Women and the Teaching Profession

Exploring the Feminisation Debate

United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

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Foreword

The presence of a significant proportion of women teachers - particularly in the early childhood and primary levels - is a long-standing phenomenon that characterises the education systems of many countries: Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom are examples of countries often referred to as having 'feminised' teaching professions, denoting that women represent a significant majority of the teaching workforce. An increased number of females in the teaching profession is often associated with education systems that have achieved or nearly achieved universal basic education. On the other hand, those countries that continue to strive towards Education for All (EFA) and the education Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are more frequently associated with having a deficit of women teachers.

The debate surrounding women, the teaching profession and feminisation is wide-ranging. Issues have ranged from the reasons why the teaching profession became gender-imbalanced in favour of women in certain countries in the first place, to what the impact of this might have on learning processes and educational outcomes. There have been multiple explorations around the definition of the term itself - such as whether it refers only to numbers and percentages or to deeper gendered assumptions regarding the nature of teaching. Further analysis that explores the feminisation of teaching as it relates to education provision, the profession itself and women's equality in employment have naturally followed. But until now, this has largely focused on countries in the global North.

Globally, more children are in school than ever before, and gender equity in education continues to be a priority area for policy-makers and education programmers. Despite this, teacher shortages remain a key challenge in both achieving the MDGs and maintaining EFA in the majority of developing countries and particularly in the Commonwealth.

To further explore the issue of feminisation as it relates to the practice of education the Commonwealth Secretariat and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, with support from the Commonwealth of Learning, embarked on a study encompassing five countries.

The study presents findings from Dominica, Lesotho, India, Samoa and Sri Lanka. It explores the feminisation debate from a variety of perspectives that have dominated much of the discourse on the role of women teachers within expanding education systems, particularly within primary education provision. Four of the countries - Dominica, Lesotho, Samoa and Sri Lanka - have a majority of women teachers in their teaching workforce. In the case of India, the study focuses on the contrasting state-level experiences of Kerala and Rajasthan; Kerala is known for the high percentage of female teachers in its workforce, whereas, in Rajasthan, female teachers are few and far between. The study analyses issues through a broader lens on gender equity as it pertains not just to education, but also to employment and women's rights and empowerment more generally.

This multi-country analysis explores core similarities and differences among the five countries. In Sri Lanka and the Indian state of Kerala, high female teacher numbers have existed since independence, while in other countries the phenomenon is more recent. Similarly, while all have a relatively large female majority at the primary education level, at the secondary level the experiences start to diverge; countries such as Samoa and Lesotho have relative gender balance within the teaching workforce at secondary level, while in Dominica the proportion of females remain a noticeable majority.

Issues that are investigated include: the targeting of women as teachers for expanding education systems; perceptions of teaching as a gendered profession; remuneration, career progression and the status of teaching; the gender patterns of managerial hierarchies within education; and the issue of boys' underperformance compared with girls in certain countries.

This publication is a result of a joint effort between the Commonwealth Secretariat and UNESCO, with additional technical assistance provided by Commonwealth of Learning.

It is hoped that this study will be a unique addition that provides useful insights on this increasingly global trend.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

AME	African Methodist Episcopal
ACL	Anglican Church of Lesotho
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
DISE	District Information System for Education
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
DSC	Dominica State College
DTEP	Distance Teacher Education Programme
EBB	Educationally Backward Blocks
ECOL	Examinations Council of Lesotho
EFA	Education for All
ETUCE	European Trade Union Committee for Education
FPE	Free Primary Education
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GOI	Government of India
GOK	Government of Kerala
GOL	Government of Lesotho
GPI	Gender Parity Index
GSPS	Growth and Social Protection Strategy
HSC	High School Certificate
HDI	Human Development Index
IECCD	Integrated Early Childhood Care and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
JSP	Junior Secondary Programme
LCE	Lesotho College of Education
LP	Lerotholi Polytechnic
MP	Madhya Pradesh
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MESC	Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture
MOET	Ministry of Education and Training
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NCOEs	National Colleges of Education
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIR	Net Intake Rate
NPE	National Policy for Education
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
NUEPA	National University of Educational Planning and Administration
NUL	National University of Lesotho
NUS	National University of Samoa
OBC	Other Backward Classes
ODL	Open Distance Learning
OECD	Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development
PTR	Pupil-Teacher Ratio
PSET	Post School Education and Training
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examinations
PSSC	Pacific Senior School Certificate
RCM	Roman Catholic Mission
SC	Scheduled Castes
SLEAS	Sri Lanka Educational Administrative Service
SIMS	Student Information Management Systems
ST	Scheduled Tribes
TALIS	Teaching and Learning International Survey
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNOHRM	United Nations Office of Human Resources Management
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USE	Universal Secondary Education
UWI	University of the West Indies
WSTC	Western Samoa Teachers College
WTF	Women Teachers Forum

PART ONE: MULTI-COUNTRY ANALYSIS

1 Introduction and Background

Definitions and Overview

Women and the 'feminisation' of the teaching profession has been debated for decades, in some places for over a century. The term 'feminisation' has tended to apply to countries where women are a significant majority in the teaching workforce. As a result, there has been a tendency for most explorations in this subject to come from countries in the North, such as the UK, Australia and Canada, or, more recently, from South America. The debates surrounding women, the teaching profession and feminisation have been wide-ranging and, in some cases, contentious. They have included reviewing the reasons why the teaching profession became gender-imbalanced in favour of women in certain countries in the first place, and what the impacts might be on learning processes and the educational outcomes for students. Other explorations have sought to look more deeply at trends within feminisation itself, including variations between education sectors and management structures. Some discussions have attempted to address what the implications of a majority-female teaching profession has meant for gender equality and relations more broadly, including women's overall empowerment within society and the economy.

Feminisation as a statistical, sociological and educational exploration

At a purely statistical level, an occupation that is predominantly made up of women is said to be 'feminised' (Bank, 2007). However, when sociologists and educators refer to feminisation they are referring to labour market tendencies where the participation of women in various occupations is increasing (Drudy et al, 2005). Similarly, the Working Group of the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE) used the term feminisation to "describe the phenomenon of large-scale entry into the teaching profession by women …" (in Wylie, 2000 p.1). But going further, the ETUCE report indicated three distinct meanings within this: a) a statistical meaning, used in calculating percentages of men and women in a given profession; b) a meaning related to the effects of the weight of numbers; and c) the rate of access of women into a profession.

For the purpose of this exploratory study, feminisation will be investigated on two levels. First, the study will be exploring feminisation from a purely statistical standpoint, researching countries that currently have high female teacher percentages. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) use a percentage scale to bracket levels of feminisation within any teaching force, categorizing high feminisation levels as 70 per cent or more, with medium feminisation levels categorised as between 50-69 percent (Wylie, 2000). In this study, the following categorisation when will apply: low to medium feminisation: 55-69 percent; high feminisation: 70 per cent and above. Secondly, the study will also attempt to examine

feminisation from a sociological basis, exploring key issues that accompany the statistical trends, including causes, consequences and implications.

Global and Commonwealth overview

As already noted, the feminisation debate has taken place primarily in countries that have long-standing education systems and a long history of women entering the profession. As a multi-regional group of member states, the Commonwealth has a tendency sometimes to produce quite divergent results where patterns and rhythms within education are concerned. As Commonwealth countries are present in the majority of global regions, at a fundamental statistical level, regional statistics show initial indications of such divergences when perusing female percentages within the teaching force:

Table 1.1 Female teacher percentages at the regional level – global overview

Region	Teaching staff – percentage female			
	Primary Education		Secondary Education	
	School year ending in		School year ending in	
	1999	2007	1999	2007
Arab States	52	59	49	51
Central and Eastern Europe	82	80	72	74
Central Asia	84	86	65	69
East Asia and the Pacific	55	60	46	48
East Asia	55	59	46	47
Pacific	71	75	57	56
Latin America and the Caribbean	76	78	64	60
North America and Western Europe	81	85	56	61
South and West Asia	35	45	35	36
Sub-Saharan Africa	43	44	31	30

Source: UNESCO 2010

While the statistics include non-Commonwealth countries, we can still draw some preliminary thoughts based the regional configurations. Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are both regions where Commonwealth countries are well-represented, and we can see from the statistical data that in both regions women teachers remain the minority[1]. At a regional level therefore, neither can be categorised as feminised. However, the data does indicate that at the primary level there has been a growth in the proportion of women teachers in South and West Asia between 1999 and 2007, while sub-Saharan Africa has remained virtually static. At the secondary level, the numbers are even lower, and there has been no significant increase at all in both regions.

However, when this is juxtaposed with other regions with a significant Commonwealth presence, such as Latin America and the Caribbean, we see a sharp difference, with both those regions having female teacher percentages over the 70th percentile, indicating high levels of feminisation. This can be similarly seen in the Pacific sub-region of East Asia and the Pacific. In each of these regions, female teachers constitute a high majority at the primary level in particular, with significantly lower majorities at the secondary level. The two regions with the highest levels of statistical feminisation – Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia – do not have any Commonwealth member states within them.

1 Commonwealth countries constitute more than half within the South and West Asia region, and 20 out of the 45 countries within sub-Saharan Africa.

A deeper analysis of selected Commonwealth country level statistics will also help to provide further understanding of the extent to which this global overview, based on regional statistics, synchronises with the Commonwealth picture. Table 1.2 below presents several points for analysis. In the first instance we see that while several Commonwealth countries in sub-Saharan Africa tally with the low levels of female teacher percentages found overall in the region, (e.g. Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Uganda), there are others that buck this trend. Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, South Africa and the Seychelles all show female teachers as a high majority at the primary level, all of which are countries within the Southern African sub-region on the continent. Interestingly, these high majorities were established prior to 1999, and in the intervening years to 2007 the percentages have either remained the same or decreased by one or two percentage points. At the secondary level in these countries, female teacher numbers only constitute a small majority, if at all, indicating relative gender balance or only medium levels of feminisation. This difference between primary and secondary levels is quite marked.

Table 1.2 Female teacher percentages in selected Commonwealth countries

Region and Country	Teaching Staff – % Female			
	Primary Education		Secondary Education	
	School year ending in		School year ending in	
	1999	2007	1999	2007
Africa				
Botswana	81	78	45	54
Ghana	32	33	22	22
Kenya	42	44	-	40
Lesotho	80	78	51	55
Mozambique	25	34	-	16
Namibia	67	65	46	50
Nigeria	48	50	36	38
Rwanda	55	53	-	53
Seychelles	85	85	54	55
South Africa	78	77	50	53
Uganda	33	39	-	22
Zambia	49	48	27	39
Caribbean				
Bahamas	63	85	74	70
Belize	64	72	62	61
Dominica	75	84	68	65
Guyana	86	88	63	57
Jamaica	-	89	-	89
St Lucia	85	87	64	66
South East Asia and Pacific				
Brunei Darussalam	66	74	48	60
Kiribati	62	75	46	47
Malaysia	66	68	-	63
New Zealand	82	83	58	62
Samoa	71	78	57	-
Singapore	-	81	-	66
Tonga	67	-	48	-
Europe and N. America				
Canada	68	-	68	-
Cyprus	67	82	51	62
Malta	87	86	48	57
United Kingdom	76	81	56	61
South Asia				
Bangladesh	-	40	13	20
India	33	-	34	-
Maldives	60	71	25	-
Sri Lanka	-	84	-	-

Source: UNESCO EFA GMR 2010

The data in those sub-Saharan African countries that buck the trend appear to share more in common with countries with Commonwealth member states in the Caribbean, South East Asia and the Pacific and North America and Western Europe, where overall female teachers constitute a significant majority. Despite the overarching similarity however, we do see some differences in the trends. For example, while high female numbers were already established in most Caribbean countries by 1999, we have seen significant further growth in the female percentage at the primary level since then in some countries, such as in The Bahamas, Belize and Dominica. Further to this, female teachers also constituted a notable majority at the secondary level (all in the in the sixtieth percentile and above), although the data indicates that those percentages have stabilised since, growing very little, or with a slight decrease.

In South East Asia and the Pacific we can see some similar patterns, with female percentages that were already in the sixtieth percentile and above in primary education by the turn of the millennium. There have been varying levels of growth since: Brunei Darussalam has had comparatively significant percentage point increases at both primary and secondary level, while New Zealand has been more measured in its percentage growth, although it is worth noting that female teachers were already in the 80th percentile by 1999. A similarly high statistic can be found in the North America and Western Europe region, with the case of Malta. Primary level female teacher numbers – already in the high 80th percentile by 1999 – have grown no further since, while at the secondary level, where female teacher numbers constituted about half of the workforce a decade ago, have now grown by about ten percent. The United Kingdom has shown some growth at both levels, while Cyprus has demonstrated more notable growth at primary and secondary level (fifteen percentage points and 11 percentage points respectively).

Commonwealth South Asia, similar to sub-Saharan Africa, shows a distinct divergence in trends between some countries. While the statistics are incomplete, we can gauge that while India and Bangladesh are still working towards achieving higher female teacher numbers, Sri lanka and Maldives already have high female teacher percentages at the primary level. Interestingly, the one statistic that we do have for secondary level teachers in Maldives indicates that in 1999 at least, female teachers were in a small minority, a stark difference from their position at the primary level in the same year.

What these national level statistics cannot show us is the extent to which female teachers are a majority or minority at the sub-national level. In large countries such as India and Nigeria this is a pertinent point, as the autonomy and unique specificities of individual states over several decades have resulted in internally divergent patterns within the evolution of their education systems. Similarly, preliminary national level statistics that give an overview of levels of feminisation are unable to unearth a variety of other trends, including further regional variations such as urban and rural differences, or institutional variations such between educational providers. Additionally, such a broad overview can cover variations within the teaching profession's management structure.

Women, teaching and the feminisation debate within the context of the education Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA)

Women and the teaching profession is an area that is particularly pertinent to the education MDGs and EFA goals. Developing countries are currently working towards overcoming the dual challenges of education expansion and universal provision while ensuring quality and equity. In the context of countries that have achieved the goals of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and gender parity in education, historical analysis indicates that an influx of women into the teaching profession has been central to these successes (Cortina and San Roman, 2006). From a purely human resourcing perspective,

female labour has been instrumental at fulfilling capacity needs, while from the perspective of educating women and girls the presence of women teachers has been a major contributory factor. Girl child education in particular lies at the heart of today's core global education mandates, providing much of the programming around achievement of the education related MDGs and EFA. In countries where girl child education remains a challenge, a dearth in female teachers within the system has been identified as one of the core barriers to gender parity and equality in education (Herz and Sperling, 2004, Kirk, 2006), most specifically where girl child retention in school is concerned. These linkages have made the recruitment of women into the profession an expected outcome within national education sector plans and donor education strategies alike.

But the strategy in itself presents cyclical challenges. Recruiting female teachers is difficult when female education and literacy rates are already exceptionally low, making gender-sensitive teacher recruitment difficult endeavours in many countries. Apart from the costs attached to overcoming those circumstances, countries are also being increasingly expected to find a balance between rapidly meeting gender quotas and ensuring quality in teaching through a) acceptable standards of teacher training and b) the provision of teachers into the education system in a manner that is both ethical and sustainable.

An area within global education mandates that has less resonance but is of consequence in some parts of the world is that of boys' underachievement and under-participation. Comparative to the issue of girl child education, it is important to put this into clear context: issues surrounding boys appear prevalent in countries that have achieved universal primary education and gender parity in education (Drudy, 2008). The difficulties are therefore less to do with a mass-marginalisation of boys that has resulted in a major lack of access and retention, and instead more specific trends that pertain to comparative underperformance in certain subject areas and higher tendency towards drop-out as they reach adolescence. In a quest to understand the causes of this, there has been a tendency among countries with majority female teaching workforces to make linkages between feminisation and the underachievement of boys. This part of the debate has had a tendency in the past to be fuelled by popular and media perceptions of simplistic gender divisions, causing contention in some cases (Jha and Kelleher, 2006).

Women, teaching and the feminisation debate within the context of broader gender equality

Just as gender equality in education and women in the teaching profession have strong linkages, so the issue of women, teaching and the feminisation debate also have a place within the broader context of gender equality in society as a whole. The gender equality MDG (MDG 3) stipulates outcomes beyond education that include women's role in waged employment and women's representation in political processes. In the first of these, women and the teaching profession clearly has a broader implication beyond education provision alone. Teaching has been instrumental in providing many women in feminised education systems with access to their first formal, waged employment opportunities, and in so doing, has been a step towards meeting the broader goals surrounding economic empowerment as mandated by the CEDAW Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995–2015 and the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender Equality 2005–2015. Arguably, as education systems become increasingly feminised on a statistical level, the opportunities for women's employment in this sector have become solidified, offering guarantees of economic surety for many women in the future.

However, there are also potentially complex consequences surrounding the increasing expectation of women's employment within any given sector, especially if a

profession becomes known for being 'women's work' within societies that are still inherently tied to traditional gender roles that permit a continuation of subtle gender inequalities. The teaching profession – despite its pivotal role within societal development and dependence on educated individuals – is not necessarily exempt from such nuances. The Second World Congress of Education International in 1998 put down a resolution on the increasingly feminised nature of the teaching profession that highlighted many of these broader issues. These included several trends that indicated a discrepancy in equity within feminised teaching workforces, such as a) the wide variances in numbers within education sectors, with women found overwhelmingly in the early stages of education; b) an under-distribution of women across the teaching career hierarchy, disproportionate to their overall numbers, indicating direct or indirect discriminations against them within the profession; and c) concerns regarding an undervaluing of work that becomes traditionally associated with women. Such concerns feed into a broader discourse that looks at gender inequality from more nuanced perspectives that developed countries which have fully-educated and relatively empowered female workforces continue to grapple with today (gender pay gap, 'glass ceilings' in promotion, and women's struggle for continued economic equality when dealing with their responsibilities within the reproductive sphere), that developing countries may find will become their gender equality challenges of the future.

These dualities of impact and consequence – women in teaching as instrumental in education provision generally (and female education in particular) on the one hand, versus an entrenching of gender inequalities through the feminisation of the profession on the other – makes the topic one of multi-layered issues and applicability in the development context.

Scope, methodology and how the report is structured

As exploratory research into countries that have not had a plethora of outputs on some of these issues, the scope of this study is broad on both a geographic and analytical level. Geographically, the research covers five countries in the Commonwealth in a cross-regional manner: Dominica from the Caribbean, Lesotho from Africa, Samoa from the Pacific, and both Sri Lanka and India from South Asia. The first four countries were chosen as they presented consistent figures of statistical feminisation overall within their teaching workforces. Each country has a definitively highly-feminised teaching cadre in terms of percentages at the primary level, with varying levels of low-medium and high feminisation at the secondary level. Despite being anomalous due to its overall national percentage of women teachers being well below 50 per cent, India was also chosen for the purpose of conducting a comparative analysis between two state education systems: Kerala, which has a highly-feminised teaching workforce, and Rajasthan, where women teachers are still in a minority but where targeted teacher recruitment has seen a strong rate of increase in female teaching. The inclusion of India therefore offers the opportunity for retrospectively analysing an already feminised system while observing the trends and patterns within another that is potentially becoming feminised. For this study, countries were chosen specifically from the global South as a means of widening the geographic research base on the topic. As the following chapter of existing literature will show, the most prolific work on the subject has been done on the feminisation debate but largely within developed country nations like the UK and Canada.[2]

2 Research is also growing in countries in South America, while investigations into female teachers have been explored systematically in India over the last ten years. The latter however has been primarily from the perspective of states within India that have been seeking to increase female numbers within systems where they are badly under-represented.

Analytically, the research will be two-pronged: i) comparative statistical analysis, and ii) qualitative analysis of the key trends and issues that present themselves. Statistically, the research will look at the following areas: national levels of feminisation within the teaching workforce and how these vary depending on primary, secondary and – where data is available – among academic staff at the tertiary level. Sub-national analysis is also included, looking specifically at regional variations of female teacher numbers within countries, particularly at any rural/urban differences that exist. The research will also seek to identify differences in feminisation levels between education providers, and analyse percentages in relation to gender and management hierarchies within the profession. Using the trends and issues identified in the statistical analysis as a starting point and bolstered by the results of qualitative investigations including desk research, questionnaires and interviews at the country level, the remaining analysis will explore and seek to identify factors that have led to the teaching profession becoming feminised in those countries and whether it is perceived as 'women's work', to determine the extent to which the process of feminisation is related to class and sexual divisions within society, and to debate common arguments surrounding the impacts of feminisation on educational processes and outcomes, and on gender equity more broadly. Where data has been available within countries, the research will also address other issues emerging from the topic, including the growth of contract/para-teachers and teacher migration.

The methodology has involved both extensive desk research of the literature on feminisation, women and teaching and other related subject areas, and country-level collection of data from Ministries of Education and other relevant institutions. Qualitative research was also conducted at the country level among varied participants, including teachers, ex-teachers, trainee teachers, principals, education administrators, parents and pupils, as a means of ascertaining stakeholder perspectives on some of the core issues where previous research has not existed. Structurally, the report is divided into two parts. Part One consists of the synthesis chapters, and contains a literature review of publications that have previously explored the feminisation debate or are relevant in some manner to the issues being investigated. The following chapters in Part One present a comparative analysis of the data collected from the five countries, firstly looking at the statistical commonalities and variances, and secondly at the qualitative arguments and conclusions emanating from the trends and issues uncovered. A series of recommendations is presented, followed by suggestions for further research. Part Two of the report will include each of the country level case-studies in their own right, allowing for individual appraisal and an opportunity for deeper national-level specificities to be viewed.

2 Reviewing the Literature

'Feminisation': layered understandings and focuses of research

When looking at literature on the feminisation of a profession, it is first important to unpack perspectives as to its definition in order to understand the entry points for research that has been conducted so far. Within the plethora of literature that exists among countries that have researched the issue, entry points for analysis of 'feminisation' have been varied. Much of the research has been conducted in western and developed countries, where high female numbers in teaching – particularly at the primary/elementary level has been the case for decades. Various studies on feminisation have also focused on either one or more meanings, depending on the angle and scope of the study. For example, some studies focus only on the statistical definition. Others attempt analysis of the rates of statistical increases to understand patterns of recruitment over a historical period, and to ascertain root causes of rapid increases or indeed, stagnation, and furthermore the impacts of these trends – whether perceived or actual – on various aspects of the teaching profession and, more broadly, on education provision.

Thus the definition itself can be interpreted at several levels by different authors and actors, often depending on their concerns and reasons for approaching the issue. To more fully elucidate this, Griffiths, (2006) notes that when feminisation of the teaching profession is discussed, it can either refer to the numbers of women – absolute or proportional – within the profession, or a 'culture' associated with women. Griffiths further highlights varying understandings within this, from a focus on school ethos, teaching strategies and educational policy, to perceptions, hopes and fears about the effects of all of these. Skelton (2002), in addition to statistics and culture, adds a third definition called 'Backlash Politics and the Feminisation of Teaching', identifying a largely pejorative use of the term in the media and in policy that has become a feature of the debate in some countries.

Following through from this, it cannot be denied that this dialogue of concern at the policy level in many countries with a disproportionately high female teacher workforce has proved definitive in framing much of the research literature that exists on this topic. Responding to concerns over the presumed or actual impacts of a feminised workforce has driven much of the thought around this. For example, the ETUCE report spoke of "the subsequent loss of prestige suffered by the profession" following feminisation (Wylie, 2000, p.), while an OECD report on 'The Quality of the Teaching Workforce' flagged what it saw as the decline in the proportion of men in teaching as an issue of concern for policy-makers (OECD, 2004). These concerns have ranged from calls for more men to enter the profession as a means of raising the profession's status and desirability as a professional career choice, while much of the dialogue has also had a tendency to focus on analysing gaps in educational outcomes between the sexes, particularly regarding issues of boys' underachievement in certain subjects.

In many ways this is ironic, as much of the literature points to a very conscious historical recruitment of women into the teaching profession by those countries that are now experiencing concerns over feminisation. Underpinning many of these historical patterns, explorations of teacher feminisation have unearthed two key areas in relation to issues of gender equality: the interface between gender, labour and economics, and a dialogue between issues of masculinity and femininity within societies. In various ways, a significant portion of the literature explores the way in which the teaching profession has embodied and become a conduit for the realities of

traditional gender biases/inequalities to be played-out in decision-making and processes at the institutional and policy level. This analysis is best summarised by Drudy (2008), who writes on the feminisation of teaching as a "cumulative historical and social process" involving "subtle patterns of socialisation…" (p. 312).

