IIEP research and studies programme

The management of teachers

The supply, condition and professional development of women teachers

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In many parts of the world, especially in countries facing structural adjustment policies and cuts in the education budget, planners and decision-makers are presently becoming more and more interested in containing the investment in teaching staff, particularly in optimizing the deployment and utilization of the teaching force available.

In this perspective, decision-makers, planners and administrators have to address crucial questions such as:

- Are teachers equally distributed among the different areas and schools in the country?
- What kind of measures can help overcoming such imbalances?
- How can trained teachers who are presently overstaffing the offices of public administrations be redeployed?
- How can a better match be achieved between the requirements of a teaching post and the profile and motivation of the teaching staff available?
- What must be done to ensure that the *right people* are allocated or promoted to posts of higher levels of responsibility and remuneration?
- Which policies and structures of teacher remuneration and promotion can help improve the motivation and utilization of teachers?

Related to the issue of better teacher deployment and utilization are questions about the possible ways of enhancing teachers' actual presence on the job, how to make sure that the teachers deployed are provided with the necessary level of knowledge and skills required to do their job properly;

and about the modes of teaching: double shift; multiple grade; school subject clusters, etc., to be set up in different specific contexts.

The general objective of the IIEP project is to analyze present problems, strategies and practices of teacher deployment and eventually to identify and help in defining and developing efficient policies and management tools in this area.

More specifically, the project aims to:

- identify – on the basis of several country monographs and case studies – relevant policies, strategies and instruments for addressing the major problems of teacher deployment and utilization;
- develop appropriate tools and indicators for the diagnosis and monitoring of teacher deployment and utilization;
- contribute to building up national capacities in the field of teachers deployment through the development of context-related teaching materials.

The policies and management systems used in the posting, transfer, promotion, utilization and redeployment of teachers are being given particular attention.

In most countries the management of women teachers raises a number of very crucial challenges. In certain quarters a severe shortage of female teachers is persisting and tends to affect the schooling of girls. Schools in remote areas in particular, often have great difficulties to attract and retain qualified female teaching staff. Even where women teachers are no longer in short supply, they tend to remain in an underprivileged situation with regard to access to promotional posts, in-service training etc. Based on a review of relevant literature, the present monograph by Catherine Gaynor attempts to identify the main issues that educational planners and managers should address with a view to improving the supply, deployment and career development of women teachers. Furthermore, some interesting initiatives and a range of suggestions for a 'gender-aware approach' of teacher management are presented.

Contents

Part I
Introduction

1. Background

The falling status of the teaching profession has made the recruitment of suitably qualified, and motivated, men and women into teaching more difficult. Shortcomings in the deployment and professional development of teachers can lead to serious problems of quality, equity and efficiency of educational provision, not only in situations of teacher shortage.

To develop appropriate policies for better staff deployment and professional development, it is necessary to examine the special circumstances and particular problems of different categories of teacher. Female teachers form a particularly important category. Women presently constitute a large, or even majority, share of the teaching profession in many parts of the world; at the same time some developing countries continue to face a shortage of female teachers, particularly in rural and remote areas. In most cases, however, the specific needs and conditions of women teachers have not been taken sufficiently into account in educational management.

The current predominant theory appears to be that of increasing access, to and the quality of, education through the greater participation of women in the teaching force. The overall thrust is towards human resource development, and the main objective is to address the need for a well-motivated teaching force and adequate supply of well-qualified and motivated women and men willing to enter the teaching profession. There is growing recognition that in order to achieve this, attention must be given to the situation of women teachers, to the various factors at play which influence women's access to the opportunities available in teaching, and to meeting the practical gender needs of women teachers. Several countries have adopted special policies aimed at increasing the overall number of women teachers, and of female staff teaching at higher levels of education

and occupying posts of responsibility in management and administration of education.

However, gender equity is not usually the driving force for focusing attention on women teachers. Even when motivated by a gender focus, policies are more often aimed at increasing girls' enrolment rather than at achieving gender equity in the teaching profession as an end in itself. This rationale applies particularly in socio-cultural situations which may require women teachers to teach girls for reasons of morality or personal safety (Unicef, 1992). Women teachers to provide role models for girl students are also seen by many as necessary, and the lack of women teachers in many remote rural areas, where girls' participation in education is particularly low, is therefore seen as grounds for intervention. Although the evidence to support this argument is not conclusive, and, indeed, is challenged by many (Davies, L.; Gunawardena, C. 1992), it still constitutes one of the main driving forces behind efforts to promote more girls in education.

One of the more compelling arguments for attempting to involve more women at management level in education is to make education more representative of both female and male values. This will involve not just an adjustment in the proportion of women in management positions, but will require a change in management styles and alterations to the content and process of schools and schooling. It will almost certainly require more females involved in the planning of education, currently a very male preserve. There is increasing interest by many women teachers in challenging the fundamental assumptions which have relegated to them a subordinate role, and in altering the structure of power relationships in education to better reflect women's needs and concerns, both practical and strategic. This is likely to be a slow and incremental process, requiring a long-term strategy.

The present situation in most developing countries is that women are, compared to male teachers, under-represented in management and decision-making positions in schools; they earn less money, are confined to low-status positions and their overall access to opportunities for advancement in the profession is more limited. The reasons for this are numerous and vary enormously between, and indeed within, countries. However, the starting position for addressing these issues is the same. It must begin with a gender-aware approach which challenges assumptions held about women teachers, their place in the home, society and within the teaching profession. If policy formulation and planning procedures related to the teaching profession remain gender-blind, then there is every chance that such isolated policies

will fail to optimize the contribution that women teachers can make and will, even if inadvertently applied, discriminate against women teachers.

Equality of treatment in postings, training, support services and promotional opportunities for women and men is necessary for effective deployment of teachers. Thus these issues are of concern not only to women teachers, but also to educational planners. The concept of equality of treatment is one which warrants clarification. There are several thrusts behind equal opportunities policies in general, including those which apply to education. Many are based on a recognition that some categories of teacher, by virtue of their ethnicity, class, gender, or other attribute, may be excluded from contributing to their full potential. Attention will often focus on removing barriers to access by these groups. But measures such as these fail to get to the root of the issue, which is that it is the system itself which must become gender-sensitive and undergo change in order to provide genuine equality of opportunity to all, and thereby to benefit from the contributions of all categories of people. This is the real challenge facing educational planners and this monograph attempts to bring into the open the current operation of the system, to identify interventions which have been tried, and areas which warrant further attention.

2. *Scope*

The purpose of this monograph is to identify priority issues in the supply, deployment and career development of women teachers for the attention of educational planners and managers in developing countries. The main focus will be on female teachers at primary and secondary levels of education, including administration. It will not be possible to deal with pre-primary or post-secondary education, nor with technical, vocational or non-formal education, although reference may sometimes be made to these, given that these sub-sectors may have an important bearing on policies, practices and proposed interventions in the primary and secondary sub-sectors. The monograph has the following objectives:

- To provide a conceptual basis for analysis of the situation of women teachers.
- To examine available data on women teachers in developing countries and provide a statistical overview of current status, trends and projections.
- To identify priority issues for the attention of educational planners.
- To propose and discuss possible avenues for improvement.

3. *Approach*

This paper is primarily a literature review. It draws on previous work on women teachers in Southern Africa by the author on behalf of the International Labour Organisation (Gaynor, C. 1990), and on a review of available research and data. There was no provision for first-hand data collection. The geographic coverage is developing countries and the intention was that information on all regions would be provided. The reality however is that there is insufficient available empirical research or analysis of the situation of women teachers to provide balanced coverage for all developing regions. As a result of the material available to this author, there is greater emphasis in this paper on sub-Saharan Africa. Statistical data on the teaching profession by gender are not readily available from annual reports on education nor are data on positions held by women and men in educational management routinely reported. Very often this information will be collated and supplied by ministries of education on request, but it generally requires a personal visit, an option not available in preparing this paper. This document does not claim to be an exhaustive review of all available literature. The documents cited are listed in the reference section. Personal contacts (Further references) and correspondence were used in sourcing relevant information. A recent publication on sub-Saharan Africa (ADEA, 1994) does contain information on teachers by gender in primary and secondary levels of education in most countries of the region. This has been a valuable source in providing statistical data used in this paper. An effort has been made to provide information on countries with different socio-economic levels, different sociocultural environments and different population sizes, as these factors could be significant in analysing the relevance of existing provisions and proposed remedies.

Although the importance of promoting and supporting 'female education' and understanding 'gender and education' is being increasingly recognized, attention is strongly focused on the situation of female learners, with little emphasis placed upon the equally important (and equally complex and difficult) situation of female teachers. There is a dearth of qualitative or quantitative research being developed on themes such as the experiences of women teachers in the education system, on their recruitment, deployment, aspirations and career prospects, with many publications and research endeavours up to the early 1990's appearing not to recognize the specific problems of women teachers. In addition to more research, there is also a need to make more readily available information on localized innovative

programmes which address women teachers, in order to stimulate much wider discussion and exchange of practical ideas and experiences.

A greater recognition of the specific difficulties of female teachers has, however, recently become evident within some international bodies concerned with education. For example, a meeting of the Working Group of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), on the Teaching Profession, in late November 1992, expressed concern over the scant attention paid to the situation of female teachers and highlighted the need for greater attention to be paid to their particular problems and circumstances in order to influence "*the pervasive male-dominated structures and regulations associated with management of the teaching profession*" (please refer to *Box 1*). UNESCO and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in particular have also over the years focused attention on the situation and needs of women teachers. It is hoped that the efforts of these and other organizations will stimulate further interest in this subject and encourage other policy influencing groups to look at the issues. The challenge for educational planners and managers is to move beyond the rhetoric and translate research into policy and the policy into action.

4 . Contents

This paper has four parts which set out to elaborate the dimensions of the issue of deployment and career development of women teachers. The present part briefly introduces the monograph, its scope and approach, and the conceptual basis for analysis of the situation of women teachers. *Part II* provides an overview of the current status, trends and projections relating to supply and distribution of women teachers in the developing regions of the world, and selected countries within those regions. *Part III* elaborates some of the priority issues for the attention of educational planners, and *Part IV* discusses some particularly significant initiatives and suggests a certain number of necessary steps towards developing a gender-aware approach to planning for the teaching profession.

Box 1. Gender sensitization of the teacher management and support programme, Association for the Development of African Education, (ADEA)

The ADEA Working Group on the Teaching Profession in Africa runs the Teacher Management and Support Programme (TMS) in a number of African Countries. At its first colloquium in 1993 it was agreed that 'in recognition of the disadvantaged position of women in the teaching profession and educational management' there was a need to integrate gender concerns into all aspects of the TMS programme. Resolutions on affirmative action were made and some strategies were agreed.

One year later, however, at a further meeting, it emerged that few countries had even begun to examine the issues, and a plenary session revealed *"both implicit and explicit hostility towards recognizing (the problem). Various arguments – biological, religious and cultural – were put forward ... to justify the continued disadvantage suffered by women and the maintenance of the status quo. The lack of proper understanding of ... gender issues also emerged as a barrier to the integration of gender concerns in the TMS programmes"*.

It was finally agreed that gender sensitization programmes should be carried out, preceded by a needs- assessment survey in five African countries.

