a project in development cooperation. Another possibility is “train the trainer programs”, where other gender trainers are trained to conduct and develop their own trainings. *„Ich werde ja zu den Gender Trainings in den ganz konkreten Kontext eingeladen. Das heißt da gibt es schon ein bestehendes Projekt und es gibt Mitarbeitende und es gibt ne Fragestellung. Und für mich ist es ganz wichtig, dass vorher zu verstehen, um im Grunde dann an den Fragestellungen dieses Projektes ansetzen zu können.“* (P3: #00:38:01#) Thus each context has its own requirements and demands to gender training. Gender trainers mentioned here the importance of tailored gender trainings regarding the professional, social and cultural context where the training is conducted. Therefore, it needs to consider the needs and diverse backgrounds of participants.

Here gender trainers referred especially to an intersectional perspective, which considers differentiations such as cultural affiliation, age, disability, sexual orientation, and identity as well as social origin as important and interwoven within particular contexts. Gender trainer’s understanding of intersectionality was mainly described as a way of looking at the interwovenness of different categories and personal situatedness at the same time. Several discrimination contexts were named despite gender, which influence each individual. Trainer P6, defined intersectionality as follows: *“Well for me [...] intersectionality [...] is [...] the way in which multiple forms of discrimination based on gender, race, sexuality, disability, class and so on and so forth overlap and interact with one another to shape how different individuals, groups, ethnicities experience discrimination.”* (P6: #00:43:33#) Accordingly in practice, trainers attempt to balance the considerations of cultural specificizes with the international understanding of gender equality. Hence, P4 described situations in South Asia, where the cultural specificize of “cast” is playing an important role and trainings would need to be designed accordingly. *„Weil das einfach eine Region ist, in der Welt, in der es ganz andere entscheidende Diskriminierungsfaktoren gibt, nämlich Kaste und Klasse. Die so eine große Rolle spielen, in der Gesellschaft, dass in Südasien Gender Trainings sich in der Regel immer mit mehr Diskriminierungszusammenhängen beschäftigen als nur mit*

Gender. Und das finde ich sehr wichtig und notwendig, weil man sich sonst auch total verstricken kann. Wenn die sozusagen, wenn du nicht intersektional denkst und weil es einen befreit von diesem klassischen Frau Mann.“ (P4: #00:44:36#) For this reason, the intersectional view of trainers was particularly emphasized to address needs and differences as well as commonalities in different contexts. The demand on trainings is thus to include and to understand the respective context. These can be social, sectoral, and political contexts that depend on regions and cultural structures. Accordingly, the tools, methods and approaches would need to be tailored to the areas of participants to facilitate transformation and individual commitment to contribute to individual, organizational, and structural change. *„Ich [musste] mich natürlich auch sehr stark mit teilweise katholischen Strukturen auseinandersetzen. Manchmal waren auch sogar Bischöfe oder Priester dabei dann war das eben auch immer alles sehr ein sehr vorsichtiges Herantasten an das Thema teilweise.“ (P5: #01:02:44#)* Depending on the context, the implementation of training requires an understanding of the needs and starting points of the participants to address issues such as gender. Trainers have diverse strategies for approaching sensitive subjects, informed by their understanding of the respective context. For example, P5 described the need to use the right language to reach participants in certain contexts. *„und das hat mir dann oft weitergeholfen mit diesen Situationen besser umgehen zu können. Weil ich eine Sprache angeboten habe, die mögliche Widerstände dann weggedrückt hat.“ (P5: #01:22:28#)* Resulting the question of a particular context was named important regarding framework settings, imparting knowledge and gender competencies and creating accessibility for participants. *„Das ist glaub ich für mich die Hauptfrage. Für wen ist das Training, wo ist das Training, wie viele Leute sind da und auf was für einer Ebene steigt man ein. Welche Leute sind da drin, ist man eben zusammen mit Leuten, die vom gleichen Background kommen oder [nicht]. Da hast du dann auch wieder Macht und Machtstrukturen am Gange.“ (P5: #00:40:26#)* Thus, trainers are confronted with a variety of tasks and need flexibility to meet the specific considerations of the contextual and cultural environments, to design and implement tailor-made trainings.

7.4 Positionality of the trainer

In gender training several actors are involved, all who have their own positionalities. This chapter explores specifically the positionality of interviewed gender trainers to show their entanglement and interwovenness in power structures through an intersectional lens. Accordingly, only mentioned power dimensions regarding the situatedness mentioned by interviewees are presented. Therefore, it discusses how positionalities impact the practice of gender trainings and explores ways in which those can be addressed in the training.

The changing and shifting power dynamics and feelings of having or not having power was a recurring theme during the interviews, based on the positionality of the trainer. Hence, the position

of the trainer was a key point raised especially in relation to power and intersectionality. In the training context it was seen that each gender trainer was bringing their own understanding of gender and training content, which was developed through their own experiences as individuals, education, and cultural background. In addition to one's own understanding of identity, participants, and other involved actors in and around the training would make assumptions about the trainer's identity that effect how participants receive the information transmitted in the training, but also how trainers are seen as legitimate by the target group. The position of gender trainers in terms of their recruitment in organizations had a lot to do with the perceived power in the realization and implementation of gender training. Trainers felt powerful especially in situations where they themselves had power over decisions and implementation procedures. This was mostly due to their position in the organization and in relation to the participants in the training. Therefore, the trainers were able to put content and topics on the agenda that they considered essential. *„Als Genderofficer hatte ich durchaus, in den Projekten in Somalia und in Sambia mitzubestimmen wie der Gang des Projektes war und welche Richtung auch das auf Frauen nimmt. Aber seitdem ich dann Gutachterin und Moderatorin war, da konnte ich im Grunde nur immer Kluge Vorschläge machen und die Dinge meinetwegen analysieren und zu Empfehlungen kommen, aber ob diese Empfehlungen angenommen wurden, da hatte ich gar nix mehr mitzureden.“* (P3: #00:15:42#)

Another aspect mentioned was the reputation and power of trainers who were invited as external experts in a context to the global South. Accordingly, as European, *white* trainers, they received more attention than the trainers in the respective country of origin. Thus, P4 mentioned the difficulty of teaching as a *white*, German gender trainer in the global South where race and a colonial dimension are influencing the positioning of trainers. This also includes the differential perception and acceptance of *white* trainers by participants in the context of north and south cooperation. *„Ich ermögliche Trainings die Süd-Süd Trainings sind, wo also Leute aus demselben Land jetzt Trainings in Bangladesch machen für ihre Kolleginnen und Kollegen und trotzdem wollen die immer das ich am Anfang was sage und immer, wenn ich was sage, dann sind alle ganz still und hören mir zu und dann wird das nicht kommentiert was ich gesagt habe oder kritisiert während die Anderen durchaus darüber reden und ich komme immer in so eine Position in die ich gar nicht will.“* (P4: #01:53:05#) This shows the *white* privileged position, which results in having power in form of getting authority, respect, and attention on the base of *whiteness*. Resulting, foreign/ international gender trainers were perceived as superior to local gender trainers.

The interviewees also mentioned the education and training of local trainers. Those called “train the trainer” programs provide gender trainers in organizations, unions and institutions with knowledge skills and resources to design, coordinate and facilitate their own gender education trainings. Interviewed German trainers referred to the trainings of local professionals, who would be trained by international gender trainers. Here, a central power imbalance arises regarding

experts and their local location. „[...] *ich habe immer eigentlich versucht meine Counterpartnerinnen zu befähigen, dass die die Moderation gemacht haben. Aber wie du es auch sagtest, ich habe schon am Anfang quasi die Sache eröffnet und damit auch eine Art Ernsthaftigkeit oder auch Unterstützung für diese Frau oder den Mann, es waren ja auch gemischte Paare, ganz klar in die Waagschale geworfen und das wurde dann natürlich respektiert das stimmt. Aber mein Ansehen war eigentlich immer die lokalen Partner mit allen Tipps und Tricks, die ich nur mitgeben konnte zu befähigen, dass die sich von den Teilnehmern nicht haben quasi blöde behandeln zu lassen, sondern souverän waren.*“ (P3: #01:54:21#) This constellation shows that the knowledge of gender experts from the global North are often validated more, as it seems like gender trainers from the global South need first to be taught from trainers in the global North and would need their support. This demonstrates how training content, and context are interlinked with post-colonial politics and race issues in the development field.

Furthermore, the age of trainers was named as a central category. It seemed that especially younger trainers who were or at least looked like they were not yet so experienced, had to struggle with more resistance and were sometimes not accepted or acknowledged by the participants. „*Ich weiß noch ich bin aus einem Training rausgegangen und da war ich wirklich super fertig, weil das alles so aus meinem Gefühl schief gegangen war. [...] und dann habe ich mich ausgehult bei einer sehr erfahrenen indischen Trainerin, mit der wir hinterher so eine Feedbackrunde gemacht haben. Und die hat gesagt: Na sie mal zu, dass du bald graue Haare kriegst, dann hören die Anderen dir auch zu, du bist einfach noch zu jung. [...] Aber so diese Souveränität, die mit der Erfahrung kommt, ne, vielleicht geht es gar nicht ums Alter, sondern so die Souveränität, die hilft einem natürlich schon enorm.*“ (P4: #01:31:23#)

Furthermore, the gender trainers interviewed made clear that they conduct their gender trainings with a personal intention and a specific political interest, which is applied through their concepts and approaches. Therefore, specific approaches were mentioned that would be used in the trainings (e.g. intersectional approaches, human rights-based approaches, do no harm principles or gender transformative approaches). It became clear that gender trainers conceive their trainings with certain basic attitudes, values, and norms, based on their own positionality. However, it also became clear that there is always a tension between one's own political aspiration on the one hand and the framework conditions under which trainings take place on the other. „*Also ich glaube das ist auch etwas wo wir als Netzwerk uns auch gefunden haben und wir uns als Netzwerk ja auch positioniert haben. [...] Also diese Frage von wie gelingt es uns eben ein transformatives Genderverständnis wirklich auch in den Trainings durchzuziehen und wie schaffen wir es in Trainings intersektional zu arbeiten. So das sind Themen, die sind eigentlich fast immer in der einen oder anderen Form auf der Agenda, weil es natürlich auch ne Spannung ist. Die Spannung zwischen unserem politischen Anspruch sag ich jetzt mal einerseits und eben den Rahmenbedingungen in*

denen wir jeweils unterwegs sind.“ (P4: #00:56:43#) In order to reveal their own positioning, which is automatically applied in the conception of the gender training during the preparation, but also in the implementation due to their own situatedness, the trainers named transparency as a central point. „Aber für mich gehört das auch dazu das ich damit auch ein politisches Interesse verbinde, dass ich aber nicht mir vorne an die Stirn hängen muss. Ja, sondern das geht gar nicht anders. Ich habe ein bestimmtes Konzept, einen bestimmten Ansatz wie ich da reingehen will und es ist relativ egal ob dass dann die Führungskräfte sind oder ob das irgendwelche andere Mitarbeiterinnen sind. Da mach ich keinen Unterschied da bekenn ich mich aber auch zu. Das find ich ist auch wichtig für die Transparenz. Das muss nicht jeder so ansehen, aber ich sag aus welchen Motiven heraus. Ich mach das oft auch schon so persönlich, dass ich sag was mich daran bewegt.“ (P2: #00:54:57#) The disclosure of one’s own political aspiration, motivation and positionality could then led to employed reflexivity to mitigate against hierarchies of power and privilege between trainers and participants. The transparency was seen as the first important step to respond to power inequalities in the training context, while trainers are opening up and addressing their own biases, motivations and positionalities. The critical consciousness of trainers was seen as necessary to open spaces for dialog. The multiple and often interwoven identities of gender trainers lead to experience of subordination and privilege simultaneously. This shows the interconnectedness of different factors in which gender trainers are privileged in relation to certain situations and positions and thus have advantages, power and recognition, and how other positions can have a harmful effect and end in powerlessness and ignorance. This is particularly evident in the diversity of gender trainers and their different positionings. Accordingly, trainers described clearly, how the trainers' own position and their situatedness have an impact on trainings in terms of content and practice, where transparency about power inequalities would be inevitable. The trainer’s positionality, subjectively and locatedness helps here to understand how everyone is implicated in processes of power, where some benefit and some are disadvantaged depending on the situation and context.

7.5 Power relations/ power dimensions

Through selective coding the key category “power relations” has emerged. In the following, all previous explained categories are summarized and reanalyzed regarding the key category and correlated with each other to answer the question of this thesis in the following chapter.

As seen many actors are involved in the gender training process. Therefore, many different power constellations occur on multiple levels which will be separated in power dynamics outside of the training regarding framework setting on a structural basis and power dynamics based on an interpersonal level inside the actual training situation. Accordingly, this category will summarize the power relations and dynamics which interviewees described as central. The term power was used in several ways inside the interviewees with no clear-cut definition and understanding.

Instead, gender trainers described the fluency and shifting potential of power dynamics. Sometimes the focus was more on structural power and sometimes more on the potential of power referring to agency and empowerment. (P4: #00:56:43#; P3: #00:52:54#; P5: #00:40:26#; P2: #00:28:15#; P1: #00:26:20#; P6: #00:23:42#) P6 referred in his understanding particular to the four expressions of power: *“We have a definition of power as something which is positive and which is used by everyone in life and we have four types of power including power over, power within, power with and power to. So, four types of power. And the power within, the power to and the power with, is always taken as positive, while the power over is negative power which is the source of discrimination, which is the course or source of violence which is the course of inequalities. And then we challenge that power over by changing the behaviors and perceptions and attitudes of our target groups.”* (P6: #00:21:10#) Accordingly Interviews described power in a range of ways, while referring to positive forms and negative forms of power.

7.5.1 Power dynamics outside of the training

The external framework conditions and acquisition talks were named in particular when looking at the power dynamics and structures outside of the training situation. (P1: #00:43:04#) Here power appears and is inherent in different ways and forms, where power inequalities and injustices are a central issue and cannot be avoided. Especially the influence of commissioners and funding organizations was very highly valued and problematized. Hence, the objectives of gender trainings would be often determined and implicit derived from the ideas of commissioners and funding organizations. Those would be mostly implemented with an emphasis on a specific aspect of gender intervention (gender-based violence, women*s economic empowerment, political leadership, etc). (P6: #00:06:34#) Therefore, the relationship between donors and organizations and in a second step between organizations who commission gender training and gender trainers is very dynamic and mentioned as problematic. The question of power is often present, but not in such a way that it is always so clearly named and recognized from the beginning. (P2: #00:28:15#) Hence, gender trainers and organizations often depend on the funding of international development donors and government institutions. The relationship between donor organizations and gender practice in different contexts is resulting loaded with power dynamics. Power in the relationship is often in the hands of donor organizations, who determine how the gender intervention looks like and thus how the objectives and gender trainings are carried out. Therefore, donors influence organizational priorities and implementation practices. *“[...] we live depending on donations from different donors. So, donors are having power over us.”* (P6: #00:27:57#) Despite the power from commissioners or funding organization also the power from NGO’s and gender trainers were mentioned. Here the active role and capacity of practitioners was mentioned, who can resist the requirements of funding organizations. But also, the active role which gender trainers are having as they are implementing

the trainings and can thus make claims in the negotiation process about frameworks and content of trainings. (P4: #00:44:36#) Hence, donor organizations also rely on the trainers to implement their gender requirements in practice. Despite the inherent power of each actor regarding the outside framework, there can often still be seen a power imbalance because gender trainers rely also on assignments to generate their income. This often results in the situation that trainers or organizations are caught between the dependence on funding and their own political demands to carry out trainings. (P4: #00:56:43#) To prevent the abuse of power, ethical principles and standards for joint cooperation are often laid down in a contract during negotiations. *“Well, we are dealing with this through respecting our internal standards or procedures but also each donor’s ethics, ethical considerations. And we make sure that we for example sign a memorandum of understanding which defines our collaborations and partnerships. And to avoid that power over, we make sure that our terms of collaborations are clear enough and are respected.”* (P6: #00:30:38#) In addition, NGO’s and trainers would also have power over participants, as they often do not participate in the negotiations and are not involved in the framework conditions. *“[...] we as an NGO, we have power over our beneficiaries, that is another reality. And its all about power dynamics in every aspect of our life.”* (P6: #00:27:57#) Therefore, organizations and trainers also determine which topics are considered relevant and how they are implemented, as well as which people get the opportunity to participate in the trainings. Another point mentioned was the power of the government. According to this, the government gives regulations and policies that already set certain priorities regarding gender. Here, specific aspects and accents were named in relation to the promotion of gender policies, which effect and influence the focus of projects and trainings. (P4: #00:50:34#) In this way, the government provides a normative understanding and framework conditions as well as limits for the promotion of gender in general. In addition, gender mainstreaming has been identified as an act of exercising power over, which obliges organizations in a kind of top-down method to introduce gender in the everyday life of organizations in all areas. (P3: #00:38:01#; P3: #00:39:04#; P3: 00:49:50#; P4: #01:45:22#; P6: #00:33:31#)

Regarding power as a positive force, special reference was made to the historical development in which feminist movements and political activists have stood up for women* and gender justice and have influenced the government as well as policies and structures through their power with, power to and power within. Accordingly, the people provided basic principles and empowering strategies, by acknowledging people’s capacity to act creatively and collectively, which resulted in gender and women* issues getting addressed by governments. (P3: #00:54:25#; P1: #01:04:35#; P3: #01:06:37#; P4: #01:08:51#) In addition, the potential and power of participants was identified after the trainings. Here, individual skills and gender knowledge could be used to achieve power and change processes in the organizations. (P1: #01:43:25#; P2: #01:39:08#; P3: #01:42:20#)

7.5.2 Power dynamics inside the training

In the trainings, power was often mentioned in relation to the interactions of the individual actors. This mainly referred to relationships between the trainers and participants, as well as among the participants. Although the organizational actors would also subconsciously use their power through the given framework conditions and the content. Nevertheless, this would rather be indirect through an invisible and inactive participation in the training situation itself.