Inherent within this historical and social process has been the existence of gendered perceptions of the profession. This has involved a conscious equating of traditionalist female gender roles – located within the reproductive sphere of domesticity, care-giving and nurture – with the teaching of young children in particular. In many respects this has made concerns over feminisation more complex and stratified. In primary education for example – statistically heavily feminised in many countries – the most concern regarding a lack of male teachers appears to be at the upper-primary level, where maternal qualities, considered acceptable in earlier childhood instruction, would need to be replaced with more academic vigour. This follows through more strongly at the secondary level, where although there is a lower disproportion of high female numbers, women are still in the majority of the workforce in many OECD countries. In understanding why, uncomfortable dialogue surrounding different perceptions of male and female teacher capacities are often explored. Stratifications within the profession according to gender perceptions also go deeper, and a large body of literature has also been dedicated to exploring the hierarchical imbalances that exist between male and female teachers in terms of management, leadership and career development.

In terms of the potential consequences of feminisation that have largely framed the dialogue of concern at the policy level, the literature includes in-depth analysis on the debate over the status of the profession, already mentioned. Here the gendered perceptions of teaching already mentioned are significant, as are the socio-economic determinants behind women's recruitment and its results.. Additionally, the issue of educational outcomes has dominated discourse on the issue, with the literature exploring perspectives on whether boys need male teachers in order to do well in school. This presents an interesting counter to the reverse discourse in countries where girls' access and educational achievement is the cause for concern, leading to a call for more women teachers. Further perceptions that have been explored by the literature include the impact on school processes and the teaching workforce itself.

The literature on the feminisation of the teaching force is vast, especially when including other affiliated research avenues that are relevant to its understanding, such as gender, culture and society, gender equality and employment, men and masculinities, and girl-child education policies, among many others. Despite this breadth, in reviewing the literature within the parameters of countries/regions that have more specifically articulated their experience of the issue, there has been an inevitable focus on those countries where feminisation has been a recognisable phenomenon for some time, largely in the global North such as the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. In order to bring in a broader knowledge base – particularly outside of the developed world – the focus has had to expand beyond the Commonwealth in order to incorporate a larger gamut of research than is currently available within the Commonwealth membership, such as Latin America. Despite evidence of higher female teacher numbers in some other global South countries, significant research that specifically analyses the issue has been difficult to come across. To further enhance the geographical sweep and probe some of the issues in detail, available literature on gender balance in the teaching profession, particularly as it refers to improved girl-child education, has also been reviewed, and this includes countries that don't have high female teacher numbers but where targeted recruitment of women and education expansion is in progress.

Teaching and the employment of women: historical patterns and trends

Within the literature the most commonly documented historical patterns of the movement of women into the teaching profession are those in western countries, which have had the longest experiences of mass education. One of the difficulties of the word 'feminisation' itself is that it connotes an assumption that at some point within the history of the teaching profession, women teacher numbers were either less than, or at least equal to male teacher numbers. What available research seems to indicate is that the increase of women teacher numbers in those countries with the longest histories of feminisation coincides with the beginnings of recorded, mass education systems (Carrington and McPhee, 2008). Following such an avowedly linear trajectory is therefore not always appropriate. However, enough research has been conducted to identify patterns and divergences among some countries and regions regarding the processes that occurred. This has been mainly in the context of elementary/primary education.

Education expansion and the recruitment of women teachers

English speaking countries such as the UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the US have a long literature on feminisation, largely due to the fact that in most cases women's preponderance (largely at the primary level) was already evident by the second half of the nineteenth century (Cortina and San Roman, 2006). Taking the UK context as an example, Miller (1992) notes that the need to recruit girls as teachers was grudgingly acknowledged as early as the mid 1840s. At this early stage of education expansion within the UK female teachers only taught young children or those girls who went on to secondary school, making their growing numbers less contentious. However, in 1875, women teachers already made up 54.3 per cent of elementary teachers (Miller, 1992) while by 1901 they were already in the seventieth percentile (Rogers, 2005), indicating that their statistical dominance of the profession at the primary level had already been established.

Canada's experiences of education expansion in the nineteenth century show similar patterns, as documented by Richards and Acker (2006). As with Britain, private schooling in homes was common in the first half of the century (where women could be found instructing young children and girls), to be gradually replaced by one-room schools that were originally populated by men in the early 1800s. Women gradually began to enter the profession, and as the system expanded between 1850 and 1890, the female teacher numbers jumped significantly, particularly in urban areas. Richards and Acker noted that various historians have made a connection between the feminisation of primary teaching and urban bureaucratic school systems, with hierarchies whereby men taught older children and occupied administrative posts and inspectors, while women taught younger children, mirroring the UK experience.

Catholic countries in Latin America and the Caribbean also saw a large entrance of women into teacher training in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In several countries this coincided with the institutionalisation of teaching on a national scale, involved with secularisation and the centralisation of the state (Cortina and San Roman, 2006). Molina (2006) outlines the suddenness of the phenomenon in Costa Rica, where following the 1886 Education Reform Act which brought in compulsory free education for all, the participation of women teachers increased by 6 per cent between 1864 and 1883, by 5.4 per cent between 1883 and 1892, and by 11.7 per cent between 1892 and 1900. By 1904, women were already 60.54 per cent of the primary teacher workforce. Similarly, in Argentina, education expansion led to the deliberate policy requiring students who wanted to become teachers to attend 'normal school', which led to an increase in women teachers as a result of the clear gender regime

inherent within those institutions (Fischman, 2007). By 1930, 85 per cent of Argentina's education workforce comprised women (Morgade, 2006).

Socio-economic and cultural dimensions of female teacher recruitment during education expansion

Education expansion in and of itself cannot be identified as a single cause for the statistical feminisation of primary teaching, without an understanding of other cultural, social and economic denominators at play within any given context. Interacting with reforms and policies toward education universalisation were other more complex socio-economic variables that helped to create divergences in the desirability of the profession for men and women. Taking Costa Rica as an example, Molina (2006), notes that feminisation of the profession occurred as a convergence of three processes: the demand for teachers caused by the reform of 1886, which the state met by hiring cheap female labour; the growth of an urban economy, which offered young men with education options that were more attractive than working as a primary school teacher, and a growing proportion of state spending towards education that synergised with the labour insertion of women into public employment, particularly teaching. The issue of teachers' salaries and the education expansion's need for cheap labour appears to have been paramount in increased female numbers. With a male teacher's salary not much more than a manual labourer's in 1902, a female teacher's salary – while at least twenty per cent lower than that of a man's – was still far more than they could expect in any other occupation, given that other 'intellectual' fields such as law and the sciences were not open to them. At the same time, increased urbanisation saw the creation of new opportunities for men of education in the cities; positions that were often more desirable as a result of a clear career and pay progression – something that the teaching profession was already failing in. The Costa Rican example also illustrates how higher salaries in secondary teaching served to keep more men within that segment of the profession.

In Argentina's period of education expansion, a nexus of economic and cultural factors appear to have been at play. Often viewed as the father of Argentina's education system, President Sarmiento clearly outlined economics as a determinant of increased female teacher recruitment in the following passage:

Women's education has been a topic of choice for philanthropists, however, the education of women for the noble profession of teaching is also a matter of economy and industry. Public education will be less expensive with women's help.
(D.F. Sarmiento, 1858, quoted in Fischman, 2007)

Such fiscal motivation was not the only factor during this period. A series of cultural determinants saw the teaching profession as closely aligned with the female traits of maternal love, caring and dedication towards children in the name of patriotic and religious principles. The convergence of these views with the economic convenience women teachers represented leads Fischman to state that "the teaching profession in Argentina, as in Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the US was born feminine" (p. 354). Viewed as a calling, Fischman notes that the teaching profession during expansion saw the development of paradigmatic images of teachers as lay missionaries who must devote their life to nurturing new generations. This not only established the symbolic and cultural bases of the feminisation of teaching in Argentina, but also emphasised religious overtones that revealed the strength of Catholicism in the country. Indeed, young girls enrolled in normal schools heading towards a career in teaching were under severe scrutiny to demonstrate the right moral

standards. Morgade (2006) outlines how this 'moral burden' intensified during the conservative 1930s in Argentina, identifying control over women teachers one of the core elements of the feminisation of teaching in Argentina.

Historical trends across Europe, North America and other Latin American countries regarding cultural perceptions of gender roles, women's labour, and low salaries have been documented as an integral part of the feminisation process in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In understanding the determinants behind societal and political drivers of female teacher recruiting, the literature also looks at male trends away from teaching as a profession, and the motivations for this. The traditionalist view regarding men as the main economic provider of the family has been linked to why men don't enter teaching, because the salary is too low and unattractive. The popularity of this response among teacher respondents in a study on Montserrat was seen to suggest an association with societal constructs surrounding masculinity and maleness (Julius, 2009). In analysing patterns in the twentieth century, Miller (1992) noted that while the emergency teacher training scheme in the UK after World War II was first aimed mainly at men, eventually policy steps were taken to encourage mature married women into teaching for the first time as a means of easing the teacher shortage. This period coincides with economic growth and full employment. In their overview analysis, Cortina and San Roman note that not only are levels of feminisation highest when there is an extreme teacher shortage, but after feminisation has been established the only times when men can be seen to start to re-enter the profession is during periods of economic dislocation and unemployment, often until they find other opportunities.

In the Commonwealth Caribbean, a different pattern has been presented by Miller (1998) regarding regional specificities that are reliant on the interaction between gender, race, colour and class, rather than on urbanisation or the formalisation of education. He notes that public elementary teaching – inaugurated at the emancipation of slavery in 1834 (and therefore a system created for the education of the black majority) – began as a largely male occupation with a regional female percentage of 38.9 per cent. The study highlights different stages of numerical feminisation in each of the countries, with some becoming feminised relatively early in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century (Trinidad, Jamaica and St Lucia) and others not until the mid twentieth century (Barbados, Grenada, St Vincent, The Bahamas). In St Lucia for example, women made up 69 per cent of elementary teachers by 1921, while it took Grenada until 1971 to reach a similar percentage. Despite the chronological difference in these stages, Miller identifies the unifying denominator as an 'exclusionary process' towards black men, which leads to the eventual feminisation of the profession across the region by the late twentieth century. In the first phase of feminisation, the exclusionary process is instigated through the manipulation of a colonial state that was trying to address the social breach represented through the growth of an 'educated militant organised group of Black men who were willing to challenge the White colonial authorities' (p.36). In the second phase (post-independence) the process is based on an expansion of opportunities to lower strata females by the newly democratically empowered coalition of brown and black policy-makers, at the exclusion of lower strata black males.

The result of this historical expansion has meant that feminisation has been regarded as a concern for policy-makers in these countries for some time, even though increases in women numbers since then have slowed somewhat: In England between 1985 and 2005 women primary teacher numbers rose from 78 per cent to 84 per cent, and in the same period women secondary teacher numbers rose from 48 percent to 55 percent (Griffiths, 2006). Despite a decrease in the rate of increase, discourse has remained focused on feminisation as a perceived concern for the education system.

Perspectives of teaching as a gendered profession

Sex and gender are often conflated, and much of the literature reviewed looks at how teaching is often perceived as a 'gendered' profession within countries. These are often closely associated with ideals of feminine behaviour and responsibility within gender roles at the cultural and societal level, particularly when it comes to teaching at the primary/elementary education level. Here the literature looks at various relationships between increased female teacher numbers and the influence of gender roles within society on teacher recruitment. Beyond associations with traditionalist gender roles, analyses have also looked at gender stratifications within the profession and perspectives by teachers themselves on gender roles and how they relate to teaching and managerial capacities.

Perceived gender roles and assumptions about the teaching profession

As already mentioned, much of the literature looks at perspectives of 'natural' associations between sex and gender roles that appear to have been common, from popular beliefs of men 'naturally' wanting to go into technical careers in science and technology, or carer roles being viewed as a "natural female" trait (Drudy et al, 2005). This has led to a social construction of the primary teacher being synonymous with constructs of 'female' and 'mother' (Smith, 2004). Mavrogeni (2005) indicates that in the nineteenth century, teaching was perceived as "a woman's mission, God-given nature, and her proper place in society" (p.8).

Gender roles as they pertain broadly to a woman's position within the reproductive sphere are at the core of these assumptions. Cortina and San Roman (2006) note the expectation in several of their Latin America case study countries of women teachers to display maternal qualities, and how this was underpinned by the Catholic Church which was the foundation upon which social structures and traditional gender roles rested within those countries. They document how in Costa Rica, Spain or Mexico, wives, mothers and daughters were enlisted to help male teachers, based on the belief that the presence of a woman teacher to complement a man was needed in order to contribute maternal qualities as 'social mothers'. In Argentina, Morgade (2006) outlines the terminology used as "mother teachers".

Drudy (2008) similarly references the regular use of a 'domestic ideology' which proposes that women are more naturally disposed towards nurture than men, based on the traditional gender roles found in many societies that place women within the domestic domain as care-givers. As corroboration of these assumptions, studies carried out among teachers and student teachers have shown a striking underlining of gender perceptions regarding teaching, particularly at the early childhood and primary level. In a 2001 study of teacher training institutions in the UK, Skelton (2003) found that male student teachers in particular associate primary teaching with being female. Drudy (2008) also found that male student teachers largely believed that primary teaching is better suited to a woman's 'nature', and that the perception of teaching as a 'woman's job' was one of the top reasons why there were low levels of men going into the profession.

Gender stratifications within the profession: biases towards early childhood and primary education

An analysis of feminisation within the teaching profession is incomplete without reviewing existing gendered stratifications within the profession. Already mentioned is the preponderance of women within early childcare and primary teaching, closely linked with associations of gender roles as they pertain to perceptions of femininity and a woman's 'natural' role to nurture and be a care-giver. It has been argued that in

the earliest stages of women entering the profession, these associations in fact provided employment opportunities and associated freedoms previously not experienced: nineteenth century experiences of women teachers in North America, Europe and Australia saw the teaching profession as an opportunity to either postpone or refuse marriage and the expected role of wife and mother (Mavrogeni, 2005). Indeed, for many pioneering women, teaching was a liberating personal experience (Fischman, 2007). However, the literature indicates that the continuation of carer/nurturing linkages with the profession have in time resulted in limitations within the profession for women.

In the first instance, there has been an inevitable emphasis on pre-primary and early childhood and primary education as the area where women are most effective and well-placed as teachers. This is reflected at the statistical level, with near-unanimity across countries and regions of female numbers being higher at the early stages of schooling, dropping – in some cases significantly – at the secondary level and beyond. This is regardless of whether female teachers dominate the workforce or not: 2007 UNESCO GMR statistics indicate that in Africa – where women teachers are already a significant minority overall – their numbers further decrease at the secondary level, while in North America and Western Europe where female numbers are viewed largely as a concern, they constitute 85 per cent of the teaching force in primary schools and 61 per cent in secondary schools (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2010). The extent to which this stratification occurred naturally through socialisation of teacher student and broader attitudes, or whether through deliberate government policy is not always clear. In Argentina however, the evidence does suggest a targeted legislative process: Article 10 of Educational Law No 1420 of 1884 stated that only female teachers could be assigned to the lower grades, thereby setting a precedent that would regulate the basic educational system for 110 years (Fischman, 2007).

More recently, ground-level attitudes demonstrate how this imbalance occurs in terms of gender entrance patterns into the profession. In the UK, Skelton's study (2003) demonstrated that even within primary school teacher education courses, male student teachers were to be found predominantly in the upper primary levels, teaching children aged 7 – 11 years. Despite the often egalitarian ideals expressed by student teacher respondents within the study (that primary schooling was a place for both male and female teachers), these views sat alongside perceptions of primary teaching that were reliant on gender biases: students within the study corroborated the view that secondary teaching is more 'acceptable' for males, and that male teachers were more 'adept' at teaching in secondary school. Those male students who were studying the upper primary courses were also keen to distinguish themselves from lower primary teaching, articulating that it is not 'appropriate' nor viewed as 'proper teaching' because of its associations with childcare as opposed to academic instruction. The study also demonstrated views that highlighted the discomfort of men as teachers of very young children due to societal fears of paedophilia – a fear that appears to be more readily associated with men as potential perpetrators than women.

Gender stratifications within the profession: equality issues in the career hierarchy

A broad area of research in the literature has involved investigations into hierarchical inequalities within the profession and the school structure. Beyond the gender stratifications associated with primary and secondary teaching, hierarchical imbalances appear to be an issue, with men continuing to dominate managerial positions, even in countries where female teacher numbers are extremely high. In Canada for example, 1995 statistics showed that 75 per cent of elementary school teachers were women but 75 per cent of elementary head teachers were men, while

almost half of secondary school teachers were women, 85 per cent of heads were men (Coffee and Delamont, 2000). Similar statistics are evident in Australia (Smith, 2004), while in Botswana, women teachers also find themselves with unequal access to positions of power and decision making within the education system (Mulenge, 2002), despite constituting the majority of the workforce.

The extent to which increased numbers of females in the profession has led to attempts to address this imbalance has also been explored. Some studies have found that increases in the proportion of women teachers have shown resultant increases in female headships, particularly in primary schools: New Zealand for example witnessed a rise in female primary headships from 5 per cent to 35 per cent between 1980 and 1998 (Wylie, 2000). However, with 1999 statistics for New Zealand indicating that women at that time constituted 82 per cent of the teaching staff (GMR, 2010), the issue of disproportionality requires a further look at equality within education management structures. Similarly, the OECD's Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) that looked at 23 countries within and beyond the membership, found that on average, 45 per cent of school principals were female, compared to just fewer than 70 per cent of teachers, suggesting the existence of a glass ceiling', particularly in those countries where the percentage of female school principals is over 30 percentage-points below the percentage of female teachers (OECD, 2009).

In the search to explain these imbalances, the literature has looked closely at the problems of gender associations within the profession. Arguably implicit within the previously discussed association between maternity and teaching is the potential for negative connotations towards a woman teacher's academic and instructive capacity, professionalism and potential career advancement. At a capacity level, maternal qualities are not seen as relevant to technical and pedagogical knowledge (Cortina and San Roman, 2006). Skelton (2003) identifies two factors of how male teachers come to be located in dominant managerial positions in primary schools in the UK: a) the positioning of some men as 'natural leaders' in patriarchal society and b) the endeavours of individual men to emphasise those aspects of teaching that are compatible with perceptions of 'proper masculinity', such as leadership and management. In the findings from student teacher responses to the question 'how can the government make primary teaching more attractive to men', the popular response of 'offering fast track promotions' carried within it an implicit suggestion that men are more desirous of career advancement within their professions.

The literature further indicates that this view is supported by a parallel belief that women teachers – largely due to their additional roles as wives and mothers – are less likely to want/be able to chase career advancement and entry into managerial positions. This demonstrates the paradoxical nature of teaching as one of the earliest instances in women's economic empowerment: historically, marriage bars – where women teachers were expected to leave the profession upon marriage – were common in Europe, North, and Latin America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Acker, 1989, Richards and Acker 2006, Molina, 2006). In detailing the case of Cyprus, Mavrogeni (2005) documents the parental view that teaching is best suited for daughters because on the one hand it provides enough money to support their families, but on the other enough time to look after the needs of their husbands and children. In her historical analysis of teaching in the UK, Acker (1989) details how even after the abolition of the marriage bar for women teachers in 1944, they were often expected to take a break for child-rearing, often returning as part-time employees. The positive effects of financial liberation and entrance into the world of work that teaching therefore provided for women is ultimately negatively counteracted by these expectations. Acker further notes that the widely held view of women teachers

choosing to prioritise family over career is not only interpreted in as a lack of commitment that will hinder their personal career goals, but that these perceptions of women teachers as non-careerist has impeded teaching's overall claim to professionalisation. This will be explored further when we revisit 'loss of status' as one of the perceived consequences of teacher feminisation.

Perspectives on the consequences of feminisation

Where dialogue over the feminisation of the profession exists, apart from looking at how and why, a good deal of the literature is also concerned with the simple question: 'what are the consequences and are they a problem?' This question and the dialogue of concern it has raised in the media and at the popular level in some countries has framed much of the impetus behind exploration of the issues, largely falling into the following core areas: impacts of feminisation on the status of teaching as a profession; impacts on educational outcomes; on teaching staff themselves and school processes; and finally, on broader gender equality issues within employment and society at large. In each of these, feminisation is viewed both in terms of pure weight of numbers, and in terms of a 'feminised culture' within school instruction and processes that this weight of numbers is perceived to bring.

On the status of the teaching profession

It is honoured and disdained, praised as a dedicated service and lampooned as 'easy work'. It is permeated with the rhetoric of professionalism, yet features incomes below those earned with considerably less education (from Lartie, 1975).

The status of the teaching profession remains one of the key issues within the debate surrounding feminisation. Some of the literature views the issue of what constitutes a 'profession' as being integral to this. Teachers, along with nurses and social workers, are sometimes viewed as semi-professionals (Etzioni, 1969). Bolton and Muzio (2005) argue that historically, this can be attributed to teaching's development as part of a state sponsored political project, traditionally enjoying less autonomy over its work, less control over its knowledge base and weaker forms of professional association and governance. Additionally, teaching is seen to suffer from an overall limitation of upward mobility within a teacher's career, upward mobility being defined as the 'essence' of a career (Lartie, 1975). Perceptions regarding the relative ease of entry to the career in some countries are also detrimental, especially when compared with other professions in law, medicine and business (Drudy et al, 2005). However, paragraph 6 of the ILO/UNESCO Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers (1966), the following definition is clearly stated:

Teaching should be regarded as a profession. It is a form of public service which requires of teachers expert knowledge and specialised skills, acquired and maintained through rigorous and continuing study; it calls also for a sense of corporate responsibility for the education and welfare of the pupils in their charge.

The issues of professional status (and a possible loss/inherent lack of this status with increased female numbers) have become increasingly pertinent for countries that are suffering acute teacher shortages, where the impacts of a loss in appeal has resulted in both media and policy-makers desperately seeking causes as a means of finding solutions. Perceptions by the teacher/potential work force themselves are crucial to this (given that their entrance and exit patterns determine shortage patterns), with the

findings from the OECD suggesting that teachers themselves view the profession as having much lower status than public studies would suggest (Wylie, 2000). In some cases, a causal relationship between feminisation and low status has been explicitly made: Fu (2000) clearly asserts that the feminisation of teaching is one of the underlying causes of low teacher status in China. Fu is candid in his arguments, admitting that the patriarchal culture prevalent in Chinese society leads to an equation of high social status with male-dominated occupations. Social opinion therefore – deeply influenced by prevailing concepts of male superiority and female inferiority – leads competitive males to shun the teaching profession. However, while many countries with high female teacher numbers are caught in a negative discourse of teacher status, there are other examples such as Finland, Korea, Ireland and Cyprus, where highly feminised teacher workforces have not diminished its high social status, with strong competition for entry into teacher education (Drudy, 2008 and Mavrogeni, 2000). These divergent examples identify the question as a contested and complex one.

One of the arguable flaws underpinning arguments where a causal relationship between high female teacher percentages has resulted in a public loss of status for the profession is the integral assumption that at some historical point there were a high proportion of men in the profession and it enjoyed high status in society (Drudy, 2008). This is a highly contested assumption in many countries, where the beginnings of mass education are parallel with female teacher recruitment drives, making it impossible to identify a comparable historical point where male teachers dominated the profession.

However, reviewing some of the earliest nineteenth and twentieth century country examples can provide interesting insights to perceptions that existed at the time when targeted recruitment of women teachers was occurring. While they may not conclusively tell us the public status of the profession, they can indicate the level at which the profession was regarded as it pertains to gender associations: A 1925 report on the training of teachers in the UK is candid in its views, describing teaching as: "a field of effort for a girl of average intellectual capacity and normal maternal instincts", but "for a man to spend his life teaching children of school age is to waste it in doing easy and not very valuable work, he would not do it if not fit to do anything else" (Report on the Training of Teachers, cited in Acker, 1989, p.22). The quote – undeniably derogatory in its assessment of teaching and of women – draws on issues already explored in this review relating to associations with maternal gender roles, and trends that have shown men to leave the profession when other, more appealing employment opportunities become available.