During the subsequent assessments, the need to carry out gender sensitization workshops for staff and teachers at all levels came through strongly, but there was reluctance to accept this initially. In some cases the consultant *"could sense suspicion and even hostility towards the proposal"*. However, as the approach was explained, suspicion was replaced by enthusiasm, with the consultant concluding that *"inadequate understanding of gender and gender issues emerged as a primary reason for initial recalcitrance. In the minds of some, both men and women, the gender approach was taken to be synonymous with a* 'women's lib' *approach; gender workshops were equated with women's workshops, in which women were encouraged to have a confrontational attitude towards men"*.

At the conclusion of the needs-assessment survey, all five countries agreed to hold national and subregional gender sensitization workshops targeted at all cadres of staff within the teaching profession.

The foregoing provides a good example of how lip-service can be paid to gender issues in education, when clearly there was a limited understanding of what the issues were, and implicitly a concern that to address such issues would, in any case, serve only to threaten the existing status quo. However, the empowering influence of information is also well demonstrated by the conclusions reached.

National and regional gender sensitization workshops have been held in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and Zanzibar, with support from FAWE (Forum of African Women Educationalists). There are also plans under this programme to develop a gender training manual in Zambia, to conduct a gender sensitization survey in West Africa and to assess the integration of gender into training modules for headteachers in Mozambique. Amongst the lessons learned in the process is the necessity for follow-up and networking to sustain gender sensitization activities and ultimately to mainstream gender into educational planning.

5. *A key concept: gender and teaching*

The concept of gender (Moser, Caroline O.N. 1993) is an important one for understanding the disparities which exist between male and female teachers. Lack of gender analysis weakens the possibilities for making effective interventions in teacher management as it leads to the erroneous assumption that the experiences of male and female teachers are the same. An understanding of the different roles, needs and constraints which apply to women and men is necessary if policies and interventions in the education sector are to be 'gender-responsive'.

Gender: Biological differences between men and women are sex differences. These do not change. Gender refers to the relationship between men and women. This is socially constructed, can vary over time and place and often changes in response to altering economic circumstances. Analysis of the social construction of gender in the teaching profession is central to an understanding of the situation of women and men teachers.

Gender roles: Men and women play multiple and different roles in society. Men are primarily involved in *productive activities* and this is seen as their main role. They may have subsidiary roles, in particular involvement in *community politics activities*. Men generally focus on one or both of these roles. Women, on the other hand, are generally involved in *reproductive, productive and community management roles* and usually have to balance these three simultaneously. Furthermore, women's reproductive or 'caring' work is rarely acknowledged. It is generally underpaid and undervalued and it is taken for granted that such work will be done by women. The result for female teachers, as with women in other professions, is that they suffer greater time constraints and experience more conflicting demands than their male colleagues do.

Teaching ranges among the 'feminized' occupations which are seen as suitable for women, i.e. extensions of their reproductive and nurturing role. This generally leads to a lower status and salary scale for such professions, as is the case with the teaching profession in several countries, with serious consequences for recruitment, retention and morale of staff. The more visible 'leadership' type role associated with men also has consequences in the teaching profession, where it may not be acceptable for women to hold positions of authority, particularly over men. Gender roles change over time, but the new reality is not always acknowledged and this can lead to incorrect assumptions, discrimination and different cultural and economic biases and constraints against women and men which are deeply imbedded in systems such as the education system. One of the most enduring of these is the

differentiation of teaching into two distinct functions: that which is *nurturing and caring* and reserved mainly for women, and that which is associated with *authority and power* and seen as the preserve of men. Until this false differentiation is broken down there cannot be true equality for women, or indeed for men, teachers.

Another false premise which adversely affects women teachers is the notion that a woman's work and income is secondary and complementary to that of a male head of household, who is perceived as the main provider. This is seen as justification for women's earnings being less than men's and for priority being given to men in postings and promotions. The reality for most women teachers in developing countries is that their salary is either the sole family income, or two incomes are essential for survival in current economic conditions.

Gender needs and gender planning: While the tendency is to see the needs of male and female teachers as similar, women, in fact, have particular needs that differ from men's because of their multiple roles and because of their subordinate position to men. The progression of many women teachers is frustrated by the conflict between their own potential career development and their societal position. In general, the woman's primary responsibility is to her family and if her spouse is also employed, her job is generally considered as of secondary importance to that of the spouse. This conflict which is brought about by the differing needs of women teachers (and which also causes major problems for educational planners) is central to understanding the dilemma of women teachers and must be understood and addressed by educational planners and managers if we are to move towards equity for women teachers. Adequate responses to the specific needs of women teachers are also necessary, with a view to tapping the potential that they represent more fully and thus improving the efficiency of the education system. An approach to planning which attempts to deal with this dilemma is to distinguish between two types of gender needs: *Practical gender needs* and *strategic gender needs.*

Practical Gender Needs (PGNs) are the needs of women and men arising from their existing roles in society. Addressing these needs will resolve some of the immediate needs of either, or both, women and men, but will not affect the relative position of women and men. These needs are practical in nature, such as the need of women teachers for adequate child care facilities for their children, for maternity leave and for adequate teaching conditions.

Strategic Gender Needs (SGNs) in teaching are needs arising out of women's subordinate role to men in the profession. These will vary, but

relate to the division of labour, power and control which results, for example, in the under-representation of women in management in education; in unequal pay and teaching conditions, and in inequities in access to further training opportunities in the profession. Meeting SGNs assists women teachers to achieve greater equality, changes the existing male and female teacher roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position in the profession.

The combination of hierarchical male-dominated structures and entrenched attitudes, together with a general slowness in distinguishing the different needs and problems of male and female teachers, can make the path to equity a long one. However, if educational planners and policy-makers are sensitized to different gender roles, it will be possible to design interventions which take into account the needs of both male and female teachers. Such interventions should include those which focus on *practical needs*, but efforts need to be made to identify also the underlying *strategic needs* which will lead to the improved status of women teachers in the teaching profession and in society.

Part II

Women teachers: overview of current status and trends

1. Introduction

This part is prefaced by a brief discussion on the general level of education of girls and women. It attempts to describe (i) trends characterizing female participation in the teaching profession; and (ii) the current status and characteristics of women teachers. It draws on statistical reports, studies and research from several sources. The purpose is to provide information on the situation in a range of developing countries. The data are not sufficiently standardized to allow more than the identification of major trends and differences and should not be interpreted as precise quantification.

2. Level of education of girls and women

The overall low status of women is intricately tied to the high illiteracy rates and general lower levels of education amongst women and girls. Differences in supply of women teachers are linked to differential enrolments and completion rates for males/females at pre-entry levels to teaching. There is abundant evidence that, in most developing countries, girls' access to education is more limited, especially in South Asia, the Middle East and Africa, and that girls tend to drop out of school earlier and to a greater extent than boys (King, E.; Hill M.A. 1993). Even where equity of access to education is achieved for girls, this rarely means equity in quality of education and in achievement. Very often girls receive less teacher attention and are offered less rewarding options of specialization than boys.

Many families see limited economic benefit to educating girls and their labour is frequently required in the home to perform household chores,

including caring for younger children. Often girls receive little parental encouragement to enter and stay in school. In certain countries, for example, society views marriage as the goal for a woman, and education is regarded as counterproductive to developing the qualities of modesty and acquiescence most valued in a wife. Furthermore, an educated woman commands a more educated man and a higher dowry price. Both factors limit her prospective choice of husband and unless an educated girl finds employment, she can be a liability to her family. An additional risk is attached to keeping girls at school once they reach 'puberty' as reputation is crucial to marriage prospects, and girls are subject to gossip and comment, especially if they are taught by male teachers (The World Bank, 1990). Macroeconomic policies can accentuate these cultural difficulties. Recent economic austerity measures, in particular cuts in support to education connected with structural adjustment programmes, resulted in rising school fees, which frequently result in preference being given to boys over girls when choices have to be made in a family. Limiting girls' access to education in this way ensures that women are excluded from full economic participation in teaching, as in other professions. This continues to happen, despite much evidence which indicates that there are negative impacts on a country's economic and social well-being from low female participation in education.

3. Female participation in the teaching profession

The economic status of women is one of the chief indicators of achievement in gender equality and employment is one of the principle determinants of economic status. In most countries, theoretically, women enjoy equal rights with men in employment. In practice, they are generally under-represented in the labour force, earn less than men do and are often found in different areas of employment. Worldwide, just 42 per cent of the labour force in 1994 was female (World Bank, 1996). There is considerable regional and country variation in labour force participation rates by gender.

Teaching is a profession which gives employment to many women and men worldwide, including in developing countries. *Table 2.1* shows for different developing regions (Hartnett, T; Heneveld, W. 1993), the percentage of female teachers at primary and secondary levels of education. The lowest rates of female teachers are found in Africa, excluding the Arab States, and the highest are found in Latin America, where they are well above the average rates for the world and for developing countries. In all regions the proportion of female teachers at secondary level is lower than

that at primary level. The rates are significantly lower again in post-secondary education. Regional figures mask wide variations between countries, and within countries there can also be significant geographical disparities in the proportion of women teachers. Overall, the percentage of women teachers at all levels in low-income countries is only about half that in middle-income countries.

Table 1. Percentage female teachers at primary and secondary levels, by region, 1993

Region	Primary	Secondary
Africa (sub-Saharan)*	42	34
Arab States	52	40
Latin America and the Caribbean	77	49
Southern Asia	31	36
Eastern Asia and Oceania	49	39
All developing countries	51	40
The world	57	47

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1995. * All of sub-Saharan Africa except Sudan, Somalia, and Djibouti

China constitutes an interesting example in several respects. The lowest percentage of women teachers is found at post-secondary, i.e. at college and university level (Information Office, People's Republic of China, 1994). At kindergarten level in 1990, 96 per cent of teachers was female. However, the proportion of women in teaching has been increasing at all levels and in all sub-sectors of education, especially in vocational middle schools and secondary technical schools, as *Table 2* shows.

Table 2. Percentage of women teachers by level in China, 1980-1992

Level	1980	1985	1992
Colleges and university	25.3	26.7	29.9
Secondary technical schools	28.5	33.3	40.4
Secondary normal schools	21.9	30.8	36.8
Ordinary middle schools	24.8	28.1	33.3
Vocational middle schools	13.7	24.8	33.5
Primary schools	37.1	39.6	44.5
Special schools		71.9	70

Source: Beijing Review, Vol. 37, No. 43, 24-30 October, 1994.

In India, the majority of teachers are male, but the proportion of women teachers at all levels has also increased over the past four decades, as can be seen from *Table 3*. The Indian figures are unusual in that the proportion of women teachers at upper primary and high/secondary schools is higher than the proportion at primary level. There is considerable variation, however, between states and those with low levels of female enrolment in primary schools are also those with fewer women teachers (The World Bank, 1991).

In Bangladesh also , the government has made special efforts to increase the share of women teachers. However, despite a government policy to reserve 50 per cent of primary-school teacher posts for women, this goal has not been achieved. In 1990, only approximately 20 per cent of primary teachers were women (The World Bank, 1991). In Sri Lanka, on the other hand, in 1988, 82.1 per cent of primary teachers were female(Davies, L.; Gunawardena, C. 1992).

Table 3. Percentage of women teachers in India by level 1950/51-1990/91

Year	Primary	Upper primary	High/secondary
1950-51	18	15	16
1960-61	17	24	21
1970-71	21	17	25
1980-81	25	30	28
1990-91	29	33	33

Source: Government of India (1993), Selected Educational Statistics. Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, New Delhi, India.