Several times the power differences between trainers and participants were addressed. Here trainers had power over participants by determining content, knowledge, and methods. *“Da üben wir dann auch schon Macht aus in dem wir bestimmte Themen einfach auf die Agenda setzen dürfen und die anderen zwingen da mitzumachen.”* (P3: #02:04:50#) Additionally, an apparent hierarchical inequality relationship was highlighted, whereby trainers are presented as knowers, who had expertise and participants as learners. This aspect addresses particularly the power differences between trainers and participants, which cannot necessarily be overcome. Even though besides the seemingly fixed different positions trainers mentioned the importance of disclosure of power relationships while addressing actively the respective positions to open the possibility for transformation and interaction in the training. Participatory learning methods and planning were named as key factors for learning processes to avoid the reproduction of unequal power relations. To overcome the knowledge hierarchies, interviewees mentioned the importance of mutual learning processes and safe environments for working together. Here participants knowledge and experience should be appreciated and recognized as important foundation for the learning process. The knowledge transfer should therefore not take part as a top-down learning model and instead should be mutual and reciprocal learning. Gender trainers described that it would be needed to show a variety and openness to different positions and gender concepts to take away the resistance or fear regarding ideologies which are seemingly imposed by gender trainers. *„[...] es gibt auch ne ganze Menge Positionen, die ich auch gelten lassen kann, auch wenn sie nicht meine sind, solange ich den Eindruck habe die Leute handlungsbereit oder handlungsfähig durch das Training hinweg sind.”* (P4: #01:31:23#) Through the variety of methods which are shown in the reflections of practice (see chapter 7.1.5), a mutual learning process is created on the part of the participants as well as on the part of the trainers. Hence, a gender training situation is generating and building knowledge with several active actors involved. Accordingly, participants are recognized as experts as well and all actors are considered both teachers and learners. (P1: #01:50:54#)

Moreover, resistance as a form of exercising power was also thematized. Gender trainers are dealing with different forms and experiences of resistance on a daily basis which are manifested on an individual level or in the organizational and structural level. It was made clear to what extent the participants exercise power in various forms of resistance by blocking or criticizing training formats or content. (P2: #00:28:15#; P5: #01:22:28#) Therefore, gender trainers engaged differently

accordingly to the resistance context, whereby the resistance appeared in the most diverse forms and ways. Therefore, an intensive confrontation with emerging resistances was important to make the underlying concerns or fears regarding change and gender visible and to work with them in a further step. (P5: #01:22:28#)

The power dynamics between trainers and participants depended also particularly on the individual person and the positionality of the trainer. Therefore, trainers were aware about different power relations, how these are produced and reproduced within different contexts and can have an influence on the training. The multiple and often interwoven identities of gender trainers lead to experiences of subordination and privilege simultaneously. Therefore age, *whiteness*, geographical situatedness, working position, were named as some of the positionalities of trainers that affect the power dimensions in trainings. The acknowledgement and openness about own biases and subjectivity of trainers was key to a non ideological strategy, while making power dynamics transparent. (P2: #00:54:57#)

As seen power relations are playing a role especially in the composition of the trainings themselves. Despite the positioning of the trainer also the variety of positionalities of participants created power imbalances. Thereby, it was often a question of the position of the participants and the hierarchical levels they occupied or belonged to in the organization. The composition and different positions, different cultural backgrounds, different contexts and rank positions had additionally an impact on the trainings through the resulting unequal power constellations and power dynamics. To create an understanding of different power relations and own positionalities gender trainers highlighted the “powerwalk”¹⁷ as an exercise to make power dimensions and positionalities visible during the training. The power walk would give the opportunity to explore power and gender relationships and the way these interplays with other identity categories such as race, class, ability, and age. Hence, this exercise is important as it makes aware not just oppressed positions but also privileged positions. This exercise was mostly helpful to deconstruct existing power structures and was seen to be a first step towards awareness of actor’s intersections, which could lead to transformative change. (P4: #01:15:04#) By naming differences and by being open for mutual understanding, the intersection of personal characteristics through an intersectional lens thus allows to find points of unity and common action. *„Und das hat einen guten Effekt bringt die Menschen tatsächlich dazu diesen Rollentausch einzunehmen und mal aus dieser Perspektive die verschieden gesellschaftlichen Aktivitäten, die es gibt, sich anzugucken.“* (P3: #01:13:23#) Participants can therefore gain an in-depth understanding of their own identity, particularly in relation to other participants, communities, organizational context, that are not their own.

¹⁷ The powerwalk is a role-playing game which demonstrates gender roles and social discrimination.

Going hand in hand with positionalities, contexts were mentioned as a key factor for influencing the power dynamics inside the training especially while practicing in the development field. (P5: #00:40:26#) A hierarchical level between countries in the global South and the global North could be identified where the development field determines who needs to get “developed” and what gets on the agenda. This leads to power relations regarding content and knowledge but also regarding positioning and group constellation inside the training. The multiple different variables of frameworks, contexts, participants, work conditions lead always to changing power dynamics depending on which aspect was focused on. With the aim to change and reduce the power over, participants were encouraged in the trainings to transform behaviors and perceptions and as a result power to, power with and power within could be promoted. (P6: #00:29:04#) Hence, the focus on power relations was a distinguishing feature in all trainings. Power imbalances were apparent in the positioning of trainers, context situations, knowledge transfers and training frameworks. Addressing power imbalances was named as key instrument for addressing gender and inherent power inequalities but also to address differences between individuals inside the training. At the end of the training, trainers emphasized on a collective reflection. In this final part participants have the chance to share what they have learned from the training. Additionally, they can set goals of what they aim to change and to continue to use their power for good. (P2: #00:36:42#)

8. Theorization of the results and discussion

The topic of this master thesis is a very broad topic, which includes a handful of thematic areas and content-related discussions within the individual focal points. Within my thesis I tried to combine these and to create a balance between theoretical discussions and active practical implementation by means of interviews with gender trainers in order to address difficulties and possibilities for action. Accordingly, the following section will combine the empirical evaluation results from chapter seven with the theoretical part of this thesis to answer the research questions of the present thesis: Why do power and intersectionality matter for gender training in the development field? How can power and intersectionality be addressed through and within gender trainings? Therefore, it will first summarize the findings for the importance of power and intersectionality's in gender training. Secondly it will reveal ways how they can be addressed in transformative feminist gender trainings and provide areas for improvement.

8.1 The importance of power and intersectionality

The results of my research have shown that power is a very central theme in gender training. It is not only thematically about the question of power between the genders, but gender training itself and all actors involved are active participants in power constellations and dynamics on different levels. On the one hand, gender training was understood as a place where power and gender inequalities were thematically discussed in order to prevent or counteract power and oppressive forms of power resulting in gender inequalities. On the other hand, gender training was also understood as part of an executive oppressive power by its embedding in gender mainstreaming processes, as well as imposing and obliging participation in the trainings through government requirements. The different main actors who hold positions of power and between whom power relations can be identified were presented as gender trainers, participants, and organizational actors. In particular, the having and not having of power as well as the changing and fluid potential of power were addressed between those actors. Following Patricia Collins matrix of power, the work has shown that power takes place and is organized on different levels, from the structural level to the disciplinary level, from the cultural level to the interpersonal level where oppression and resistance coexist. (Collins, 2017, p. 25) Power is not only thematically addressed in terms of gender inequality, but gender trainings themselves are part of dominant oppressive practices as well as empowerment and empowering practices, and resistance to dominant power. Accordingly, gender trainings are part of exercising power over others in visible and hidden ways, as well as a field where power to, power with, and power within are practiced opposing oppressive power relations.

8.1.1 Structural domain

If we look at the power structures in development cooperation regarding gender, it becomes obvious that power is exercised first of all through the structural domain and therefore through the institutional structures. (Collins, 2017, p. 26) Policies such as “WID” and now “GAD”, as well as treaties and conventions such as the SDGs or gender mainstreaming, set a framework that organizes power relations. Hence, those are showing the thematic focus and priorities from international development actors regarding gender. Power is exercised through the visible exercise of power over others through the making and enforcing of rules, using instruments such as laws and conventions. (VeneKlasen, Miller, 2002) Resulting, gender training was analyzed regarding the underlying social structures or broader historical, social, and cultural forces and their ways of relating and or acting. Those occurred in the framework itself regarding the framework conditions (financial aspects, used material, environmental conditions, resources, and time) but also regarding the involved actors (trainer, participants and organizational actors), content and contexts. The different forms of power are revealed both outside the training regarding the framework conditions and underlying structures as well as within the training. The framework conditions concerning length, modality and objectives were mainly determined by and implicit derived from ideas of commissioners and funding organizations. Accordingly, the influence of those actors, was named as crucial, where gender trainers can make their claims, but still find themselves in a field of power imbalances due to dependencies on funding, financial aspects, and resources. Not to mention even the non-existence and almost non-inclusion of participants in spaces of negotiation and objectives about gender trainings. The exclusion of certain groups (here gender training participants) from institutions and knowledge constructions, based on social inequalities they experience, participants ability to express and exercise of power is getting limited. (Collins, 2017, p. 23) Thus the perspective of people and recipients of gender trainings are silenced.

8.1.2 Disciplinary domain

Building on this, organizational actors such as donor organizations, NGO’s, INGO’s development organizations, or organizations that implement gender programs play an important role through the disciplinary domain. They often wield power by using regulators, implementing priorities based on laws and having to implement the strategy of gender mainstreaming through a top-down model. Thus, they often become transmitters of certain gender approaches and knowledge. Accordingly, people are using the regulations, practices, and rules by institutions to uphold or challenge social hierarchy’s and as a result shape the social organization. (Collins, 2000, p. 280) The interviews showed same as described in the literature that due to the establishment of gender mainstreaming and instrumentalization, clients would often request standardized and technocratic training formats. The mandatory short-handed workshop types of gender training, which are tailored to

commissioner's requirements leads often to the simplification of knowledge, theory, and practice on multidimensional equality issues, resulting in thinned out trainings without practical change in power systems and professional activities. Depending on the political environment, willingness of authorities and openness of actors towards gender equality the frameworks are set for more technical standardized training settings and objectives or more transformative trainings. Trainers advocated for more transformative trainings, which would be integrated in a long-term process, while focusing on gendered power structures inherent in participants behavior and organizational practice. Those would show a much stronger and more recognizable impact through individual changes of participants as well as behavioral changes, which could lead to transformation on institutional level. Resulting the negotiation talks about framework conditions have a high value and can be seen as essential adjusting screws for possible transformation or else retained technocratic formats, where gender trainers' resistance can be influential.

The study has also shown that gender trainings are operating in diverse contexts. Despite the different organizational and institutional settings, they are implemented in different regional and global contexts within different sectors of development cooperation on national and international level. Regarding the different contexts and different cultural conditions, there was consensus that trainings have to be adapted to the needs of the participants and have to be individually tailored in terms of content. Thus, each context has its own requirements and demands regarding the professional, social and cultural context where the training is conducted. Accordingly in practice, trainers attempt to balance the considerations of cultural specificities with the international understanding of gender equality. Despite the attempt to recognize the different contexts of trainers through the appropriately tailored trainings, it was found that especially the underlying everyday present power dimensions such as racism, post-colonial politics, *white* supremacy, etc. which are inherent in the international understanding of gender and development remained rather unnoticed. This leads to much broader power dynamics and imbalances based on global inequalities, economic dependencies, world views, knowledge production and control over resources. Here neo-colonialism, capitalism, racism, and imperialism form types of domination that are characterized by global geo-politics, which influence all aspects of everyday life. (Collins, 2017, p. 22) The reinforcement of inequality in the relationship of development cooperation was evident, through for example the description of training settings. This became visible through the description of the training of trainers in the global South, which was carried out by trainers from the global North to empower and enable local trainers to implement gender trainings on their own. Trainings in which gender trainers from the global South came to the global North to teach and educate e.g. German organizations about gender, were not named by interviewees, nor was this combination found in the literature and, if in very rare exceptions. This already shows the unequal relationship of development cooperation and the hierarchical understanding of expert knowledge

represented in a neo-colonial development policy and cultural imperialism. This illustrates the imbalance and the still prevailing assumptions in development cooperation of power inequality as well as the assumption of privileging Eurocentric knowledge and imposing worldviews. Accordingly, through their location and interconnectedness, gender trainings are directly involved in the oppressive relations of unequal development cooperation. Hence, power is expressed through organizational procedures that often cover the effects of oppression under reasons of equal treatments, efficiency, or rationality. (Collins, 2000, p. 280) In this respect, the power dynamics during planning are already marked and shaped by the underlying politics of development. Thereby development histories reveal a legacy of contested power representing discourses of development and societal and economic logics, including knowledge production and reproduction. This demonstrates how gender trainers, training content, context and framework are interlinked with post-colonial politics and race issues in the development field. It was shown that those power dynamics were mostly unnoticed or accepted and at least not deeper mentioned by interviewees. Also, the examination of the colonial history of “gender” has been disregarded.