In attempting to understand an earlier root of this view, Miller (1992) notes that the increase of women teachers in nineteenth century Western Europe and North America saw education being split between both gender and class lines, where despite women constituting more than half the teaching workforce by the 1870s, they entered parts of the system which had the lowest status and the lowest pay. According to Miller, this left a significant legacy which went on to affect "more than women's careers as teachers…It has produced a polarisation within education (between primary and secondary for instance, between the "academic" and the "vocational", or between the "academic" and the "pastoral", and between what have been thought of as male and female subjects) and within public discussion of education… [which] has been harmful" (Miller, 1996, p.57). This thought is echoed by Drudy et al (2005), who touch on the issue of this legacy by noting that unlike established professions, teaching no longer recruits from elites, resulting in an 'anyone can teach' mentality. This resonates with the patterns already discussed in terms of economically influenced policy decisions during education system expansions and the targeted recruitment of women teachers, who were more willing to earn a low salary. The conclusion often drawn from this has been that where volume and

feminisation have been synonymous, this has resulted in a lack of professionalisation within teaching, leading the profession to be associated with low pay, lack of authority and discipline, loss of accumulated experience as women left the profession to marry – all of which has resulted in a low status (Cortina and San Roman, 2006).

On educational provision and outcomes

Much of the strongest and perhaps most contentious dialogue and research on the feminisation of the teaching profession has revolved around the issue of its potential and perceived impacts on educational outcomes. In countries where female teacher numbers are low, the drive to recruit women into the profession is often closely associated with policy goals around girls' education and gender equality in education. However, in many countries where female teacher numbers are extremely high and where a gender gap in educational achievement in favour of girls is seen to exist, there has been a huge discourse in the media and at the policy level regarding boys' underachievement in education. This phenomenon has been of such proportions that it has often been described as a 'moral panic' (Lingard, 2003, Drudy, 2008).

The existence of this phenomenon is interesting within the broader global discourse on gender equality in education, where the primary focus is on disadvantages to girls' access, retention and completion, as well on equality of processes and outcomes. Literature in this area suggests that there is evidence to show a correlation between the number of women teachers and girls' enrolment, particularly in the rural areas where the challenges of girls' education are the strongest (UNESCO, 2000). Several reasons for this are posited. First, it has been found that in some conservative countries parents will not allow their daughters to be taught by a male teacher, especially older girls (Herz & Sperling, 2004). Secondly, the presence of women in schools and at the policy level is seen to provide girls greater encouragement towards success and achievement, can provide increased advocacy for girl-child education issues, and can provide a different type of role model from the traditional gender roles many children would have been socialised into (UNESCO, 2006). Parent and teacher interviews by Kainja and Mkandawire (1995) in Malawi indicated that it was widely believed that female teachers were needed not only as "living role models who benefitted from education" (p.21), but also were necessary to provide personal counselling and act as benchmarks for morality.

This has led to targeted female recruitment drives in several countries where girls' lack of access to education has been a major concern in the last ten to twenty years, countries such as Bangladesh, Pakistan and India, a need that has in some cases facilitated expeditious recruitment drives where young women are fast-tracked into teacher education as a temporary solution (Herz & Sperling, 2004). Studies on the increase of teachers in several states in India have demonstrated a variety of policy approaches aimed at increasing primary enrolment that have been reliant on the recruitment of women in particular (Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001). In countries where the teaching workforce is numerically feminised, these concerns shift towards a view of feminisation that has widespread impacts on the culture and pedagogy within schools, with discussion around daily routines, practices and a delivery of the curriculum that is more likely to favour female school children, and biases that disfavour male schoolchildren, both in terms of teacher expectations, and the way in which the curriculum is delivered and assessed (Skelton, 2002). This discussion surrounding teacher feminisation and educational provision and outcomes is closely linked to the issue of boys' underachievement.

Where boys' underachievement is concerned, assumptions that a gender gap in achievement (found in several countries that have a statistically feminised teaching

workforce) are widespread, as is the view that this is down to the low numbers of men in the profession. Such views in the UK have led to steps being taken to encourage more males into teacher training colleges since the late 1990s (Carrington and McPhee, 2008). The nature of these assumptions are rooted largely within sex role socialisation theories (Skelton, 2003), some of which are based on the following beliefs: that children relate better to teachers of the same sex as themselves (and vice-versa); that male teachers are therefore more likely to provide experiences that resonate directly with the concerns and interests of boys; that boys and girls have different learning styles, in particular, that male pupils are thought to derive greater benefit from experiential learning activities and kinaesthetic learning tools which are active and centred on 'male' interests (Carrington and McPhee, 2008). In underlining what he perceived as being the detrimental impact of teacher feminisation on educational outcomes in China, Fu (2000) is more explicit, arguing that teachers have become 'softer' and 'weaker' by demonstrating 'feminine' traits, resulting in a fear that students, particularly males, will have inadequate yang vigour, lacking the masculine traits of "daring to blaze new trails, strength, courage, boldness and forthrightness" (p.41). A further aspect of concern regards discipline in schools, and the gender associations related with this. Connell (cited in Mac and Ghaill, 1994) writes on the tensions that exist around gender and authority, where authority is felt to be a masculine trait. Where a disciplined class is perceived as being a class that learns more, the socialisation of macho masculinity through teaching and the school system inherent within these perspectives is clear (Hayward, and Mac and Ghaill, 2003).

As we have seen, perspectives on the importance of gender issues within the profession by teachers themselves are sometimes inconclusive and slightly contradictory, and in this area we have more ambiguity. In Carrington and McPhee's 2008 study in the UK, teacher interviews in response to the policy of targeted male recruitment showed that while on occasion the policy was questioned, males generally attached importance to the policy in improving motivation and academic engagement, while women teachers also felt that would widen boys' classroom experiences. The interviews also highlighted other perspectives, female teachers in particular commenting on the advantages of having male staff for improved discipline and to provide male role models for boys without fathers at home.

The issue of male role models has been a large part of the discourse at a popular level. Views are reflected (or arguably, induced) by the media, with articles that highlight the education systems need for more male teachers so that they may act as social role models' for young boys, particularly those from one-parent families or who "who have no male role model at home" (The Independent, 2007). Such views are not only found within the media: in the Netherlands, where Driessen (2007) argues that feminisation concerns are a relatively new discourse, 66 per cent of teachers interviewed answered that they believed feminisation was bad for the social-emotional development of boys as boys clearly needed – in their opinion – male role models. However, a high degree of ambiguity also exists among teachers who have been interviewed on these issues: For example, when asked specifically if they saw a correlation between role models and gender, responses in the UK showed that many teachers did not view their own gender as precluding them from being role models for one sex or another, despite having earlier spoken of a need for more male teachers overall (Carrington and McPhee, 2008). Similarly, other studies' findings showed that teachers had a propensity to argue for essential gender differences between men and women teachers even against the reality of their own experiences, indicating that the 'lack of male teachers' discourse is taken for granted as a 'truth' among the teaching workforce (Lahelma, 2000). Smith (2004) argues that the conflation of parenting and

teaching – now being applied to male primary teachers who are expected to act as masculine role models to boys – is ultimately confusing to male teachers, who are also trying to navigate their own identity formation in an occupation that is viewed as 'feminine'. Interestingly, the research by Lahelma, conducted in Finland, was also one of the first to seek responses from schoolchildren themselves as well as from teachers regarding the general worries about a lack of male teachers. The findings indicated that while students and teachers' views on what constituted a good teacher did not differ greatly, it was teachers, not students, who tended to relate these characteristics to the need for more male teachers.

Despite the ambiguity displayed in teacher perspectives of the issues, much of the more recent literature has been clear in casting doubt over assumptions that attempt to find a causal relationship between a feminised teaching workforce with boys' underachievement, pointing-out that there is little concrete research to prove that boys need male teachers to achieve better or that boys need male role models to feel engaged (Griffiths, 2006, and Drudy, 2008). Studies have also shown that the issue points to more of a need to unpack societal constructions of masculinities and how this impacts on boys in certain contexts and identify the clear differences that exist within the issue of boys' underachievement when looking at the figures according to multiple demographic and societal considerations (Jha and Kelleher, 2006). In some cases, the focus on high female teacher numbers has been viewed as a way of finding a scapegoat for far more complex issues, a one-dimensional and essentialist way of looking at gender that ignores "considerations of the multidimensionality of identity whereby masculinities and femininities are seen as being shaped by social class, sexuality, religion, age, ethnicity and so forth" (Skelton, 2003). Indeed, in-depth analysis of boys' underachievement and the prevalence of masculine identities which view academic excellence as 'feminine' – leading to a disengagement with academic achievement – have shown the need for this multi-dimensional lens. In asking the question "which boys underachieve?" Jha and Kelleher (2006) found that the research heavily indicated an interaction between socio-economic class and gender: on the one hand, narrow constructions of masculine identity were widely available among working class and poorer income groups, which in turn led to anti-'feminine' and anti-school attitudes that found those boys representing a disproportionate number of male underachievers; on the other, the availability of a "muscular intellectualness" inherent within middle-class masculinities provided avenues for middle class boys to start achieving in mid to late secondary education.

Nonetheless, public opinion on the matter has been such that much of the literature has been concerned with attempting to answer whether policy goals need to address the lack of male role models as a means of improving boy's educational standards. For many who have addressed the issue, the response has been a candid rebuttal. When addressing this in the UK for example, Drudy (2008) has argued that it is instead far more important for teachers – regardless of sex – to understand how boys construct their identities, and to help them to develop an understanding of the effect of certain forms of masculinities on their lives, suggesting the need for gender issues on the teacher education programme as opposed to the selective recruitment of teachers because they are male. In analysing the Australian government's moves in this area, Smith (2004) noted that the call for more men made no attempt adequately to document whether boys and society in general would actually benefit more from the presence of more male teachers, with many other important considerations being silenced and overlooked, such as the experiences of male primary school teachers within an occupation that is regarded by society as 'women's work'. Lingard (2003) also looks at the Australian context and goes further, arguing that the 'moral panics' over

boys' underachievement appear periodically in the media and politics, and do not build upon previous stories and their insights on ways to move the debate on. Lingard further places the rise of these concerns within a movement away from gender equality in girls' education, with boys being placed firmly within a new gender equity agenda that operates on a presumptive equality between the sexes, spawning masculinity politics which construes men as the 'victims of feminism'.

On managerial processes and teaching staff

Relational to the literature on educational outcomes is that of the impact of feminisation on school processes, including instruction and school culture. Already discussed within the arguments and moral panics surrounding boys' underachievement is the suggestion that high numbers of female teachers will result in a workforce that teaches in a 'gendered way', resulting in 'feminised' practices, whether these are a lack of kinaesthetic methods, poor discipline or a reliance upon maternal behaviour. Apart from the perception that these will disadvantage boys in some way, this also ties in with other areas already discussed on the impact this has on the status of the profession, where the gendered association with primary teaching in particular as a 'woman's job' has not only made it less desirable to men, but casts doubts over its professional credibility. This concern has deepened – or arguably, only become viewed as urgent – as more women have entered secondary level teaching disproportionately, an area that is viewed as being more critical in terms of academic instruction.

Despite this, one thread to emerge out of the literature has been the view that despite high levels of women within the profession, the teaching profession is increasingly becoming subject to masculine processes (Griffiths, 2006; Skelton, 2002), the cause of which can be attributed to the unequal gender stratifications within the management hierarchy that sees a disproportionate number of men in management positions within schools, and to a 're-masculinisation of schooling' that has come about through a re-structuring of state schooling in some countries (Hayward & Mac and Ghaill, in Skelton, 2002). This has led to a contradictory tension, where on the one hand there is a concern that the high proportion of women teachers leads to an inappropriate femininity of culture within schools, but on the other a concern that managerial policies lead to an inappropriate masculinity of culture within schools. In response to this, Griffiths (2006) outlines arguments by feminist educators that see the teaching profession as becoming masculinised with the imposition of a culture of managerialism that is based on an ethos associated with stereotypical, dominant male roles, and a masculinity that is hegemonic, individualistic, competitive, performative, calculative and hierarchical. This is seen as in contrast to what the literature on management styles has depicted as 'feminine', including: a non-hierarchical management structure where decision making happens on a democratic basis, less emphasis on individualism, prioritisation of emotional labour, such as the sponsoring of younger [female] staff by older [female] staff, and school agendas that are informal and flexible (Skelton, 2002). In this regard, the global rise of managerialism is seen as having the effect of intensifying gender issues and re-enforcing a rigid male/female binary, while those women who do rise within managerial culture are presented with a dilemma of whether to embrace, resist or subvert the forms of masculinity implicit in their jobs. With this in mind, Griffiths argues that the feminisation of the profession should be viewed as an opportunity for improved processes, as feminised environments are likely to give more room to manoeuvre for both students and teachers. Additionally, she argues that if hegemonic masculinity is less prevalent, this also gives other masculinities the opportunity to show themselves in safety.

In addressing the consequences of feminisation on staff, Cortina and San Roman (2006) outline impacts that are based more on the individual experience that has resulted from the complex realities of gender imbalances that have characterised the feminisation process. This includes the increasing isolation of female teachers from the spaces of power that have come about with the hierarchical stratifications prevalent within schools. Gender re-enforcements – already illustrated earlier – also have negative impacts that affect both women and men: while women teachers may struggle to convince that their teaching responsibilities are separate from any innate 'mothering' instinct, men must also suffer the consequences of limitations that view them as neither socially nor emotionally suitable to work with young children.

In analysis of the advantages and disadvantages experienced by male primary school teachers, Smith (2004) outlines findings that show although they are more likely to benefit from positive discrimination in seeking employment and gaining promotion, male primary teachers also suffer from their own form of isolation that comes from being a minority within the working environment. This is found through a desire for increased male comradeship and a resultant exclusion from their female colleagues, spending time instead with male principals, janitors, and in the playgrounds. Another negative impact noted by Smith was that male teachers reported an increased workload as the numbers of male teachers declined. Examples of extra duties included being expected to attend most of the school excursions and camps to meet the requested ratio by parents of accompanying male teachers.

Feminisation of teaching through a broader gender equality lens

In exploring the relationships between gender roles and gender bias that have characterised the debate around the feminisation of the teaching profession, some attention has already been paid to understanding the broader gender equality discourses inherent within the issues. These have been found particularly in analysis of teaching as 'women's work' and how this has impacted gender equality in terms of access to decent wages, stable work and other career opportunities within the profession. Arguably, the position of men and women in the teaching profession as a whole mirrors their position within international labour markets in general (Coffey and Delamont, 2000).

Within teaching itself, Rosemberg (in Cortina and San Roman) highlights the gender disparity that automatically exists in pay within the profession in Brazil, with women being most heavily concentrated in the lower-paid pre-school and elementary sectors, while male educators are disproportionately represented in better paid upper secondary and higher education. This persisting of such low salaries she identifies as a pattern of gender discrimination rooted within the education labour market, despite the significant increase in the education levels of women.

This ties in with core concerns in gender equality. The first of these is the suggestion that teaching being viewed as feminised has caused it to lose status within society, making it largely undesirable as it also involves lower earnings and a loss of professional credibility. The suggestion that more men entering teaching will enhance its professional standing raises a further question on the power and status of women in society in general. With this in mind, it is indeed illuminating that much of the discourse and concern over what feminisation of the teaching profession means for both its status and the quality of education delivery has happened in western and OECD countries. This in turn suggests that despite major movements towards women's equality in many of those countries, women still have significantly lower status levels in those countries (Drudy, 2008).

In those countries where the teaching profession has been feminised yet still enjoys a high status with associated high and competitive entry levels, a different type of duality can be observed in terms of gender equality. Mavrogeni's 2005 study on

teacher feminisation in Cyprus presents a clear example of this, where she argues that despite the high status of teaching, a woman's position in the Cypriot economy is placed in a narrow spectrum of occupations, and as a result, the perception of women's occupations – including teaching – are not seen as important as those of men who are the official breadwinners. Mavrogeni theorises that while the domination of women in this occupation was an achievement and a form of liberation for Cypriot women at the beginning of their emancipation, it now acts as a propagator of traditional ideas about women and their role in society as wives and mothers, which are transferred from one generation to another and in turn shape women's occupational tastes and career aspirations, stagnating the prospects for women's work to evolve into other sectors. Echoing this from the Argentinean experience and resonating with other author's comments on the paradoxical nature of what teaching has come to represent for many women globally, Morgade articulates that " a job in a school has signified both a space of autonomy and subjugation for women teachers" (2006, p.99).

Following through from this, a further contextualisation of teacher feminisation and the concern of broader gender inequality can be explored more generally in terms of women's position in the wider workforce. While concerns over teacher feminisation spawned a panic over biases that would disadvantage boys both in school and in later life, research continues to show that this has not been the case. Whatever advantages girls may arguably have gained over boys from higher numbers of female teachers in schools, this has not correlated in workforce participation (Global Gender Gap Report, 2007). This pattern is prevalent across countries experiencing high female teacher numbers and concerns over gender imbalance in educational achievement that favours girls. In Canada for example, the gender pay gap between university educated men and women is considerable, with women still only earning 72.5 cents to every dollar earned by a man, despite there being more women with post-secondary qualifications than men (Canadian Labour Congress, in Chubb et al, 2008). In Jamaica, despite more girls entering post-secondary institutions and being twice as likely to successfully enter tertiary education, women are still almost twice as likely to be unemployed than men (Jha and Kelleher, 2008).

It is possible that this equality issue results from the significant difference within male/female teacher numbers at secondary school. The sudden presence of more male teachers post-primary education (even in countries with high female numbers overall) also brings attitudinal shifts that re-introduce male acceptability within the profession – namely, that more academic teaching skills are a natural male preserve. It is arguable that these attitudes could impact on children in terms of opportunities and aspirations through an adverse socialisation, particularly as once having transitioned to secondary school, children see fewer women in what are perceived to be masculine subjects such as the natural sciences and maths, and in managerial positions (Cortina and San Roman, 2006). The prevalence of a male dominated managerial structure would only compound the view that men are better suited to upper levels within employment and authority (Page and Jha, 2009). Such patterns of socialisation place the school under review as part of the wider quest to understand persisting gender inequalities that disfavour women in employment and later life. Even in countries where girls are fully enrolled in schools and female teachers are abundant, there evidently exists the persistent need for considerations towards a 'gender responsive school' (Atthill and Jha, 2009). As a result, the issue of teacher feminisation – in all its gendered definitions, historical legacies, hierarchical fallacies, perceptions and backlashes mentioned in this review – are important not just for understanding what impact if any is to be had on the pursuance of EFA, but more broadly on the quest to eradicate gender inequalities within society.

3 Statistical Trends in Selected Countries

This chapter will focus on highlighting some of the key patterns and trends that have emerged from the five country cases commissioned for this study. The purpose of the analysis will be to identify commonalities and divergences where possible within the available comparative data. As already noted in the introductory chapter, the Commonwealth membership has a limited number of countries in the global South, where the feminisation of the teaching profession is widespread. Of those that do have indicators that warrant investigation, there are some clear similarities between them. This study has sought to maintain a cross-regional approach, and – within the limitation of countries available for study – has tried to offer varied experiences. However, it is noteworthy that three of the countries are small island states within the Commonwealth – Samoa, Dominica and Sri Lanka – making the study representative of the majority of Commonwealth countries where high female teacher percentages are a distinct characteristic of their education systems (see chapter 1). While Samoa and Dominica share the characteristic of high female teacher numbers with regional neighbours, Sri Lanka – as a South Asian country – is relatively unique among the majority of its politically regional neighbours, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, all of which continue to struggle nationally with increasing female teacher numbers, in that it has made progress towards gender balance in the teaching workforce. Lesotho is also a small state, this time landlocked. However, within the Commonwealth African mainland context, again the characteristic of high female teacher numbers goes against the overall trend within the continent, although it is important to note that are three other Southern African countries on the mainland continent – Botswana, South Africa and Namibia, which also have high female numbers. Finally, although India has an overall national characteristic of paucity of female teachers, the country was included on the understanding that there would be a sub-national focus for comparative study on two very different states – Kerala and Rajasthan. Kerala has had a long-standing characteristic of high female numbers within its education system, making it a good case study for analysis in its own right, especially as large population size and density within the state also offered experiences of a large-scale education system. The inclusion of Rajasthan by contrast gives an opportunity to analyse a state where percentage feminisation was not a characteristic of the teaching profession, but where efforts have been made in recent years towards actively training and recruiting women into the profession, especially within the frameworks of national and international commitments on education and gender equality such as the MDGs and EFA.

Background to the countries

Dominica

The Commonwealth country of Dominica is a small island state in the Caribbean Sea, which lies in-between two French islands (overseas departments): Guadeloupe to its northwest and Martinique to its southeast. Official government statistics estimate the population at around 67,000 (Government of Dominica, 2006). Dominica became independent in 1978. Dominica's infrastructural development – including its road network and an international airport – has been constrained to some extent by geography and it is the latter that has been an important reason for the island retaining its historic character, with Dominica's economy essentially based on agriculture and banana production. Over the last fifty years, diversification as an approach for buttressing Dominica's production and services sector has been emphasised.

Like other former British colonies, education in Dominica essentially emerged from a humanitarian motive linked to the abolitionist movement. In 1834, some charitable funds were used for the education of the liberated slaves, the goal being to afford them elementary education, as well as training for native teachers (Honychurch, 1995). The Mico Charity was non-denominational but did much work in Catholic islands like Dominica. The island's geography and history were very much a part of the trajectory of educational development in Dominica. The passage of the Education Act in 1863 – which legislated for the operation of secular schools – had to deal with the challenge of scattered communities and lack of sensitisation among the population towards a need for formal education, among other barriers. Progress began to be made following the direct involvement of the Church, and the Board of Education and the Catholic priests were mandated to co-operate in the provision of education. Hence the clergy would play a significant role in the implementation of education, with elementary schools growing rapidly although both attendance and standards continued to be low well into the twentieth century. Education at the secondary level took root in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although it is important to note that these schools remained Roseau (capital city)-based, excluding children from the country districts and remote, reaches of the island.

Secondary School was established at Portsmouth in the 1960s, with this sector increasing rapidly as the elementary schools fed their annual output of students into the secondary system. At the tertiary level, the University of the West Indies (UWI), which has provided higher education services across the Caribbean since the 1930, now has an open campus in Dominica.

Lesotho

Lesotho is largely a mountainous country, completely landlocked by South Africa. It has four main geographical regions (ecological zones); the lowlands, the foothills, the highlands and the Senqu River Valley. Despite the fact that the population of Lesotho dropped from 2 million to 1.8 millions in 2006; recent studies show that at present the population of Lesotho has stabilised to about two million (MOET 2006). According to the Lesotho Overview of Economy (2010,) the economy greatly depends on subsistence agriculture, livestock, manufacturing and remittances from migrant labour in South Africa.

Historically, education in Lesotho can be classified into three main streams: indigenous education; colonial education and post-independence education. Formal colonial education can be traced back to the arrival of the missionaries in the 1830s (Butterfield, 1977). The first missionaries came to Lesotho in 1833. The first formal school was started by a missionary of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society during the 1830s. Constant Gosselin, another missionary, had started an infants' school in 1833, together with the adult centre which was then attended by about 200 Basotho who were learning to read and write. More schools were established after the arrival of the Roman Catholics in 1862. By 1909 there were nine schools that were educating 1200 children (Butterfield, 1977). These were elementary level schools. The first four secondary schools were established in 1948. As Lesotho only achieved independence in 1966, education remained the responsibility of the missionaries in Lesotho, from primary to tertiary, with the exception of the university, which remained the joint venture of the government and church denominations. Lesotho's education system has since been expanding and currently more so because of the influx of large numbers of primary pupils via the introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2000. At the tertiary level, The National University was founded as Pius XII Catholic University College in 1938, becoming the National University of Lesotho in 1975. Despite the

current economic recession, according to World Bank Fast Track Lesotho report 2009, the country allocates 20 per cent of its budget to education and this expenditure on education is considered the highest by international standards.

India

India is the seventh largest country in the world by geographical area, the second-most populous country with over 1.2 billion people, and the most populous democracy in the world. The Indian economy is the world's eleventh largest economy by nominal GDP and the fourth largest by purchasing power parity. Since the introduction of market-based economic reforms in 1991, India has become one of the fastest growing major economies in the world. However, the country continues to face several poverty, illiteracy, corruption and public health-related challenges. Although the Indian economy has grown steadily over the last two decades; its growth has been uneven when comparing different social groups, economic groups, geographic regions, and rural and urban areas. India's literacy rate is 64.8 per cent (53.7 per cent for females and 75.3 per cent for males). The state of Kerala has the highest literacy rate at 91 per cent.