The percentage of women teachers at primary and secondary levels in sub-Saharan Africa and trends since 1980 are shown, for selected countries, in Table 4. Countries are listed in ascending order of their rank on the Human Development Index (HDI) for 1990 and represent the four major groupings of *low-income semi-arid* (Niger and Chad), *low-income other* (Sudan, Ethiopia, Burundi, Kenya, Lesotho), *middle-income oil importers* (Zimbabwe, Botswana, South Africa), and *middle-income oil exporters* (Cameroon). It can be noted that almost all of them record a significant increase of the share of female teachers, particularly at primary levels. There is still great variance however between countries, from the very low proportion in Chad to substantial majorities of female teachers at primary level in Lesotho and Botswana. In Benin, Mali, Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire – countries which are not included in *Table 4* – women are largely under-represented at primary levels, forming about one quarter or less of the primary teaching staff, and are even more poorly represented in secondary, technical and higher levels of education (Perez, S. 1994).

Table 4. Percentage of women teachers by level in selected sub-Saharan African, countries, 1980-1992

Country	Primary		Secondary	
	1980	1992	1980	1992
Niger	30	34	21	18
Chad	-	8	-	3
Sudan	31	52	26	33
Ethiopia	22	26	10	10
Burundi	47	47	18	22
Kenya	31	44	-	33
Lesotho	75	79	48	50
Zimbabwe	38	41	-	33
Botswana	72	77	35	41
South Africa	-	58	-	64
Cameroon	20	30	18	20

Source: ADEA (1994).

The situation of most of the African countries contrasts with the one prevailing in many Latin American and European industrialized countries, where women's participation in teaching tends to be high. As can be seen in Table 2.1, the Latin American region records high rates of female teachers. In Costa Rica, 73.3 per cent of teachers are women, and at pre-school level the proportion is as high as 95.8 per cent. In Honduras in 1989, 68 per cent of teachers at pre-school, primary and secondary levels was female, while in El Salvador in 1988 74.5 per cent of primary and 48.8 per cent of secondary teachers was female. In Panama in 1990, a little more than 60 per cent of public pre-primary and primary teachers was women. Male teachers were

concentrated at secondary level (Mafalda Sibille Martina, 1994). The feminization of the teaching force is even considered to be (or to become) a problem in many of these countries. Extreme examples of the high representation of women among the teaching staff can be found in some of the former socialist countries which are now undergoing economic transition. In Lithuania the majority of teachers are women at both primary and secondary levels, with 91 per cent at primary and 82 per cent at secondary level, respectively. In the United Kingdom the data on women teachers for 1991 show that 81 per cent of primary teachers, 47 per cent of secondary teachers, 27 per cent of teachers at further education institutes, and 13 per cent of teachers at university level was female. Analysis of recent trends in teacher recruitment suggest that the proportion of women teachers at secondary level will reach 85 per cent by the year 2020, unless a successful campaign is mounted to attract more males into this level of teaching (The Sunday Times newspaper, April 1995). Declining numbers of men opting for teaching have not only been observed in the industrialized countries. In some African countries where structural adjustment programmes have led to sharp falls in the value of public sector salaries, many male teachers have recently moved to other sectors of employment. For example, the teacher employment in Zimbabwe at both primary- and secondary-school levels has declined during the 1990s, with a growing number of male teachers seeking better-paid employment outside of teaching. Teachers who leave are not always replaced, due to tight budgetary conditions. Consequently, the proportion of women teachers is increasing (Chisvo, M. 1993).

The above statistics on teachers by gender from countries in different regions of the world suggest a number of aspects about current status and trends related to male and female teachers. These are summarized below and explored in more detail in the following parts.

- Overall, world wide, teaching is a profession which increasingly attracts a substantial proportion of women. In many countries (particularly in Western countries and some of the middle-income developing countries) there is majority participation of women in teaching and increases in the proportion of women teachers may indicate that the teaching profession is no longer an attractive economic career option for men. Males are not usually opting massively for teaching when more attractive alternatives are available. The so-called *feminization* of the teaching profession (where the proportion of women in the teaching

force is dominant) is not regarded as positive, since men are generally better placed to demand higher pay, improved conditions and status.

- Conversely, some countries have minority participation of women in teaching. These countries tend to be the least developed and those where competition for employment opportunities is greatest.
- Differences in access to education for males and females in the 1960s and 1970s is reflected in the proportion of women teachers that exists now. In general, those countries with the lowest enrolment rates for females in the past, now have a lower proportion of female teachers than those countries which had higher female enrolment rates. Under such conditions, progress can only be attained if both girls' participation in education and women's access to the teaching profession are promoted.
- Women and men teachers are not equally distributed across the different levels of education. Women in almost all countries are concentrated in the lower levels of the system.

4. *The characteristics of male and female teachers*

Differences between male and female teachers in relation to the level of education taught, subjects taught, teacher qualifications and proportions in part-time or temporary teaching are particularly important variables to examine. As will be argued in *Part III*, they are generally the result of structural factors in the organization of the education system and a reflection of the gender division of labour in society.

4.1 Concentration of women teachers at lower levels and lower grades of education

As is clear from the foregoing, the ratio of female to male teachers at primary level is almost always higher than at secondary and higher levels of education. Furthermore, men tend to take the more senior classes and women teachers the more junior classes, within primary schools in particular. A common argument put forward for this is that caring for younger children is the natural extension of the nurturing role of women. This is legitimized by many educational planners and managers, and few countries have attempted to redress the drop in young men entering the pre-primary and primary levels of education. Yet, it will be very difficult for women to advance in the profession and to influence educational management and decision making from the position of junior-level teacher.

Teaching at this level also generally attracts lower levels of pay and lower status. This trend which concentrates women at lower levels of education therefore needs to be challenged.

4.2 Differences by subjects taught

A gender bias also exists in relation to subjects taught by male and female teachers. Women are under-represented as teachers of mathematics, science and certain technical subjects in many developed and developing countries. K. Lynch in a 1990 study for the ILO on technical education in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia (Lynch, K. 1990), found very few women teachers in the areas of woodwork, masonry, building construction, engineering and technical drawing, and a concentration of women teachers in home economics and secretarial studies. One of the possible explanations for this phenomenon, which was emphasized in a 1994 report on four Francophone African countries (namely Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Senegal) (Perez, S. 1994), is the fact that in general fewer girls are taking up technical and vocational subjects at secondary level. Entry requirements to technical schools which girls have difficulty in attaining, lack of infrastructure and places for girls, and social and traditional factors are additional reasons which are commonly put forward for this.

Gender differences in teacher career choices are demonstrated, for example, by the figures on students finishing courses in the Faculty of Education at the University of Costa Rica in 1993 (Malfada Sibille Martina, 1994). The total number of students was 2,141, of whom 51 per cent was female. One hundred per cent of those taking a degree in special education was female, 88.6 percent of those taking a degree in guidance was female, just 37 per cent of those taking the Programme of completion of educational administration was female, and only 17.4 per cent of those taking a degree in the teaching of industrial arts was female. This shows the orientation of females towards the caring and pastoral/guidance roles which are socially ascribed to them, with males opting in greater numbers for the more public administrative and technical-industrial roles which also offer greater opportunities to earn more income and for career advancement.

Box 2. Primary mathematics upgrade project, Tanzania

In an Irish Government-funded project which focuses upon upgrading the teaching and learning of mathematics at primary level in Tanzania, it was found that 80 per cent of female students and 62 per cent of male students entering the teacher-training college had failed mathematics at secondary school. They were also failing mathematics in their final TTC examinations and were bringing a fear and ignorance of mathematics into the classroom with them, thus perpetuating the cycle of poor teaching and learning of the subject for another generation.

The project seeks to address these issues through a multi-faceted approach which includes an emphasis upon the importance of understanding gender relations within the community and the classroom; the development of gender-sensitive materials and texts; a very strong focus on an inclusive methodology; in-service training for teachers within the pilot area affected by the project, and role modeling through maintaining a strict gender balance within the local project team, illustrating clearly that mathematics is not a male preserve.

All of the female primary-school teachers under the project are grade 'C' teachers, who constitute 70 per cent of the primary teaching force in Tanzania and are mostly untrained. They have received approximately 50 hours of in-service training through the project and the impact of this training upon their approach and self-confidence has been enormous. It is too early yet to assess the impact in terms of pupils' performance in national examinations. Nonetheless, independent assessments have confirmed that the process has, by grounding mathematics firmly within everyday structures and taking cognizance of gender relations, de-mystified the subject for both teachers and pupils and the teachers are the most enthusiastic exponents of the project.

(From various HEDCO project documents, Dublin, Ireland).

R. Meena, in an article on Tanzania (Meena, R. 1994) pointed out the detrimental effect which the diversified secondary-school curriculum in that country had on female students' career opportunities. She points out that there was gender bias inherent in the four streams offered for specialization at this level: agriculture, home economics, technical and commercial and general academic, and this was compounded by the fact that the respective options gave differential access to advanced level as opposed to ordinary level study. She argues that in practice, vocationalization streamed females out of the higher skill areas useful for employment in the modern sector, towards lower-level skill areas and thus further entrenchment in reproductive or secondary roles. The female teaching staff in the national vocational training centres amounted to only 7.1 per cent of the total (according to the 1994 figures quoted by Meena); the proportion of female teachers at Technical Schools was just 8.7 per cent of the total (in 1990). Lynch (Lynch, K. 1990) also found that women teachers tended to be alienated from

technical disciplines and that the few women teachers who broke the barrier into non-traditional subjects, were often isolated in their work.

This problem is compounded, in many countries, by the fact that fewer girls than boys study mathematics and science, at secondary level, which are subjects often required for entry into technical and vocational further education colleges. Additionally, several studies have shown that girls appear to perform less well than boys in these subjects. There are many common assumptions that this is based on females being less able than males at mathematical and scientific subjects. However widespread and unchallenged this point of view may be, the evidence available does not support this, as state-of-the-art research on the issue indicates (Harding, J. 1992). Interesting insights into the question of female students in mathematics and science can be gained from a study on Malawi: boys outperform girls at primary- and secondary-level examinations in this country; girls do better than boys at the Malawi Certificate of Education examination in only two subject areas: Chichewa and bible knowledge, and their performance in science and mathematics subjects at the end of secondary schooling is significantly below that of boys. However, studies in Malawi by Hyde and Hiddleston (Hyde, K.; Hiddleston, P. 1991), have shown that the reasons for girls' low achievement may have more to do with teacher attitudes and school-based factors than any gender difference in ability in relation to mathematics and science. While only about one fifth of females enrolled at tertiary level in Chancellor College, Malawi, is studying science or mathematics subjects, those females who study mathematics were found to have started performing below male levels, but to surpass male performance by the end of their first year and to continue to do so to the end of their university course. The rapid progress made by females is attributed by Hiddleston to encouragement and higher expectations of teachers towards female students at tertiary level.

4.3 Teacher qualifications by gender

There is no automatic link between gender and level of teacher qualification. Many countries do not keep information on teacher qualifications by gender, so it is difficult to say whether or not there is an association. Furthermore, each country has different requirements and even these may change over time; therefore, cross-country generalizations are almost impossible to make.