8.1.3 Hegemonic/ cultural domain

This goes hand in hand with the hegemonic/ cultural domain in which ideas and ideologies concerning gender are legitimized. (Collins, 2000, pp. 283ff.) To make gender governable, certain truths about gender standards had to be created that were considered acceptable through certain knowledge and research frameworks within governance and the development field. This was done using feminist knowledge, gender expertise and information, as well as through the implementation of training and other tools. This created a normative and governable version of gender, indicating what gender is and how it should be dealt with. Therefore, gender trainings, gender experts and feminist knowledge also contribute to the programmability and governability of gender through the production of knowledge and an inherent discourse around gender and its implementation in practice. (Mukhopadhyay, 2016, p. 135) Especially the hegemony and the binary understanding of gender into men* and women* were criticized, which are nevertheless produced and reproduced in handbooks of organizations, as well as due gender training toolkits, but also in trainings through stereotyped exercises or used definitions. The heteronormativity of a binary gender understanding was also problematized in and by interviewed trainers. On the one hand, the necessity of diversity and openness towards other genders was declared important. On the other hand, the basic tendency of naming men* and women* was also noticed during the interviews, other genders were rather added as extra. Here the entanglement of the trainers themselves in the heteronormative way of thinking that society is subject to, becomes clear, which they then reproduce again in the trainings. Accordingly, gender trainings legitimate oppression through its cultural domain, where ideas about gender are created to justify a system of

homogenous thinking and values. The beliefs of dominant groups are getting normalized as common sense and often the whole society, even the subordinated groups internalize these ideas. Those ideas are getting constructed and reproduced in the training context. The cultural domain is therefore acting as a link between social institutions and society (structural domain), their organizational practices (disciplinary domain) and the way of everyday social interaction (interpersonal domain). (Tredway, 2018, p. 5) Another aspect is the content and knowledge conveyed in the context of gender training especially from a postcolonial perspective regarding the power-knowledge complexity and the Eurocentric knowledge production. Cornwall describes this as the “materiality of power” by meaning the structural violence that derives from patriarchal social arrangements, material inequalities that are produced and sustained by patriarchal ideals beliefs and practices. (Cornwall, 2016, p. 76) Hence, the normative understanding of gender from a colonial perspective shows the difficulties of knowledge transfer and the resulting power indifferences and privileging of certain knowledge as well as the suppression of another knowledge. (Mukhopadhyay, Wong, 2007, pp. 12f.) Here already the name “gender training” is transferring a normative understanding. Especially here, deficits regarding the trainings' content and handling of postcolonial theories, critical race theory and the lack of awareness of one's own involvement in colonial power structures as well as heteronormative conceptions could be identified by trainers. In summary, knowledge has been identified in this work as an important aspect regarding power dynamics in gender trainings. On one side knowledge can be an important tool of building and even transforming power, but on the other side it is also a powerful tool for domination and oppression. This very much depends on the way how the knowledge is used and generated. (Miller et al., 2006, p. 12)

8.1.4 Interpersonal domain

Within the training, the focus was particularly on the power between the interaction of people by looking at the different positioning of individuals as well as the different contexts that give rise to differences in power. Thus, it refers to the interpersonal domain that shapes the way of everyday social interaction between individuals and one-on-one power dynamics. (Collins, 2000, p. 287) It turned out that power in the form of different positionalities was understood both positively and negatively and showed itself through mechanisms of oppression as well as privileging. Inside the training an inequality relationship was highlighted, whereby trainers are as a matter of course presented as knowers who had expertise and participants who had to learn. Addressing those power differences between trainers and participants was expected to be crucial to create an environment for mutual learning in the practice of trainings. In addition, trainers pleaded for the disclosure and revealing of power differences resulting from positions such as trainer and participant as well as other positionings such as race, class, age or geographic location. Power

dynamics between participants and trainers depended thus particular on the positionings of the individuals. Additionally, the different positioning despite gender had effects on the way individuals were perceived. In the case of gender trainers, how they are legitimated in the training setting or how the training content was perceived which led to positions of privilege or oppressions. The variety of positionalities of participants created power imbalances on multiple levels regarding group settings, but also regarding the interaction between participants and trainers. Accordingly, consensus was particularly evident in the recognition of different positions and their resulting significance for different positions in society and impacted the practice of gender training. The inclusion of different categories and the awareness of different positionings was highlighted within the training, whereby the focus was placed on power positions despite gender and inherent diverse power categories.

8.1.5 Resistance

The research has shown that gender training was implemented to address the resistance to social change by organizations and individuals to address gender-issues in development, which would occur in structures, project implementation, planning processes, etc. in development. Hence, it should raise awareness about several gender implications for personal-, internal-, organizational structures and programs. Accordingly, gender trainings are becoming a space where this resistances towards gender are coming to light and should be further dealt with. Referring to this, the results have shown that resistance is a central part and act of power in and around gender trainings resulting from individual and institutional resistance. This was shown in the deflection of responsibility for gender equality by participants, which included the denial and delegitimization of the content and information of trainers and their expertise. The resistance from institutions was mostly shown, through the non prioritization in issuing and funding of gender related education and staff, but also regarding the organizational culture in maintaining the status quo. The resistance of individuals and institutions to gender trainings shows the general difficulties to overcome gender inequalities. These can be used as indicators, why e.g., gender does not find it's way into practice in institutions but also the resistance towards gender theory. Therefore, the resistance made visible where organizations, participants but also gender trainers tended to promote immanent inequalities and injustices and gender stereotypes, but also showed the criticism of heteronormative, dualistic gender theories and diversity understandings conveyed in training formats. The existing resistance in trainings put challenges on practice and gender trainers but also lead to discussions and further thinking as the resistance can be taken as a positive indicator from which change, and transformation can emerge by precisely tackling these sticking points. Accordingly, gender implemented and conveyed in the form of gender training demands changes

on individual, institutional and organization level across policy processes, mechanisms, and actors, including gender trainers.

8.2 Addressing power and intersectionality

The above-mentioned domains of power and the power dynamics within them were presented so far. In particular, the commonalities and directions of the field were highlighted, as well as the main problems and resistance towards gender training. Building on this, the following section attempts to focus on tensions and the practical implementation in trainings to address obstacles in the field, to provide areas for improvement and ideas for further discussion.

8.2.1 Tensions

One tensions that gender trainers face is the seek for transformative social change, whilst working in technical environmental contexts that demand simplification and technical fixes. This brings barriers to transformation because development practitioners and gender trainers are depended upon the very system they are seeking to change. The problematization of depoliticization, which is often addressed in the literature, was accompanied by the description of trainers being caught between own political aspirations and training frameworks and conditions determined by the development field. Accordingly, gender trainers aiming for transformative feminist discourses and aspirations but still find themselves in the field of development that is subject to a certain agenda and can contradict one's own political aspirations. Hence, it's a task for gender trainers to determine ways and mechanisms for using inside the system, while also fighting it. Another tension gender trainings are facing is the knowledge transfer. Therefore, power is dynamically at work in the process of knowledge construction and knowledge diffusion. Gender-based power and knowledge is embedded in ideological, material and positional differences, whereby all are deeply historical legacies that are context dependent. The interviewed trainers did address the problems of knowledge transfer and always showed an openness for different knowledge as well as mutual learning, in order to prevent asymmetric dynamics of gender knowledge transmission in trainings. Although it was possible to be open to other positions and opinions, the trainings were nevertheless subject to certain emphases, concepts and embeddings that automatically represented a normative basic principle and thereby also reproduced these. Ethical principles, political tendencies were found in practical exercises or ways of imparting knowledge that were based on certain theories and language. Resulting, even if unconsciously, through certain norms, ways of speaking and the term gender alone, a kind of underlying idea and ideology could be identified from trainers. Through the interviews, it became clear that gender training itself is a form of oppressive mechanism in which gender trainers play a major role. Through the transmission of certain knowledge, normative settings are made and "doing gender" is practiced, in visible and hidden ways, whereby some were noticed by trainers, and some stayed covered. Difficulties also aroused

regarding the tense relationship between theory and practice. Therefore, gender trainings are confronted repeatedly in the context of application with the traps of essentialism. The challenge which could be identified was, how to convey reflexivity as an open and systematically incomplete process in the development field. Several problems were identified, which are based on the fact that theory constructs are highly complex and that they tend or risk to blur the critical sharpness of categories, that they are difficult to operationalize and that they seduce to arbitrariness and randomness of categories and resulting can become uncritical and thus contribute to neoliberal ideologies. In this work, the use of categories such as gender or women* in particular showed how problematic the resulting universal meanings are in development cooperation. On the one hand, the universal categorization produces inconsistencies and false assumptions that do not correspond to every person who is categorized. (Mohanty, 1991) On the other hand, it also leads to a biased attribution of power that portrays e.g., men* as oppressors and women* as oppressed without any power of their own. (hooks, 2000; Frey, Dingler, 2002) Therefore, in practice it would be needed not to essentialize and instead to work with open subject constructions. This should also acknowledge and distinguish the process of making and doing gender and other construction categories, while focusing on the consequences of these constructions on a subject level and on a structural level. Breaking down such universal categories can be done with the help of intersectionality by considering other factors that have an influence on exclusion or inclusion as well as the position of individuals. Thus, the often-presented assumption in development cooperation regarding a general oppression of women* is wrong, as it does not consider the oppression from e.g., *white* women* who also benefit from power structures due to their *whiteness*. Nor does it acknowledge the diversity inside such categories as women*. The way and meaning of different categories became particular clear in the example of the positionings of gender trainers. Accordingly, age, race, geographical location, education, had an influence on how gender trainers were perceived by participants which resulted in oppressions and privileged positions depending on the context and training scenario. The fixed categorization of people into certain groups can thus mean inclusion but also exclusion. The difficulty of the complexity with which trainers and development cooperation are confronted is, on the one hand, to do justice to different positions and overlapping situations and, at the same time, not to get lost in the complexity while still focusing on thematic priorities.

8.2.2 Intersectional perspective

The data has shown that an intersectional perspective is essential for gender training even though it was not presented as a fixed component in general for gender trainings. It was rather considered as a political and ethical perspective of gender trainers towards diversity and inclusion. Intersectionality gave the opportunity to look at multiple discriminations or privileged positions

rather than thematizing gender in isolation, because identities are always interconnected and multiple. Accordingly, gender trainers noted, the way intersectionality's influence how power dynamics play out in different training contexts and gender was seen as one hierarchy and power component among many others. (P4: #00:44:36#) Even if intersectionality was not a component in terms of content, it was seen that in practice, training design and in exercises intersectional power dynamics and hierarchies were aimed to explore through e.g., exercises like the "powerwalk". Therefore, gender is analyzed and looked at in interrelations with other social categories or power relations. This was addressed as crucial especially when people in different contexts are coming together. Hence, gender trainings need to be designed regarding the needs of participants and thus an intersectional practice and planning would be indispensable. Especially with the aim of transformative gender training, which was plead from interviewed trainers, trainings need to acknowledge interwoven power dynamics, make them visible and find strategies and practices to promote equality. There was no clear and fixed method or approach to integrate intersectionality in gender training. This might have been, because intersectionality, thorough its complexity, offers much room for diversity and the possibility for a diverse composition of focal points that always takes a broader and deeper look at power structures. As the literature showed, there is no fixed method of how intersectionality can or should be applied. However, it is perhaps this openness of intersectional perspectives where the potential of an intersectional lens lies.

8.2.3 Gaps and Improvement

Openness and transparency of power differences and inequalities were mentioned as key points to counteract the production and reproduction of unequal power relations. However, the genuine openness of gender trainings and the understandings and acknowledgement of diverse genders and gender understandings in different contexts is difficult to implement in a field that is subject and inherent to a certain agenda and thus limits the inclusiveness. The complex variety of gender concepts based on feminist thoughts and fights thus risks getting smothered through the translation into development policy and practice. From the observational perspective of the interviews, it became apparent that trainers presented themselves as open to different positions or different knowledge. As well as the disclosure of positioning within the participants and to show and work with the resulting differences. This made it appear that training content and trainers themselves were influential but neutral in the methods they used. This led to gender training being portrayed as a neutral space, where diverse knowledge is welcomed and power differences between individuals are acknowledged and addressed. Although many areas of power were named and listed by gender trainers, it became clear that some power dynamics are not yet sufficiently discussed in the field or go almost unnoticed in the trainings. There was little or no discussion of the problematization of interwovenness of race, postcolonialism and gender. Neither the concept

of Eurocentric gender understanding was questioned nor the assumption of privileged positions resulting from the development structures. Moreover, genders that deviate from the binary gender order were often named solely as extras. Those are crucial gaps, where a need for action could be identified. The false assumption of neutrality causes one to evade the indispensable involvement in power constellations and especially also oppression. One's own exercise of power thus becomes unnoticed and invisible. It could be determined that some trainers were more aware of their own involvement in power structures, while others were less aware. Therefore, the acknowledgement of gender trainers as active participants of oppressive mechanisms and power over through gender trainings has fallen short in some cases and requires a much more self-critical thematization and discussion. Trainers in development field thus need to critically reflect upon the privileged and hegemonic positions from which they work, while focusing on immanent colonial, racist, sexist, etc. structures. Accordingly, there is a need for further analysis and a deeper discussion in order to question gender with its interconnectedness and its colonial content, including the problematization of Eurocentric perspectives and a self-evident intersectional practice without allowing these topics to merely run along as marginal issues. The responsibility that gender trainers get, seems to be a very big one, and means that trainers themselves need to have a very reflective knowledge about their own position and various contexts and the resulting power differences in order to identify the immanent privileges or oppressions and adapt the trainings accordingly. This also makes clear that the trainers not only have high substantive requirements, but also that their methodological skills are crucial for the quality of training especially while conducting and working in different contexts. This includes context-specific knowledge and stronger exchange with neighboring pedagogical fields. Self-reflective examination of gender trainers, and one's own self-positioning can be the first step, which includes recognizing the privileged position within the learning process, understanding other forms of knowledge, but also making the own involvement into more hidden and invisible power visible, while acknowledging gender trainings as places of contested power dynamics. Due to the high demands on trainers, I would like to emphasize the importance of global networks, in which the trusting exchange of information about one's own training practice and a reflection of exercises also under gender-theoretical and critical aspects for instruments and quality assurance in the development field can emerge. Thus, by connecting power and resistance can be further developed to fight for transformative action and development. However, it would also be fatal to place all responsibility for the fulfillment or failure of training on the trainers. The commissioners and involved development actors must also contribute to the success of the training by developing realistic goals with gender trainers, including participants in a transparent clarification of the assignment and by providing sufficient resources while meeting on an equal footing. Accordingly, the people and actors who are in positions of power must be held accountable, who establish gender policies and development discourses.

9. Conclusion

In the following, I want to conclude my thesis findings, while reflecting critically on the research process, whereby this thesis will end with suggestions for further research and considerations.

The thesis has shown how gender training and the inherent power shapes social, cultural, economic, and political relationships more broadly, as well as how legal institutions and government instruments like gender training formalize but are themselves shaped by these relationships. The focus was on the relationship between different actors and their dynamics across levels, while recognizing that power is connected to broader understandings of society, relationships and mechanisms and arrangements that are never neutral. Therefore, this thesis has presented gender training as a tool to conduct the gender discourse in development towards reducing gender inequalities and challenge gendered power structures, whereby intersectionality can give the opportunity to critically reflect and think of gender, identity, and entangled power dynamics in more depth. Additionally, it became clear that a gender training is a process rather than an end product, it is dynamic and changing and varies widely according to framework conditions and contexts. The research showed as well that there are many problems around gender trainings in the development field, not least because of the difficulty of the concept gender itself, but also because it has been imbued with other categories of differences and commonalities from the beginning. The thesis showed that dominant ideas of gender and of women* are still framed within the current development discourse, whereby hierarchies are staying unquestioned and tend to be reinforced through mainstream strategies and hegemonic and colonial thought patterns. To oppose the risk of gender trainings becoming a technocratic exercise, while losing its transformational, intersectional feminist political aspiration, development paradigms, individual consciousness and institutional structures need to be continuously critically questioned. Following, if change and transformation should happen, there is a need to address power relations which are still maintained by dominant power inequalities in the development field. Thus, it is crucial to challenge assumptions, privileges, and oppressions, deepen consciousness and building skills and encourage creativity and thoughts to make power productive. Consequently, gender advocates must problematize and reflect critically on their own entanglement in the hegemonic thought pattern and create innovative ways to mobilize and include everyone over the globe to build collective identity and collective action. Therefore, it needs to be the attempt to undo the heritage and to approach gender from different perspectives, while acknowledging and understanding the political and social context where gender trainings are promoted. This includes the confrontation with the heteronormativity of gender which is produced and reproduced in training settings and the problematization of the universality of categories from an intersectional lens which are used in the development field. Further there is a need of confrontation with the coloniality of gender and

development while acknowledging and respecting diverse contexts and knowledge. This entails a critical examination of knowledge and truth claims as an oppressive power conveyed, produced, and reproduced in gender trainings. Finally, gender trainings were identified as a mechanism by which actors shape, normalize and instrumentalize the behavior, thinking, choices and aspirations of participants and individual subjects to achieve particular gender goals. Accordingly, power plays a crucial role that results in oppression and privileged positions. Therefore, making power visible and transparent is essential, especially for power dimensions that are not obviously visible. This puts a great responsibility in the hands of gender trainers to deal with their own situatedness as well as the critical confrontation with their own power relations, to make both mechanisms of oppression and privileged positions visible. Thus, gender trainers can be seen as adjusting screws who can represent feminist and intersectional positions through their own reflection and power in trainings as well as through their resistance in the development field. Accordingly, concepts around gender, power and intersectionality need to be looked at in their complexity, how they generate each other and how they are produced and reproduced by institutional structures and settings that have their own blind spots. Here, the gender approach itself has to be critically reflected in order to become aware of different positions, views and ambivalences of the approach, particularly when applying it to different societies. In line with the different power dynamics presented in this thesis, this work underlines once again the need for an intersectional perspective on gender and the development context. With reference to Kathy Davis, the open-endedness and vagueness of the concept will be seen in this thesis as a possibility for ambiguous, productive, and fruitful examinations. The vagueness of the concept regarding which and how many categories to use leads to endless constellations of intersecting lines which are giving the possibility of new directions where hidden exclusions can come to light. This allows to interrogate ones own blind spots and to transfer them into further critical analysis, examinations, and discussion. "Intersectionality initiates a process of discovery, alerting us to the fact that the world around us is always more complicated and contradictory than we ever could have anticipated. [...] it stimulates our creativity in looking for new and often unorthodox ways of doing feminist analysis." (Davis, 2008, p. 79) Hence, intersectionality demonstrates a normative commitment regarding feminist theoretical traditions and debates and is giving advocates a way to frame their positionings and to fight for their visibility and inclusion. (Crenshaw, 2019, p. 19)

Looking from a practical perspective, I suggest looking at the critical pedagogy as one way for transformative change for gender trainings. Based on the critical pedagogy of Freire which aims to liberate people and stimulate transformation. (Freire, 1972) "If development is understood as a process in which people's conditions – material, social, political or cultural – are changed, then theater with its immense transformative potential seems to be an ideal form through which to explore a community's developmental aspirations and possibilities." (Prentki, Preston, 2009, p. 40)

Regarding this, I assume that the pedagogical approach of theater techniques offers innovative ways for dialogue and social change to challenge oppressive systems and could be useful for gender training. Theatre of the Oppressed is a range of techniques, games and exercises, using embodied narrative to support the empowerment and liberation of individuals and their communities. (Freire, 1972) The approach was developed by Augusto Boal in South America and has since then been used all over the world in the building of community, to dynamize social engagement, and to support individuals to realize their creative potential for personal and social transformation. Therefore, it gives an opportunity to explore power and gender relationships, and the way these interplay with other identities such as class, ability, age, race, etc. Fighting gender inequality does involve the change of a whole society, including the oppressed and the oppressors. Hence, it is not just important to work with people, who feel oppressed to explore their power, but also to work with oppressors and people in situations or positions of power. This is especially important in the development field, which is embedded in power structures in various ways. Thus, gender trainings need to look at a pedagogy for the non-oppressed or how Cornwall describes it to work on the “pedagogy for the powerful.” (Cornwall, 2016) Those, can be helpful to deconstruct existing power structures and can be a first step towards awareness of actor’s intersections, which could lead to transformative change.