Education in India is mainly provided by the public sector, with control and funding coming from three levels: federal, state, and local. Child education is compulsory. Education in India falls under the control of both the Union Government and the states, with some responsibilities lying with the Union and the states having autonomy for others. The various articles of the Indian Constitution provide for education as a fundamental right. India has made huge progress in terms of increasing primary education attendance rates and expanding literacy to approximately two thirds of the population. Much of the progress in education has been credited to various private institutions. However, India continues to face stern challenges.

Samoa

Samoa consists of 9 islands in the Pacific Ocean between 10 and 15 degrees south of the equator, located to the north-east of New Zealand, within a cluster of island nations which include Fiji, Tonga and Tuvalu. Land area on the two main islands, Upolu and Savaii, is about 2,820 square kilometres. The last national Samoa census identified Samoa's population to be 180,741 individuals, of which 93,677 (51.8 per cent) were males and 87,064 (48.2 per cent) were females. The population of Samoa is relatively young, with 39 per cent of the total population being 14 years and under. Samoa is currently identified by the World Bank as a 'Developing Country', and by the United Nations as a 'Least Developed Country'. Samoa's 'Least Developed Country' status' was reviewed by the UN in 2006, and a recommendation made to progress to 'Developing Country Status'. However, in view of the devastation and economic disruption caused by the September 2009 Tsunami, this graduation has been deferred until 2013. Samoa's small size, remoteness from global markets and vulnerability to natural disasters are often touted as major constraints to its economic development. Its Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.771 ranks it 94 out of 182 countries globally, and 3rd in the Pacific region behind Australia and New Zealand.

Formal and compulsory schooling in Samoa begins at five years, although early childhood education is carried out by church and private providers before students enter primary schools at five years of age. This early childhood education is not considered compulsory, nor is it regulated by government. There are 8 years of primary schooling (Years 1–8) and secondary schooling consists of 5 years (Years 9–13) at various secondary schools and colleges in the country. The distinction between secondary school and college is made because secondary schools offer secondary education up to Year 12, while colleges offer classes up to Year 13. Year 13 is considered the final year of

secondary schooling, where students study towards the leaving qualification, the Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate. However, this is not a matriculation qualification, as students still have to undergo Foundation Studies at the National University of Samoa before they are eligible to enter university programs. The vast majority of schools in Samoa are co-educational schools. The four single-sex schools are all mission schools, two of which are primary and the other two are secondary schools. The single boys' school is a primary school run by the Marist Brothers. There were more single-sex schools at one stage, but these became co-educational under policies to improve access to secondary schooling for all students, regardless of gender.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is surrounded by the Indian Ocean, the Gulf of Mannar, the Palk Strait and lies in the vicinity of India and Maldives. The Sinhalese community forms the majority of the population; Tamils, who are concentrated in the north and east of the island, form the largest ethnic minority. The country is famous for the production and export of tea, coffee, coconuts, rubber and cinnamon: the latter is native to the country. Sri Lanka has been the site of a 3-decade long separatist war, to which a tentative end has been declared since May 2009.

In South Asia, Sri Lanka has been one of the better performing education systems. The country has a free education system which was introduced as early as 1944, before independence from the British. The early start on free education as well as vernacular medium of instruction enabled Sri Lanka to achieve universal primary education by 1980. The present system offers free schooling, free textbooks, school uniforms, mid-day meals and free school transport from Grade 1 through Grade 11. Beside the public education system, a significant parallel private education system exists. At the further/higher education level, both vocational schools and university options are available, with the latter drawing the most applicants.

Access to education

The following section will complete a comparative analysis between the five countries on access to education at the primary and secondary levels. While not all the data is complete, the table below demonstrates relative similarities between Dominica and Samoa where access to primary education is concerned. Net Enrolment Ratios (NER) for primary education were not available in the UNESCO GMR for Sri Lanka, but Net Intake Rates (NIR) were located (UNESCO, 2008) from the country's EFA mid-decade assessment report as the only comparable source.

Primary and secondary indicators

Table 3.1 Access to primary education

Country	Net Enrolment Ratio in Primary Education (%)							
	1999				2007			
	Total	Male	Female	GPI	Total	Male	Female	GPI
Dominica	94	95	93	0.98	73+	–	–	–
Lesotho	57	54	61	1.12	72	71	74	1.04
India	–	–	–	–	89	90	87	0.96
Samoa	92	92	91	0.99	98*	96*	99*	1.03*
Sri Lanka								

Source: UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010
*Statistics taken from Samoa MESC Policy, Planning and Research Division 2010
+Statistics taken from the Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth A Affairs, 2008

Firstly, note that Dominica had already reached significantly high levels of enrolment in 1999, but by 2007 there is a significant drop to 73 per cent, indicating a regression from what had been previously successful movements towards UPE. Showing a different experience, Samoa was also close to full net enrolment in 1999, and has virtually achieved this by 2007. Comparably, Sri Lanka had a NIR in 2001 of 96 per cent, and in 2005 of 91 per cent, showing a gradual decrease. The Gender Parity Index for each of these countries was just shy of absolute gender parity (Sri Lanka was 1.01 and 1.00 for the two years mentioned above respectively). With Lesotho however, we note a much lower rate of enrolment in 1999, although significant gains have been made by 2007 with about a 15 percentage point increase. The GPI in 1999 indicates some disparity in favour of girls, although by 2007 this has been reduced somewhat closer to the desired levels. With India, there is an absence of data for 1999, but by 2007 the UNESCO data appears to indicate high enrolment rates, and close to gender parity.

At the secondary level we note that all countries are performing significantly less well than at primary, but once again that Dominica and Samoa have the highest indicators in 1999, while Lesotho and India remain significantly below 50 per cent on gross enrolment. Sri Lanka's 2001 NER for secondary education is 89 per cent (UNESCO, 2008), putting it closer to Dominica and Samoa. Data for Dominica shows regression once again, from 90 to 84 per cent. At the secondary level Samoa has improved its ratio only slightly by that year, which indicates greater difficulties in Universal Secondary Education. Sri Lanka is doing better than all the other countries at this level (90 per cent by 2005). Both India and Lesotho make significant improvements to secondary enrolment, although these remain comparatively lower. It is also notable that there is a recognisable gender disparity in favour of girls in Dominica, Lesotho, and to a lesser extent, Samoa. Sri Lanka has a GPI at the secondary level of 1.04 per cent in 2005 (UNESCO, 2008). India's gender disparity remains in favour of boys.

Table 3.2 Access to secondary education

Country	Gross Enrolment Ratio in Secondary Education (%)							
	1999				2007			
	Total	Male	Female	GPI	Total	Male	Female	GPI
Dominica	90	77	104	1.35	84+			
Lesotho	31	26	35	1.35	37	33	41	1.27
India	44	52	36	0.71	55	59	49	0.83
Samoa	79	76	84	1.10	81	76	86	1.13
Sri Lanka								

Source: UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010
+Statistics taken from the Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, 2008

Overall, the data at both levels of education suggest that of our five countries, at least three are performing comparatively well where primary and secondary education are concerned. We also note that four of the countries have attained relative gender parity at primary level, but are struggling with gender disparity in enrolment that affects boys' access and participation.

Varying trends in teacher feminisation – national and sub-national patterns in female representation

Teaching capacity and gender balance in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors

An immediate comparative analysis of the data above indicates the level to which women teachers dominate the workforce in terms of pure numbers. First, we are aware

that India is the anomalous country, with a national statistic of only 40 per cent women teachers in 2007. Although this has increased from its 1999 percentage, it is still too low and indicates clearly that India is struggling to reach a gender balance within its teaching workforce – statistical teacher feminisation is not a characteristic of the whole country's education system. Data for the Indian State of Kerala – which does have a large majority female workforce – will be presented later. Of the other countries the data shows that each had women teachers in the high 70th and early 80th percentile by 2007. Of those, three countries show trends between 1999–2007: Lesotho and Samoa both show an increase in female teacher numbers over this period, increasing the level of feminisation substantially. Dominica on the other hand appears to have maintained the proportion, with even a slight decrease in percentage points where female numbers are concerned.

Table 3.3 Teaching staff in primary education

Primary Education						
Country	Teaching Staff				Pupil/teacher ratio	
	1999		2007		1999	2007
	Total (000)	%f	Total (000)	%f		
Dominica	0.6	75	0.5	84	20	17
Lesotho	8	80	11	78	44	40
India	3135	33		40*	35	
Samoa	1	71	1	78	24	24
Sri Lanka			69	84		23

Source: UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010
*Source: SES 2006–7 – the data only covers primary schools, and does not cover integrated schools where there are both primary and secondary sections.

Table 3.4 Teaching staff in secondary and tertiary education

	Secondary Education						Tertiary Education			
Country	Teaching Staff (Total Secondary)				Pupil/teacher ratio (Total Secondary)		Teaching Staff			
	1999		2007		1999	2007	1999		2007	
	Total (000)	%f	Total (000)	%f			Total	%	Total	%f
Dominic	0.4	68	0.5	65	19	16				
Lesotho	3	51	4	55(?)	22	25	0.4	4	0.6	47
India	1995	34			34					
Samoa	1.1	47*		51*	20		0.2	4		
Sri										43 z

Source: UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010
* = Source MESC Research, Policy and Planning Division
z = 2009 data Source: University Grants Commission Sri Lanka 2009
(?) = 2010 statistics available for Lesotho from MOET and show a very different percentage of 63%.

Immediate analysis indicates that the female numbers at the secondary level are much lower, to the extent that the teaching workforce cannot be described as feminised within the parameters of this study, with the exception of Dominica, which is on low to moderate category of feminisation. Interestingly, it would appear that Dominica has actually decreased its numbers slightly over the 1999 – 2007 period, effectively levelling out the process of feminisation. This is not the case with Samoa and Lesotho, which have both slightly increased their female teacher proportions. Pupil teacher ratios appear to be low for all the countries.

Some long and short-term experiences of feminisation trends

Several of the case studies were able to provide information that gave insight into the historical progression of feminisation within the profession. Although these have not been uniform, they have been able to provide different trends for analysis, from long-held historical progression since pre-independence, as with the case of Sri Lanka, to more recent short-term trends that have led to higher female proportions in some educational sectors, such as in Lesotho.

With a long-standing formal and free education system that pre-dated independence, Sri Lanka already had a significantly high literacy rate among women and girls of 55.5 per cent in 1953, compared to 69 per cent for the whole country overall. Relatively high given the country was only coming out of its colonised status, the seeds of this near gender parity in literacy could be partly attributed to policies that encouraged vernacular and bi-lingual mediums in educational instruction, steps that arguably opened the door for both rural children and girls to overcome conservative cultural practices at the time. A period of secondary education expansion into the rural areas in the 1960s was followed with curriculum and teacher education reforms in 1972 and 1980 that created a new demand for teachers. Of the new colleges and teacher training qualifications created to meet this demand, over 70 per cent were women. The following table demonstrates this increase until recently:

Table 3.5 Sri Lanka – female teachers in public schools, 1971–2009

Year	1971	1985	1992	2000	2005	2009
% of Female Teachers	53.4	61.20	67.30	69	69.30	71

Source: Jayaweera Suwarna (2008)

As indicated, by 1971 female teachers already represented just over half of the teacher workforce, a situation no doubt made possible by the country's success in educating girls since the introduction of free education in 1944. However, the reasons why more women answered the expansionist drive to become teachers are not immediately explained by the existence of such statistics. Some of the possible reasons will be explored later.

In Dominica it is quite possible to link the supposedly 'female' tradition in schooling with the establishment of the early dame-schools of the late Victorian period, by means of which respectable women took the initiative to 'accommodate' groups of children at the 'primary' level in order to instruct them in basic literacy and numeracy. These schools were undoubtedly following the pattern of the dame-schools in Great Britain and other English-speaking countries which offered an early form of private elementary schooling. They were usually taught by women and often located in the home of the teacher. Dame-schools were varied – some functioned mainly as day care facilities, supervised by illiterate women, while others provided their students with a good foundation in the basics.

In Dominica, women tended to preponderate in teaching because the men were very much occupied with matters of the estates, agriculture, and so on. Dr Lennox Honychurch noted that in the early twentieth century, very few professions were open to women. The only profession of status for respectable women was teaching. Other white-collar jobs were mainly the preserve of men (clerks, secretaries, etc.). Education was thus the only avenue for respectable women. By 1948 and the

opening of the Teacher Training College in Barbados, formal avenues were opened for women to be trained as teachers.[3]

Although lacking in significant statistical data to demonstrate the growth of female numbers, qualitative investigations into the history of teacher training in Samoa offer some answers to how the current gender imbalance came about. Evidence suggests that enrolment into teacher training colleges between 1939 to the mid-1960s was usually in favour of males. However, from the mid-1960s onwards, enrolment into Primary Teachers' Colleges was in favour of females, with the difference being particularly marked after 1978, when the Secondary Teachers College was established, drawing away much of the interest from male candidates. This suggests an increasing feminisation of the primary sector in tandem with the expansion of the education system post-independence, as more secondary schools were being provided. Further to this, there was also an opening-up of other occupations that were attractive to males in the mid-1960s, particularly after independence was gained from New Zealand in 1962, when Samoa began to build her own government administration and physical and human resource infrastructure. As a result, it appears that there was no targeted policy to recruit women, a series of economic and political changes within the country can be credited for the increasing numbers of women able to enter the profession. By 1994, the percentage of women within the teaching profession (primary and secondary) had reached 63 per cent. The table below demonstrates that male teacher numbers have actually declined gradually since 1994. The teaching force had grown by just over one hundred during the 16 year period, and the expansion overall is not substantial.

Figure 3.1 Samoa – gender of the teaching profession as a percentage of total, 1994–2010 (Primary and Secondary)

Source: MESC Research Policy and Planning Division

Similar data on how Dominica's teaching workforce became feminised by the beginning of the new millennium is absent, however, an analysis of statistics between 2002–2008 offer a few insights into changes within the proportionality of female teachers when disaggregated by primary and secondary sectors.

The data indicates a decrease in the number of total staff within the primary sector between 2002–2008. The bulk of this loss has been from among male teaching staff, resulting in the further relative increase in the percentage of female teachers, despite

3 This was in no small part a fulfillment of the needs of the Moyn Commission Report of 1938, which identified a variety of deficiencies within the social and economic conditions of the island, including issues surrounding both education and women's exploitation.

the fact that they are also fewer in number. The smaller teaching workforce has therefore become increasingly statistically feminised as a result of a greater proportion of men (relative to their overall numbers) leaving the sector than women. At the secondary level however, we see a different pattern (*table 9*).

Table 3.6 Dominica – percentage of male and female staff (including principals) at the primary level, 2002/03–2007/08

Year	Total Staff	Male	Female	% Male	% Female
2002/03	658	131	527	19.9	80.1
2003/04	623	119	504	19.1	80.9
2004/05	615	114	501	18.5	81.5
2005/06	580	100	480	17.2	82.8
2006/07	565	96	469	17.0	83.0
2007/08	562	90	472	16.0	84.0

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Table 3.7 Dominica – percentage of secondary school teachers by sex, 2002/03–2007/08

Year	Total Staff	Males	Females	% Males	% Females
2002/03	395	126	269	31.9	68.1
2003/04	385	132	253	34.3	65.7
2004/05	415	155	260	37.3	62.7
2005/06	437	152	285	34.8	65.2
2006/07	466	160	306	34.3	65.7
2007/08	491	151	340	30.8	69.2

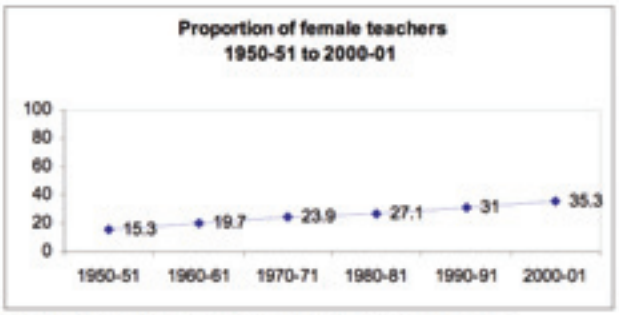
Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Secondary-level gender percentages of teaching staff show a more complex story. First, teaching staff numbers have increased by over one hundred, indicating expansion within the secondary sector. This has resulted in more men and women being brought into the profession overall, although female numbers continue to be more overall. Despite this however, the increase in female proportionality over the period is only by 1 per cent. More pointedly, fluctuations within the percentages and numbers show a short-term increase in male teacher numbers between 2003 and 2006, and a very brief decrease in female numbers in the 2003/04 year. As a result, female teacher percentages dropped to 62.7 per cent mid-way through the period, but rose again to a similar proportionality by the end. Although male staff remain in the minority, this erratic pattern suggests on the whole a more ambiguous relationship with secondary teaching for men in Dominica. On the one hand there is a commitment that is lacking from the clear flight from the primary sector, while on the other, the sudden resurgence of the females close to the 70th percentile by the end of 2008 indicates that men are quicker to leave the profession when changes do occur.

The case of India is unique within the five case studies presented here, as the progression in female teachers has not led to a case of women numbers being a majority at the national level. Nonetheless, female teacher recruitment has increased overall. Looking at the five decades after India attained independence in 1947,[4] we see that there is a steady increase in the number and proportion of female teachers. The number of female teachers shot up from 0.1 million in 1950–51 to 0.6 million in 1970–71 to 1.3 million in 1990–91 to 1.8 million in 2000–01. The rate of growth of proportions of female teachers in the system at school-level can be seen in Figure 3.2 showing that it increased steadily though at quite a modest rate.

4 In the pre-independence period, the proportions of female teachers were much lower. In 1926–27 it was only 9 per cent for the country as a whole. Over the next 20 years, it rose to 14 per cent (see Agrawal and Aggarwal, 1992).

Figure 3.2 India – proportion of female teachers, 1950–2001



Source: Selected Educational Statistics, various years.

However, in the case of India it is important to note the recruitment and deployment of teachers is very much a state responsibility and not under the remit of the central government. As a result, while the aggregate figures for India show no statistical feminisation at the national level, there are significant divergences from this norm at the state level. Kerala for example had 41 per cent female teachers in the workforce as early as 1956 to 57 (Chakraborty, 2005). By 2008–2009 it was as high as 74 per cent (DISE, 2008–2009). From a broader historical perspective, Kerala has a history of being quite different from many other Indian States in terms of gender relations. The growth of female literacy in the state throughout the twentieth century gives some indication of the manner in which women were able to access educated professions such as teaching: Between 1931 and 1951, female literacy jumped from 11 per cent to 36 per cent. By 1971 it was at 63 per cent and by 1991 it was 86 per cent (Provisional Population Totals, Census of India – 2001 Series 33 – KERALA). This growth in literacy and female teachers supplemented one another over the post-independence period, very much in line with already established pre-independence polices and social norms that were instrumental in promoting female education and women in the teaching profession (see Swaminthan, 1999).

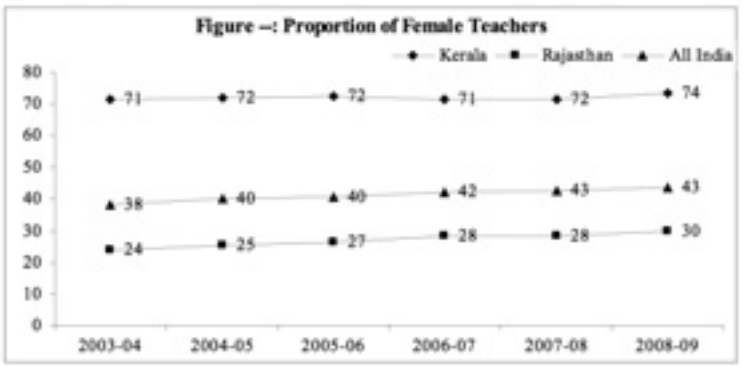
More recently, other states have moved towards recruiting large numbers of female teachers in the 1990s at the primary level in particular, although there remained enormous differences between states (Jha and Bharwaj, 2001). Several other states which now exhibit female teacher numbers above the national average notably instituted policies which actually reserved 50 per cent of their primary teaching posts for women. These include Karnataka (50 per cent female in 2006–2007) and Tamil Nadu (62 per cent female in 2006–2007).

Geographic variances

Aggregate statistics so far presented across the five case studies primarily demonstrate a national-level understanding of female numbers within the profession. But as already noted with the case of India, the distribution of female teachers according to physical and geopolitical environment is an important factor to take into account, particularly where issues of gender balance and gender equality are aligned with provision considerations such as effective teacher deployment policy.

A further investigation into India presents this study's most notable geographic variance, and one that is attributable to the country's immense geographic size and socio-economic and political composition. The graph below outlines the extreme differences in female teacher numbers between the two states of Kerala and Rajasthan.

Figure 3.3 India – proportion of female teachers in Kerala and Rajasthan



Source: DISE, State Report Cards, various years.

Figure 3.4: Map of India

Rajasthan's low female percentage of 30 per cent for 2009 is marked in comparison to the high proportion in Kerala of 74 per cent. All India data shows the female proportion at the national level to be 43 per cent, indicating that Kerala more significantly bucks the overall country trend. Each state has increased its female teacher numbers since 2003, but although Rajasthan has done so by a few percentage points more (as has India overall), this is not by any notable amounts in either case, maintaining the disparity at a similar level over the last six years.

This significant difference between states in India is indeed a unique case, and it must be acknowledged that it is not one many countries experience. Development between states in India has been skewed since independence, for which the reasons are myriad, such as the coincidence of locational benefits (Rajasthan is a large, desert state with challenges to infrastructural development, while Kerala is a coastal state that has been a hub of trade and development for centuries). Long-standing high female literacy in Kerala has already been indicated as a factor in the increasingly dominant

role of women in the teaching profession, and the huge variances between female teacher numbers between these two states present divergences within India's overall educational development. The map below gives a preliminary overview of where female teachers are most heavily concentrated, illustrating a pattern of statistical feminisation primarily within the country's southern states.[5]

A more common variance found across the other countries is that of the quintessential rural/urban divide. Where all five case studies are concerned, it is clear that despite high female teacher numbers in each country, female numbers in the rural areas remain lower than in the urban ones. An initial look at teacher numbers and geographical distribution in one year in Lesotho demonstrates this immediate picture:

Table 3.8 Lesotho – primary and secondary teachers by gender and district, 2010

District	Post primary				Primary			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	All	%	All	%	All	%	All	%
Thaba-Tseka	68	49	72	51	199	33	411	67
Qacha's Nek	67	41	98	59	135	27	358	73
Mokhotlong	59	43	81	57	170	31	386	69
Maseru	330	34	641	66	408	20	1621	80
Mafeteng	224	44	282	56	225	29	776	71
Leribe	339	46	407	54	286	18	1312	82
Mohales'Hoek	134	37	224	67	258	20	1035	80
Berea	201	41	290	59	278	21	1002	79
Butha-Buthe	82	27	225	73	138	20	550	80
Quthing	117	45	141	55	200	27	528	73
Total and av. (%)	1621	41	2461	59		25		75

Source: District education offices and MOET planning unit.

The table not only demonstrates the differing levels of females at the primary and secondary level, but also clearly outlines that the levels of feminisation are highest in the lowlands for primary schools, such as in Maseru (80 per cent) and Leribe (82 per cent). These are the most industrialised areas in Lesotho. The lowest female percentage of 67 per cent in Thaba-Tseka is in a rural area in the highlands.

Lesotho's figures are mirrored by a similar analysis in Sri Lanka, see the table below:

Table 3.9 Sri Lanka – distribution of female teachers at the province and district level, 2009

Administrative provinces and districts-wise distribution of female teachers in 2009				
Province	Districts	Male	Female	% Female
	Colombo Total	2922	12860	81%
	Gampaha Total	3122	11969	79%
	Kalutara Total	2091	7841	79%
Western Total		**8135**	**32670**	**80%**
	Kandy Total	3701	12312	77%
	Matale Total	1764	4349	71%
	Nuwara Eliya Total	3008	5991	67%
Central Total		**8473**	**22652**	**73%**
	Galle Total	2936	8474	74%
	Hambantota Total	2382	5610	70%
	Matara Total	2632	7580	74%
Southern Total		**7950**	**21664**	**73%**
	Jaffna Total	2336	5367	70%
	Mannar Total	409	782	66%
	Vavunia Total	821	1768	68%
North Total		**3566**	**7917**	**69%**
Source: Annual School Census Databases 2009 of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.				