A recent study on teacher gender and student achievement in Pakistan by Warwick, D.P. and Jatoi, H. (Warwick, D.P.; Jatoi, H. 1994), found that

male and female teachers in their sample had similar levels of education. In Namibia in 1992, according to statistics from the Ministry of Education and Culture (EMIS bulletin, vol. 1 No. 2, November 1993), more women (65.3 per cent) than men teachers (59.9 per cent) were professionally qualified to teach, and more female than male teachers had grade 12 or higher levels of academic education. In South Africa by contrast, according to Kotecha (Kotecha, P. 1994), 48 per cent of all teachers are under-qualified and of these, 68 per cent are women. However, as Davies (op. cit.) has pointed out, even when women are more highly qualified than men, this does not reflect on the proportions in senior-level posts.

Furthermore, women tend to be over represented among the unqualified staff. In a study from West Africa it was pointed out that with the increase in private and community schools, there tends to be a growth in recruitment of non-qualified teachers and that women in particular are susceptible to this practice (Perez, S. 1994, op. cit.).

Studies on countries in Latin America and Africa found fewer women undertaking courses which would lead to management and administrative qualifications. A number of researchers have drawn particular attention to the existence of gender bias in relation to opportunities for further training for teachers in general (Davies, L; 1994, Gaynor, C. 1990 and Meena, R. 1994). In Lesotho, for example, where the proportion of female teachers is very high, women teachers are not represented in proportion to their numbers in allocation of scholarships/fellowships for further studies.

4.4 Differences by gender in part-time and temporary teaching

Few countries keep gender disaggregated statistics in relation to temporary or part-time teachers. A study on the situation of women teachers in Central America, undertaken by the ILO (Malfada Sibille Martina, 1994), observed that it was mainly women who work part time, that part-time teachers have less status and fewer opportunities than their full-time colleagues, and that there has been an increase in numbers of part-time women teachers. A study in north-east Brazil found that female teachers were systematically paid less than males and that this was linked to the fact that many female teachers were on temporary appointments.

Such teachers lack the conditions of employment which public service employees have, such as paid holidays and sick leave. For women, there is a particular problem due to their childbearing responsibilities. In the absence of maternity leave, women must work right up to birth and again afterwards, or lose income.

4.5 Women in posts with special responsibilities

In her study on the Status of women teachers in Southern Africa, Gaynor (*Gaynor, 1990*) noted a low proportion of female head teachers, particularly at secondary level, as *Table 5* highlights.

Table 5. Women teachers in posts of responsibility at school or teacher-training colleges

Country	Year	Primary Head/ Principal	Primary Deputy Principal	Secondary Head/ Principal	Secondary Deputy Principal	TTC Principal	TTC Deputy Principal
Botswana	1989	43%	67%	9%	26%	0	60%
Lesotho	1988	49%	N/A	26%	N/A	0	50%
Malawi	1990	2.7%	3.2%	22%	9%	25%	N/A
Zimbabwe	1989	N/A	N/A	7%	9%	8%	9%

Source: Gaynor, C. *The status of women teachers in Southern Africa.* ILO, 1990.

The same study also found that women were seriously under-represented in senior positions within ministries of education. Perez, S. (1994) in her study of women teachers in West Africa (*op. cit.*) notes the same trend, although comprehensive relevant data were not available to her.

While women's levels of representation in senior positions remain relatively low almost everywhere, it is likely that they have been increasing within a number of countries; unfortunately there is little published information on how such improvements may have been achieved. In his study on women in school administration in Trinidad and Tobago, (Taylor, E. 1989), found evidence of increases in the proportion of women principals and deputy principals during the 1980s. The proportion of female principals at primary level increased from 148 (31.9 per cent) in 1980/81 to 182 (39.6 per cent) in 1987/1988, while the proportion of female vice-principals was 66.8 per cent and 72.1 per cent respectively at the beginning and end of the 1980s. At the secondary level the proportion of female principals was 23.6 in 1980/1981 and 25.3 by mid-decade, and that of female vice-principals 35.6 and 38.4 respectively. However, there had

never been a female appointed to the top administrative post – Chief Education Officer – in the education system.

S. Malfalda (*op. cit.*) notes in her study on teachers in Central America that in Panama, contrary to other countries in her study, women teachers held important positions of responsibility. In schools with management duties, 62.9 per cent had female heads. Malfalda explains the phenomenon by indicating that "apparently the Panama teaching profession is more professionalized and while male teachers are abandoning teaching as a career, women are conquering the internal regulations and accumulating points by merit". (There is also some evidence that a similar situation pertains in the Philippines). The question remains unanswered as to why, under similar circumstances, their peers in other countries remain far below such levels of representation in senior posts.

In Lithuania, for example, where feminization of the teaching force has also been reported to be particularly high, the situation for women teachers in relation to promotion was worsening rather than improving during the 1980s, as the statistics on head teachers of primary and secondary schools seem to indicate: while 98 per cent of teachers at primary level are women, only 45 per cent were head teachers in 1991, the figure was 52 per cent in 1980. At secondary level, while 82 per cent of teachers are women, just 32 per cent were head teachers in 1991, little changed from 33 per cent in 1980 (Women's World Newsletter, October 1994, No. 2).

Women are also under-represented in teaching and management posts in teacher-training colleges and faculties of education. Out of 18 colleges in three countries in Southern Africa in the late 1980s, only one had a female principal and none of the faculties of education had a female dean. In Tanzania only eight of the 40 principals of teachers colleges were female in 1994 (Meena, R. 1994). The proportion of female lecturers in teacher education was also very low, even in countries such as Botswana and Lesotho, where the majority of the teaching force are female (Gaynor, C. 1990). According to Professor A.G. Hopkins of the University of Botswana, recent research indicates that there are no females at the head of primary teacher training colleges in that country and that there is a predominance of males in the senior-level posts such as Principal and Deputy Principal. This is so despite the overall higher qualifications of female staff.

5. *Perceptions of the relationship between teacher gender and student achievement*

One of the major issues which has attracted growing attention from educational policy-makers and managers deciding on teacher recruitment and deployment is the impact that teacher gender has on student achievement. At present there is a particular lack of in-depth country studies on this question and the results of available research on the issue are contradictory. Certain studies on student achievement in the USA, e.g. using hierarchical linear modelling, found that teacher gender was the single most powerful predictor of student achievement in mathematics tests, with students of male teachers scoring significantly higher than those of female teachers. However, an adequate explanation for this must be sensitive to the particular conditions applying in the school system of the country considered, as pointed out by Warwick and Jatoi (1994) op. cit. In their study on teacher gender and student achievement in mathematics in Pakistan (based on survey data), they tested several hypotheses. The study found that women with a university degree did better than men with a degree in teaching mathematics. Furthermore, it showed that the gender gap favouring male teachers was almost non-existent or even reversed in urban schools but rather pronounced in rural schools. Qualified women teachers in remote areas tended to have low job satisfaction and motivation and this led to high rates of turnover, low commitment and low achievement of pupils taught by these teachers. These findings refute the notion that men are better teachers of mathematics than women and highlight the crucial negative impact for rural schools of being unable to attract and retain women teachers with adequate training.

A study of reading advantage, conducted in a subset of countries including Singapore, and Trinidad and Tobago, concluded that girls performed better when their teacher was also female. Another study, carried out in Kenya, found that women teachers had no effect on the examination performance of girls, but that female school heads tended to have a positive impact on the achievement of both boys and girls. Examination performance in the nine primary schools with a female head of the sample studied was significantly better than in the 41 primary schools surveyed, which had a male head. Clearly the relationships between teacher gender and achievement constitute an area which warrants controlled investigations and any conclusions with regard to staffing and staff development decisions need to be drawn with great care.

More generally, there is need for further analysis of the current status and trends in the profile of both male and female teachers. This would require careful collection of and reporting on the relevant data by gender in all countries. There is also a need for in-depth studies to examine the links between the supply of women teachers, conditions of service, including pay, and the status of the profession. Not enough is known, in particular, about the various factors which actually determine the supply, deployment, job satisfaction and career of women teachers. However, based on existing information relating to this issue, the following part makes an attempt to explore some of these factors.

Part III
Gender issues in the teaching profession

1. Introduction

The present section takes a look at some major factors which impact upon the current trends and problems relating to the supply, condition, deployment and career of women teachers and which need to be taken into account when envisaging possible improvements in these areas.

2. Factors influencing the supply of women teachers

A number of factors will influence the supply of women who choose teaching as a career. Some of these factors relate to the teaching profession, but others are embedded in the sociocultural and socioeconomic fabric of societies.

2.1 Sociocultural factors

Culture determines power relations within society and one of its chief expressions is in the differential access to and control over resources. To challenge the established gender inequalities and gender-based division of labour which generally ascribe to women a domestic and non-public role in society is quite difficult for women; those who do, risk being ostracized by those men and women who support the status quo. In many countries sociocultural attitudes related to women in the public sphere make teaching as a profession very difficult for a woman to ascribe to. Certain cultures place restrictions on women travelling or living away from the family home (The World Bank, 1990). This tends to hamper the enrolment of girls – especially of girls from the rural areas – in teacher-training institutions, which are mostly located in urban areas; furthermore, once trained, female

teachers have difficulties in accepting to be posted far away from their families.

Even where teaching is an acceptable career for a woman, there may be barriers to acceptance of women in positions of power and responsibility, particularly when this places women in a position of authority over men. Low societal images of women have been recorded but insufficiently challenged in research to date, according to the Forum for African Women Educationalists. Generally, the education system itself does not challenge traditional values about the role of women and this in turn has negative consequences for women's opportunities in the labour market. The role played by education in the maintenance of a subordinate position for women emerges in a series of articles ranging across different countries, cultures, religions and political systems in a recent issue of *Gender and Education* (Gender and Education, Vol. 6, No 2., 1994). Countries covered in the articles include contemporary China, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Saudi Arabia, Nepal and Nigeria. Despite major differences, some unifying issues emerge, such as the reinforcement of gender divisions and stereotypes through education. Alternative depictions of women, therefore, need to be articulated and included in policy formulation, curriculum development and design of teaching materials (Gachukia, E. 1992).

2.2 Safety and living conditions

Physical safety is important. Women are at greater risk than men, particularly in contexts of civil unrest. A major factor which limits the supply of women teachers in certain countries is indeed the lack of adequate accommodation, which discourages them from accepting teaching posts, especially in remote locations. Moreover, in the case of Bangladesh, reaching appropriate family agreements which allow women teachers to work in locations distant from their families has been identified as a prerequisite for increasing the supply of women teachers (The World Bank, 1990).

2.3 Multiple demands on women

Women's participation in teaching, as in other careers, will continue to be constrained until women and men have equal opportunity to combine employment and family life. The burden of responsibility for the family still falls mainly on women and the only official recognition of this fact is in provision of maternity leave for those teachers in full-time employment.

Male teachers in developing countries are generally not entitled to paternal leave and this places the burden of family responsibility squarely on women.

In many countries, traditional family support systems are no longer available to a large number of women teachers with children. Nor are facilities available to meet the child care needs of these women. This is seen as one of the main constraints to expanding the number of women teachers in Bangladesh, for example, a country which has very low female participation in teaching, with only 20 per cent at primary-school level (The World Bank, 1990). Many women teachers have to rely on domestic workers who are unskilled, underpaid and not motivated for child minding. This puts considerable practical, financial and emotional burden on teachers with children and may contribute to the inaccessibility of a teaching career for those women who wish to have children (Mafalda Sibille Martina, 1994; Gaynor, C. 1990).