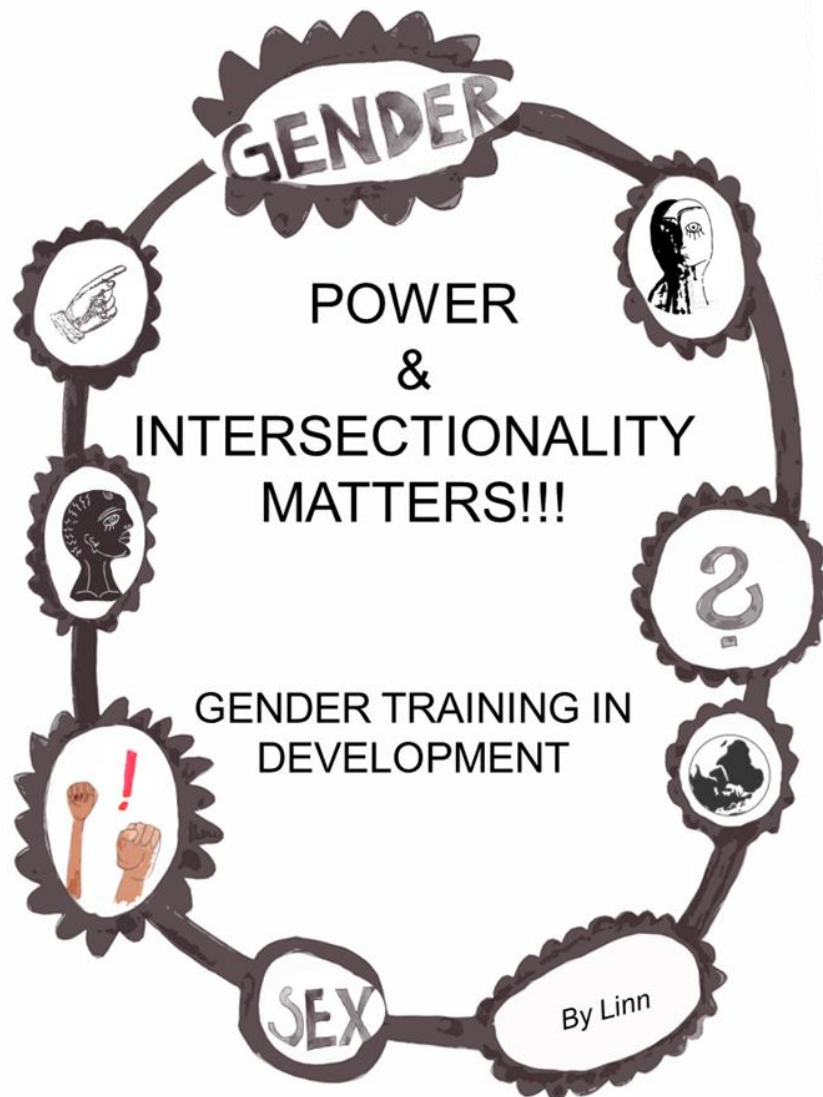
10. Way forward

Regarding the limited size of this research project, interviews were conducted with gender trainers mostly coming from the global North. Even though the opinions of other involved actors and from different contexts are equally important and future research could start with interviewing gender training participants, same as interviews with commissioners of gender training and government representatives worldwide. Furthermore, this work mainly refers to the commonalities of the interviewed trainers and did not focus precisely on the different perceptions of different positionings. This would be worth investigating moreover in order to work out the diversity of individuals and the resulting different perceptions and experiences with power. Additionally, further research could examine the different aspects of power in more depth to gain further and deeper insights into constellations and dynamics. Therefore, I want to mention the “power cube” of John Gaventa, who shows how the dimensions of power (visible, hidden, and invisible) play out, but also vary according to spaces (closed, invited and claimed) and levels (household, local, national and global) of action. The deeper analysis of spaces and levels of power and their constantly interaction could be further dealt with to generate more effective possibilities for change. (Gaventa, 2006; 2020) The power of knowledge production and reproduction was another essential part presented in this thesis which results in unequal power dynamics in gender trainings. Therefore, it would be particularly interesting to look at the education of gender trainers in further research. This could shed light on the standards and knowledge resources that trainers have at their disposal and on which they base their content-related topics as well as their practical exercises. This work could not address the question of how someone becomes a gender trainer, what standards are set and what normative underpins the training of trainers. Therefore, future research could focus on the training of gender trainers to qualitatively enable them to deal with the challenges and complexities in different contexts.

In the course of this work, I have constantly and repeatedly come up against my own limits and became aware of my own limited way of thinking and blind spots. The personal aspiration of an intersectional feminist lens led repeatedly to challenges in the implementation. Therefore, I struggled to conceptualize intersectionality regarding my research literature, and the way of methodologically approaching interviewees. Thus, it was a challenge to do justice to the diversity and heterogeneity of voices and knowledge and at the same time not to get lost in detailed considerations and identity politics. Despite the challenges, an intersectional perspective gave me always more room for more perspectives, to go further, to dig deeper and to question thoughts and ways of doing. Therefore, I have repeatedly come up against the limits but also the possibilities of implementing intersectional endeavors. Accordingly, in a last step I would like to deal explicit with the addressed problematization and exercise of power through the transmission of knowledge in

this thesis. As a task for scientific work in general, as well as my own work, it is particularly important for me to make this research more accessible in terms of an intersectional lens and inclusion. This means creating a linkage and cross-faculty methodology and cooperation between researchers, practitioners, and individuals from different disciplines in order to generate knowledge. With the aim of making my work more inclusive, to give people access who do not speak English or are not familiar with the technical vocabulary of science, I have set myself the goal of rethinking or simplifying my work in a further step to ensure an exchange or wider access to my topic by creating graphics. The graphics are visually oriented and aim to put the ideas of this thesis in simple pictures and words. Resulting it is a way to summarize the researched content and ideas so that more people are able to go into discussions and maybe can give ideas of improvement and transformation in the field from different perspectives. Therefore, the graphics should become objective material that people can discuss and challenge in productive conversations. In a first step images were created by different people in the context of this work and were thus intended to reflect a variety of perspectives and forms of expressions to reflect their reality. In a second step the painted images were put together to graphically represent the content of this work. The ideas and implementation are not complete or can fully reflect the content of my work but should be a starting point and my attempt to break down the theory of intersectionality and knowledge-power constellations and to encourage rethinking in academic practice and the university context.

11. Visualization

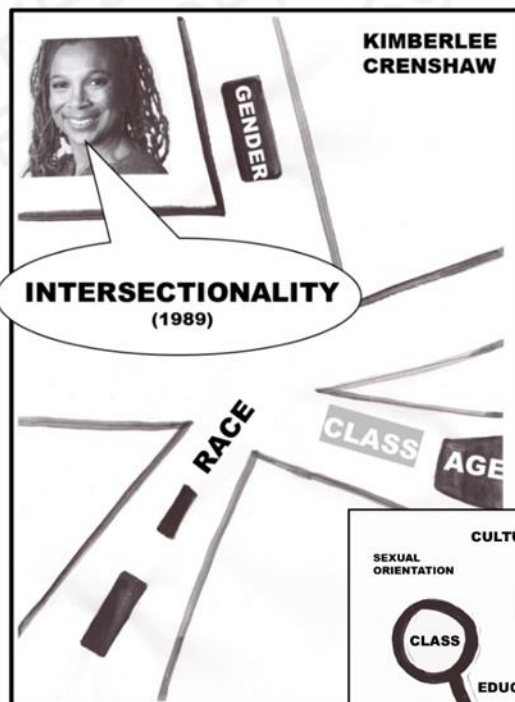
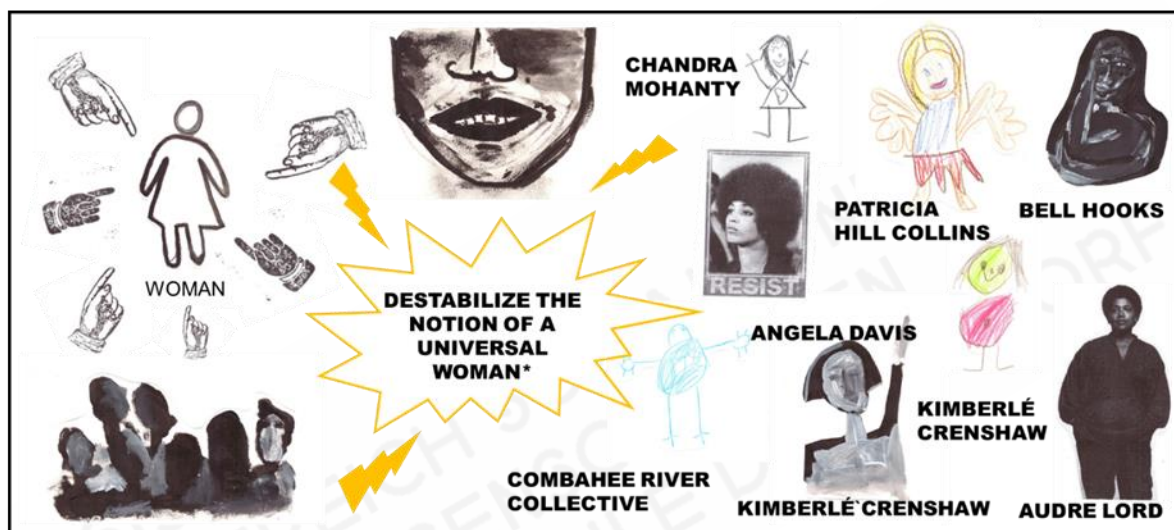
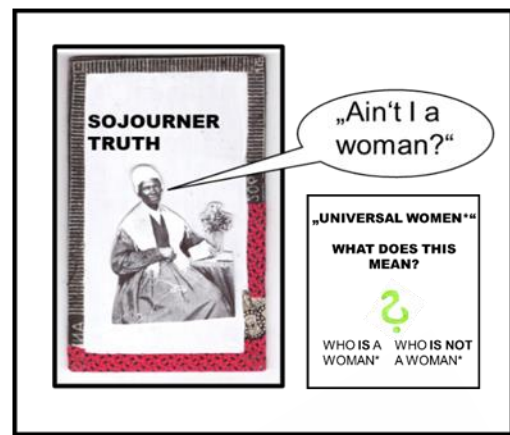
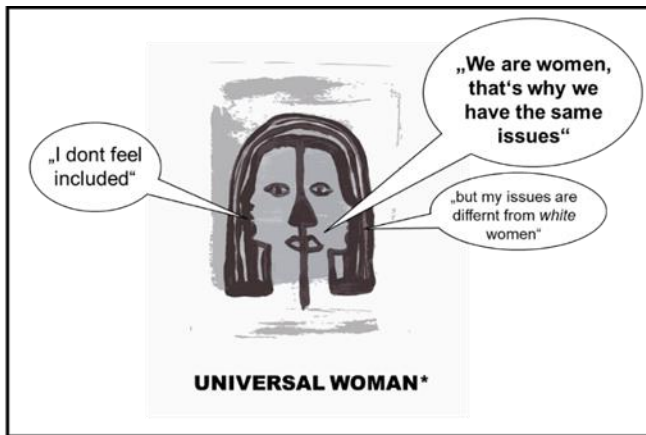


RESEARCH QUESTION

1. WHY DO POWER AND INTERSECTIONALITY MATTER FOR GENDER TRAINING IN THE DEVELOPMENT FIELD?
2. HOW CAN POWER AND INTERSECTIONALITY BE ADDRESSED THROUGH AND WITHIN GENDER TRAINING?