5 A complete list of 2006 – 2007 percentages on the proportion of female teachers in all Indian States is available in Chapter 7.

The urban sector in Sri Lanka is largely concentrated in several districts. The highest level of urbanisation is in the District of Colombo in the Western Province. Female teacher percentage in those districts is at 80 per cent. Most of the other provinces are predominantly rural areas. In the Central Province, the Nuwara Eliya and Matale districts are more rural, yet the female teacher percentages are 67 per cent and 71 per cent respectively. In Southern Province the most rural district is Hambantota and has 70 per cent female teachers. In the Northern province Mannar and Vavuniya are not only the remote rural areas but also were war-affected areas and respectively 66 and 68 per cent of the teachers in primary and secondary schools are females.

With Lesotho and Sri Lanka, we clearly see two countries with high female teacher numbers displaying similar trends where rural and urban differences are concerned. While the percentages drop in the rural areas, they still remain high enough to consist of a significant gender imbalance within the teaching workforce.

With India we see a more pronounced trend, with national-level statistics when disaggregated purely across rural and urban lines (sample state-level disaggregation will come later). The country presents data that highlights the start of a feminisation process in the urban areas, despite the low proportion of women in the teaching profession in the country at large. The table below demonstrates that while the national-level percentage for women teachers is 42 per cent, in the urban areas they represent 65 per cent of the workforce, with a gender imbalance in favour of women already clearly evident. The data also confirms the constant trend that female teachers are more likely to be present in primary schools than in the post-primary sectors.

Table 3.10 India – proportion of female teachers, 2007–08

% female teachers	All	Rural	Urban
In primary schools (grades 1–4,5)	42.3	37.7	69.6
In primary plus upper primary schools (1–7,8)	45.1	38.3	66.6
In middle schools (grades 5–7, 6–8)	35.4	29.8	62.5
In upper primary plus secondary / senior secondary (5–10; 5–12; 6–10; 6–12)	37.9	31.0	53.6
In primary plus secondary / senior secondary (1–10; 1–12)	55.8	43.9	68.6
In all schools	42.7	36.5	65.2

Source: DISE data. 2007–2008.

It is important to note urban areas in India had largely achieved a gender balance or were already displaying higher numbers of female teachers (except for secondary schools) as early as 1993, as demonstrated by the table below:

Table 3.11 India – female teachers in rural and urban areas, 1993 and 2002

Schools	1993			2002		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Primary (grades 1–4/5)	23.5	61.3	31.6	30.6	66.3	38.3
Upper Primary (1–7/8, 5–7, 6–8)	25.4	60.6	36.0	29.8	63.2	39.9
Secondary (1–10, 5–10, 6–10)	23.1	55.5	34.7	25.7	57.4	38.0
Senior Sec. (1–12, 5/6–12)	17.8	43.5	33.2	27.3	52.6	42.0
All	23.5	55.0	33.6	29.1	59.2	39.4

Source: For data in 1993 – Sixth All India Educational Survey, 1998 and for data on 2002 – Seventh All India School Educational Survey, 2007.

Apart from allowing us to see the wide divergence between proportions of female teachers in rural and urban areas during both surveys, the table also demonstrates that the proportion of female teachers has risen in both rural (24 to 29 per cent) and urban areas (55 to 59 per cent) and in all types of schools. The trend over the nine year period, which overlaps with the 3 phases of the DPEP (District Primary Education Programme) initiative in 2002, shows proportions of female teachers were highest among primary schools in urban areas (67 per cent) and least among secondary schools in rural areas (26 per cent). What the figures do also confirm however is that gender balance in the teaching force had largely been achieved in urban schools as early as 1993, and had already started to show trends towards statistical feminisation at the primary school level, while a gender balance was achieved in urban senior secondary schools by 2002. When compared with the earlier table of 2008, we can see that the rise in female numbers has continued, and while the rural areas continue to struggle over all with bringing more women into the teaching workforce, the urban areas are now moving steadily towards female teacher numbers in the 70th percentile.

At the state level in India, if we take the case of Kerala where the teaching workforce at large is already feminised, we are able to view a comparable trend to countries such as Lesotho and Sri Lanka in terms of the rural-urban divide. Table 3.12 demonstrates that, taking all schools together, the proportion of female teachers is 73 per cent in the rural areas compared to 80 per cent in the urban areas. The table shows that differences in the proportions of female teachers do not differ greatly in the different types of schools in both rural and urban areas.

Table 3.12 Kerala – rural urban differences in percentage of female teachers, 2008–09

% female teachers	Rural	Urban
In primary schools (grades 1–4)	74.9	82.7
In primary plus upper primary schools (1–7)	69.8	76.6
In middle schools (grades 5–7)	69.9	75.0
In upper primary plus secondary / senior secondary (5–10; 5–12)	72.6	79.9
In primary plus secondary / senior secondary (1–10; 1–12)	74.1	83.6
In all schools	72.5	80.2

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

Interestingly, the State of Rajasthan offers a picture that more closely mirrors the All India statistical trend:

Table 3.13 Rajasthan – rural urban differences in percentage of female teachers, 2008–09

% female teachers	Rural	Urban
In primary schools (grades 1–5)	26.4	58.9
In primary plus upper primary schools (1–8)	25.0	54.1
In middle schools (grades 6–8)	27.5	58.1
In upper primary plus secondary / senior secondary (6–10; 6–12)	14.9	51.0
In primary plus secondary / senior secondary (1–10; 1–12)	18.4	48.3
In all schools	23.8	52.8

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

The table indicates a much wider divergence between rural and urban schools compared with Kerala, with gender balance achieved in urban areas and the common trend of disproportionate female numbers appearing at the primary level, although in the case of Rajasthan this is comparatively slight. The rural areas are suffering from an acute shortage of female teachers, particularly at the secondary level.

Samoa is divided into four statistical regions, namely the Apia Urban Area, North West Upolu, Rest of Upolu and Savaii. The Apia Urban Area is so labelled because of the concentration of government, economic and social infrastructure, and is physically the smallest statistical region in terms of land area.

The Apia Urban Area has the highest population density, followed by the North West Upolu region. This is due to the centralisation of most social and economic services in the two regions. Formal employment opportunities in both the public and private sector are concentrated in the Apia Urban Area and North West Upolu Region.

The following table shows female teachers as a percentage of the total teaching force in each statistical region over a 16-year period, from 1994 to 2010.

Table 3.14 Samoa – female teachers at the regional level, 1994–2010

Female Teachers as % of Teaching Force in Each Region 1994–2010				
	Apia Urban Area	North West Upolu	Rest of Upolu	Savaii
1994	66	63	62	62
1998	66	64	66	63
2002	68	63	66	64
2006	68	64	69	63
2010	67	66	69	70

Source: MESC Research, Policy & Planning Division, 2010.

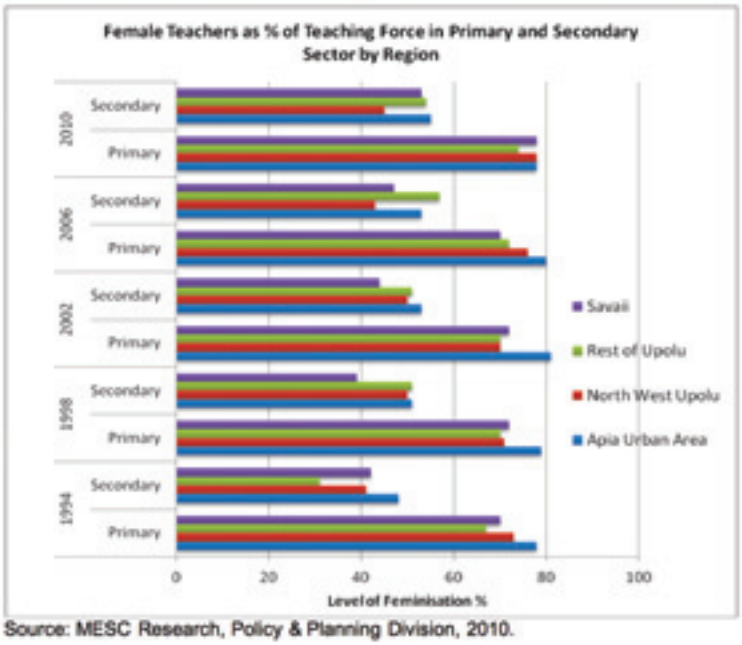
Analysis of data yields several findings. Firstly, the number of females as a percentage of the teaching profession in primary and secondary schools increased in every region between 1994 and 2010. Secondly, although the Apia Urban Area had the highest proportion of female teachers in 1994, this distinction was shared with the Rest of Upolu region in 1998, taken over by the Rest of Upolu Region in 2006, and subsequently Savaii in 2010. This means that the highest level of feminisation of the teaching force is variable between regions over time, and is not attributed to a single region.

This may reflect several factors, not the least of which is the government's efforts to provide incentives for people to stay in the rural areas instead of migrating to the Apia Urban Region in search of jobs and better schooling. Some of these strategies included the upgrading of primary and secondary school facilities in rural areas, and increasing the capacity of rural secondary schools to become colleges and offer Year 13 for students in their vicinities. Equally important, the establishment of a town centre in Savaii (Savaii Region) to encourage business and employment formation at a location other than Apia was welcomed by Savaii residents.

Further analysis is possible by breaking down the data tabled into primary and secondary sectors. The figure below shows female teachers as a percentage of the teaching force in each school sector, employed in each statistical region, between 1994 and 2010.

Several trends are evident from the graphical representation above. Firstly, the percentage of female teachers in the primary teaching force has consistently been highest in the Apia Urban Area every year until 2010. In 2010, this distinction was shared between Apia Urban Area and two other regions. The second trend is that every region with the exception of Apia Urban Area experienced an increased proportion of primary female teachers (compared to total primary teachers) between 1994 and 2010. The female proportion of primary teachers in the Savaii Region in particular increased from 70 per cent in 1994 to 78 per cent in 2010, which means that the male teacher proportion declined from 30 per cent to 22 per cent in the region's primary schools.

Figure 3.5 Samoa – female teachers as a percentage of teaching force in each sector by region, 1994–2010



Source: MESC Research, Policy & Planning Division, 2010.

The case of secondary schools is different from that of primary schools, which is as to be expected given the overall gender distribution of teachers in secondary schools in Samoa. In 1994, male teachers outnumbered female teachers in secondary schools in every region. Four years later, the proportion of female teachers in secondary schools increased to half the number of secondary teachers in all regions except Savaii Region. In 2010, the female proportion of secondary school teachers by region was 55 per cent in Apia Urban Area, 45 per cent in North West Upolu, 54 per cent in Rest of Upolu Region and 53 per cent in the Savaii Region. In more than 10 years (between 1998 and 2010), the female component of secondary school teachers had increased from 51 to 55 per cent in the Apia Urban Area and from 51 to 54 per cent in the Rest of Upolu Region. The Savaii Region experienced the biggest increase, from 39 per cent in 1998 to 53 per cent in 2010, while the figure for North West Upolu actually declined from 50 percent in 1998 to 45 per cent in 2010.

In the case of Dominica, we see a clear dominance of female teachers across all regions, as illustrated in the table below:

Table 3.15 Dominica – numbers and percentage distribution of male/female teachers at the primary level by district, 2003/04–2007/08

	East			North			South			West		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2003/04	25 (27%)	68 (73%)	**93**	23 (18%)	105 (82%)	**128**	21 (21%)	81 (79%)	**102**	32 (14%)	204 (86%)	**236**
2004/05	25 (27%)	66 (73%)	**91**	19 (15%)	108 (85%)	**127**	20 (20%)	78 (80%)	**98**	33 (14%)	203 (86%)	**236**
2005/06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2006/07	16 (20%)	64 (80%)	**80**	19 (15%)	107 (85%)	**126**	16 (18%)	73 (82%)	**89**	28 (14%)	179 (86%)	**207**
2007/08	17 (22%)	59 (78%)	**76**	19 (15%)	105 (85%)	**124**	16 (18%)	73 (82%)	**89**	22 (10%)	189 (90%)	**211**

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sport and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Indicators 2008

While figures are not available for 2005/06, it is quite possible to assume that the percentage distribution would have been comparable in that year. It must be noted that the female percentages were highest in the Northern and Western districts, which also had the largest numbers of teachers. In the Western district in 2007/08, 90 per cent of the teachers in primary schools were female.

In the Dominican context, it is not possible to place the districts neatly into the rural/urban dichotomy, especially the Western district that contains a combination of rural, sub-urban and urban areas. What one will have to conclude tentatively, for present purposes, is that the highest percentages of female teachers are found in the districts where there are large towns.

Untrained and 'para' teachers

An area that is important to explore around women in the teaching profession is what relationships exist, if any, between increases in female teacher numbers in particular and increases in untrained teachers and/or those working on short and informal contracts within the workforce (also known as 'para' teachers). Gender disaggregated data on trained and untrained teachers is available for Dominica, Lesotho, Sri Lanka and India.

In Lesotho, teacher supply has been constrained by a need for enough graduates to emerge from the Lesotho College of Education (LCE) to meet the demand that arises from both teacher attrition and the expansion of the system. Between 1999 and 2003 the teaching workforce rose by 1000, although the number of qualified teachers fell by 150 (Phamotse et al, 2005). Statistics for 2007 indicate that at the primary level about 30 per cent of teachers in the workforce were unqualified (UNESCO International Task Force on Teachers for EFA, 2007). As a result, there has been a growing reliance on a combination of untrained voluntary teachers and contract teachers without formal qualifications. Overall, male teachers in Lesotho are more likely to be untrained than their female counterparts when analysed as a proportion of their gender within the workforce. For example, the 2004 School Census Record indicated that in the Senqu River Valley zone 59 per cent of male teachers were unqualified, compared to 26 per cent of women (Phamotse et al, 2005, p. 5). Even in the Mountain zone, where untrained teachers are more prevalent, males are more likely to be untrained than their female counterparts (60 per cent to 47 per cent respectively). As a response to this, the LCE's Distance Teacher Education Programme was initiated to respond to what was an expected surge in teacher training enrolments following the introduction of free primary education in 2000. Although the programme is targeted at in-service training for untrained teachers already working in schools and therefore seeks to plug the qualification deficit, there remain quality issues surrounding this programme as a means of addressing the qualifications of untrained teachers and 'para' professionals (Education International, 2007).

Similarly, in the case of Dominica where women constitute 80 per cent of the primary teaching workforce, women are also more likely to be trained than their male counterparts. Of all the women teachers in Dominica in 2008, 60 per cent of them were trained. Of all the male teachers in Dominica in the same year, only 42 per cent were trained. However, in terms of pure numbers, the following table demonstrates how the above analysis only tells one part of the story:

Table 3.16 Dominica – number of untrained teachers at the primary level by sex, 2002/03–2007/08

Number Untrained			
Year	Male	Female	Total
2002/03	78	223	301
2003/04	69	197	266
2004/05	69	214	283
2005/06	61	174	235
2006/07	63	196	259
2007/08	59	206	265

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

The data above indicates that while as a percentage of the male teaching workforce at the primary level, men appear to be more untrained than women, in terms of actual numbers untrained women teachers are far more, up to the point of quadrupling the male numbers. Additionally, we note that the numbers of untrained male teachers appears to have declined in the six-year period, while women untrained teachers have fluctuated with a degree of inconsistency in numbers but retained a similar level at the beginning and at the end of the period[6]. The important characteristic to note here about Dominica's primary system is that the teaching workforce has a high number of untrained teachers overall. In 2002/03 and 2007/08 untrained teachers constituted 40 per cent of the teaching workforce. As a statistically feminised system, women constitute the majority of those untrained. At the secondary level however, there is a notable increase in untrained teachers overall. In 2007/08 63 per cent of the secondary teaching workforce was untrained, with numbers steadily increasing since 2002, coinciding with a general increase in secondary teacher numbers overall. However, at the secondary level, there are significant divergences from the primary trend in terms of proportionality of untrained teachers within their sex. The percentage of male teachers who were untrained actually increased from 32 per cent in 2002/03 to 37 per cent in 2007/08. Vastly different from primary sector percentages, the percentage of women teachers who were untrained was not only comparable to men at 37 per cent, but was the same in 2007/08 as it was in 2002/03. However, female untrained teachers do outnumber male teachers by over 2/1 in most years, although the expansion of teacher numbers within this six-year period has not had an overly gendered characteristic, except in the final year.

Table 3.17 Dominica – number of untrained teachers at the secondary level by sex, 2002/03–2007/08

Number Untrained			
Year	Male	Female	Total
2002/03	86	172	258
2003/04	90	159	249
2004/05	110	171	281
2005/06	108	191	299
2006/07	98	180	278
2007/08	95	214	309

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

In the cases of both Lesotho and Dominica, the nature and extent of being 'untrained' is not known, and – apart from the voluntary teachers in Lesotho – the status of those teachers in terms of pay and contractual security is also not specified.

6 This period is also marked by an overall decline in the number of teachers within the education system.

In the case of Sri Lanka, two areas within this section were illuminated. Firstly, there's an acknowledgement in the existence of voluntary teachers in the war-affected northern areas of the country who – similar to Lesotho's remote locations – seemed willing to plug gaps in return for the hope of formalisation into paid teachers in the future. Secondly, Sri Lanka also officially registers 5,967 untrained teachers in service as of 2009 (Annual School Census Database, Sri Lanka), an increase from 5,190 in 2007[7]. In both years, women constitute a majority of those untrained: 68 per cent in 2007, rising to 71 per cent in 2009. When disaggregated by primary and secondary levels, again the pattern of higher percentages of women (78 per cent at the primary level, compared to 68 per cent at the secondary) is witnessed. Although the official numbers of those untrained is quite small (just under 3 per cent of the total workforce) we nonetheless see consistency with the pattern with Dominica and Lesotho.

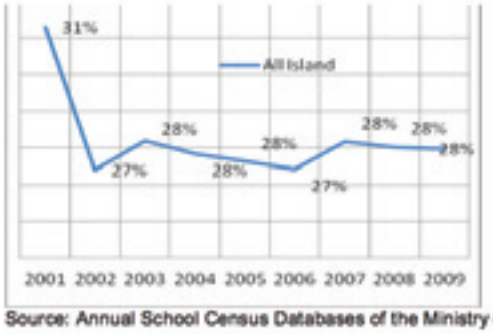
Research on untrained and para teachers in India has been conducted in some measure over the last ten years, many of which acknowledge the importance of increasing women numbers within the overall trends and changing workforce demographics. But as with the trends observed so far in the case of India, there are diverse experiences of the trend from state to state at the sub-national level. In the case of Kerala for example, available evidence seems to suggest that the state has used para-teachers supposedly only as a temporary stopgap measure (DISE, 2007 cited in Ramachandran et al., 2008). Like Sri Lanka, the numbers were nominal when compared to the overall workforce (2438), with 74 per cent of them being women. Qualifications required for para-teachers were the same as for regular teachers (Ramachandran et al, 2008). However, outside Kerala, para-teachers have played a significant role in educationally disadvantaged states since the 1980s as part of official schemes to universalise primary education by many of these states (Ghandi Kingdon, G., 2000), Rajasthan included. The Public Report on Basic Education in India in 1999 and its 2006 revisit of the data indicated that short-term contract teachers in states such as Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh (states with low female teachers and struggling to provide UBE) increased the overall numbers of female teachers in the profession. In some states, teachers were locally recruited and appointed by the Panchayat or Village Education Committee to a particular school, while in others they are now recruited at a district level. In all cases they are paid less than regular teachers and they get fixed term contracts of one year. Specific para-teacher policy can be reviewed in the case of Rajasthan with the start of the Shiksha Karmi Programme in 1987, which recruited local teachers even if they were poorly qualified, as a means of dealing with problems of chronic teacher absenteeism. The scheme made significant efforts to recruit female teachers in particular: while the minimum qualification for men was completion of grade 8, for women it was reduced to 5; and while the age group for male recruits was 18–33 years, for women the upper limit was extended to 38. A special Women's Training Institute was also opened to specifically train female para-teachers.

Managerial disparities

Another core area of gender analysis within the studies has looked at managerial disparities within the teaching workforce. In the case of Sri Lanka, we are able to see trends that relate not just to the disparities in proportionality vis-à-vis the numbers of teachers overall in the teaching workforce, but also in terms of significant changes over a nine-year period since 2001:

7 As officially recognized untrained teachers within the system, the Sri Lankan Government has enrolled these numbers under three year weekend in-service teacher training schemes at Sri Lanka's 18 Colleges of Education.

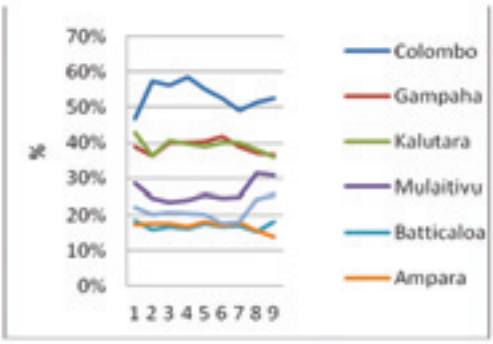
Figure 3.6 Sri Lanka – percentage of female school principals at national level, 2001–2009



Source: Annual School Census Databases of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

When compared to the national percentage of female teachers for 2009 at 71 per cent, the above diagram demonstrates a huge disproportion, with female school principals at only 28 per cent. Although female principals are found in greater numbers in girls' only schools, male principals tend to be the norm in both boys' and co-educational schools. More pointedly, the diagram also notes that the number of female principals has fallen since 2001, fluctuating between three and four percentages points lower than at the beginning of the decade. Therefore although the majority of the academic staff in schools are female, over 70 per cent of school principles are male, indicating extreme cases of gender bias despite Sri Lanka's other areas of success. However, a further probe into the data by selected districts shows a slightly different picture.

Figure 3.7 Sri Lanka – district-wise disparity in the percentage of female school principals in selected districts, 2001–2009



Source: Annual School Census Databases of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

The figure above demonstrates district-wide disparities that also coincide with urban and rural divisions. The districts of Colombo, Gampaha and Kalutara are more urbanised while the districts of Ampara, Batticaloa and Mulaitivu are rural, with remote villages. They have also been affected by the civil war. The extreme percentages noted here – 52 per cent female principals in Colombo and 14 per cent in Ampara – demonstrate that, although there is still high disproportion between the numbers of female principals and the overall percentage of women in the teaching workforce, the inequality is not felt as greatly in the urban centres, although it is extremely acute in more rural areas. It is important to note however that in the case of the rural districts highlighted here, the impact of war in those areas is a crucial factor.

Analysis of female principal representation in Lesotho shows a more complex variety of patterns when disaggregated by primary and secondary schools. Firstly, higher representation of women at the primary level is evident overall, with the exception of Thaba-Tseka, which has only 41 per cent female headships. Although still distinctly

disproportionate, Thaba-Tseka does have one of the lowest percentages of female teachers overall, at 67 per cent (compared with the national average of 75 per cent). Interestingly, the urban hub of Leribe presents the divergent trend at the secondary level, where despite having only 54 per cent of women teachers overall, there is 62 per cent female headships in the district. Meanwhile, the low numbers of schools in remote Quthing presents a further anomaly, where higher female teacher numbers at the primary level (73 per cent) is consolidated with 100 per cent female headships, but where the secondary level – which has relative gender balance in its teaching force – is headed by 95 per cent male heads.

Table 3.18 Lesotho – primary and secondary principals by districts and gender, 2010

	Secondary School Principals					Primary school				
	Total	M	%	F	%	Total	M	%	F	%
Berea	31	16	52	15	48 (59)	123	23	19	100	81(79)
Butha-Buthe	18	6	33	12	67(73)	63	7	11	56	89(80)
Leribe	50	19	38	31	62(54)	98	26	27	72	73(82)
Mafeteng	20	9	45	11	55(56)	110	33	30	77	70(71)
Mohales'Hoek	23	16	70	7	30(67)	–	–	–	–	–
Quthing	19	18	95	1	05(55)	8	0	0	8	100(73)
Qacha's Nek	13	6	46	7	54(59)	30	15	50	15	50(73)
Mokhotlong	15	10	67	5	33((57)	62	20	32	42	6869)
Thaba-Tseka	13	8	62	5	38(51)	51	30	59	21	41(67)

Source: Teaching Service Commission (2010).
() Signifies overall female teacher percentage in those districts, sourced from District Education Offices and MOET Planning Unit.