2.4 Masculine nature of schooling and schools

To an extent, the teaching profession has opened up to women, but it is still the case that the profession has been dominated and shaped by men and it is mostly male values which are reflected in organizational patterns and practices. This does not make the profession welcoming to women, who have to adapt to male ethos and behaviour (see Kotecha, P., 1994, and Davies, 1992, op. cit.). The participation of women in social and economic development and the value of women's input and perspective in shaping education is generally not recognized within the school system. Educational policy and management rarely specifically address the concrete steps required in order to make schools more appropriate for women as students and as teachers, and to enable them to play a full role in society as equal citizens.

Additional barriers face those women who opt to study and teach the so-called 'masculine' subjects such as carpentry, mechanical drawing, etc. Such mould-breakers need to be able to accept the social isolation which often ensues for women teachers in a mostly male environment. On the other hand, the devaluation of 'female' subjects such as home economics or secretarial studies, make these less attractive career choices for young women as well as for men (Lynch, K. 1990). Women attending technical and vocational training institutions in Bangladesh found that, due to negative attitudes about women's involvement in work outside the home, they often suffered from ill feelings towards them and even from negative attitudes of male colleagues. These factors discourage enrolment of girls and do not give

the necessary recognition and support to the females who do enrol in traditionally 'masculine' subjects (The World Bank, 1990).

2.5 Devaluation of the teaching profession

In many countries teacher salaries have stagnated, decreased or even remained unpaid over recent years. Studies from Botswana, Tanzania, Ethiopia, West Africa and Central America, for instance, suggest that the status of the teaching profession is declining due to poor conditions and lack of incentive and that many teachers are focused on meeting their basic needs rather than delivering quality education. There are reports from several countries of teachers resorting to second jobs, such as trading, private tutoring and even selling school equipment and supplies to supplement their incomes. One does not know however to what extent there are differences, if any, in the strategies employed by women and men teachers to supplement their incomes and what the impact has been of different coping strategies on the provision of education. More generally, there is little systematic information available on the – possibly differential – impact of the changing economic and financial context on the overall supply of male and female teachers.

Where teachers' conditions of service and remuneration are inferior to those in the private sector and in other parts of the public sector, one may frequently observe, over time, a shift away from teaching, as more and different job opportunities emerge (USAID/Ethiopia, 1994, Meena R. 1994). As indicated in *Part II*, it is often males who abandon or avoid teaching in favour of alternative career paths (and this has further deteriorated the image of the profession in many instances). In a number of developing countries, this trend, together with the extensive recruitment of unqualified teachers, has led to a significant increase of the share of female teachers with no or low qualifications, especially at primary level.

3. Factors influencing enrolment in training and teacher job preparation

What happens now in teacher-training colleges and in university faculties of education will have considerable impact on education for at least another 30 years, while the products of that training remain in the education system. A major problem exists in many developing countries, whereby the educational entry requirements for teacher training are such that the pool of

potential female teachers is very small. Furthermore, if efforts are not made in teacher training to eliminate inequities in the system, then prevailing stereotypes and gender-biased attitudes are likely to endure for some time to come. The need, but also the possibilities, for change at teacher-training level are considerable.

3.1. Entry requirements and enrolment of males and females

Entry requirements to the teaching profession - and consequently the length, type and level of training programmes that teachers have to undergo to obtain their qualification - can differ from one country to another. In certain cases, teacher education programmes even vary within the same country; thus, university courses often coexist alongside programmes provided in special training colleges or through other modes of delivery (distance teacher training for example). Where differences exist in type and level of teacher qualification in a given country, one will generally find females concentrated in programmes of lower level and status. Women are frequently concentrated in primary-teacher-training institutions, the entry requirements for which are usually lower than for secondary-teacher-training colleges and for the Faculty of Education at the University; at the same time, the qualifications received upon completion are generally lower status and lower paid.

In Central America, the tendency of women to occupy the lower status levels of teacher training is commonly observed (Mafalda Sibille Martina, 1994). An analysis of the students in teacher-training colleges in Nicaragua in 1990/1991 found that the typical student was female and that they entered very young, several being under 14 years. A similar pattern prevailed in Panama, where 62 per cent of the fourth-year students at one teacher-training college studied, were female. The age of entry for these students was between 12 and 14 years. It is argued that boys and girls have different reasons for enrolment, i.e. that boys aim to use it as a stepping stone to further studies at the University, while girls enter because they want to work with children in a job which will allow them to combine family and professional responsibilities.

Attempts to change the common – often gender-related – hierarchy of teacher-training courses are apparently difficult to implement. In the case of Botswana, for example, the proposal to generalize a three-year diploma programme for primary teachers – instead of maintaining the existing two-year course – was rejected. Mannathoko argues that this refusal further entrenches gender hierarchy and gender inequities in teacher training

(Mannathoko, C. 1994) in this country – which have later links with career prospects, promotions and salaries.

However, some countries, e.g. Bangladesh, still suffer from an insufficient number of girls leaving school with the right qualifications to enter teacher-training colleges; in such cases, quota systems may be introduced. For example, in Ethiopia, in order to increase the low proportion of women teachers, the Ministry of Education introduced a policy from 1990/91 whereby 10 per cent of places in teacher-training colleges was reserved for women. For further places, women competed equally with male candidates, based on academic achievement. The following year that quota was raised to 20 per cent for female reserved places and in 1994/95 it became 30 per cent. This has been necessary due to the low level of girls' enrolment in education. However, the quality of education received by these girls is given less recognition. A recent study in Ethiopia uncovered negative attitudes to the female quota on entry to teacher-training colleges. The director of a teacher-training institute, for example, claimed that the lowering of entry requirements for girls was having a negative impact on the quality of new teachers. He did not accept that these girls may have been disadvantaged in their schooling and required special effort to allow them to catch up in teacher training (USAID/Ethiopia, 1994).

3.2. The masculine structure and design of teacher training courses

Another obstacle for increased female participation in teaching is the masculine structure and design of pre-service teacher-training courses. Many young women attend teacher-training college at an age when society expects them to bear children. But in most countries courses are residential and there is no provision for family. In fact women students at teacher-training college who become pregnant often have to leave their course and may not always resume. In addition to the demands created by a young child, permission to return is often discretionary. This has led to fairly high attrition rates from teacher training by females, for example, in many countries in Southern Africa (Gaynor, C. 1990).

3.3 Gender-biased content of teacher preparation

Teacher-training institutions generally do not provide any training on gender issues in either the formal or informal curriculum. There is no questioning of sex bias in individuals or sex differences in teaching styles and no confrontation of sex bias in the education system. As a result these

colleges replicate gender differences in society which, in turn, will be perpetuated by the trained teachers in the classroom. Furthermore, by concentrating on teaching aspects to the exclusion of management aspects of the job, teacher preparation misses the opportunity to break the stereotype that management is for males. Davis (Davis, L. and Gunawardena C. 1994) makes the point that it is important for the profession that these two aspects of the job are combined in pre-service education. It is particularly important for women, who might not otherwise see a role for themselves in management of education and who might not get, or avail themselves of, later opportunities for management training.

3.4 Gender-specific constraints to further study by teachers

Gender dissagregated information on in-service teacher training is difficult to identify. However, in-service teacher training is unlikely to be more gender-aware than pre-service training. There is little doubt that family responsibilities tend to make it more difficult for women teachers to take time out from teaching to undertake further study. Evidence from several African countries suggests that the more substantial and longer the study, the more difficult it is for women teachers to avail themselves of it (Gaynor, C. 1990, and Meena, R. 1994). This is particularly the case with opportunities for overseas training, which almost always overtly favour male teachers. Women's special needs and responsibilities in balancing reproductive as well as productive roles are not generally considered in the design of fellowship and scholarship programmes.

Furthermore, certain policies and regulations may raise gender-specific constraints to further study by teachers. In South Africa, for example, the government's Education Renewal Strategy requires that teachers have eight years of continuous teaching in order to qualify for further qualifications. The objective is to give priority opportunities to experienced teachers. In practice, however, this strategy discriminates against women teachers as they are less likely than males, by virtue of their reproductive responsibilities, to have eight continuous years of teaching; and, as a result, male teachers actually have greater chances of improving their qualifications (Kotecha, P. 1992).

The ILO/UNESCO Recommendation on the Status of the Teacher (UNESCO/ILO, 1966) points out that incentives as well as opportunity will need to be provided to encourage all teachers to take up possibilities for further study. Gender-specific constraints to participation in further study will need to be identified to ensure women teachers' participation. Factors

such as the timing and duration of further study courses and provisions made for addressing women's reproductive as well as productive role during this training, could make considerable impact on the opportunities for women's attendance at such courses. In any case, keeping gender disaggregated records on pre-service and in-service training and further study is a crucial prerequisite for developing strategies which ensure that women teachers have the same access and opportunity to training as men teachers.

4. *Factors affecting deployment, retention, status and influence of women teachers*

In order to develop the most efficient and effective regulations for teacher deployment, it is important to examine the gender dimensions of how teachers are currently assigned to schools; how long male and female teachers stay in particular postings and in teaching; what, if any, differences there are in male and female teacher attendance; the reasons for male and female teachers leaving the profession; what gives men and women teachers job satisfaction; differences by gender in terms and conditions; differences in the work allocated to male and female teachers; differences in their experiences as teachers; and in the bargaining power that male and female teachers enjoy. Again, there are few sources of published material on these issues as they relate to developing countries and information is difficult to obtain as systematic collection of this kind of data rarely takes place.

4.1 Teacher postings

Many countries operate a centralized policy in relation to placement of teachers. This ensures, to some degree at least, that the needs of different areas, both rural and urban, can be met. The regulations related to assignment and posting of teachers are generally gender-neutral, i.e. there is no distinction made between male and female teachers. Practice may however differ from the principle. One of the greatest concerns for all teachers is where they are assigned and why. An accusation frequently made by teachers is the lack of transparency in postings. Such a situation lends itself to accusations of unfairness and to efforts by individual teachers to influence decisions. Adequacy of services in the location of assignment is a crucial determinant of teacher satisfaction. Eventually such satisfaction is itself essential to effective deployment and retention.

In countries with considerable differences between the living and working conditions of urban and remote rural areas there is in general a tendency for teachers – particularly women teachers– to seek to move towards urban centres. In Malawi, for example, only 27 per cent of teachers in rural areas, compared with 60 per cent in urban areas, is female. In a number of countries, current policies and regulations actually reinforce the concentration of women teachers in urban areas by guaranteeing or facilitating their posting or transfer to locations to which their spouses are placed or transferred. As the husbands of women teachers are often employed in public administrations located in urban areas, many schools and colleges of the capital and other big cities record a high percentage of females among their staff; phenomena of teacher oversupply are also frequently being observed in many urban schools, with parts of their teaching staff working only a few hours per week for a full salary. These policies and practices, however, constitute one of the very few examples of female advantage in posting; and it is worth noting that in some countries, Zambia, for example, they are currently under review.

The answer to geographical imbalances in teacher provision, reinforced by certain existing regulations, is not to force women, or men, into rural postings. This is unlikely to be effective in terms of teaching quality and is very difficult to administer. In the case of Pakistan (see Warwick, D.P. ; Jatoi, H. 1994) female teacher turnover in the rural areas seems to be at least partly due to unfavourable living conditions and lack of incentives to work in these areas. Greater success can be expected from special provisions for teachers in rural and remote areas to ensure their safety and professional updating and to compensate for geographic disadvantages through hardship allowances, housing and other measures.