INTERSECTIONALITY

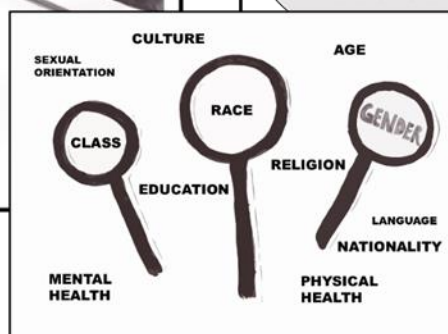


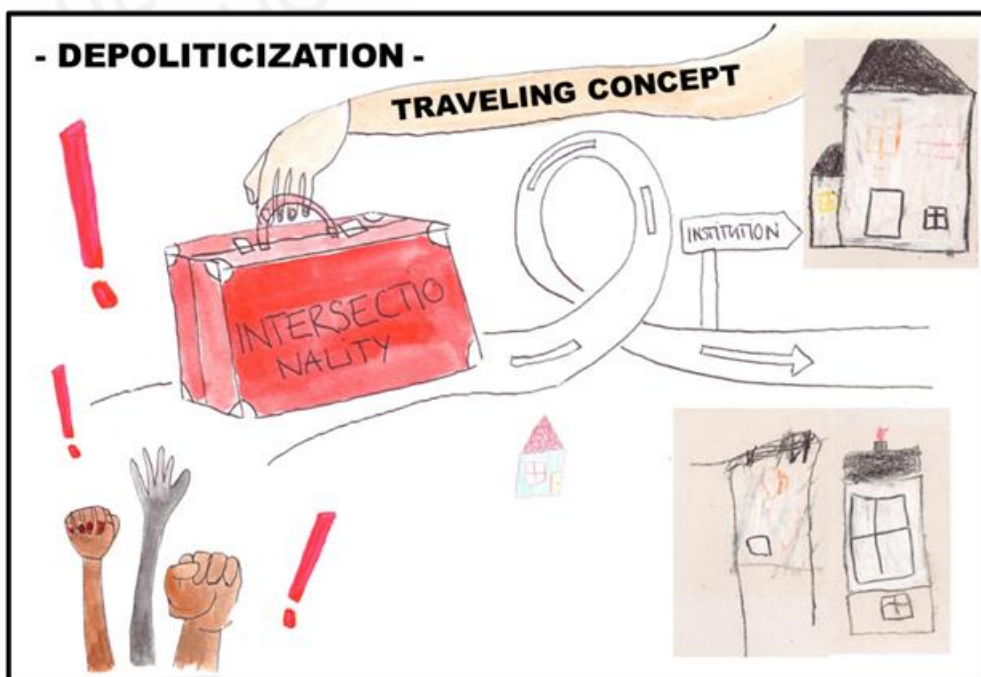
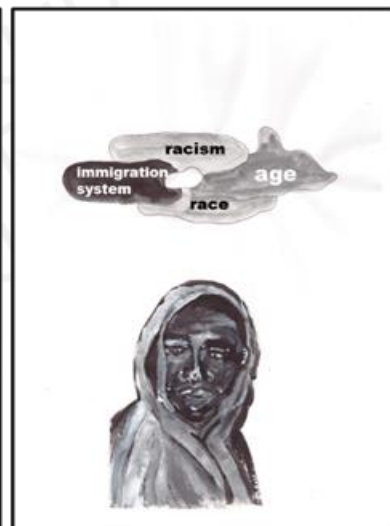
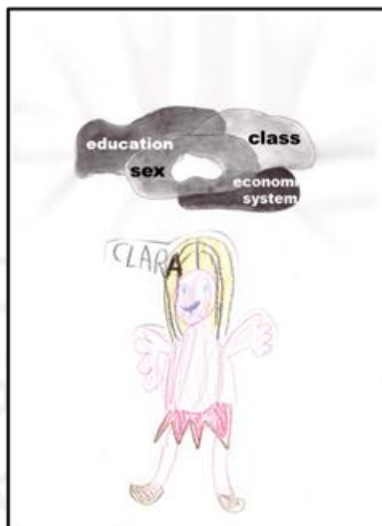
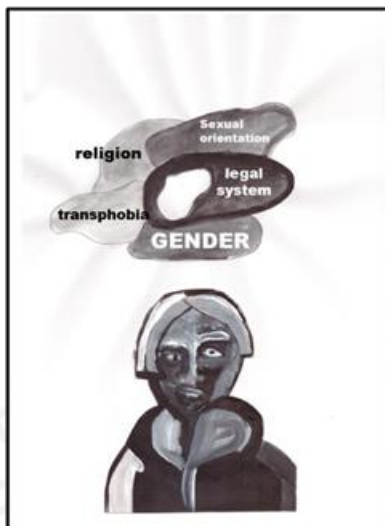
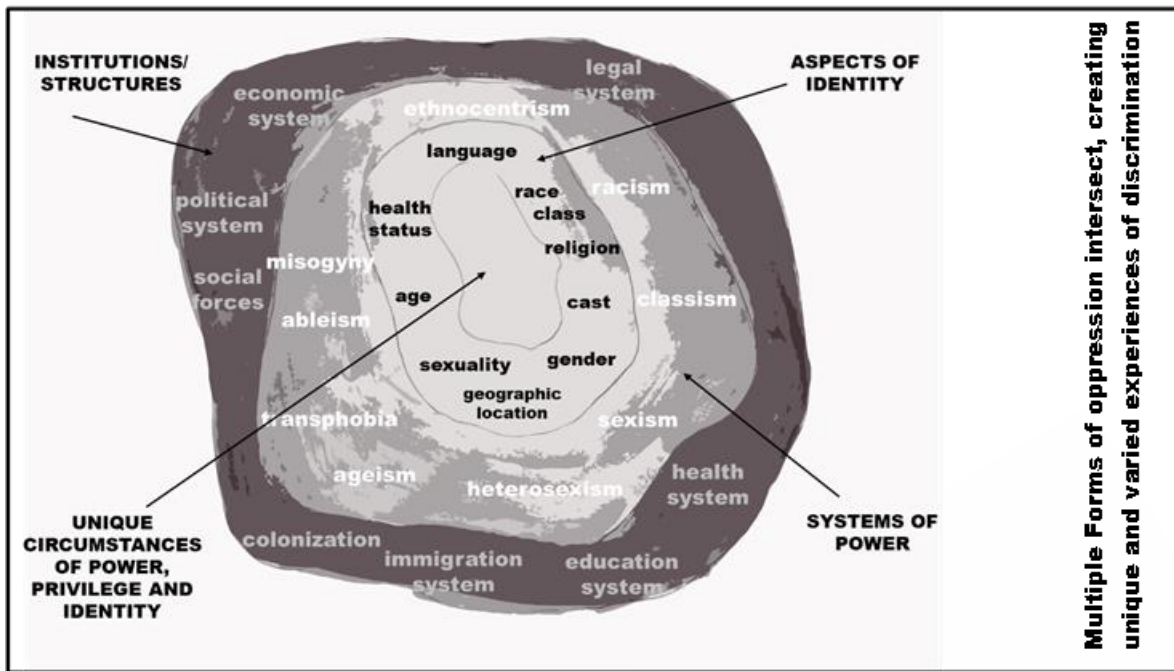
“Intersectionality’s core insight [is] useful: namely, that major axes of social divisions in a given society at a given time, for example, race, class, gender, sexuality, dis/ability, and age operate not as a discrete and mutually exclusive entities, but build on each other and work together”

(Collins, Bilge, 2016, p. 4)

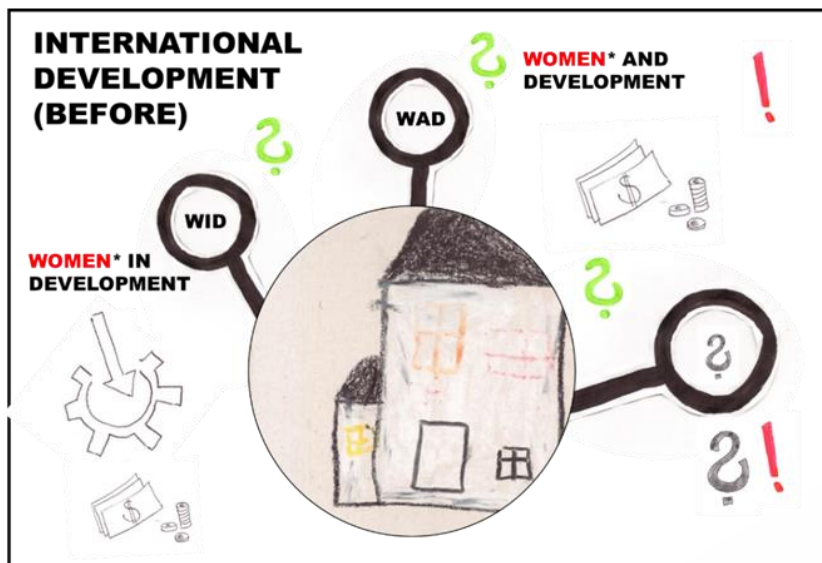
“Intersectionality’ refers to the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power.”

(Davis, 2008, p. 68)

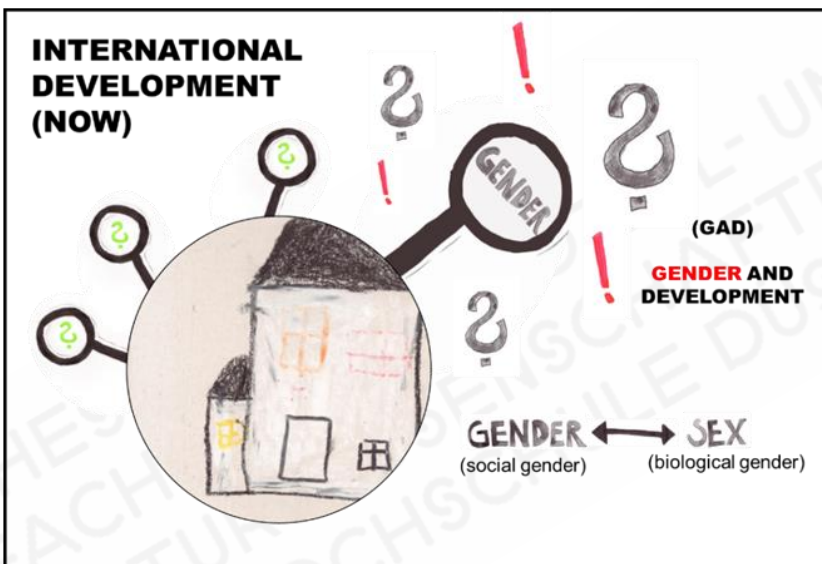




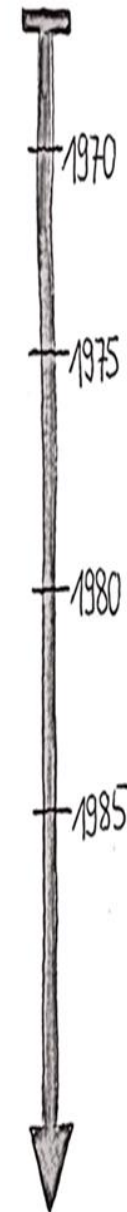
GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT



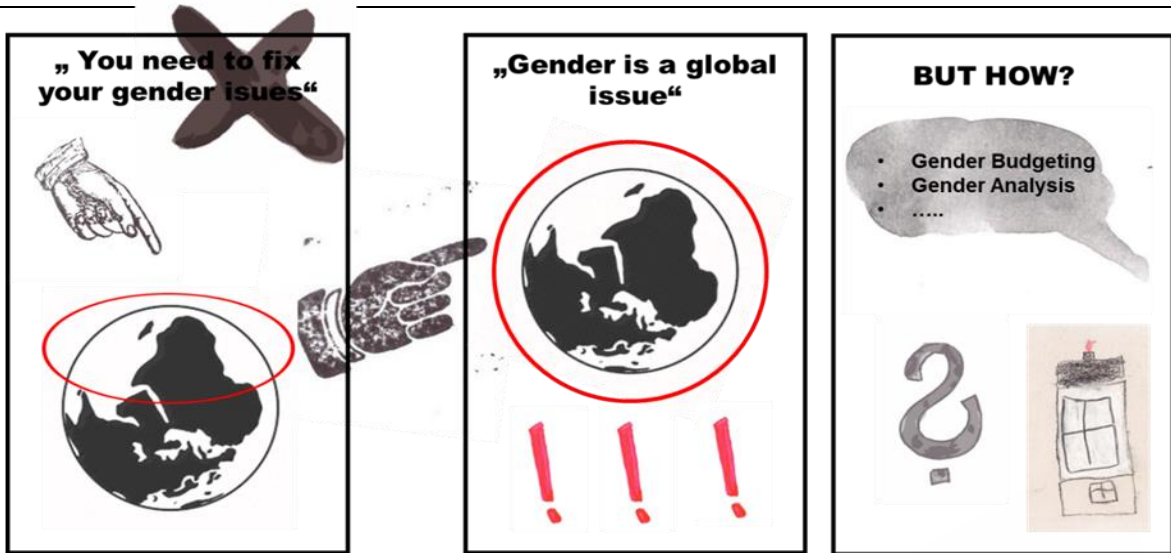
women* oriented



gender focus – gender sensitive



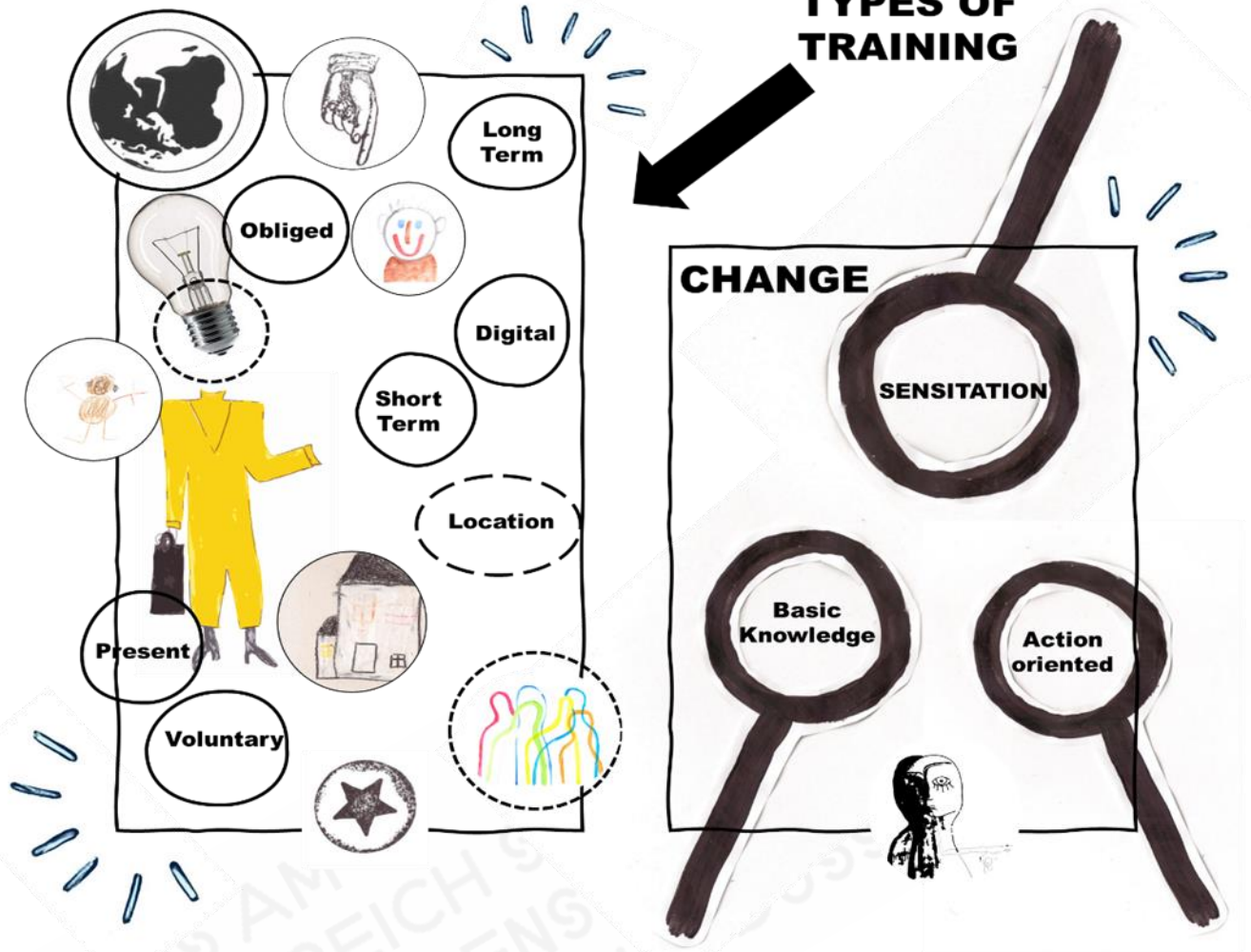
CEDAW	BEIJING 1995	Resolution 1325	SOGI	SDG'S
„Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women“	„Beijing Declaration & Platform for Action“	„Women, Peace & Security“	„Resolution on Sexual Orientation & Gender Identity“	„Sustainable Development Goals“



**INTEGRATING GENDER/
GENDER TRAINING**



DIVERSE TYPES OF TRAINING



DISCOURSE AROUND THE TOPIC

TRAINING FOR GENDER EQUALITY

1. Heteronormativity of Gender
2. Universality of Women* & Feminist Agency
3. Coloniality and Contextuality
4. Gender Training as Part of Governmentalities
5. Knowledge is Power

HETERONORMATIVITY OF GENDER

UNIVERSALITY OF WOMEN* AND FEMINIST AGENCY

COLONIALITY AND CONTEXTUALITY

"gender was not an organizing principle in Yorùbá society prior to colonialization by the West." (Oyéwùmí, 1997, p. 31)