Data from the two comparative states Kerala and Rajasthan in India of show further trends in terms of rural/urban differences in female headships. Consistently, female heads are disproportionate in numbers in comparison to their overall proportionality as teachers. In Kerala, the disproportionality between female teacher numbers and the number of female heads remains in the region of about 9 per cent for both rural and urban schools. In Rajasthan however, the gains made towards equal numbers of female to male teachers in the urban areas are not being reflected in the number of female heads overall (36.2 per cent of female head teachers, compared to 52.8 per cent of female teachers). With the exception of middle schools in urban Kerala, more female heads are found in integrated schools that have both a primary and secondary section, than in the primary sector. Rajasthan shows relatively higher proportions of female heads in the primary sector, compared to integrated schools or schools without a primary section.

Table 3.19 India – female head-teachers in Kerala and Rajasthan

	Kerala		Rajasthan	
% female head-teachers	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
In primary schools	66.1 (74.9)	73.5(82.7)	20(26.4)	43.3(58.9)
In primary plus upper primary schools	52.8(69.8)	60.7(76.6)	11.5(25.0)	34.5(54.1)
In middle schools	61.2(69.9)	81.7(75.0)	16.7(27.5)	31.8(58.1)
In upper primary plus secondary/senior secondary	66.4(72.6)	76(79.9)	12.6(14.9)	38.3(51.0)
In primary plus secondary/senior secondary	70.3(74.1)	82.3(83.6)	7.9(18.4)	33.4(48.3)
In all schools	63(72.5)	71.7(80.2)	14.4(23.8)	36.2(52.8)

Source: DISE Data 2008–2009.
() Signifies overall female teacher percentage.
Note 1: Age ranges for the schools vary slightly between states.
Note 2: Figures are based on appointed head teachers and excludes acting head teachers.

Analysis from Samoa further provides us with an opportunity to view differences between positions of managerial responsibility within schools. Table 3.20 identifies

three positions of responsibility at the primary school level – that of principal, first assistant and infant supervisor. They are in order of responsibility, with the infant supervisors having the more limited responsibility of only Years 1–3.

Table 3.20 Samoa – males and females in leadership and management positions in primary schools, 2010

Position of Responsibility	Males	Females	TOTAL
Principal	48 *(33.6%)*	95 *(66.4%)*	143
First Assistant	18 *(39.1)*	28 *(60.9%)*	46
Infant Supervisors	2 *(5.3%)*	36 *(94.7%)*	38
TOTAL	**68 *(30%)***	**159 *(70%)***	**227**

Source: MESC School Operations Division 2010.

As seen in Table 3.20, the overall gender distribution of positions of responsibility in government primary schools is 30 per cent males and 70 per cent females. The disproportion when compared to women in the teaching profession overall is just over 7 per cent, the primary teaching force in Samoa is made up of 77.3 per cent women. Women also dominate the role of principal at 66.4 per cent, which has the greatest number of positions available, although the disproportion widens further. However, it is worth noting that the proportion of females is highest in the Infant Supervisor position, which is responsible for the youngest primary school students, Years 1 to 3. Males are in fact under-represented as Infant supervisors, proportionate to their numbers in the primary sector. The highest proportion of males in all positions of responsibility (39.1 per cent) is found in those occupying the First Assistant position.

Table 3.21 Samoa – males and females in leadership and management positions in colleges and secondary schools, 2010

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
COLLEGES			
Principal	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	15
Deputy Principal	11 (52.4%)	10 (47.6%)	21
SECONDARY SCHOOLS			
Principal	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)	9
Senior Assistant	5 (41.7%)	7 (58.3%)	12
TOTAL	**30 (52.6%)**	**27 (47.4%)**	**57**

Source: MESC School Operations Division 2010.

The distribution of males and females in positions of responsibility in government colleges and secondary schools paints a different picture from the gender distribution of teachers in primary schools. It is evident that overall, there are more males than females in positions of responsibility, which amounts to a proportion of 52.6 per cent compared to 47.4 per cent females. However, this is not a sizeable difference in terms of the percentages of males and females within the secondary sector as a whole, which stands at 47.7 per cent and 52.3 per cent respectively.

What does present an interesting divergence is the data when disaggregated between Samoa's dual post-primary systems of secondary schools (years 9–12) and the more prestigious colleges (years 9–13). The highest proportion of males and conversely the lowest proportion of females are found among principals of colleges, 66.7 per cent male and 33.3 per cent female. The highest proportion of females found in positions of responsibility in government colleges and secondary schools is in the senior assistant position, which is the position next in line to the principal of the secondary school. Comparison of such figures with the proportion of male and female teachers in

leadership positions indicate that although there are more female teachers overall in government colleges and secondary schools, the fewer male teachers occupy more positions of responsibility than females. It is also evident that females are less likely to occupy the top leadership position in a college, as opposed to a secondary school, which is perceived to have less status than a college.

While the four case studies presented so far in this section have demonstrated an inconsistency in the continuation of high female teacher numbers into the managerial structure, particularly at the secondary level, Dominica offers the first conclusive evidence of statistical feminisation among school principals throughout the compulsory education system. The gender profile of principals at primary schools is similar to the case for teachers generally. Indeed, the highest percentages of female principals also exists in the Northern and Western districts, where female teacher percentages are the highest. In the latter district, for instance, especially in the years 2006/07 and 2007/08, the percentage of females rose to 88 per cent, which in raw figures meant that out of 17 principals in that district, as many as 15 were females, with just two males in each year. Hence, men are virtually absent as school leaders at the primary level.

Table 3.22 Dominica – numbers and percentage distribution of male/female principals at the primary level by district, 2003/04–2007/08

	East			North			South			West		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2003/04	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	18	5 (31%)	11 (69%)	16	4 (25%)	12 (75%)	16
2004/05	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14	4 (22%)	14 (78%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	4 (24%)	13 (76%)	17
2005/06	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2006/07	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14	6 (33%)	12 (67%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	2 (12%)	15 (88%)	17
2007/08	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	2 (12%)	15 (88%)	17

Unique within this study, women principals also dominate the secondary sector on the island. Data was only available for 2011, but this demonstrated that of the 15 secondary schools in the country, 11 had women principals (73 per cent).

Differences between education providers

Analysis of data between education providers also presents some consistent trends. In Samoa, the government is the biggest employer of teachers, employing 1520 or 68.8 per cent of all teachers in Samoa (primary and secondary). The government is followed by mission schools, which employ 529 teachers or 23.9 per cent of the teaching force (primary and secondary). Private schools run by school boards and school committees account for 161 teachers or 7.3 per cent of the total teaching force.

According to 2010 figures, government schools employ 63 per cent of all male teachers and 73 per cent of all female teachers in primary and secondary schools. Mission schools employ 30 per cent of all male teachers and 20 per cent of all female teachers. Private schools represent 7 per cent of all male teachers and 7 per cent of all female teachers. In comparison with the aggregate figure for male teachers and aggregate figure for female teachers, government schools employ a higher proportion of female teachers than male teachers; mission schools employ a higher proportion of male teachers than female teachers, and private schools employ the same proportion of either gender according to gender aggregates. As a result, the highest level of feminisation is experienced by private schools (70 per cent) followed

by government schools (69 per cent). Mission schools by comparison enjoy a better gender balance in their teaching force with females comprising 59 per cent of all teachers in mission schools.

Table 3.23 shows further disaggregation of the available data for gender of teachers by school-controlling authority into types of schools: either primary; combined primary and secondary; and secondary.

Table 3.23 Samoa – gender of teachers by controlling authority, 2010

Government Schools			
	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Primary	262	762	1024
Primary/Secondary	0	0	0
Secondary	211	285	496
TOTAL	**(31%)** 473	**(69%)** 1047	1520
Mission Schools			
	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Primary	31	124	155
Primary/Secondary	41	83	124
Secondary	146	104	250
TOTAL	**(41%)** 218	**(59%)** 311	529
Private Schools			
	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Primary	30	81	111
Primary/Secondary	14	21	35
Secondary	4	11	15
TOTAL	**(30%)** 48	**(70%)** 113	161

Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

From the above information, the level of feminisation in each school sector for government, mission and private schools is as shown in the diagram below.

Figure 3.8 Samoa – level of feminisation of teaching by school sector

Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

In all types of schools (government, mission and private), the level of feminisation of the teaching force is highest in the primary schools. It is 73 per cent in private primary schools, 77.4 per cent in Government Schools and 80 per cent in mission schools. Combined primary/secondary schools also have a feminised teaching force, 66.9 per cent for mission schools and 60 per cent for private schools. Mission secondary schools are not feminised, with 41.6 per cent of total secondary teachers being female. Teaching in government secondary schools is moderately feminised at 57.2 per cent while teaching in private secondary schools is highly feminised at 73.3 per cent. This means that in a secondary school, a teacher is 57 per cent likely to be female if teaching in a government school, 73 per cent likely if in a private school, and only 41 per cent likely to be female if teaching in a mission school.

With the case of Dominica, it is easily noticeable that while all school types have higher percentages of female teachers, as might be expected, the government-assisted and private schools have the highest percentages of female teachers.[8] There is no written policy with regard to the employment of teachers on the basis of gender, although in the empirical research conducted among various stakeholders, it was possible to perceive from what the principals said, that they were generally more comfortable with employing females at that level for several reasons, including competence and social factors. At least two principals had specifically indicated that an overwhelming majority of their applicants were females.

Table 3.24 Dominica – numbers and percentage distribution of male/female teachers at the primary level by type (Government, Government-Assisted, and Private), 2003/04–2007/08

	Government			Government-Assisted			Private		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2003/04	86 (21%)	330 (79%)	416	10 (11%)	82 (89%)	92	5 (10%)	46 (90%)	51
2004/05	83 (20%)	332 (80%)	415	9 (10%)	82 (90%)	91	5 (11%)	41 (89%)	46
2005/06	67 (18%)	313 (82%)	380	10 (11%)	84 (89%)	94	4 (9%)	39 (91%)	43
2006/07	64 (18%)	298 (82%)	362	9 (10%)	84 (90%)	93	6 (13%)	41 (87%)	47
2007/08	60 (17%)	296 (83%)	356	10 (11%)	83 (89%)	93	5 (10%)	46 (90%)	51

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sport and Youth Affairs, Department of Education Planning, 2008

The higher numbers of female teachers in government-assisted primary schools is further reflected within the managerial structure: during the years 2004 – 2008 all principals in government assisted schools were female. At the secondary level we see government controlled schools continuing the trend of lower proportions of female principles comparative to the overall female teacher percentage, with only four out of the seven headships (57 per cent), being women.

Table 3.25 Dominica – female principles at the secondary level by type of school management, 2011

	Government			Government-Assisted			Private		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2011	3 (43%	4 (57%)	7	1 (24%)	6 (86%)	7	0 –	1 (100%)	1

Analysis of education providers is also available in India. The all-India proportion of female teachers in government schools (39 per cent) is substantially lower than in aided and unaided schools (53 per cent), according to DISE data, which excludes schools without a primary or upper primary section, i.e. it excludes schools with only grades 9–10, 9–12, and 11–12.

8 Government Assisted schools in the Dominican context are denominational schools.

Table 3.26 India – proportion (%) of female teachers in government and aided and unaided schools

	Government Schools	Private Aided and Unaided Schools
Kerala	71	75
Rajasthan	29	32
All India	**39.2**	**53.1**

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

The proportion of female teachers in Kerala in government schools (71 per cent) is slightly lower than in aided and unaided schools taken together (75 per cent). Aided schools form the majority of schools in Kerala (55 per cent), government schools are 41 per cent of all schools. The bulk of teachers (58 per cent) teach in aided schools; 37 per cent of all teachers work in government schools. The unaided sector is very small, although growing at a rapid pace.

The proportion of female teachers in Rajasthan in government schools (29 per cent) is slightly lower than in private schools (32 per cent). In Rajasthan, the largest proportions of schools are under government management (77 per cent), and this is where the bulk of teachers are employed (62 per cent). In the private sector it is the unaided sector that is comparatively large (22 per cent) and a larger proportion (37 per cent) of teachers are employed here.

Sri Lanka's school system is also largely a public education system. There are 9662 public schools spread evenly throughout the country. As a result of the schools takeover by the government in 1960, almost all private schools became public schools. However there was room for private schools to exist as a registered private school and today there are 90 such private schools in Sri Lanka. However, there is a recent development in South Asia of rapidly developing English medium schools, mostly called 'international schools', preparing students to sit for British examinations. These schools do not come under the Ministry of Education. In Sri Lanka even in the registered private schools as well as the international schools the majority of the teachers are females. The Ministry of Education maintains data on the registered private schools and no data is available on the international schools.

Table 3.27 presents female percentages among registered private schools at the provincial level. This does not include the new international schools established under Bureau of Investment and not registered under the Ministry of Education.

Table 3.27 Sri Lanka – the number and percentage of female teachers serving in registered private schools, 2005–2009

	2005			2006			2007			2008			2009*		
Province	FEMALES	TOTAL	% FEMALE	FEMALES	TOTAL	% FEMALE	FEMALES	TOTAL	% FEMALE	FEMALES	TOTAL	% FEMALE	FEMALES	TOTAL	% FEMALE
Western	2885	3613	80%	3066	3845	80%	3167	3936	80%	3181	4015	79%	3272	4061	81%
Central	436	535	81%	435	529	82%	474	607	78%	482	592	81%	529	636	83%
Southern	220	265	83%	241	293	82%	211	273	77%	208	261	80%	286	355	81%
Northern	185	319	58%	187	321	58%	178	317	56%	156	287	54%	191	338	57%
Eastern	6	7	86%	6	7	86%	6	7	86%	6	7	86%	6	7	86%
North Western	60	74	81%	73	85	86%	84	97	87%	80	88	91%	87	98	89%
North Central	10	17	59%	10	17	59%	11	19	58%	12	20	60%	13	22	59%
Uva	81	149	54%	78	141	55%	75	130	58%	84	157	54%	87	157	55%
Sabaragamuwa	15	21	71%	20	28	71%	20	28	71%	19	27	70%	19	27	70%
Sri Lanka	3898	5000	78%	4116	5266	78%	4226	5414	78%	4228	5454	78%	**4490**	**5701**	79%

Source: Annual School Census Year 2005 through 2009, Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.
Note: There are no Private schools in Kilinochchi, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullativu, Ampara, Trincomalee and Polonnaruwa districts.

The data shows that from 2005 to 2009 the approximate number of women serving in the registered private schools has increased from around 5,000 to 5,700 teachers and the female percentage has increased from 78 per cent in 2005 to 79 per cent by 2009, confirming a similar trend to public schools in Sri Lanka. However, the largest concentration of Registered Private Schools is in the Western Province (Colombo, Kalutara and Gampaha Districts) and the percentage of female teachers is as high as 80 per cent in that province. This is comparable to the public school statistic, which stands at 79 per cent for that district. The lowest percentage of female teachers serving in registered private schools is in the Uva Province (54 per cent in 2005 55 per cent in 2009) and followed by the North (58 per cent in 2005 and 57 per cent in 2009) and North Central (59 per cent in year 2005 and 2009) Provinces. These are slightly lower than in public schools in those provinces.

Female staff at the tertiary level

Four of the case studies were able to produce data on gender balance among the teaching staff at the tertiary level. A consistent trend that has appeared from the research shows a distinct drop in female numbers among teaching staff in this sector, as evidenced by these first statistics from Sri Lanka:

Table 3.28 Sri Lanka – female staff in the tertiary sector

Level	% of Female Teachers
Schools (Primary and Secondary)	71%
Professors	23%
Associate Professors	35%
Senior Lecturers	36%
Lecturer	47%
Other Academic	54%
Total	**43%**

Source: University Grants Commission Sri Lanka, University Statistics 2009.

Having dominated the primary and secondary sectors with 71 per cent of the teaching force, women are the now outnumbered by men at the tertiary level, although with a still respectable 43 per cent representation. Where the data shows a deeper disproportion is in the composition of staff at the tertiary level, with women clearly found more in the lower academic grades (54 per cent), depreciating in number as they move up the ladder until the position of professor, where the female percentage is only 23 per cent.

Statistics from 2004 available for the Indian state of Kerala shows a similar overall trend, with the proportion of female teachers in tertiary education in Kerala being significantly lower than at school level. Fifty-three per cent of tertiary-level teachers were female, compared to 72 per cent at school-level in 2004–05 based on DISE data (which excludes schools without a primary or upper primary section)

Table 3.29 India – female teachers in arts and science colleges in Kerala, 2004

No. of women teachers	% female teachers
5,440	52.6

Source: State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala.
Note: Data given for teachers in 4 universities in Kerala.

Conversely, the proportion of female teachers in tertiary education in Rajasthan is higher than at school level, as evidenced in Table 3.30. In 2002–03, 42 per cent of tertiary-level teachers were female, compared with 24 per cent at school-level in 2003–04 based on DISE data. The reasons for this are not immediately apparent, although it is possible that the location of tertiary institutions in predominantly urban centres may be a contributory factor.

Table 3.30 India – female teachers in colleges in Rajasthan, 2002–03

Colleges	No. of women teachers	% female teachers
Govt.	1467	38
Private	1267	46
Total	2743	41.6

Source: DISE 2003–2004.

Available data from Samoa on the other hand presents us with a different picture. Although limited data from the post-school education and training vocational sector suggests that the majority of staff in the technical/vocational training and mission institutions are male (these comprise 22 providers), at the National University of Samoa (NUS) – which employs the majority of teachers in the formal post school education and training sector – women outnumber men, although only slightly so.

Table 3.31 Samoa – male and female staff at the National University of Samoa, 2005–2009

	2005	2007	2009
Males	36	61	71
Females	104	93	81
TOTAL	**140**	**154**	**152**

Source: National University of Samoa calendars 2005, 2006 and 2007.

However, an interesting trend can be seen above. The number of male teaching staff has increased steadily since 2005, while the numbers of female staff has been in decline. Although figures for 2009 show that female teaching staff still outnumber male teaching staff, the difference has decreased steadily over the years. It will be worthwhile monitoring this trend to note whether it continues over the next few years.

Tertiary-level data from Lesotho focuses on the major teacher education institution – the Lesotho College of Education (LCE). Along with the National University of Lesotho, the LCE is the only institution of higher education charged with the responsibilities of training teachers in the country. Overall, LCE has more female lecturers, and also slightly more female heads of department. However, gender representation in higher leadership and management positions at LCE presents a picture that is inconsistent with those proportions:

Table 3.32 Lesotho – male and female senior management positions at the LCE, 2010

Position	Number(s)	Males	Females
Rector	1	1	
Deputy rector	2	1	1
Director	6	4	2
Librarian	1	–	1
Bursar	1	–	1
Registrar	1	–	1
Dean	3	3	
Totals	**15**	**9**	**6**

Source: Lesotho College of Education calendar 2009–2010.

Despite high female teacher numbers at the college, the deans' positions are only held by men at LCE and the directorate positions are also held by a low percentage of women (33 per cent). The deputy rectors' positions are equally distributed between both genders. All in all, female managers comprise only 40 per cent of senior management team at LCE.

Table 3.33 Lesotho – senior management positions at NUL

Position	NUMBERS	MALES	FEMALES
Acting VC	1	1	
Acting PVC	1	1	
Librarian	1	–	1
Registrar	1	–	1
Director	3	1	2
Dean	7	6	1
Total	**14**		

Source: Institute of Education NUL, 2010.

With women no longer dominating teaching in the country's primary education college, it is therefore not surprising that the trend continues at the National University of Lesotho. The most senior positions (VC and PVC) are occupied by men, although it is notable that two out of three directors are women. However, the greatest gender disparity is observed among the deans, were there is only one female dean out of seven deans. This further confirms the observation that despite high levels of feminisation in the teaching profession, the more senior positions are consistently held by males at the tertiary level.

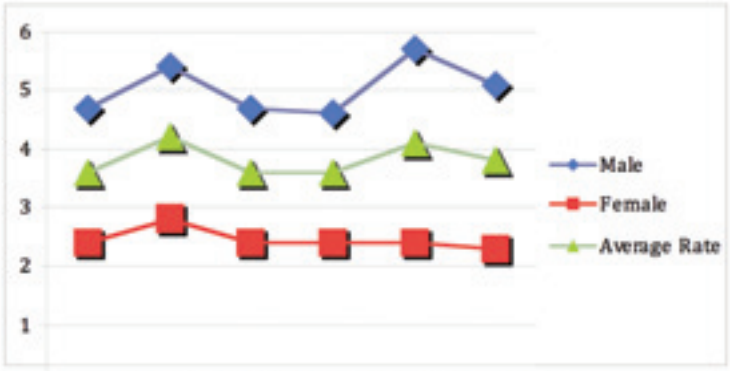
Education outcomes

Education systems with high numbers of women teachers appear to also coincide with higher levels of access, particularly at the primary level. However, understanding how that access translates into other educational outcomes is also important, such as performance, retention and transition. The following section will look at some of the indicators for these outcomes, disaggregated by gender.

Primary level

Repetition rates for Dominica indicate an initial gender disparity in performance at the primary level.

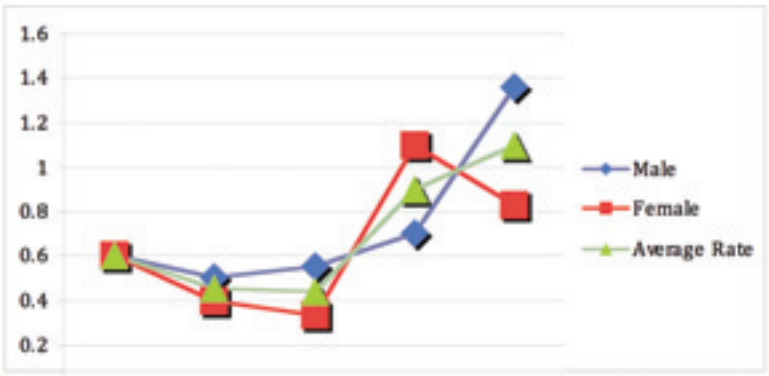
Figure 3.9 Dominica – primary school repeaters and repetition rates by gender, 2002/03–2007/08



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Girls fell below the national rate while boys were above the national average, meaning that on average fewer girls repeated a class compared with boys, over the period 2002–03 and 2007–08. This clearly indicates a gendered problem regarding performance at the primary level. However, where retention within the school system was concerned, the data was not so clear-cut, as demonstrated below:

Figure 3.10 Dominica – primary schools drop-out rates by gender, 2002/2003–2006/2007



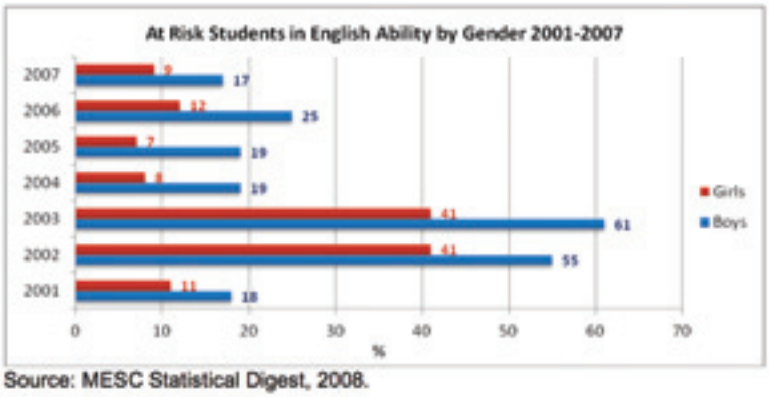
Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Since 2002 there has been an erratic trend of decline followed by sharp increases in drop-outs for both sexes, although for girls there has been another decrease by the end of 2007, while boys' drop-out rate grew steadily. Overall more boys dropped out of primary school over the period 2002/03–2006/07.

In the Indian state of Kerala, retention rates also appear to have a consistent gender bias, with on average boys dropping out of school at a rate about ten percentage points higher than girls (Chakraborty, 2005).[9]

Similar to Dominica, performance issues among boys also appear to persist at the primary level in Samoa. The following figures show student achievement in national assessments at Year 4 level in English.

Figure 3.11 Samoa – t-risk students in English (results from spell one test) as % of student gender 2001–2007



Source: MESC Statistical Digest, 2008.