In an article on 'Teacher gender and student achievement in Pakistan', attention is drawn to conditions which create a negative environment for women to teach mathematics in its rural schools and which drive female teachers back to cities. Almost three quarters of rural female teachers in Pakistan come from urban areas. They have to contend with housing which is poorly located, inadequate security and frequently different languages and customs. These problems are exacerbated by a provincial policy which gives rural teachers lower allowances for house rent (30 per cent of base pay) compared with teachers in cities (45 per cent of base pay) and makes no provision for travel by teachers back to their homes (Warwick, D.P. ; Jatoi, H. 1994).

Under certain conditions, devolution of recruitment and posting responsibilities to the local and/or school levels may make the responses to teacher shortages more flexible and rapid and help alleviate problems of retention in remote areas. However, as the experience of certain countries seems to indicate, local communities and schools tend to recruit unqualified teachers in order to save costs. It has been observed in decentralized education systems, such as in the United Kingdom and Australia, that schools which have full control over their resources may opt to employ lower paid and temporary and part-time teachers. A sample on teachers in North-East Brazil found that 75 per cent of teachers was entirely at the whim of the local authorities, who paid teachers less than schools under federal, state or private control (Harbison, R.W. and E.A. Hanushek, 1992). There is clearly a temptation for communities as well as schools to hire cheaper teachers. Furthermore, the potential for gender discrimination may be magnified in such settings, particularly where clear nationwide regulations and effective control of staff management practices are missing. In Zimbabwe, for example, where untrained teachers are recruited by the district education offices, there are four men to every woman. This is explained partly by the fact that young women are not deemed suitable for remote rural postings. However, the tendency is to accept this, rather than to investigate and adopt appropriate measures to address the factors which are actually at the origin of such discrimination against women in terms of recruitment.

4.2 Women teachers' entitlements

The already-mentioned widespread assumption that women teachers are merely supplementing the main income earner, i.e. the male spouse, may affect decisions on women's entitlement to housing or housing subsidies. This assumption is also a false one as the number of households where women teachers are the main, equal or sole income earner is high, and increasing in many developing countries. This discrimination is observed by Kotecha (Kotecha, P. 1992) in South Africa, where the proportion of female-headed households is in the order of 40 per cent in many areas. While some improvements have been made to discriminatory legislation in South Africa, it is argued by Kotecha that these changes are slow and women teachers still do not have parity with their male colleagues in terms of housing subsidies. Married women teachers are not eligible for such subsidies unless their spouse is totally financially dependent on them. This is not the case with married male teachers.

The regulations and practice related to maternity leave and other rights of women teachers have by and large been addressed in most countries. However, provision in many countries falls short of the ILO-recommended 12 weeks on full pay. Introduction of maternity benefit has been relatively recent in some cases. For example, until 1984, women teachers in South Africa automatically lost their permanent teacher status on marriage and had to accept temporary posts. It is only since 1991 that paid maternity leave has been granted to female teachers (Kotecha, P. 1992). In Mali, Benin, Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal, all public sector women teachers are entitled to 14 weeks of paid maternity leave. This status is not, however, granted to unqualified or temporary teachers and these women have no rights at all to social benefits, including maternity leave (Perez, S. 1994, op. cit.). Given that these countries are curtailing public sector teacher appointments and calling increasingly on unqualified temporary personnel, this is a potentially serious problem for a growing number of women teachers there. In Central America, too, many women teachers are employed on a part-time basis (Mafalda Sibille Martina, 1994) and do not have the same status or benefits as those who teach full time. More generally, it is argued that women belonging to this category of staff are particularly vulnerable and open to exploitation. They would tend to have less negotiating skills than men, and thus be more likely to undertake the same work but with less status and under less stable conditions, with fewer benefits.

4.3 Job satisfaction, absenteeism and attrition by gender

Research on teachers in developing countries has not tended to provide detailed information on job satisfaction or to look at this important area by gender. One may put forward that the subject is difficult to clearly define and measure. There is also sometimes a tendency to confuse issues, such as staying power with job satisfaction. In a study of education in Tanzania, Mbughuni, P. ; Mbilinyi, M. 1991) for example, argue that one measure of job satisfaction in the teaching profession could be whether teachers remain in their jobs once their obligatory 'bonding' period is completed. They found that almost 90 per cent of women teachers tended to stay in the profession and, additionally, that in studies of job satisfaction of teachers in the 1970s and 1980s, women teachers tended to score higher than male teachers. The findings were interpreted by those who carried out the research in the 1970s as being due to the fact that teaching was 'typically' a female job. However, whether retention in the job can be said to clearly represent job satisfaction, requires some debate and further investigation. In-depth

analysis would, furthermore, be required to determine whether women's staying power is a result of the lack of alternatives for them in the labour market, or is indeed a clear case of job satisfaction, or a combination of both.

Observation and information from case studies seem to indicate that women indeed tend to get more satisfaction from classroom activities and being in contact with pupils rather than management duties, which lessen the teachers' contact time and take them outside the classroom, (Davies ; Gunawardena , 1992, op. cit.). This is a complex issue which again requires more research and understanding to tease out whether women actually get more satisfaction from the classroom, or simply do not, in general, have the self-confidence, or energy, to move into other areas such as management, which male teachers appear to find more fulfilling.

There may not only be different attrition rates for men and women teachers in a given country, but also different reasons for them leaving the profession. A study on a sample of female teachers in Pakistan collected information on reasons why female teachers might quit the profession. Topping the list was low income; followed by length of the working day, which involves preparation and checking students' work outside teaching hours; little chance of promotion; and falling social status of the profession. Many female teachers indicated that they do not wish to stay in teaching, preferring a shift into administration, due to a lack of upward mobility opportunities for classroom teachers (Bhatti, M.S. et al., 1988). Another study on the teaching profession from Central America (Malfalda Sibille Martina, 1994) claims that men are deserting the teaching profession in far greater numbers than women teachers, and mainly for economic reasons. Similar tendencies have been observed in other parts of the world. On the other hand, evidence from industrialized countries, such as the USA, suggests that women too, if provided with the opportunity, would pursue other careers. However, this issue has not been studied in depth and the relevant gender-specific data are scarcely available, at present. It is important for planning and management to fill this gap and collect information on gender differences in teacher attrition.

Contrary to attrition, absenteeism is often said to be particularly high among women teachers due to their family responsibilities. However, this assumption too is rarely properly investigated nor are the additional possible reasons for teacher absenteeism adequately studied. A study from Ethiopia (USAID/Ethiopia, June 1994) found that male teachers were absent as much if not more than their female counterparts, although some female teachers were found to have lengthy periods, i.e. 30 days or more, of absence. While the reasons for absenteeism were given in the report (personal illness, care

of sick family members, community commitments, and a few instances of child-care responsibilities), the replies to this question were unfortunately not differentiated by gender. Detailed information and investigations on this issue by gender are necessary in order to find appropriate ways and means of addressing it.

4.4. Teacher duties by gender

The societal roles ascribed to women do transfer to the workplace. There is strong evidence to suggest that women teachers are regularly assigned non-teaching responsibilities which are considered 'supportive' and often subordinate to those assigned to men. For example, in a study of gender relations in secondary schools in one of the formerly self-governed regions of South Africa, S. Sebakwane-Mahlase (Sebakwane-Mahlase, S. 1994) noted that although the sexual division of labour did not always remain constant, women teachers tended to be assigned cleaning and hospitality duties (including hospitality tasks for fellow staff), membership of condolence committees and disciplinary committees, as well as treasury positions. Out of 60 women teachers included in the study, only three held important administrative duties such as timetabling. Similarly, in a study of male and female teachers in Botswana, the Gambia, Nigeria, Uganda, Zambia and Malaysia, Davies and Gunawardena, found that male teachers were responsible for timetabling, examinations, organization of special events, visits, chairing of meetings and boys' welfare. Female teachers were involved in pastoral activities such as hospitality, discipline and girls' welfare. When asked to state areas in which they thought they did well, or could be good at, male respondents mentioned 11 areas around management/organization, timetabling, curriculum and examinations, while female respondents referred to four areas: girls' welfare and discipline; hospitality for visitors; students' personal problems; and home/school links.

The fact that female teachers at the same hierarchical level as their male colleagues are assigned and accept pastoral, rather than managerial, extra-curricular activities, perpetuates the stereotype of women as nurturers/carers and men as decision-makers and managers. That women accept and perhaps offer themselves for these roles needs further investigation and understanding. Davies and Gunawardena found in the above-mentioned survey that women teachers were more concerned with collegiality and enjoyed working with fellow teachers rather than managing them or being over them. She argues for a deeper analysis which explores the differences

between female and male teachers in their respective perceptions of the job of teacher.

4.5 Representation of women within teachers' unions

Not only the general debate on education and educational management in developing countries, but also the struggle by teachers' organizations and unions to improve conditions of service, have tended to suffer from gender blindness. Most countries have some form of teachers' union or representative groups to which both male and female teachers belong. However, despite the fact that women teachers are normally well represented, or are in the majority within the profession, they tend not to be highly represented at leadership levels – a result of their perceived subordinate position and the time-consuming demands of multiple responsibilities outside of the workplace. Gaynor (1990) found that while women teachers formed the majority of the membership of teachers' organizations in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho, and about 50 per cent in Zimbabwe, women were not represented at all at executive level in teacher associations in Zambia and Botswana, and constituted only 25 per cent of executive membership in other countries. The absence of women at leadership levels means that traditional divisions of labour and male-dominated career structures remain unchallenged when collective bargaining demands are drawn up.

As the particular difficulties of women teachers become more appreciated within the broader education arena, there is an attempt at policy level in many unions and teacher organizations to address these issues. In 1995 the First Congress of Education International (EI) was held in Harare and the 800 delegates drew up a strong declaration on women in education which included increasing female representation at leadership levels within national organizations (please refer to *Part IV* below for further details). Gaynor also found that the teachers organizations in the countries mentioned above did view the lack of participation by women at leadership level as an issue of concern and had introduced measures aimed at addressing the situation. In general these interventions include training to promote the involvement and develop the confidence of women members. Training for women and the establishment of 'women's committees' can, however, be counterproductive, tending to marginalize issues of particular concern to women from the main agenda and feeding stereotypical attitudes. The entire structure of educational and teacher organizations needs to be analysed from

a gender perspective and re-created in order to make the organizations truly equitable (see *Box 3*).

The challenge facing the national and international organizations today is to translate policy declarations into action. As history has shown with regard to equality in almost all spheres, this is a most difficult and time-consuming task, which relies on a tremendous commitment to the issues which cannot always be assumed, and cannot come about without a thorough understanding of gender relations.

Box 3. Teacher organizations in Costa Rica

In Costa Rica, 80 per cent of the teaching profession is female and these figures are reflected in the membership of SEC, the Costa Rican Educators Union. However, of 52 leaders on the national executive, only 13 are female and of the 12 national directors, only three are women. These women are considered as 'deputy directors' and all their duties are *ad honerum*, meaning that no assistance to attend weekly meetings is provided and the leader/union duties have to be performed in addition to other teaching duties. In her document, Malfalda describes the lengths one woman leader has to go to in order to attend meetings:

- *María Trejos* teaches at a school on the outskirts of San José. She is a member of the national council and the national board of directors. She is married with a four-year-old child.
- The board of directors meeting occurs every Monday, they start at 08.00 and go on all day.
- She leaves her son in a nursery where he is looked after until 11.30.
- María works from 07.00 to 09.00 at the school. She arrives at the meeting at 10.00. To get there she has to take two buses and a taxi (she is not reimbursed).
- At 11.30 she must leave the meeting to collect her child and take him to another suburb, where her mother will mind him. At 12.30 she rejoins the meeting. As the meeting has continued, she has missed opportunities to talk and when she rejoins them she must revise the records and update herself. To obtain a vehicle from the association to help her with these journeys she has to threaten to resign.
- On one occasion she insisted on participation in an activity. After great effort she secured a place for herself. However, she couldn't go because her child became ill and she had to mind him. Besides the feelings of frustration, she had to put up with feeling ridiculous in front of her companions...(who) made her feel unorganized and ridiculed her role as a leader when she has family responsibilities.
- In carrying out her role she has to cope with her husband's disapproval who, while supporting her in many aspects, does not agree with her ad honerum participation in the leadership.