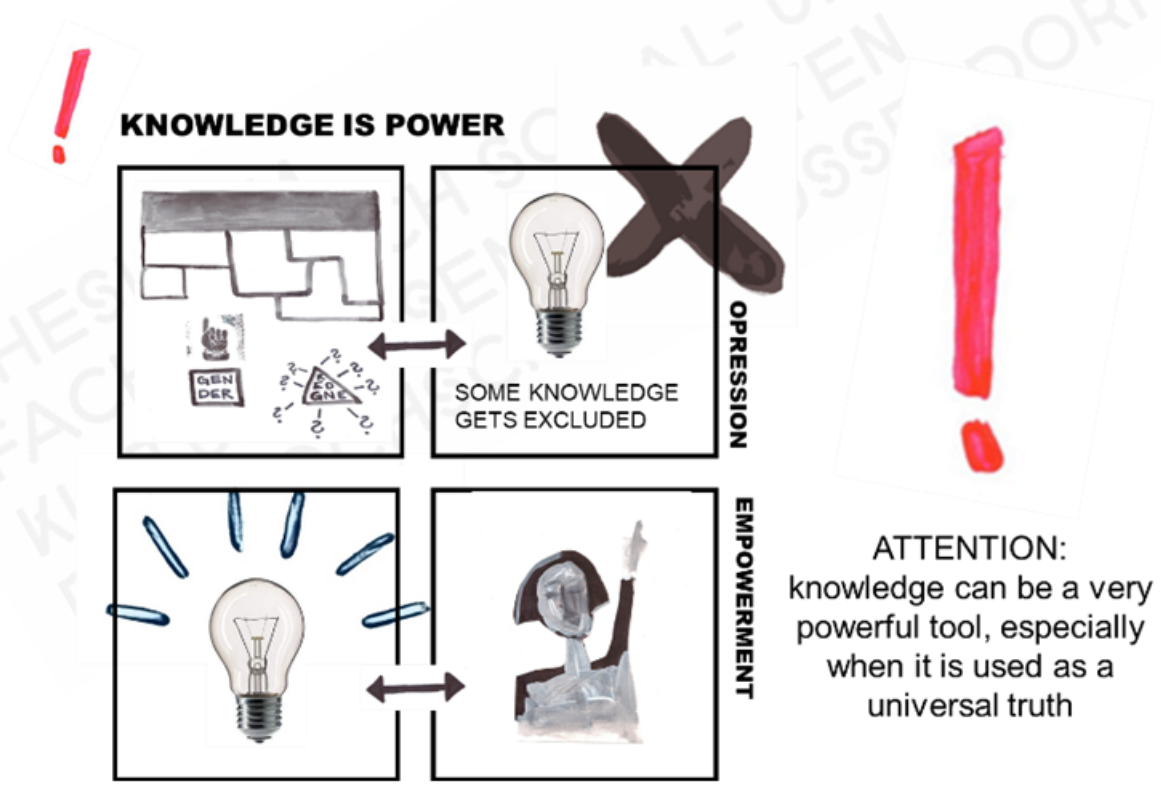
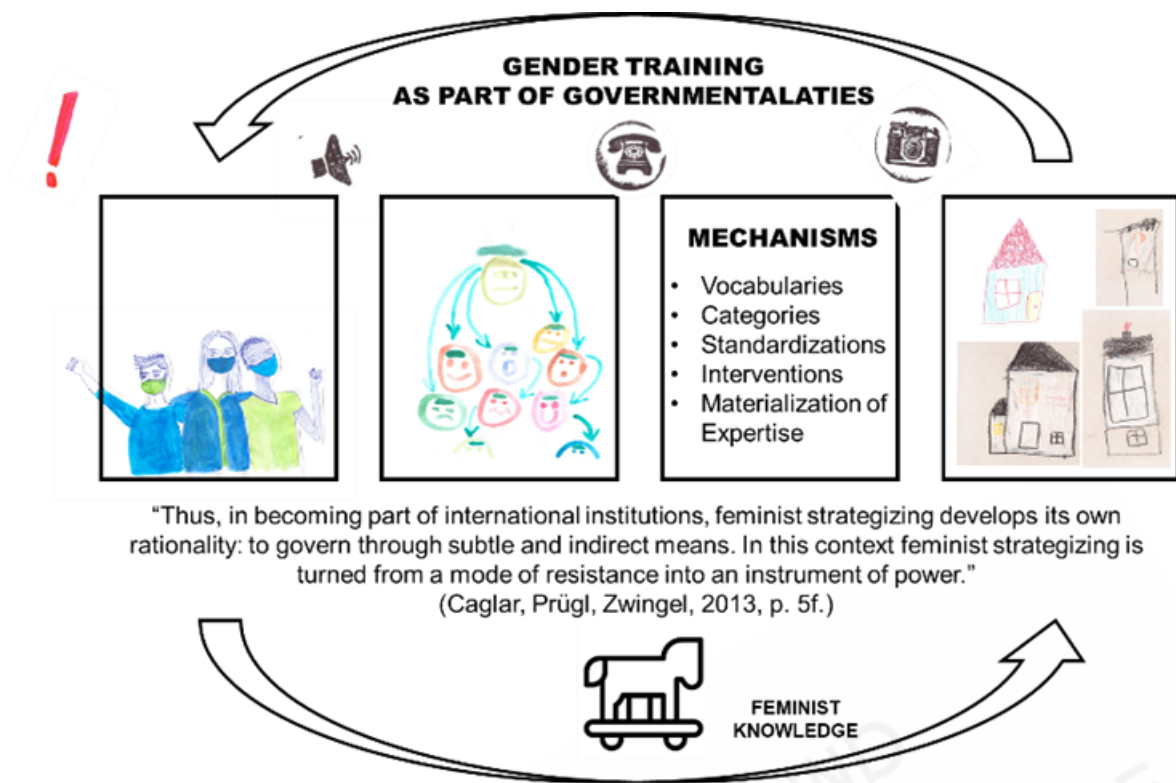


Oyéronké Oyéwùmí

"If we take the feminist contention that gender is socially constructed seriously, it is inevitable that constructions of gender differ from one geographical location to another. Thus, the gendering of society in Africa does not automatically take on the same form as we observe in the Western world" (Okome, 2005, p. 10)



Amina Mama



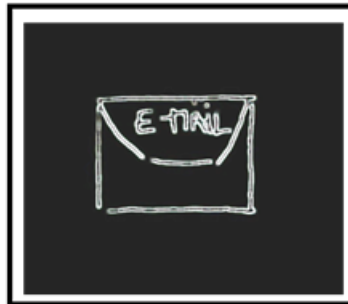
Based on the underlying theoretical discourses and highlighting of the interconnections between power, intersectionality and gender training, the following section will empirically examine the practice of gender training in order to gain a deeper insight into the discourse from a practical perspective from gender trainers in the field.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