Boys' appear to be far more at risk than their female counterparts of not passing English in primary school, with the data being similar in Numeracy and Samoan, the three core areas needed to move forward within the education system.

Interestingly however, Lesotho presents very different results. Results from the 2007–2008 Primary School Leaving Examinations (ECOL, 2008) showed that overall boys and girls are performing at roughly the same level. A district-wide analysis of the results suggests that boys actually receive better pass marks than girls in five out of the

9 This pattern was consistent across both the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes community, although overall their retention rates were worse than the state average.

ten districts (when reviewing the first class pass percentages), and were only a few percentage points behind girls other districts. This data is followed through with a review of the transition rates from primary to junior secondary:

Table 3.34 Lesotho – transition rates from Standard 7 to Form A (2001–2009)[10]

Transits from standard 7 to Form A				Transition rates		
Year	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
2001	9799	13035	22834	67.0	66.7	66.8
2002	10354	13698	24046	65.3	62.2	63.5
2003	10121	13138	23259	63.6	62.1	61.6
2004	10892	14367	24809	67.5	64.7	66.5
2005	11586	14999	26585	69.6	68.3	68.9
2006	10924	14205	25129	70.3	69.1	69.6
2007	12995	17980	30975	68.3	66.4	67.2
2008	12527	17525	30052	68.0	70.0	69.2
2009	13198	18105	31303	71.7	74.1	73.1

Source: MOET Planning Unit (2009).

Secondary level

The differences between Samoa, Dominica and Lesotho are of particular note, as where numbers of female teachers are concerned, they have quite similar patterns – high female teacher percentages at the primary level (high 70th and mid 8th percentiles), with significantly lower percentages at the secondary level (Lesotho and Samoa in particular have percentages in the early to mid-fifties that would not warrant calling these sectors statistically feminised). At the secondary level, Lesotho's lack of major gender differentiation in educational outcomes continues:

Table 3.35 Lesotho – transition rates from Form C to Form D (2001–2009)

Year	Males	Females	Total
2001	73.8	72.4	73.0
2002	74.3	75.2	74.8
2003	79.0	77.0	77.9
2004	78.3	76.4	77.2
2005	75.2	73.7	74.4
2006	75.2	73.2	74.2
2007	68.7	67.0	67.7
2008	71.8	75.7	74.0
2009	71.7	78.2	75.3

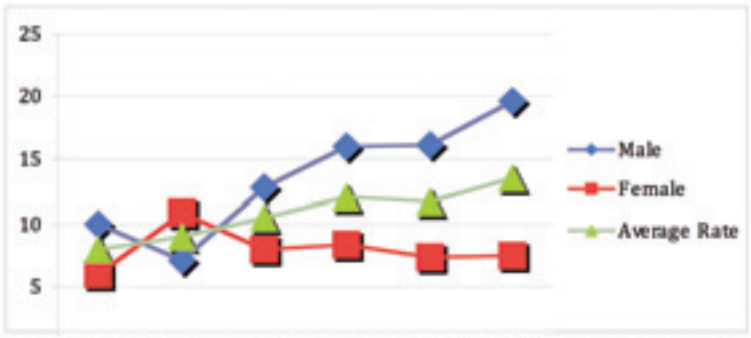
Source: MOET Planning Unit (2009).

Transition rates between Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary seem to have been alternating. In 2001 more males than females went to senior secondary schools, switching in 2002 when more female students entered into the senior level. The situation continued till 2008 and 2009 when more male students went to high schools. However, overall, the transition rates demonstrate that boys' underachievement for those that stay in school is not so much the issue, but rather the concern surrounds boys' access and participation, as the primary and secondary access GPIs for Lesotho clearly demonstrated in the earlier chapter.

Dominica's secondary GPI was a similar level to Lesotho. Except for the year 2003/04, the status of boys and girls at secondary schools in terms of repetition rates shows a similar trend to that at primary schools – the girls' rate of repetition is below the average while the boys' rate is above. Figure 3.12 shows that from 2003/04 the boys repetition rates began to rise steadily while the girls' rate declined and apparently levelled off in between 2006/07 and 2007/08.

10 Standard 7 in basic education is the exit point from primary into junior secondary school in Lesotho.

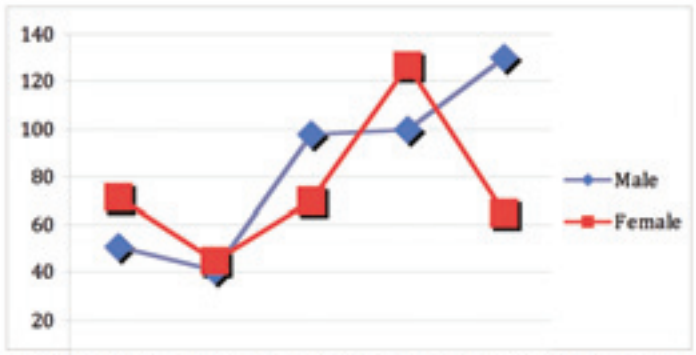
Figure 3.12 Dominica – repetition rates by gender in secondary schools, 2003–2008



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Available data for secondary drop-outs shows once again that boys are more likely to drop out. As with the primary level however, the trend was not constant, with girls drop-out also presenting a cause for concern during certain years:

Figure 3.13 Dominica – secondary schools drop-out numbers by gender, 2002/03–07



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

In Samoa, participation rates demonstrate that overall girls are more likely to be in school than boys. But we note an interesting juxtaposition at the secondary level, with a significant drop in participation rates (for both boys and girls) than at the primary level. School participation for 5–14 year olds in 2007 was 94 and 97 per cent respectively – indicating near attainment of UBE on both counts. However, the percentages fell to 49 per cent for boys and 57 per cent for girls for the 15–19 age group. While the gender disparity still exists at the high school level, it is evident that the main issue in is one of retaining students, regardless of gender, beyond the age of 14. With women's domination of the teaching profession ending quite abruptly once children enter the secondary sector, it is clear that – as with Lesotho – the relationships between teacher feminisation and education outcomes remain difficult to pin-down.

Summary and Conclusions

The statistical data in this chapter has covered a broad range of trends and issues in relation to the intricacies of high female teacher percentages at the national and sub-national level. Initial analysis of where each of the countries stood in terms of access to education indicated that each of the countries chosen for their high female teacher workforces had a good record where primary education was concerned, with relative gender parity overall that nonetheless indicated more girls were in primary school than

boys. Despite strong performance ten years ago toward UPE and to some extent towards USE, Dominica has shown regression in both sectors. Female teacher numbers were high at both the successful and regressed ends of this period. Lesotho was the lowest performer in terms of access, having had NER in 1999 at only the 50th percentile, although rising to the 70th percentile by 2007. This suggests a substantial expansion of the system over the last decade. At the secondary level however, the available data showed the beginning of divergences, with Samoa not performing nearly as well as it has done at the primary level, and with Lesotho struggling significantly. This suggests that despite all four of these countries having overall teaching workforces that are feminised, there are no automatic translations to universal access at both levels of the education system, although access at the secondary level in all countries shows higher gender disparity against boys. India showed the lowest rates of access to education, and the greatest gender disparity in favour of boys.

In terms of actual female teacher percentages, the data showed several comparisons between the countries. Firstly, all four of the countries identified for having high female numbers can be categorised as having workforces that are in the high feminisation bracket at the primary level (70 per cent and upwards) while at the secondary level we again see divergences. While all countries have lower female teacher numbers at the secondary level than at the primary level, Samoa has female numbers below 55 per cent – the secondary level teacher workforce cannot therefore be categorised as feminised. Lesotho has had similar low levels at the secondary sector, showing distinct differences between countries that are categorised as having overall feminised teaching workforces when a disaggregated lens is applied to the education systems.

Data on patterns of feminisation over substantial periods was not as readily available as hoped, but what was available from Sri Lanka and on a qualitative level from Samoa demonstrated certain catalytic periods that led to an increase in women entering the profession, often categorised by post-independence education expansion, sometimes coupled with expansion in other sectors that drew men away from the profession. With the case of Kerala in India, we see a long historical perspective of encouraging female literacy in the State, which coincided with the entry of women into the profession immediately after independence. With Dominica the role of primary teaching in particular was considered one of the few respectable avenues for women's employment at the start of the twentieth century, and – similar to Lesotho – men were expected to dominate other white-collar jobs such as clerks and secretaries etc. Analysis of more recent data from Lesotho showed steady growth in teacher numbers at both the primary and secondary levels. Interestingly, female teacher percentages grew most significantly in the secondary sector – by almost 10 per cent – over the 11-year period. Conversely, the already heavily statistically feminised Dominican education system has over the last ten years shown a gradual decrease in teacher numbers overall, with male numbers decreasing the most, although this is less pronounced at the secondary level, where male teacher percentages have remained steady and even increased slightly.

Trends regarding the geographic variances appeared consistent throughout in terms of the rural-urban divide, with all countries showing higher female teacher numbers in the urban areas. This is unsurprising given that female educational performance is higher within the urban context. Additionally, it was also noticeable that the divide was less pronounced in countries that had high female teacher workforces overall (and in Kerala) while statistics demonstrated that feminisation had begun to occur in the urban centres at the all-India level, and that the gap between rural and urban female percentages appears to be widest in the one country within this study where teacher feminisation is not an issue at the national level.

The issue of untrained teacher numbers was analysed with both Lesotho and Dominica – two countries with high female numbers in the primary teaching sector in particular. Although the data showed that male teachers are more likely to be untrained than their female counterparts, this did not obscure the fact that untrained women teachers are by far the greater number overall. In Sri Lanka, where untrained teachers as a percentage of the teaching force is far less than both Dominica and Lesotho, women were still the majority in that group. But it is with a review of existing analysis from India that we see the clearest trends. Existing data from several states in India that are actively recruiting teachers (with low education indicators, similar to our case study state of Rajasthan) showed increase in only partially trained female contract teachers. This has led to a significant change in the characteristics of teachers in the primary sector overall within those states. Inequality issues began to present themselves with analysis of managerial representation. The consistent trend of lower female percentages in positions of authority such as principles/heads, deputies and assistant heads within the schools system was apparent throughout each of the countries. While women remained the majority in many cases, this was not proportionate with their overall numbers in the profession and in the sector. As with the primary/secondary trend, female percentages in such positions were significantly less at the secondary level, and the rural/urban differences were also mirrored. The significant exception to the rule in this study was that of Dominica, where women were found in significant proportions as principals in both the primary and secondary sectors. When disaggregated by school provider however, the study noted that government schools had a tendency to have fewer female principles in proportion to the number of women who are teachers in government schools overall. Taken together, however, the data from the first four countries is consistent with many of the findings and research that has taken place in other countries with feminised workforces, indicating a consistency across not just most geographical regions (with the possible exception of the Caribbean), but also across levels of development. Data from Lesotho at the tertiary level of LCE shows a persistence of women in lower managerial positions despite their disproportionate numbers at the in the overall staff cadre there. The common trend in the tertiary sector across the other countries however, shows that female staff numbers drop to less than half in all cases where teachers had been in the majority at primary and secondary. This indicates that while teaching has become feminised in the schools systems in those countries, higher education in most cases is still a male-dominated area.

Finally where educational outcomes are concerned, a series of similar yet nuanced patterns are presented. The initial analysis of access in each of the case studies indicated that the issues around lack of girl-child education was minimal to non-existent. In some cases, as with Lesotho and Dominica, the GPIs indicated a problem of gender disparity in access for boys that needed to be addressed. But a closer look at performance indicators showed a variance in some of the trends. While Samoa indicated that despite high access to primary school there was a consistent pattern of comparative underachievement in core subjects among boys, in Lesotho, those boys who were able to access the system did extremely well, generally performing on a par with their female counterparts in primary exit examinations. They also made the transition smoothly from primary to junior secondary and onto senior secondary. Meanwhile at the secondary level in Samoa, the issue of access and participation was both a male and female issue, as the rates dropped significantly once pupils completed UBE. Despite these varying trends, Lesotho and Samoa share a very similar pattern of teacher feminisation: women were in the 70th percentile at the primary level but had dropped to virtual gender parity (early 50th percentile) by secondary education.

Dominica was the most consistent in terms of trends that indicated a gender bias in favour of girls, with repetition rates for boys being consistently higher than girls. Drop-out rates showed a female bias also, but within a far more volatile pattern that suggested girls were not immune to whatever the causes of those drop-outs are.

Overall, the statistical trends present a series of patterns that coincide with much of the existing long-standing literature on the feminisation of the teaching profession. Firstly, an increase in female teacher numbers in tandem with education expansion; secondly a preponderance of women in the primary sector, decreasing (significantly in some cases) at the secondary level, with even greater reduction of female numbers at the tertiary level; thirdly, a clear association with women teachers and improved educational access and participation for girls in basic education, with a question mark over the gender implications for educational outcomes ; and fourthly, a lack of translation of female dominance of the profession into managerial structures. These four core areas present the foundation for debates around the issue that will encompass: reviewing existing gendered socio-cultural associations with the profession; understanding the interaction between those associations and teacher recruitment policies, including the significance of para-teachers; addressing the issue of growing male avoidance of the profession and the reasons for this; and looking at the arguments and positions around educational provision, quality and outcomes. The following chapter will draw on the trends identified so far and use a combination of primary field research (Dominica, Lesotho, Samoa and Sri Lanka) and extensive sub-national literature (India) to look at these areas.

4 Debating the Trends and Issues

This chapter will attempt to address some of the core trends that have been outlined by the statistical analysis in Chapter 3, looking more closely at the underlying trends and issues that characterise female teacher numbers in the selected countries. In addition to the statistical data presented, all five countries conducted qualitative investigations to varying degrees as a means of unpacking socio-economic, cultural and political perspectives. This involved empirical research in four of the case study countries – Samoa, Lesotho, Sri Lanka and Dominica – that included questionnaires and interviews with teachers, principals, administrators, parents and students. India – with its unique comparative analysis of the very different examples of Kerala and Rajasthan – offered other insights into the issues through a review of secondary research that has been conducted in both states and at the national level.

The chapter will explore evidence and the key arguments that look at: causes of high female teacher numbers – socio-cultural associations, access to teacher training and teacher recruitment policies; impacts of high female teacher numbers – performance, provision, teaching processes; and areas that appear cyclical in nature where cause and effect are concerned, such as men, teacher salary and the issue of status, and teacher feminisation and its implications for gender equality in society.

Exploring the key issues

Socio-cultural associations and gender – teaching as 'women's work'

One of the core issues that has emerged from much of the abundant literature in countries such as the UK, Canada and those that have been studied in Latin America is around perceptions of the teaching profession as 'women's work'. Analysis of increasing female teacher numbers historically provided insights into the ways in which education policy during the expansion of education systems relied on the association between male and female gender roles as a means of targeting women in particular to enter the teaching profession (Fischman, 2007, Richards and Acker 2006, Cortina and San Roman, 2006).

Within the remit of the five case studies being analysed in this study, India presents us with the most conclusive evidence of a similar pattern occurring with the association between women and the teaching profession, an interesting situation given that India is the only country where – at the national level at least – high female teacher numbers are still not the norm[11]. Despite this, the variety of different experiences at the state level means that the Indian case study does offer two specific vantage points on the feminisation issue: a) a historical perspective of how regional specificities resulted in states like Kerala and Rajasthan having completely different experiences of female teacher recruitment in response to the national-level policy in post-Independence India; b) a very current perspective of targeted female recruitment specifically in Rajasthan, where we are able to see the changes occurring as a result of education expansion in response to the MDGs and EFA.

An investigation into pre-independence policy approaches to education at the national level demonstrates some of the earliest socio-cultural associations between gender and the teaching profession. A study into the teaching profession in the Madras Presidency between 1900–1930 (Swaminthan, 1999) uncovers a 1929 report on the development of women's education that reflects the patriarchal attitudes of

11 Similar evidence from the other countries may not be absent, just as yet untapped.

educational policy in Britain at the time. Most specifically, Swaminthan's study highlighted that the report looked at the 'Development of Women's Education' and that every effort should be made to encourage girls to study and to take an interest in what were considered appropriate professions for females: teaching and nursing. With only limited access to higher educational opportunities, women were excluded from other careers.

The impact of this colonial policy once India became independent and started to actively shape its education policy would vary from state to state. In Rajasthan for example, it could be argued that these associations between gender roles and the teaching profession would become a moot point, as the extreme norms of seclusion for women in the state meant that women were unable to work or seek education outside of the home, making teaching just another form of paid employment that they did not have access to until very recently. Therefore, while the colonial associations with teaching and traditional gender roles were cast in an orthodoxy that coincided with Rajasthan's own perceptions of women in the domestic sphere, this did not translate into women entering the teaching profession in that state. Conversely, in the state of Kerala – where girls were able to access education as early as the mid-nineteenth century – female education was being pushed in colonial times as a part of the vision to 'build the modern moral home, imagining the educated woman to be its fulcrum' (Devika, 2000; Devika and Mukherjee, 2007). Post-independence, this domestic vision has continued, with the onus on women as central to the educational growth of children within their family unit, a cultural reality that has in time translated into the teaching profession, where women could play both the role of loving mother in the classroom. This historical analysis resonates strongly with the evidence available from other countries, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Arguably, the nuances of gender roles for women in Kerala provides one of the clearest insights into the manner of socio-cultural associations with gender that have become embodied in the teaching profession. While individuality is encouraged for women alongside academic accomplishment, this is done so only within the bounds of traditional femininity, with the domestic ideal of the woman as homemaker still being strongly adhered to (Devika 2000). More recently, the domestic ideal is increasingly being replaced by the ideal of income-earning mother, a role that marries well with traditional perceptions of teaching – particularly primary level teaching – as a good profession for women in society. This 'gendering' of opportunities is reflected in the courses that continue to be pursued by women in higher education in the State, where there remains a broad split in male and female course preferences. It is notable therefore that a similar pattern is evidenced in Rajasthan. Although the two states are markedly different in many ways where overall access to education for females is concerned, for those women who are able to access higher education, the share of female enrolment only becomes significant in teacher training courses, with enrolment in traditionally 'male' areas of study and employment, such as engineering and architecture, remaining low. This reflects a similar gendering of opportunities, although the surrounding circumstances may be different. [12]

These findings are supported by several aspects of the empirical research conducted as part of this study in both Lesotho and Sri Lanka. In Lesotho, questionnaires were distributed among primary school teachers in four out of the

12 In Rajasthan, a woman's husband's family will largely determine whether the daughter-in-law will take up paid employment, and in particular what type of employment. Teaching is encouraged among those families where females are permitted to take-up employment because it can be taken up without badly affecting a woman's home-making responsibilities.

country's ten districts, covering both rural and urban locations. Sixty male and female teachers were targeted in each district. One of the key purposes of the research was to identify factors that have contributed to the disproportionately high number of women in teaching at the primary level. The responses of women teachers were illuminating. The most common response was that women had a 'natural fitness for the job'. This involved the association between a woman's role as a mother and carer of children. The varied responses within this overarching theme included the assumptions that: 'women's work is to care for children'; 'women are naturally born to care for young ones'; 'women are guardians to the young'; 'women can communicate better with children….are merciful…patient….sympathetic'. Related to those responses, women teachers also shared that teaching was a profession of choice based on the convenience it offered alongside their domestic roles as wives and mothers in the family, especially as female primary teachers are rarely transferred and stay with the families. Job security and the perception of primary teaching as a 'stress free' job were also factors. However, another core response that also surfaced was the issue of 'marginalisation' from other employment, which included secondary teaching. That will be looked at in more depth later.

In the case of Sri Lanka, findings from empirical investigations were strikingly similar. Using focus group methodology, discussions were carried-out with 27 teacher educators, 60 trained teachers, 40 trainee teachers and a casual sample of parents to explore various factors that could be argued to be transforming teaching into 'women's work'. Overall, more women were represented in each of the groups. As with Lesotho, the responses indicated a high degree of gender role-association with primary teaching in particular. In all the focus groups there was complete agreement between both male and female respondents on the need for primary teachers – particular in grades 1–3 – having to be female. It was argued that this is an expectation of parents, school principals and society in general, because the teacher is a 'substitute mother and will be more caring towards the child'. Additionally, the overwhelmingly female focus group of trainee teachers indicated that their own parents had been influential in their decision to become teachers as it was considered a family-friendly employment, allowing them the opportunity to get back home early and be there when their own children were returning from school. Further discussions highlighted concerns regarding higher instances of divorce among females who were involved in other professions such as banking etc., as this led to long hours and neglect of the family. Overall, the focus groups were of the view that teaching was a job that carried a certain 'morality' and helped to stabilise the family unit, providing a well-respected and more culturally acceptable job for a girl within society. Additionally, another factor that came through was the perceived benefits for children of having a mother as a teacher, as she will be able to support their learning outcomes effectively. This factor resonates quite clearly with the research findings from Kerala on the role of women as responsible for the educational growth of their own children.

Samoa appears to present similar findings to this, perceptions also coincide with a cultural socialisation of women to be responsible for younger children:

The teaching force in Samoa is a female-dominated profession. Females' caring and nurturing persona seem to fit into the teaching arena…Teaching is a sharing career and women share their strengths and weaknesses on a daily basis to try and improve their teaching and assist students. Teaching also allows women to take time off with the family as there are holidays…
Epenesa Esera, Dean of Education, National University of Samoa, 2010

The final remark makes reference once again to the pressures that women face regarding finding a balance between work and their responsibilities in the reproductive spheres, and this consideration can go further when trying to assess some of the reasons why women's dominance of the profession does not translate so fluidly into the managerial sectors. If teaching is considered such a suitable profession for women who are also mothers and homemakers due to its flexibility, what are the potential ramifications for those same women if they pursue management positions that demand more of their time in the workplace? Unfortunately, the issue of women's managerial roles in feminised systems is not one that was explored among the participants, so perceptions are not forthcoming. However, it can be surmised that the perpetuation of traditional gender roles that continue to emphasise women's commitments to the reproductive sphere is unlikely to have the most positive outcomes for the aspirational aspects of their working roles in the public sphere. Whether leadership positions are not being pursued by women, or whether that they are simply being denied/not offered to women remains unclear in this study. However, leadership is a much 'gendered' concept in a wide variety of cultural contexts; it continues to be identified with the male and there is a tendency to assume that 'rightful' leaders are male (Coleman, 2003).

Teacher training and teacher recruitment – organic developments or targeted strategies?

One of the key areas that came through in the literature review was the impact of access to teacher training and the role of teacher recruitment policies in the disproportionate increase of women teachers in countries that now have statistically feminised workforces. Relational to the socio-cultural associations that appear to permeate the teaching profession in such countries, it is also important to understand the extent to which the process of becoming a teacher for women is: a) an organic development as a result of those associations; b) a targeted approach at a policy level; c) a combination of the two. Additionally, what other processes play a role, if any?

Although several of the case studies have demonstrated historical trajectories of women entering teaching in large numbers in catalytic periods around post-independence expansion of the education system, only one country case study presented traceable evidence to primary data that indicated targeted policy attempts to specifically encourage women into the teaching profession: India. In an attempt to encourage women's education, early post-independence policy documents in India from 1947 onwards all stressed the need to recruit female teachers, and included recommendations to incentivise female teachers. Suggestions included giving female teachers preference when admitting recruits into teacher training institutions, giving female teachers from rural areas greater preference, and providing female teachers posted to rural areas with living quarters and a special allowance. These policy recommendations were further complemented by others that championed quotas of at least half of all teachers appointed to be female in certain situations, and the setting-up of exclusively girls' schools and colleges where most teachers would be female (Agrawal and Aggarwal, 1992).

Interestingly however, the decentralised nature of the Indian political system has meant that the extent to which those recommendations were implemented has varied greatly from state to state, with some going as far as reserving quotas for female teachers up to 50 per cent at the primary level (UNESCO 2001), while others chose to have no explicit quota for women. The latter have retained the lowest proportions of female teachers. In the case of Kerala, the existence of a long-standing policy of female education – irrespective of the gender biases inherent within that education as noted

earlier – meant that the national-level policy of targeting women to be teachers could be implemented within an already prepared environment.

This brings us to the issue of access to teacher training and the relationship this has with a well-educated female population in countries that now have statistically feminised workforces. Just as countries with low female teacher numbers are struggling with gender balance owing to the correlation with female illiteracy and overall lower participation among girls, we can see the clear correlation between an educated female population and high female teacher numbers in our case studies. The case of Samoa offered us some insights into this.