Source: Mafalda, Sibille Martina (1994), La situation de las Muyeres Docentesen Centroamerica : Hacia la Igualdad de Oprtunidades Y de Trato. SAP 4.23/wp.68 ILO, Geneva.

4.6 Sexual harassment

(Sexual harassment is) ;

> "... any uninvited, unreciprocated and unwelcome physical contact, comment, suggestion, joke or attention which is offensive to the person involved, and causes that person to feel humiliated, patronized or embarrassed. It may create a threatening or intimidating working environment, adversely affect school work or job performance and, in extreme cases, may cause a person to seek to leave the school" .
> (quoted in De Lyon, H. et al., (1989) 'Women teachers: issues and experiences', Open University Press, Milton Keynes, United Kingdom).

As the definition above, taken from the National Teachers Union (UK), neatly summarizes, sexual harassment can take many forms. It is generally (although not exclusively) directed by males (in the teaching context both by teachers and pupils),at women and tends to reflect the state of gender relations within the society. Sexual harassment in schools has an added dimension in that it broadcasts a strong signal to pupils of both sexes concerning the relative positions of men and women.

Many women teachers who suffer harassment are afraid to make complaints because they will not be taken seriously, or because the person who is harassing them is in a position of authority to them. Sebakwane (...) found that women teachers in her sample suffered various forms of sexual harassment, particularly when men in positions of authority had influence over their career prospects. Two women in the study indicated that they had reported sexual harassment to the relevant authorities, and as a result were themselves transferred to one of the largest and least attractive schools for teachers.

Sexual harassment is common in schools in developed and developing countries and cannot be combatted unless the effects are recognized as real by both the harassed and the harasser (De Lyon, H. et al. (1989). Teacher organizations, which tend to be male dominated themselves, have an important role to play here and should be providing guidelines, encouraging women to air their complaints and providing a supportive environment for this.

5. *Factors influencing career development and promotion*

In 1981, the ILO in its report on 'Employment and conditions of work for teachers', stated that:

> "... despite their presence in large numbers, women are concentrated overwhelmingly at the bottom of the educational ladder, suggesting widespread discrimination in promotion practices".
> (International Labour Office, Report, 1981. p.22)

In developing countries at least, there is little evidence to indicate that the position has altered in the intervening 15 years. There are a wealth of data internationally – some of which have already been mentioned in this document – demonstrating that women do not occupy promotional posts in equal proportion to their male colleagues.

This part explores some major constraints and barriers to women's promotion which are institutionalized within the education and sociocultural systems.

A complex and contradictory set of hypotheses exists concerning women teachers and their career development and promotion, with the existence of more than one school of thought as to why women are less represented at senior levels than men. However, official regulations and promotional practices are widely considered to be among those factors which have worked firmly against women.

5.1 Regulations and practice relating to promotions

From an examination of the procedures for promotion in many countries, it does appear that these regulations have, indeed, operated actively against women and combine with societal views to maintain the under-representation of women.

Career structures in many developing countries are based on length of service and seniority as well as academic/professional qualifications, rather than professional quality and performance (see *Box 4* on career progression in Tanzania). This has serious implications for levels of motivation within the teaching profession generally. It particularly affects women teachers, however, since women are often in an underprivileged position with regard to access to education and attained qualifications, as mentioned earlier.

Box 4. Career progression for teachers in Tanzania

Three types of career progression are in operation in Tanzania:

(i) service related (after three years teachers move up to the next salary scale);
(ii) through obtaining higher academic qualifications;
(iii) by moving out of teaching into administrative positions.

R. Levine, reports that there is little evaluation of teaching and promotion is a guaranteed entitlement. There is also a high degree of favouritism and hand-picking of senior positions from head teachers on. Given the patriarchal society in Tanzania, this system obviously favours men, but serves to frustrate both male and female teachers. In addition to this structure, Mbilinyi and Mbughuni (1991) note that women teachers in Tanzania face further barriers related to marital status and point out, as others have done with regard to many countries, that "a disproportionate number of headmistresses are single, widowed or divorced. Top bureaucrats tend to oppose the appointment of women to high positions or are reluctant to request transfers of their husbands".

Source: Mbughuni, P.; Mbilinyi, M. (eds) October 1991, "Education in Tanzania with a gender perspective: Summary Report", Education Division Documents No.53. Swedish International Development Authority, Dar es Salaam.

This uneven starting point is further eroded by women teachers having to leave the profession to bear and to care for their children, in many countries forfeiting their achieved seniority each time they leave; this is seriously inhibiting their occupational mobility. For example, in Zimbabwe it used to be the case that women of 'child-bearing age' were designated as temporary teachers and lost seniority each time they *resigned* to have a child (Gaynor, C. (1990). Under current conditions of service in Sierra Leone (under review since 1995), women teachers who marry may be invited to find other employment; unmarried mothers are not eligible for maternity leave and must resign their appointment not later than the tenth week of pregnancy. They may only be re-considered for employment six months after their 'confinement'.

In her study of women teachers in Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, and Senegal, S. Perez, (1994) indicates that in all four countries promotion is on the basis of seniority (i.e. length of service) and that women with high levels of seniority are scarce in all countries. A similar situation prevails in Trinidad and Tobago, although a task-force of its Ministry of Education recommended in 1993 that expertise gained through professional development rather than seniority should become the primary criterion for promotion.

Women in less 'traditional' teaching areas appear to suffer from inequities to an even greater degree. In her study on women in technical and vocational education, K. Lynch, (1990) found that women in these spheres face, severe obstacles to promotion connected with formal qualifications, because the regulations prohibit pregnant women from attending in-service courses. Lynch, furthermore, concluded that women teachers in technical fields were likely to:

> "experience a disadvantage in promotional terms ... (because) men see themselves as natural leaders in technical fields; the woman who is seeking promotion ...will probably have to be outstanding before she will be acceptable as a leader in what is regarded as a male sphere" (Lynch, K. 1990).

5.2 Sociocultural barriers

Overt gender bias may not be the reason, or even a contributory factor, in all situations. Even if gender is not an issue in selection, other factors such as family obligations, financial constraints, provision for dependents and levels of entry to training programmes may mitigate against women candidates. Programmes for enabling teachers to improve their qualifications need to be analysed from a gender perspective in order to identify the particular constraints of women teachers and to address these so that both sexes truly have equal access to these opportunities.

Unequal access to education and further training, combined with childbearing and child-rearing responsibilities, means that women's career path is necessarily longer than that of their male colleagues. The lack of attention to this by educational planners serves to frustrate women and undermine their confidence in their own ability, and may result in women seeking promotional posts less frequently than their male colleagues.

While many countries have worked to address some of the inequities around these issues within their legislation and regulations for promotion, this has proved in sufficient to address the imbalance. Sociocultural and institutional barriers remain entrenched within the system where, in fact, many promotions are lacking in transparency and there is evidence that male teachers, through their stronger networks, are better placed to influence these decisions. Men, as Taylor, E. (Taylor, E. 1989) has indicated, also benefit from sponsorship, mentoring and alliances which few women are fortunate enough to benefit from. These alliances operate a 'gate-keeping' function, which assists the exclusion of women through perpetuating the gender-blind

structures. Job descriptions are aimed at male candidates and interview panels and selection boards are male dominated and often off-putting to women. Sebakwane-Mahlase, S. (1994) reported on male-dominated school committees in South Africa, which were perceived by women teachers to be hostile towards them. These committees had joint responsibility with inspectors for appointment of teachers. Women, in general, cannot benefit from such supportive alliances which encourage men to climb the career ladder, and in fact they often suffer from quite the reverse form of treatment, being labelled a 'career-woman' (with derogatory connotations) if they attempt to ascend the same ladder or emulate what is expected of their male colleagues. As Taylor points out, these traits in women are often ridiculed by men and this further exacerbates the cycle of under-confidence referred to above.

The more 'meritorious' approach of recent times is generally lauded as a major step forward from the 'seniority' approach. It remains, however, a blanket strategy as long as the multiple responsibilities of women are not recognized by educational managers.

These highly sensitive issues present challenges for educational decision-makers and planners. *Part IV* which follows, explores some of the interventions which have been instituted in developing countries to address the position of women teachers.

Part IV
Possible interventions

Lessons from experience, and conclusions

Conclusions to be drawn and recommendations made will obviously differ depending on the particular country context. Country size, population growth, sociocultural factors, teacher supply and shortage, the administrative structure of education and degree of decentralization, adequacy of existing legislation and of political will to tackle gender inequities in the teaching profession, will all affect the policy options and measures adopted to address the related problems. While cross-country generalizations have to be used with discretion, this last section tries to draw lessons from several promising interventions for improving the supply, deployment, condition and career development of women teachers, and presents some emerging major conclusions and recommendations for gender-sensitive educational policy making, planning and management.

1. Enhancing the supply and deployment of women teachers

Many countries have officially committed themselves to reducing the gender gaps in education and have taken action, often in collaboration with international aid donors, to promote equality of opportunity. Increasing the supply of women teachers is part of the strategy for many countries. However, a set of factors, including conflicting priorities, insufficient understanding of gender aspects, lack of political will, shortage of funds and inadequate staffing levels to make interventions work, has made for slow progress.

A review of research documents by UNICEF identified strategies and interventions which work to promote girls' education. Included in the published report on findings are suggested interventions to promote the hiring of female teachers (UNICEF, 1992). These are summarized in *Box 5*.

Box 5. Suggested interventions to promote hiring of female teachers

- Increasing the supply of potential female teachers by, for example, active local recruitment, lowering age restrictions for entry to the profession, and a combination of lower minimum qualification standards and intensive pre-service and in-service training, supervision and support. These approaches have been used successfully in Bangladesh and Nepal.
- Providing incentives for female teachers to overcome constraints such as female mobility, lack of housing, or family responsibilities, through monetary and non-monetary incentives such as flexible schedules and special accommodation arrangements.
- Providing teacher training locally, for example in existing secondary institutions, as was tried successfully in Yemen, with very low drop-out rates, or through decentralization of teacher-training institutes. Tanzania and Pakistan have successfully used the 'assistant teacher strategy', whereby local female primary school graduates are recruited and trained in the school and community under the supervision of qualified teachers, and have succeeded in increasing girls' enrolment.
- Some countries, such as Bangladesh and Ethiopia, have introduced policies stipulating that a certain percentage of teachers and/or teacher trainees must be female.

Source: UNICEF (1992). "Strategies to promote girls' education: policies and programmes which work". Education Section, UNICEF, New York.