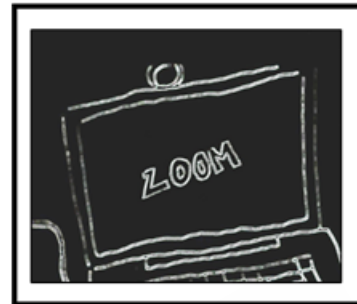
1. Internet Research



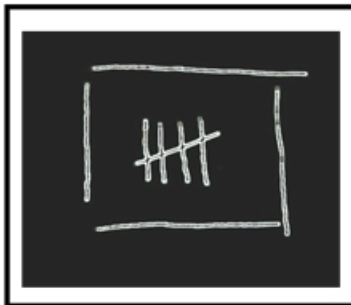
2. Getting in Contact



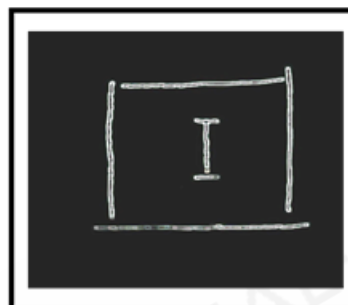
3. Interviews via Zoom



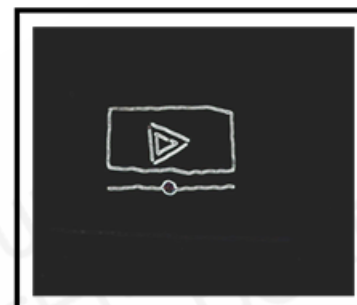
4. Group Discussion



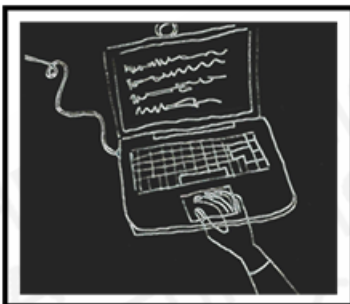
5. Expert Interview



6. Recording



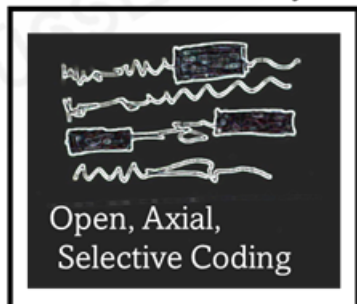
7. Transcription



8. Notes



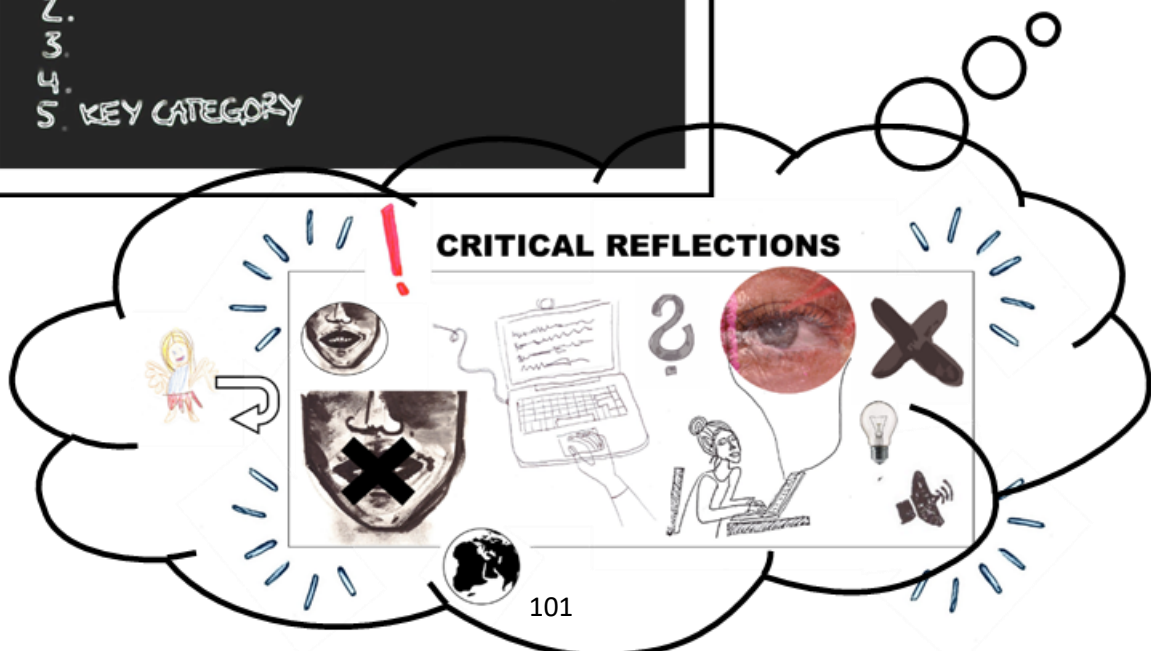
9. Grounded Theory



10. Building Categories

1.
2.
3.
4.
5. KEY CATEGORY

CRITICAL REFLECTIONS



GENDER TRAINING IN DEVELOPMENT

FRAMEWORK CONDITIONS

GENDER

MAINSTREAMING



INVOLVED ACTORS

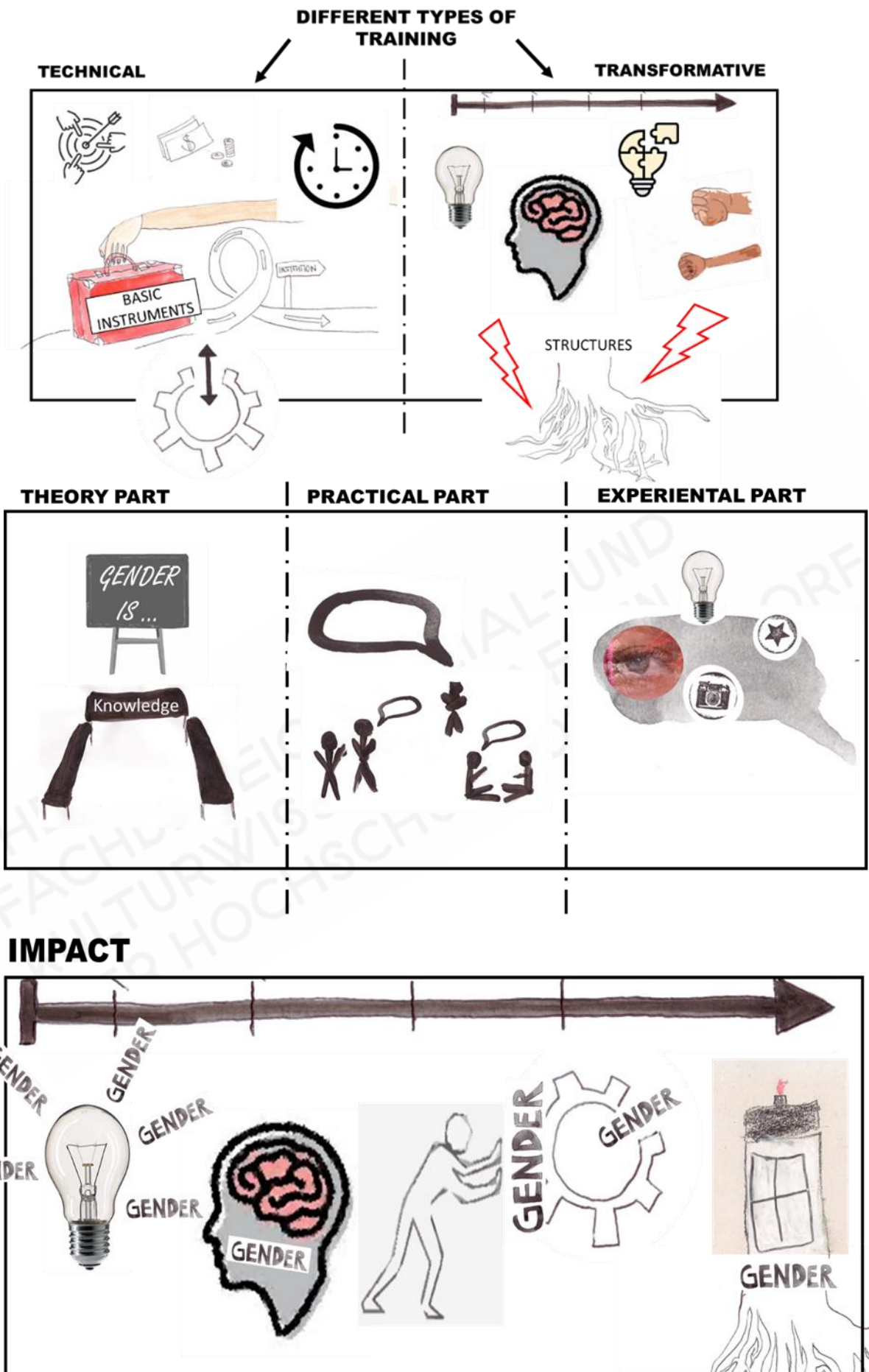
GENDER TRAINER

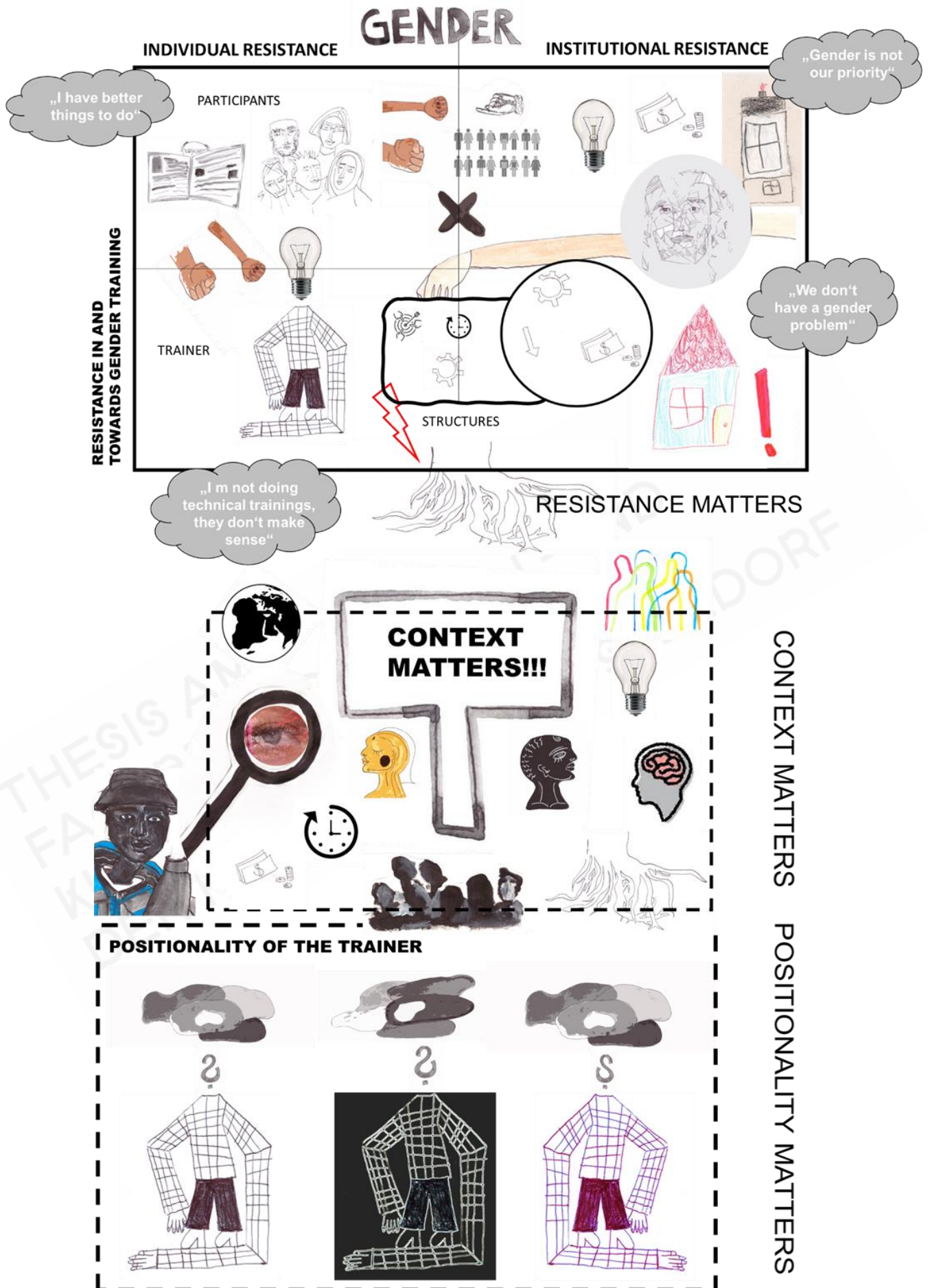
PARTICIPANTS

ORGANIZATIONAL

ACTORS

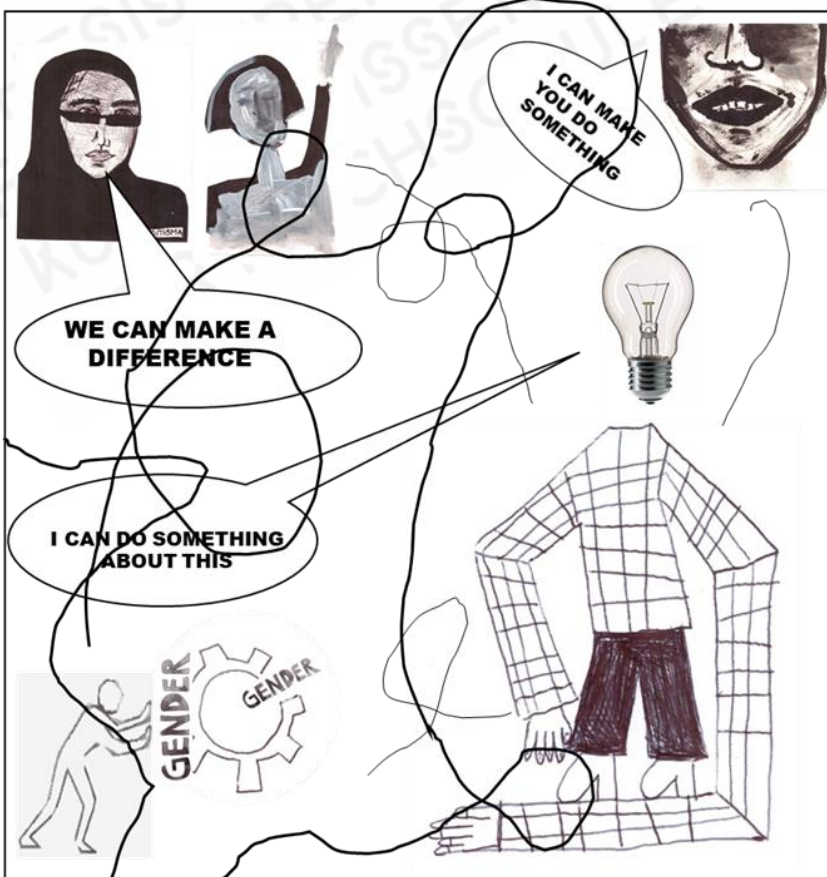
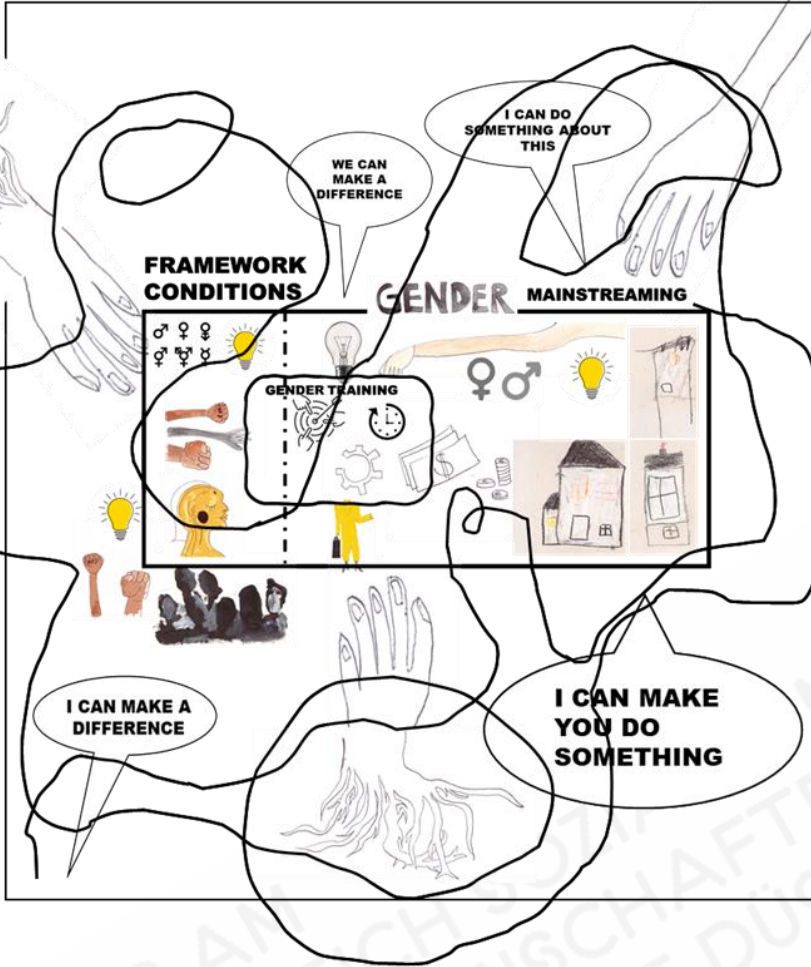




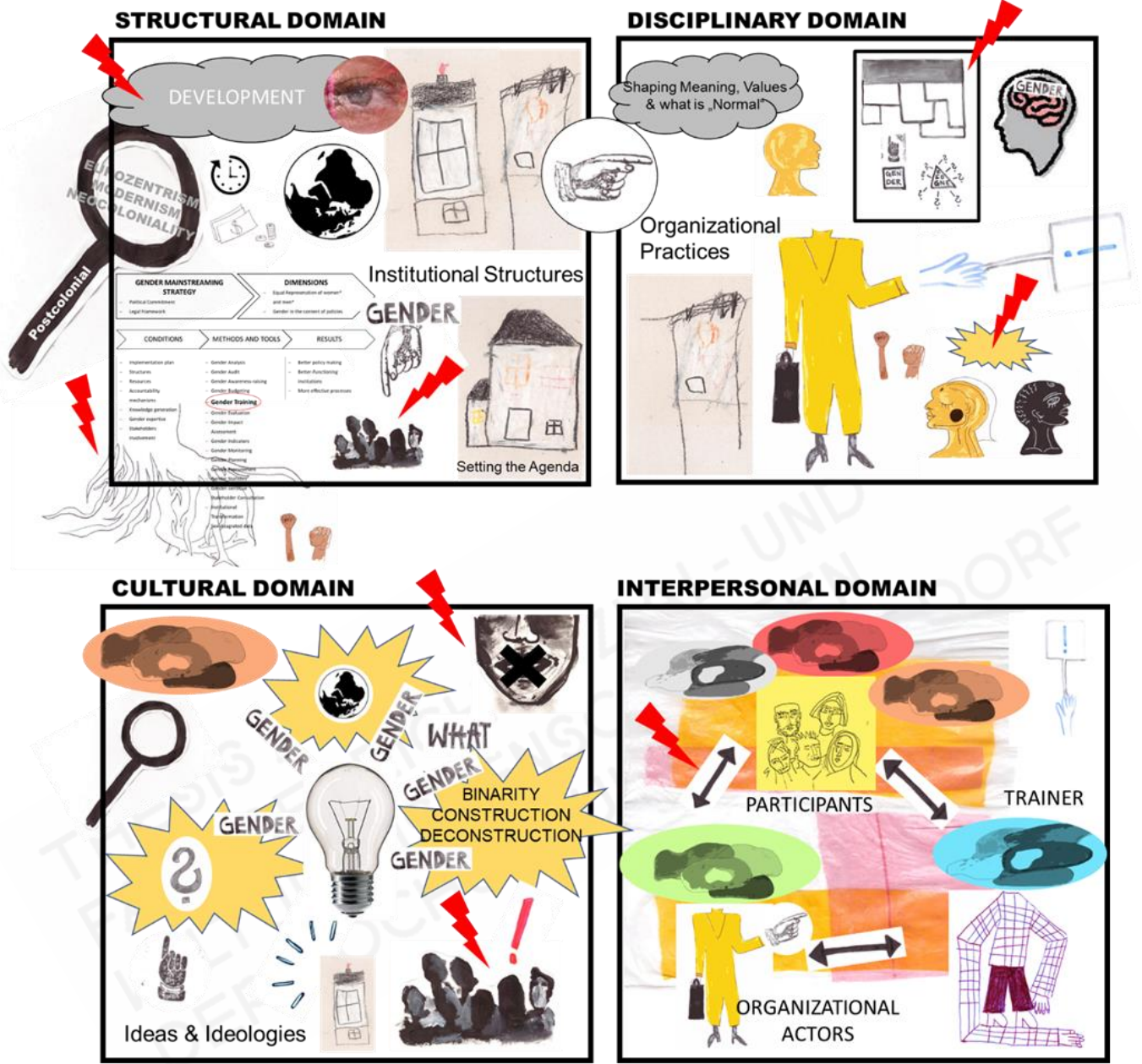


POWER RELATIONS & POWER DIMENSIONS

OUTSIDE THE TRAINING INSIDE THE TRAINING



THEORIZATION: RESULTS & DISCUSSION

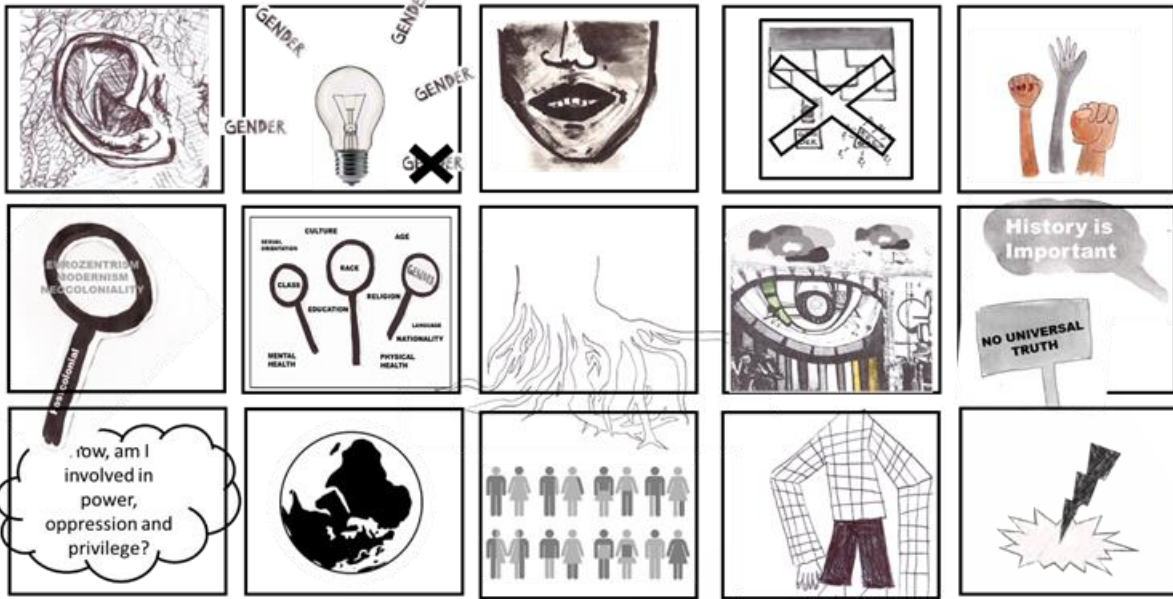


POWER & INTERSECTIONALITY

MATTERS



ADDRESSING POWER & INTERSECTIONALITY



TO BE CONTINUED...

“INTERSECTIONALITY
 INITIATES A PROCESS OF DISCOVERY,
ALERTING US TO THE FACT THAT **THE**
WORLD AROUND US IS ALWAYS MORE
 COMPLICATED AND CONTRADICTIONARY THAN WE
 EVER COULD HAVE ANTICIPATED. [...] IT
STIMULATES OUR CREATIVITY IN LOOKING
 FOR **NEW** AND OFTEN UNORTHODOX WAYS OF
DOING FEMINIST ANALYSIS.”
 (DAVIS, 2008, P. 79)

WHAT DO YOU THINK?



CREATORS

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13. Appendix

13.1 Figures

Figure 1: Expressions of power

Power over	Domination
Power to	Agency and the ability to act
Power with	Collective action
Power within	Self-confidence and self-knowledge

Figure 2: Visual for the matrix of domination (Collins, 2009, p. 54; slightly adopted)

Structural Domain Institutional Structures	Hegemonic/ Cultural Domain Ideas and Ideologies
Disciplinary Domain Organizational Practices	Interpersonal Domain Relationships and Communities

Figure 3: (Inter)categorical approach (Czollek, Perko, Weinbach, 2009, pp. 39f.; slightly adopted)

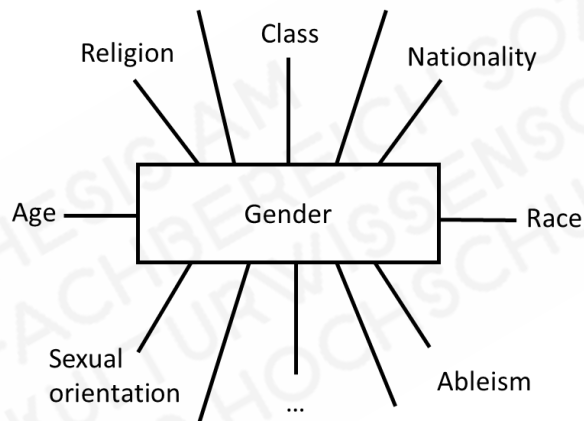


Figure 3: Intracategorical approach (Czollek, Perko, Weinbach, 2009, pp. 39f.; slightly adopted)

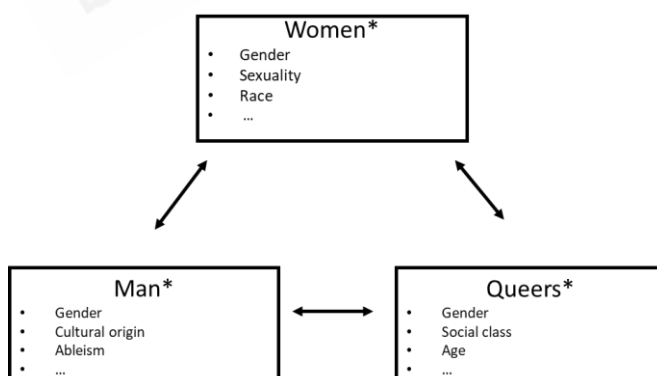


Figure 4: Anticategorical approach (Czollek, Perko, Weinbach, 2009, pp. 39f.; slightly adopted)