Experience indicates that a combination of interventions is more likely to be successful than a single intervention, and that selection of appropriate interventions must follow proper analysis of the constraints. In Nepal, where the mentioned programme to address girls' access to education began in 1971, the female teaching force increased, indeed, from 3 per cent in 1971 to almost 10 per cent in 1980. Another interesting measure aimed at promoting the recruitment and deployment of female teachers in rural areas is presently being implemented in India; one of the main dimensions of *Operation Blackboard*, launched by the federal government of the country, is indeed the introduction of a regulation which makes it imperative to have a female teacher alongside every male teacher in rural locations (Brock, C.; Cammish, N.K. undated).

In his review of World Bank experiences related to female attendance, Khoudari, K. (1993) cites further positive examples of policies aimed at increasing the number of women teachers, including tuition scholarships in Bangladesh, modified admission criteria for recruitment to teacher training in the Gambia (Khoudari, K. 1993), and special arrangements for lodging, security and post allowances for women teachers in remote areas in several

countries. In Cameroon and in Bangladesh, the need for secure residential accommodation for females from rural areas coming to study at universities was identified as an essential condition for attracting more females into teacher training.

Efforts to attract more women into teacher training by the sole means of lowering entry standards for females compared with males have proved to be counterproductive, leading to overall deterioration of standards of teachers, antagonism with male colleagues, and restricted promotional options for women teachers. More promising interventions to increase the supply of female teachers generally include adequate organization of training programmes; on occasion special institutions to attract female teacher trainees; as well as accompanying incentive and support measures.

Concerning the problem of attracting women into teacher training, Warwick, D.P. ; Jatoi, H. (1994) writing on Pakistan, emphasizes the importance of adequate information and consultation with the people most concerned, i.e. women teachers, before proceeding with innovations. He cites the construction, by the Government of Pakistan with World Bank support, of 320 residences for single teachers, most of which were not occupied or which were soon abandoned. The project did not pay sufficient attention to culture regarding female teachers living alone, to concerns of women teachers, and to the negative impact of the innovation on financial allowances, which teachers expected in addition to their basic pay and which they preferred to housing provision.

2. *Gender differences in subjects studied in teacher preparation*

The lack of female teacher trainees enrolling in technical and scientific subjects, leading to ongoing shortage of women teachers in these subjects, constitutes a specific matter of concern in many education systems (see Gaynor, C. (1990); Martina, M.S. (1994); and Perez, S. (1994). In order to address this issue, the Belvedere Teacher Training College in Zimbabwe did encourage students – particularly female student teachers – to take non-traditional subjects in their selection of one academic and one practical subject for specialization. However, due to problems encountered by these newly trained women teachers in teaching practice, which could be traced back to earlier lack of subject grounding, this policy was abandoned in favour of promoting girls' enrolment in non-traditional subjects at school level. This is unfortunate, as the time-scale for effectiveness is thus delayed.

Options such as special training and transition courses, etc., could have been taken immediately, alongside the mentioned policy at school level, and would have enabled female students at the college to undertake scientific and technical courses.

Most of the promising measures mentioned were mainly aimed at increasing girls' enrolment; they do not necessarily lead to improving women's status and conditions in the profession. Strategies which address both goals are clearly preferable.

Recommendations

- Upgrade the teaching profession as a whole to increase the quality of teachers and teacher education and ensure that there is gender-awareness.
- Provide guidelines, gender-awareness training, and monitoring in relation to recruitment and interview procedures, particularly for head teachers and interview panels.
- Adopt family-friendly initiatives: consider the provision of on-site child care and investigate innovations such as job-sharing/flexible working hours.
- Consider special measures such as the creation of special training institutes for women; these should give particular regard to location and culture. Review entry requirements for females to teacher training, but beware of possible consequences of lowering entry standards. Instead favour programmes which can upgrade female candidates to meet entry requirements. Ensure timely and accurate information in relation to training programmes to potential female candidates. Schedule training to take account of women's time constraints, roles and responsibilities.
- Support an improved incentives package of salary and fringe benefits, including rewards for achievements in teaching, which are linked to gender-positive and transformative teaching and which ensure that wages and all benefits are provided equally to men and women, regardless of marital status. Provide incentives and special allowances which will attract and retain women and men teachers in rural and remote areas.

3. *Improving the status, condition and career development of women teachers*

In Western industrialized countries, efforts to improve the conditions and career development of women teachers have, to a large extent, been based on what can be called a human resource development approach. Legally, the structures for equality are in place and in some countries, such as the USA, a policy of affirmative action has been followed for some time. Through this approach, some success has been achieved and more women are represented at all levels, although it is reported that the percentage of women head teachers in the USA declined in the 1980s (Taylor, 1989, op. cit.). In this country, as in many others, women remain severely under-represented in relation to the numbers within the profession, and importantly, continue to suffer from unacceptable levels of sexual harassment (De Lyon, H., et al. 1989). The position of women in society is obviously mirrored within education; but the mentioned practices and structures also indicate a clear lack of adequate gender analysis and gender-sensitive action in the education sector.

A more 'holistic' approach to the condition, status and career of women teachers has generally, therefore, been adopted by feminist teachers' groups and academics (Meena, R. 1994). Not satisfied with balancing the proportion of women in the various spheres of education, this approach questions the deeper structural factors which have led to discrimination against women in the teaching profession and challenges, in particular, the structures of power and the determinants of existing teaching contents and practices in the education sector. It does not accept that the education system and its values are 'rational' and 'gender-neutral' and pleads for a new balance of values in education which will incorporate the qualities traditionally associated with both women and men (Davies, L. ; Gunawardena, C. 1992; De Lyon, H. ; Migniuolo F.W. 1989; Mc Lennan, A. 1993/1994). Unfortunately, so far inadequate attention has been given to women teachers' own efforts and initiatives to transform the gender-biased education system and, more generally, to the impact of affirmative action measures to promote gender equality in the teaching profession in developing countries. A 1991 report from Tanzania on gender in education (Mbughuni, P.; Mbilinyi, M. (eds) October 1991) is one of the few analyses available which attempts this broader, more fundamental approach to the issue (see *Box 6*).

Empowerment of women teachers and a more holistic approach towards gender equality in education are being given increasing importance by teachers' unions, also with respect to action within their own organizations. At the first World Congress of *Education International* (EI) in Harare in July, 1995, a strong policy declaration on women in education and teachers' organizations was passed. The declaration recognizes that:

> "Education, no matter what form it takes is still ... contributing to the perpetuation of cultural stereotypes and sexist behaviour, thereby aggravating the existing inequality between men and women, Education International calls urgent attention to the need for action on the part of organizations of teachers and educational employees in the following three fields: (a) within the education system; (b) within organizations of teachers and education employees; (c) in society as a whole".

It is too early to judge the degree to which local and national organizations have worked to implement the declaration of this international teacher organization, but it is likely that much debate and, most critically, much gender sensitization and skills in gender analysis and planning must be developed before real change can occur.

Recommendations

- Review rules and regulations on posting, transfers and promotions for possible gender bias.
- Review career structure to ensure that it describes the patterns of women's lives, as well as those of men, and that it rewards and retains good teachers in the classroom, where many women opt to remain.
- In countries where the profession has become predominantly 'female', there should be efforts made to attract males into teaching, particularly into classroom teaching at the pre-primary and primary levels, where they are most often absent. The particular problems in the profession which lead to this situation should be identified and addressed.
- Deal seriously and swiftly with all sexual harassment.
- Provide guidance and counselling to women teachers to include assertiveness training and personal development.
- Raise women's awareness about structural realities in the profession and about the socialization process in general.

- Teacher training should equip teachers, both male and female, to recognize and address gender inequities in the teaching profession. This should be broader than examination of classroom practice and teaching skills.
- Train female teachers to be effective role models for girls.
- Increase the proportion of women in non-traditional teaching subjects and technical subjects. Provide scholarships to women for teacher training in these areas, especially in science and mathematics.
- Increase the proportion of women in posts with special responsibilities and in management. Promote mentoring and networking for female teachers and other gender-sensitive action for this purpose.

4. *Appropriate research methodology*

Much of the research which might be of use to develop understanding of how women teachers' needs differ from their male counterparts, has used large-scale survey methods which fail to yield the kind of information required for appropriate action. It seems more advisable in general to adopt approaches which take the local culture into account and which use qualitative methods, including structured and unstructured interviews, participant observation and in-depth case studies. *Box 6* gives an example of a set of questions which should be asked when investigating gender equity issues in programme implementation. These are particularly relevant in relation to women's participation in teacher-training programmes.

Recommendations

- Make gender an important variable in all educational research, especially when dealing with teachers and teaching.
- Explore gender aspects of teacher management and supply and possible improvements in taking the particular socio-economic context of each country into account.
- Conduct research into the special needs and considerations of women teachers. The research should be grounded in the daily lives of women teachers, who should be responsible for elaborating the issues to be addressed.
- Involve women teachers and utilize teachers' unions and organizations in research to investigate options for promoting gender equity in teaching.

- Investigate differentials in job satisfaction, absenteeism and attrition by gender in order to challenge widely held assumptions on such issues.

Box 6. Questions for action-oriented research programmes on teacher in-service training

How are programme participants selected and chosen? Are the criteria for selection and posting explicit and fairly implemented?

How are positions/training programmes advertised? Is the system of advertising accessible to target groups including minority groups and women in terms of availability and cost?

How strong is the system of personal connections? What percentage of those now working in the sector/programme obtained their position through relatives or other personal connections?

Is there separate and safe accommodation at training sites for women? Have women participants been asked about possible accommodation problems/issues? Who covers the cost of accommodation?

Is safe and inexpensive transportation available to the job/training/programme site?

What incentives exist, if any, to facilitate the entry of women or minorities into the profession or into training programmes? What disincentives exist (e.g. cost of materials or transportation)? Are the incentives clearly communicated to the intended audience?

Are programme data collected and analysed by gender?

5. *Promoting gender-sensitive educational policy making, management and planning*

Activities at all levels of the educative sector will be considerably influenced by the goals and priorities of policy-makers, and by how decisions are taken in relation to educational planning, policy formulation and spending. It is important, therefore, that educational planners and decision-makers are themselves gender-aware and that they operate in an environment which encourages consideration of gender in education issues.

Problems and hostility to introducing a gender-aware approach may be encountered, as the experience of FAWE and the Teacher Management and Support Programme (TMS) of ADEA have shown (see *Box 1*). This can,

however, be resolved and attitudes can be changed through careful and sustained action aimed at proper problem diagnosis and gender sensitization. These are prerequisites for the development of gender-aware planning and teacher management.

Recommendations

- Ensure that educational planning incorporates adequate gender analysis, which includes consultation with women, and piloting of innovations concerning women teachers to indicate problems in implementation and effectiveness.
- Maintain gender disaggregated records on teachers. This is an essential first step to making any progress.
- Scrutinize and report on gender practice at different levels of the education system and ensure that the system institutionalizes responsibility and accountability for progress at the highest possible level.
- Create a pool of gender-aware personnel with the necessary skills to analyse, plan and train others. This could initially be done at regional level, but a national pool of expertise will be essential.
- Draw up country action plans relating to gender sensitization in all crucial areas, with adequate resources to implement them. Accept that adequate measures will necessitate making hard choices, increasing resources and development of operational tools and techniques. Donors may play a useful role in supporting such national initiatives.
- Encourage and support networking in relation to gender-sensitization in the education sector within and between countries.
- Develop gender-inclusive strategies which include mechanisms to gain male support for gender equity in teaching.
- Institute legal, plus institutional, reforms in education, and in society in general, to remove barriers to women's equal participation in the labour force.

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