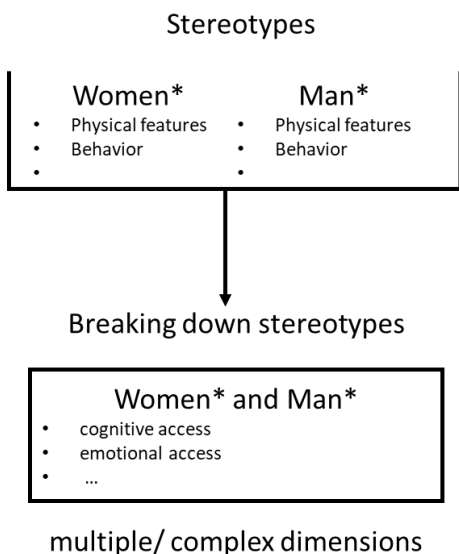
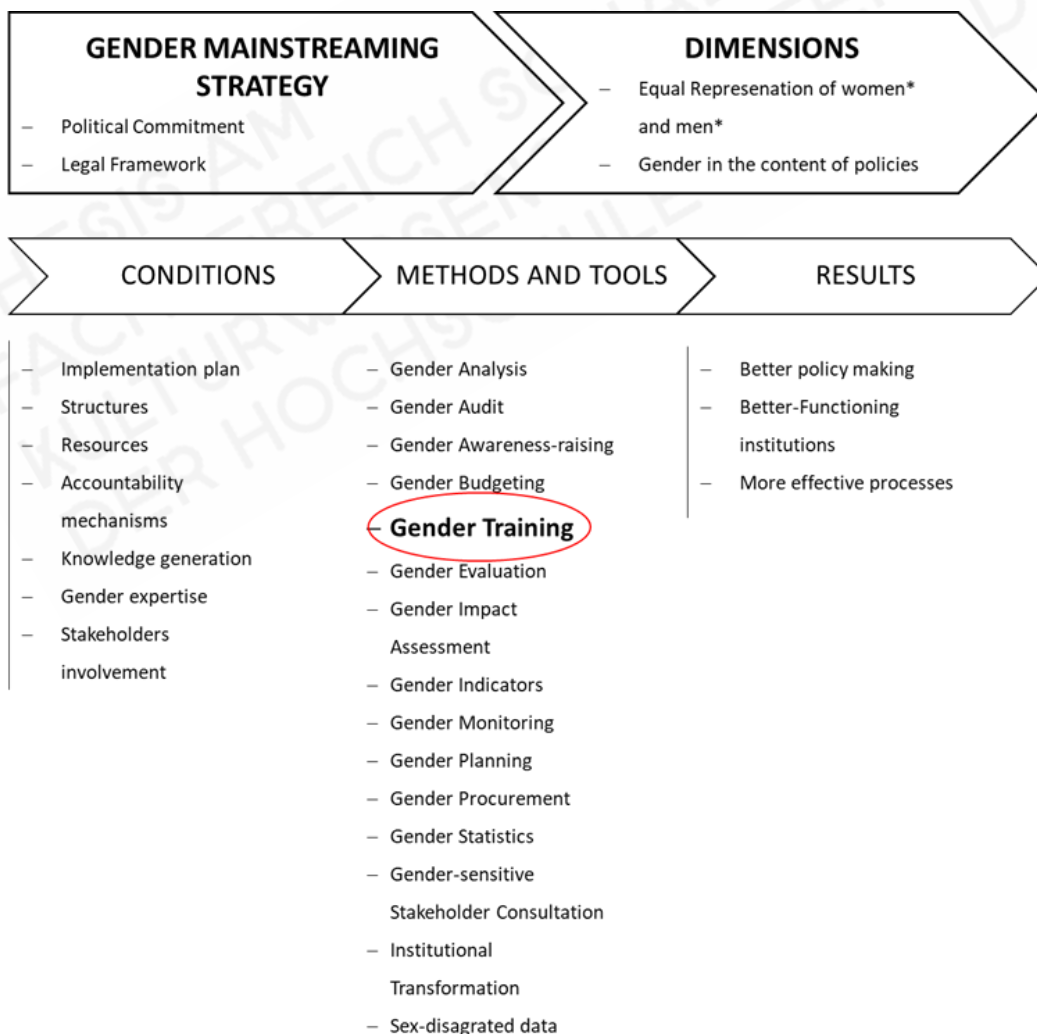


Figure 5: Overview of the different components of GM (EIGE, 2021; slightly adopted)



13.2 Tables

Table 1: Research design

Research topic: Power and intersectionality matters! Gender in development.			
Research questions: 3. Why do power and intersectionality matter for gender training in the development field? 4. How can power and intersectionality be addressed through and within gender trainings?			
Sampling strategy/ Gaining access	Data collection	Data analysis	Evaluation results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Purposive sampling: ▪ Database EIGE + Internet ▪ Interview request was sent via E-Mail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Semi-structured interview ▪ Expert Group-Discussion ▪ 5 Gender trainers (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5) ▪ Date: 01.02.2021 ▪ Medium: Zoom conference ▪ Language: German 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Interview transcription ▪ Notes ▪ Grounded Theory (Open, axial and selective coding) 	Found categories: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gender training in the development field ▪ Resistance in and towards gender training ▪ Context matters ▪ Positionality of the trainer ▪ Key category: Power relations/ power dimensions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Semi structured interview ▪ Expert-Interview ▪ 1 Gender trainer (P6) ▪ Date: 07.05.2021 ▪ Medium: Zoom conference ▪ Language: English 		

Table 2: Information about gender trainers/ interviewees

Gender trainer	Organizational experiences	Work Position	Work Context (location)	Gender
P1.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Brot für die Welt ▪ Caritas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cooperaation women*s unit/department ▪ “Fraunenreferentin” ▪ Equal opportunity officer ▪ Freelancer ▪ Gender trainer 	Chile, Germany, South America	Woman*
P2.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NGO in the development field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Freelancer ▪ Gender expert ▪ Gender trainer 	Germany	Woman*

P3.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gossener Mission ▪ Accord ▪ GIZ ▪ Brot für die Welt ▪ Misereor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gender officer ▪ Freelancer ▪ Gender trainer 	Zambia, Somalia, Germany	Woman*
P4.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Brot für die Welt ▪ Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst ▪ Evangelisches Missionswerk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Head of the gender strategy committee ▪ Gender trainer 	India, Bangladesh, Netherlands	Woman*
P5.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Brot für die Welt ▪ Christian aid ▪ Careford 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gender advisor ▪ Gender expert ▪ Gender trainer 	India, Pakistan, England	Woman*
P6.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Men's Resource Center (RWAMREC) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive director ▪ Gender expert ▪ Gender trainer 	Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Ivory Coast	Man*

13.3 Interview guideline

	English version	German version
Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Can you shortly introduce yourself and your connection to gender training? ▪ In which context are you related to gender training? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Können Sie sich und Ihren Bezug zum Gender Training kurz vorstellen? ▪ In welchem Zusammenhang stehen Sie mit Gender-Training?
Terms/ Definitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Describe your understanding of gender? How would you define the term gender? ▪ How would you describe training for gender equality/ gender training? ▪ What is the aim/purpose of gender training? ▪ Which are the areas and contexts of intervention? ▪ Who are the actors who are involved around gender training? (Especially regarding the development field) ▪ Why is gender training important for the development field? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Beschreiben Sie Ihr Verständnis von Gender? Wie würden Sie den Begriff Gender definieren? ▪ Wie würden Sie Training zur Gleichstellung der Geschlechter/Gendertraining beschreiben? ▪ Was ist das Ziel/der Zweck von GT? ▪ Welches sind die Bereiche und Kontexte, in denen interveniert wird? ▪ Wer sind die Akteure, die im Zusammenhang mit Gender-Training involviert sind? (insbesondere in Bezug auf EZ) ▪ Warum ist Gender-Training für die EZ wichtig?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In which/ What context gender training is used in the development field? ▪ To what degree does gender training contributes regarding gender inequality? ▪ What are the main aspects gender training is dealing with? ▪ Content of the training? Knowledge? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In welchem Kontext wird GT in der EZ eingesetzt? ▪ Inwieweit trägt GT zum Abbau von Geschlechterungleichheit bei? ▪ Was sind die Hauptaspekte, mit denen sich GT beschäftigt? ▪ Inhalt des Trainings? Wissen?
Practice/ Methodologies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How does a gender training look like in practice? Examples? ▪ In practice, are there ethical principles? Does it have a theory behind? ▪ Can you give a definition for good practice in training for gender equality? And could you name some criteria? ▪ Does gender training play out differently in different contexts? If yes how? ▪ How have the techniques, discourses / concerns developed in the field in which you work? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wie sieht ein GT in der Praxis aus? Beispiele? ▪ Gibt es in der Praxis ethische Grundsätze? Gibt es eine theoretische Grundlage? ▪ Können Sie eine Definition für bewährte Praktiken bei Schulungen zur Geschlechtergleichstellung geben? Und können Sie einige Kriterien nennen? ▪ Wirkt sich GT in verschiedenen Kontexten unterschiedlich aus? Wenn ja, wie? ▪ Wie haben sich die Techniken, Diskurse und Anliegen in dem Bereich, in dem Sie arbeiten, entwickelt?
Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Is power playing a role in gender trainings and how does it appear? (levels) ▪ How do you perceive power in your work? ▪ Which actors are involved in power processes and power relations regarding gender training? (Inside the training and regarding the setting) ▪ How is power getting addressed in gender trainings? Methods? ▪ How can gender trainers address power relations embedded within the setting and context of international development? ▪ How can power be addressed through and within gender training for gender equality? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Spielt Macht in GT's eine Rolle und wie zeigt sie sich? (Ebenen) ▪ Wie nehmen Sie Macht in Ihrer Arbeit wahr? ▪ Welche Akteur*innen sind an Machtprozessen und Machtbeziehungen in Bezug auf GT's beteiligt? (innerhalb des Trainings und in Bezug auf das Setting) ▪ Wie wird Macht in GT's thematisiert? Methoden? ▪ Wie können Gender-Trainer*innen die Machtverhältnisse im Umfeld und Kontext der internationalen EZ thematisieren? ▪ Wie kann Macht durch und innerhalb von GT für Geschlechtergleichheit thematisiert werden?
Intersectionality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Could you describe your understanding of intersectionality? ▪ How is intersectionality getting addressed in gender trainings? ▪ Why does intersectionality matter for gender equality in the development field? ▪ How can intersectionality be addressed through and within training for gender equality? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Können Sie Ihr Verständnis von Intersektionalität beschreiben? ▪ Wie wird Intersektionalität in GT thematisiert? ▪ Warum ist Intersektionalität wichtig für die Gleichstellung der Geschlechter in der EZ? ▪ Wie kann Intersektionalität durch und innerhalb von GT thematisiert werden?
Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What tools, resources are you using in gender trainings? ▪ What kind of methods are used in gender training? (activities) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Welche Instrumente und Ressourcen verwenden Sie in GT? ▪ Welche Methoden werden in GT's eingesetzt? (Aktivitäten)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How are power and intersectionality discussed and getting addressed in gender training? (Methods, critical dynamic ways) ▪ In which way gender training is linked to power and intersectionality? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wie werden Macht und Intersektionalität in GT's diskutiert und angesprochen? (Methoden, kritisch-dynamische Wege) ▪ Auf welche Weise ist GT mit Macht und Intersektionalität verbunden?
Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What are the challenges that training for gender equality is facing? (Especially regarding power and intersectionality) ▪ What are the challenges regarding international development? ▪ What kind of resistance are you facing? ▪ Key challenges and opportunities presented by the ongoing privatization of funding for gender training? ▪ What kind of organizational features are "inequality producing"? ▪ How to address resistance in gender training? ▪ How to deal with the resistance and rejections inherent in the inequality-supporting policies of knowledge? ▪ Dealing with challenges that arise in training for gender equality; and a collection of tools and activities for use in such a training initiative? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Was sind die Herausforderungen, denen sich GT's stellen müssen? (insbesondere in Bezug auf Macht und Intersektionalität) ▪ Was sind die Herausforderungen in Bezug auf EZ? ▪ Mit welcher Art von Widerständen sehen Sie sich konfrontiert? ▪ Welche Herausforderungen und Chancen ergeben sich aus der laufenden Privatisierung der Finanzierung von GT's? ▪ Welche organisatorischen Merkmale sind "ungleichheitserzeugend"? ▪ Wie geht man mit Widerständen im GT um? ▪ Wie geht man mit den Widerständen und Ablehnungen um, die in den Wissenspolitiken enthalten sind? ▪ Wie geht man mit den Herausforderungen um, die sich beim GT ergeben (Instrumenten und Aktivitäten)?
Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What are the opportunities of gender training in the development field? ▪ How does gender training help to achieve the objectives of gender-mainstreaming? ▪ How changes on individual behavior relate to changes on an institutional level? ▪ How does gender training contribute to gender equality? (Personal/ institutional) ▪ What organizational possibilities do you see in relation to intersectional approaches and power structures? ▪ Which methods of social learning are used and how are these methodologically linked back to the complex and controversial fields of knowledge on gender that are currently available in women*s and gender studies? ▪ What tools and processes can be developed for systematically documenting the contributions of training? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Welche Möglichkeiten bietet das GT in der EZ? ▪ Wie trägt GT dazu bei, die Ziele des Gender-Mainstreaming zu erreichen? ▪ Wie hängen Veränderungen im individuellen Verhalten mit Veränderungen auf institutioneller Ebene zusammen? ▪ Wie trägt GT zur Gleichstellung der Geschlechter bei? (Persönlich/ institutionell) ▪ Welche organisatorischen Möglichkeiten sehen sie in Bezug auf Intersektionale Ansätze und Machtstrukturen? ▪ Welche Methoden sozialen Lernens werden eingesetzt und wie sind diese methodologisch an die komplexen und kontroversen Wissensbestände zu Gender rückgebunden, über die die Frauen*- und Genderforschung gegenwärtig verfügt? ▪ Welche Instrumente und Verfahren können entwickelt werden, um die Beiträge der Trainings systematisch zu dokumentieren?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In which way can pedagogical principles and practices work to overcome some challenges and contribute to maximize the gender training to transformative training for gender equality? ▪ How can gender training assist the gender mainstreaming strategy? ▪ (How) Are domination, power and violence as well as countable social inequalities in gender relations thematized in relevant representations of the training methods? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wie können pädagogische Prinzipien und Praktiken aussehen, um einige Herausforderungen zu überwinden und dazu beizutragen, das GT's zu einem transformativen Training für Geschlechtergleichheit zu maximieren? ▪ Wie kann Gender-Training die Gender-Mainstreaming-Strategie unterstützen? ▪ (Wie) werden Herrschaft, Macht und Gewalt sowie weitere soziale Ungleichheiten im Geschlechterverhältnis in Darstellungen der Trainingsmethoden thematisiert?
Others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Which other aspects do you see as important when looking at training for gender equality, besides power and intersectionality? ▪ Looking towards the future, what is still needed to use the full potential of training for gender equality? ▪ Are there any recommendations regarding the future for a transformative training regarding gender equality? ▪ What else would you like to mention? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Welche weiteren Aspekte sind aus Ihrer Sicht neben Macht und Intersektionalität wichtig, wenn es um GT's geht? ▪ Mit Blick auf die Zukunft, was ist noch notwendig, um das volle Potential von Training für Geschlechtergleichheit zu nutzen? ▪ Gibt es Empfehlungen für die Zukunft für ein transformatives Training zur Geschlechtergleichstellung? ▪ Was würden Sie sonst noch gerne erwähnen?

13.4 Data on CD

The following files are stored on the attached CD:

13.4.1 Interview transcript (Interview I/ Interview II)

Filepath: Interview Transcript_Data Analysis.pdf

13.4.2 Data analysis

Filepath: Interview Transcript_Data Analysis.pdf

13.4.3 Visualization

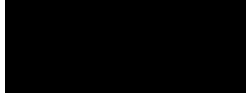
Filepath: Visualization.pdf

13.4.4 PDF Version of the thesis

Filepath: Masterthesis_Linn Radtke_Power and Intersectionality Matters! Gender Training in Development.pdf

Declaration

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich meine Master-Thesis zum Thema „Power and Intersectionality Matters! Gender Training in Development“ selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen Hilfsmittel, als die angegebenen benutzt habe. Alle Stellen, die von Autor*innen wörtlich oder sinngemäß übernommen sind, habe ich durch Angaben von Quellen als Zitat kenntlich gemacht. Die Arbeit wurde bisher weder in Teilen noch insgesamt einer anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt und auch noch nicht veröffentlicht.



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