Broad historical analysis of educational expansion after Samoa's independence from New Zealand in the 1960s indicates that enrolment in teacher training colleges was very much in favour of women as a result of other available employment that drew men away from the profession. This would suggest that rather than a targeted policy at the time, the preponderance of women occurred as a result of an overall growth in the country's labour market that made teaching more available to women. It is important also to note within this historical overview that by the end of the 1970s, the numbers had become so disproportionately in favour of women, the entry criteria within the teacher training colleges were amended as a means of enhancing access for males, who usually achieved lower scores in the regional Year 13 exams. However, enrolment figures into pre-service teacher education remain hugely in favour of females as a result of the enrolment criteria. In Samoa today, female students on average outperform their male counterparts in the Pacific Senior School Certificate (PSSC), which is the qualification that entry into the Diploma of Education has depended on since 1997, following the establishment of the National University of Samoa which merged the Western Samoa Teachers' College with the University's newly-created faculty of Arts and Faculty of Sciences. With boys' performance in education in the qualifications needed for entry into the profession remaining lower than girls', the pool of potential teacher trainees is already skewed towards females.

However, where Samoa is concerned it is important not to forget that overall, the number of female teachers at the secondary school level is much less than at the primary level – particularly in the colleges which offer Year 13 studies – indicating that males do still access teacher training to the degree that the secondary teaching profession cannot be called 'feminised' (female teachers account for 52.3 per cent). Additionally, it is also important to note that boys' lower performance rates in school does not necessarily exclude them from other areas of tertiary education or entering into other professions that require the PSSC, so it is important to concede that other aspects other than performance may also be at play. Lesotho, like each of the cases within this study, also has higher performance indicators overall for girls in school. However, the data from Lesotho indicates that some female primary teacher respondents found themselves marginalised from attempting to enter into the secondary teaching sector due to their poorer qualifications, statements that are supported by the statistics: female teachers at secondary level, represent 59 per cent, compared to 75 per cent at the primary level.

In Dominica, where levels of female teachers in 2007 in secondary schools are also much lower, at 65 per cent compared to 84 per cent at primary, there is a discrepancy in the direct correlation between lower performance among males and the decision to enter teaching. Repetition and drop-out rates for boys in Dominica over the last decade has become significantly higher for boys than girls, particularly at the secondary level. While it can be argued that this may be a root cause of why access to teacher training and recruitment may be more difficult for males, it does not tally with the fact that men are still found in some numbers as teachers at the secondary level, especially as the

percentage has remained relatively stable for about a decade, even as boys' performance has not improved. The difference between primary and secondary percentages suggests that, along with the similar discrepancies from the other three countries with similar trends, that rather than a simplistic assumption of higher female performance equalling access to teacher training, there are likely to be other biases influencing male and female choices for entering the profession.

Untrained and 'para' teachers – in pursuit of EFA

The need for engaging untrained or para-teachers is often acknowledged as a necessary development – sometimes targeted policy – to either expand a system or maintain the successes of one that starts to regress for a variety of reasons, for example increases in teacher attrition. In many cases, the growth in numbers of untrained teachers is something that occurs quite organically at the most local of levels, with communities sometimes taking it upon themselves to engage (and sometimes pay) individuals in schools that have been without teachers for substantial periods of time. An absence of data regarding the presence of para/contract teachers within the teaching profession in our case study areas with high female teacher numbers means that it is difficult to surmise about the extent to which this phenomenon has contributed to the current feminised percentages in all countries. However, in the case of Lesotho, studies have indicated that increasing numbers of primary teachers overall has also led to an increase in the proportion of untrained teachers, most of whom are either volunteers or on short-term contracts (Phamotse et al, 2005). Interestingly, the data indicates that of the men who are working as teachers, the percentage that is unqualified is higher than the percentage of women teachers who are unqualified. However, in aggregate terms the sheer number of female primary teachers (constituting 80 per cent of the total workforce) means that in real numbers women are still more likely to dominate the para' teacher classification. A similar pattern was reflected in Dominica, where the numbers of untrained teachers were higher among women overall, purely as a result of the far higher numbers of women in the profession. However, when viewed from the perspective of proportionality, women teachers overall were more likely to be qualified than their male counterparts. As already noted in the previous chapter, the difference between Lesotho and Dominica is that untrained teachers have increased in Lesotho while the overall teaching force has increased in response to expansion, while in Dominica the number of untrained female teachers has increased as the overall teaching workforce has decreased.

The incidence of para-teachers in India has been documented quite broadly over the last ten years, indicating a growth in their number generally in many states seeking to meet education provision goals that lead to access, retention and completion (Govinda and Josephine, 2005). Understanding the gender characteristics of this has also been explored to an extent in research that looks at the relationship between increasing female numbers and a growth in contract teaching in Rajasthan, where female teacher numbers may still be low, but where there are overtly targeted efforts towards increasing those numbers by specifically using para-teachers Overall, India has seen a growing trend to recruit contract teachers in a bid to increase the teacher workforce. This has contributed to the increase in the proportion of female teacher numbers overall. The relevance between this growing trend in contract teaching and teacher remuneration is the simple fact that contract teachers earn less than regular teachers and are usually hired for no longer than a year at a time, removing the value-addition of job security that we have seen cited in other country contexts. There are several benefits and advantages to the contract situation. Firstly, it is a strategy that helps to ameliorate the teacher shortage, with limited resources and timeframe, in states like Rajasthan. Additionally, the more lenient qualification requirements means

that more women are able to enter the profession, contributing to tackling one of the barriers identified in girls' education. However, the PROBE data also indicated that one of the results of the introduction of low-paid contract teacher jobs has been an outflow of men from the profession in both rural and urban areas. Interestingly, this outflow has been characterised by men from upper-castes, and this group has been replaced by an inflow of middle-caste men and upper-caste women who both appear more willing to work for the lower wages (DISE, 2008–2009). This evidence from Rajasthan presents an interesting intersection between social class and gender within the teaching profession as it moves towards increasing capacity and increased female numbers. Despite the dominance of men in the teaching profession in Rajasthan, research studies conducted there on teacher motivation indicate that teaching was by and large not a preferred option among men (Ramachandran et al, 2005). Some respondents indicated that they simultaneously pursued other work, while others saw teaching as a stopgap arrangement while preparing for a range of civil service examinations. This was particularly the case for young males from urban areas and from more privileged upper-caste groups, a situation that has increased with the change in terms of service that has resulted in lower paid contract jobs. Middle-caste men and those in rural areas – no doubt armed with fewer privileges and options for alternative employment – are now replacing those roles, as are upper-caste women, who are more likely to have the qualifications needed in a state where female education remains the preserve of those in the upper sectors of society. In this analysis we are then able to surmise that while teaching is increasingly being considered a second rate job for men from the upper-castes, for women from the same caste it is considered more acceptable. This indicates a clear gendered inequality between men and women which would lead one to question whether if men across all social classes were able to access alternative, better-paid opportunities in Rajasthan, would the numbers within the teaching workforce then start to replicate Kerala's? If so, what message is this sending, both in terms of the profession itself as one that should be desirable to future generations (both male and female), and for women in general as they seek gender equality more broadly?

Teacher remuneration, career progression, and the 'status' issue

The issue of salary, career opportunities and status is one that permeates debates within the teaching profession on a global level, irrespective of whether countries are developed or developing. The importance of highlighting concerns in this area is an ongoing and integral aspect of the teaching profession's future. The 1966 ILO/UNESCO Recommendations Concerning the Status of Teachers clearly underlines the importance of advancement and promotion (paragraphs 40–44), teacher salaries (paragraphs 114–124) and social security (paragraphs 125–140). These recommendations were drawn up to serve as guidelines for individuals, institutions and policy-makers at the national level, but the issues they seek to address continue to be a major source of concern. Within the context of the feminisation debate, the results offer mixed experiences.

Despite the ambiguous position that para-teachers inhabit in terms of security, when looking at some of the reasons why high numbers of women chose to join the profession as qualified teachers in some countries, an often-cited reason is the security that the profession is known to provide[13]. This came through strongly in Sri Lanka, for example. This security not only included a regular salary, but also other associated

13 The key difference being that in those countries where security within the profession is now widespread, it is possible to speculate that a period of reliance on para teachers has already passed during an earlier phase of educational expansion.

benefits such as a pension. Interestingly however, teacher remuneration continues to be seen as largely inadequate in many countries, and has remained one of the core reasons why many men either chose not to enter the profession or end up leaving it in the long run. Structurally, the profession is also perceived to offer fewer opportunities for career progression, with limited management positions within institutional contexts. This presents a curious situation when applied to the teaching profession as a whole, firstly because the status of the profession is a potentially key determinant in ensuring that a country's education system continues to be sustainably resourced; and secondly because the status of the profession has consequences in the long term for women's equality, if teaching becomes embedded as 'women's work' in societal consciousness.

Research among twenty-five male teachers who had left the profession in Samoa presented some interesting responses that pertained specifically to remuneration and career progression. When asked to give their reasons for moving to other jobs, eighteen out of the twenty-five responded that they had left the teaching profession for better salaries elsewhere, making salary by far the strongest contributing factor to male exit from the profession within this sample. As a means of explaining this reasoning, one male respondent said the following:

Males – like me – are head of the family…and my family rely on me for everything so that is the reason I wanted to look for another job with better pay and I left when I got one…

All of the interviewees spoke of the need to provide for their families and their role within Samoan society as breadwinner. Two respondents indicated that the decision to leave coincided specifically with their decision to get married and start a family, citing that the teacher salary was no longer sufficient to provide for their needs, moving instead to other, better-paid public sector roles. A review of average public sector salaries indicates that the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture – within which teachers represent more than 60 per cent of employees – had the second lowest in Samoa in 2002–2003 (Ministry of Finance Statistical Department Annual Statistical Abstract 2005). By 2005–2006 it had risen to the fourth lowest, indicating gradual improvement within education sector pay increases. But with nineteen ministries within the public sector, it still lags behind significantly. As a result, for those contemplating a career, teaching is still expected to have one of the lowest salaries of all the professional occupations, and the importance of this rate of remuneration cannot be emphasised enough. Although there is no gender discrimination in terms of male and female salaries, males are clearly more negatively affected due to their roles within Samoan society. This presents the possibility that even in instances where men had a natural interest in the teaching profession itself, this could be outweighed in the long run by familial pressures to provide a higher income.

Other impacts also need to be considered. One male interviewee noted that if a male teacher possessed or gained a bachelors degree they were less likely to remain in the profession, as the degree was a 'passport' to a better job elsewhere. This is supported by evidence from the public primary teaching sector, where the bachelor degree holders are far more likely to be female than male. Additionally, the private sector – which pays teachers comparatively higher salaries – seems able to retain its bachelor degree holders more consistently. Of the 74 primary school teachers that held bachelor degrees in 2010, 62 are employed in private or mission schools, with only 7 in the public school system.

The second reason most mentioned by the interviewees in Samoa was the perceived lack of opportunity for promotion within the teaching profession. Currently,

the career structure at the school level in the country includes only three positions of increased responsibility and pay at both primary and secondary level, with no practice of salary increments tied to performance review.[14] Interestingly however, 60 per cent of the male ex-teachers interviewed indicated that they still saw teaching as a prestigious profession, especially in the rural areas. People in the rural areas understood the importance of schooling and education towards development and regarded the main agents of the schooling process – teachers, regardless of whether they were male or female – with high esteem. 25 per cent of interviewees responded that teaching was considered a low status occupation; with some citing the low salary as a reason and others indicating that this low status has not always been the case where teaching was concerned. These responses suggest that the status of the teaching profession in Samoa remains largely one of respect from the perspective of the importance of a teacher's role in society, but that there is a growing association with low remuneration that has resulted in a gradual loss as other professions become more available and are able to offer better pay. While low salary may be the root cause of this loss in status and not necessarily the high number of women within the profession itself, the potential for association between the two cannot be ignored, especially if teaching increasingly becomes perceived as 'women's work'.

Similar to Samoa, in Lesotho the issue of low teachers' salary was acknowledged as having a more detrimental effect on men than on women. It was acknowledged by male and female teacher respondents that men were more likely to seek out other professions for better pay, and an increase in salary was also cited as one of the strategies that needed to be employed if more male teachers were to be attracted to the profession. With the case of Lesotho however, both male and female teachers were asked more explicitly whether they felt that a feminised teaching workforce had resulted in lower pay. Most respondents chose not to respond to this question at all. Of those that did, the majority of both male and female teachers did not believe that this was the case, with the main argument being that teacher salaries are determined by the country's economy and not by gender. For those who did feel that there had been an adverse effect on salary as a result of more women in the profession, there was a view that female needs were 'cheaper' and therefore salaries could be kept low. A few participants also felt that women are unable to effectively influence government: "Women cannot fight for their rights…the men responsible for salary structures undermine females…females are not listened to by governments". Some respondents felt that if there were more men within the profession, they would be in a better position to fight for salary increases. Overall there was an element of contradiction within the responses. Despite the overarching view that more women did not lead to less pay, when asked what incentives should be used to attract more men to the profession, the vast majority of responses suggested pay increases.

The status of the profession presented a more divided response between male and female respondents in Lesotho. The majority of male teachers who responded to this question felt that more women in the profession had negatively impacted the status of the profession. Only a few of these linked this to their perceived inability to fight for higher salaries. Instead, respondents suggested that their perception of women teachers as bad disciplinarians was part of the reason. Two respondents also suggested that the very fact teaching now seemed to be a female career was a reason in itself for lower status, as it made teaching seem like an 'inferior' career. Of those who responded most said that they did not feel feminisation had resulted in a loss of

14 It is noted however that the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture is currently reviewing teacher salary and structure as one of the strategies to improve the teacher retention rate and overall educational outcomes.

status' The reasons presented were tied to the belief that the teaching of young children was inherently 'women's work' anyway, and therefore they were automatically best suited for the profession.

Of the female teachers who responded to the question, the answers were almost equally split between agreement and disagreement, with those who disagreed numbering just a couple more. Interestingly, those in agreement seemed to concur with the reasons offered by the male teachers, arguing that women are better suited to the job than men anyway so there could be no detrimental impact on status. Of the almost equal number of women who felt high female teacher numbers had resulted in a negative impact on the status of the profession, their reasons were more related to a perceived need for males within the profession for discipline, the development of boys' and to offer balance within the profession. Interestingly, several female teachers felt that there was need for more males within the profession in order to make children 'more confident' in their teachers – a statement that appears indicative of a negative perception by children themselves of the profession due to feminisation. Such a view would certainly need greater investigation among pupils in Lesotho.

Sri Lanka and Dominica did not present any data that specifically researched perceptions of the profession regarding teacher remuneration and status and how this impacted upon men. What was clear in both countries was that men were more likely to choose other career options. In Sri Lanka for example, the focus group discussions among teachers, administrators and parents all indicated that it was felt men preferred to work for commercial organisations and industries, and that teaching was often a last resort when no other lucrative job could be found. In Dominica, just as women dominate the teaching profession, so men can be found to dominate other professions, such as the media.

Educational provision, outcomes and teaching processes

From an impact perspective, feminisation of the teaching profession has long been a sensitive issue, as already seen in the review of literature from countries that have been exploring the arguments for several decades. Data from the countries in this study unearthed some thoughts that are relevant to high female teacher numbers and educational provision, teaching practice and pupil performance.

In countries still struggling with issues of girls' educational access, the need for more female teachers is considered an underpinning of equitable education provision and an expansion of the system. Indeed, one of the key commonalities between each of the case countries in this study is that access to education for both male and female students is quite high, as evidenced in the indicators from the previous chapter. This indicates a correlation of some sort between gender balance/ higher female teacher numbers and equitable access, something that is not evidenced as readily where male teachers are in the majority overall.

But educational access is not the only aspect of education provision that countries are concerned with. Integral both to access and quality for example, has been the need for deployment systems that also encourage adequate resourcing at various sub-national levels (Kelleher, 2008). Where educational provision is concerned, Sri Lanka offers some insights into perceptions regarding teacher deployment and gender. First, it is important to note that Sri Lanka is doing relatively well in the Education for All goals, particularly where high enrolment and participation at both primary and secondary level is concerned (UNESCO, 2008). However, issues around quality persist, particularly in terms of sub-national consistency. The National Education for All Mid-Decade Assessment Report noted that there are serious disparities in the provision of resources to schools, with a lack of strict policy or procedure to ensure that every school receives an adequate

quota of teachers. This has led to an excess of teachers in urban schools while rural and remote schools are understaffed. Research undertaken as part of this study indicated some concerns on the part of educational administrators regarding high female numbers in the teaching profession and deployment efficiency. Some argued that as women teachers are more likely to request transfers back to urban and peri-urban settings after an initial contract in the rural areas, inevitably remote rural areas are being under-provided for[15]. The conflict-affected areas are the most challenging of these. Additionally, urban areas are more likely to attract teachers with the highest qualification and skills, a factor that is also underpinned by affluence and social class.

In Kerala, the comparatively laudable achievements of the State's education provision and corresponding high literacy rates among both men and women is increasingly coming under a critical lens, as the quality of educational quality is seen to be stagnating and in some cases declining. For example, learning outcomes at primary level have recently been disappointing (according to the 2009 Annual Status of Education Report – Rural Survey). It is also reported that the growing size of the private unaided sector in Kerala is a result of people's unhappiness with falling quality levels in the aided and state sectors (GOK, 2006). This trend indicates that while high numbers of women teachers have managed to address the core issue of educational provision and have successfully tackled access, issues surrounding quality will sometimes remain.

However, in both the case of Sri Lanka and Kerala it is immensely difficult to evaluate such concerns as a direct impact of statistical feminisation of the workforce, and it is even more important to employ extreme caution over any tendencies towards such assumptions, ensuring that the focus is more on the policies needed to address such issues (in the case of Sri Lanka this would encompass not just teacher deployment but also rural development strategies), rather than an over-emphasis on a single, possible factor. With Kerala, the likely reasons for decline in quality have been posited as a combination of the following: a) no expansion having taken place in the government or aided primary sector since the 1980s, with budgets neglecting to include the need for infrastructural improvements or upgrades in equipment and the use of outdated curricula (Economic Survey of Kerala, 2002, cited in Gopalan, 2004; also GOK 2006); b) issues surrounding 'protected' teaching posts in certain schools with fewer numbers of pupils and a resistance to re-deploying teachers among aided schools (Gopalan, 2004 and GOK, 2006); and finally an overall increase in positions being gained through nepotism rather than competence (George and Sunaina, 2005). The overriding lesson to be learnt therefore is that teacher recruitment in great numbers (regardless whether male or female) is only one stage towards meeting the need for educational provision. Once the workforce has been filled it is just as important for policies to pay attention to quality issues within the system and to other related factors – relating to both teaching and other areas, such as physical infrastructure and curricula. A simple preponderance of female teachers is by no means a causal factor.

Where the feminisation of the profession and gendered educational outcomes are concerned, the debate becomes increasingly sensitive. As noted in the review of other countries that have observed high numbers of women in the teaching profession, there has been a tendency to resort to an impact analysis based more on simplistic rationales that automatically equate high female teacher numbers with indicators that

15 The government of Sri Lanka has now introduced a policy of selecting 50 per cent of trainee teachers to the National Colleges of Education on a geographical basis to ensure that there is some significant return of teachers to remote and rural areas. Additionally, teachers can only now seek transfer after serving a stated number of years in one location.

point to underachievement in male students. This has led to the creation of what have been called 'moral panics' about boys' underachievement in certain countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom, often without any sort of conclusive evidence that proves a link and often without addressing interwoven issues, such as social class, geography, ethnicity etc., that makes boys' underachievement a nuanced issue.

In attempting to unpack this difficult issue within the context of our case studies, the research looks both at the statistical evidence of performance and outcome indicators where available, along with the results of the empirical research conducted among teachers themselves. One of the case countries – Dominica – has also been able to provide some valuable insights into the perceptions of pupils on aspects of this issue. Initially however, it is important to accept that on the surface, a direct comparative analysis between gender equality indicators in education in each of these case studies shows one common strand: The statistical evidence from chapter 3 indicates that gender disparity in favour of girls at the secondary level does exist where enrolment rates are concerned. But such surface level analysis of statistics covers other contradictory data that must be investigated, in case high female teacher percentages are to be made an unproven scapegoat for a more complex sociological issue. Within this study the statistical analysis has presented a variety of trends that certainly require further research, but for the time being it makes any correlation with a preponderance of female teachers far from conclusive. In Lesotho for example, boys' underachievement is more associated with under-participation than underperformance. Studies already conducted on this (Jha and Kelleher, 2005) suggest a variety of social, economic and occupational practices that pull boys out of the system as they leave primary education.[16] Examination results clearly show that within the school system itself, regardless of female teacher numbers at primary school, boys will perform as well as girls. However, in Dominica the data suggested a clearer gender bias in favour of girls' performance, with boys' repetition rates consistently higher than girls' and the national average. And yet even here the relationship remains vague, as other external issues could also play a role: Dominica's National Policy and Action Plan for Gender Equity and Equality (NGPP) revealed that out-migration of one or either parent and its concomitant family disruption is one of the fundamental roots of school drop-out.

Evidence from Samoa helps to further elucidate this point. The implication that female teachers encourage girls' participation and an absence or significantly lower proportion of male teachers discourages boys' participation is not borne out, for if this were the case with Samoa, the result of increasing numbers of women in the teaching force over the last two decades should have resulted in declining male student representation in schools in the same period. However, data on school participation of males between the ages of 5 – 14 years increased from 89 per cent in 2000 to 97 per cent in 2004, then declined, then remained steady at 94 per cent between 2007–2008 (MESC Statistical Digest 2008). When looking at participation rates between 15 –19 year olds, we see a significant drop in both male and female students – 2008 registered 57 per cent for girls and 49 per cent for boys (MESC Statistical Digest 2008). This indicates retention problems in these latter stages of secondary school for both males and females, as opposed to just an issue concerning boys. When investigating the causes surrounding drop-out rates among boys, observations at the rural village level in particular indicate that many boys opt-out of Years 12 and 13 of formal schooling in order to focus on supporting their extended families and fulfilling village obligations

16 In the Lesotho context, herding remains a traditional livelihood that boys remain engaged in, particularly in the highlands. Considered a major stage in male socialisation as well as an economic necessity, many boys will be absent or drop-out of school to fulfil this practice.

that are culturally tied to their coming of age into as young men, such as responsibility for the family's subsistence agriculture. Therefore, unless a boy is at liberty to pursue a formal sector job – probably in an urban area – completing 5 years of secondary schooling may seem to be little use to their rural lives and the expectations of their community. This insight suggests that there are likely various factors behind the lower participation of both males and females in secondary education, and it would be unlikely that the higher proportion of female teachers at the secondary level is responsible for this in either case. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that Samoa has been recognised as being at risk of not achieving gender parity in secondary education by 2015 (UNESCO 2007). Further investigations into drop-outs among all students is therefore needed, along with careful analysis and observation of whether the margin between male and female participation widens any further, and an analysis of the socio-cultural impacts of gender roles on boys, which may unearth deep-rooted issues pertaining to how these link with attitudes towards education.

One area within the Samoan context that remains troubling regarding gender differences in education is that of performance. While reasons for lack of participation can be more easily investigated, performance indicators that show boys underachieving in certain core subjects present far more complex issues that need addressing. Results from national assessments in Samoa show that there are problems regarding boys' underachievement in primary schools, particularly in the subject areas of English, Samoan and Numeracy. Gender disaggregated data of 'at risk' students within these subjects shows that boys are far more likely to fail in these subjects at Year 4. But the correlation between this trend and the increase in female teachers is still inconsistent and therefore ultimately inconclusive. For example, although the percentage of at-risk boys increased dramatically between 2001–2003, so did the percentage of at-risk girls, albeit they were fewer. Secondly, the numbers of at-risk boys has since decreased significantly from a high of 61 per cent in 2003 to 17 per cent in 2007 (MESC Statistical Digest 2008). As female teacher numbers during that period continued to increase slightly from 75 per cent to 76 per cent (MESC Research, Policy and Planning Division), there is nothing to suggest that a high proportion of female teachers are at the heart of this issue. However, the discrepancy between male and female achievement rates at this level does remain a concern for Samoan education, and further research is clearly needed.

In Sri Lanka, focus group discussions among teachers, trainee teachers, education administrators and parents showed minimal negative perceptions regarding disproportionately high female teacher numbers and educational outcomes. This is despite the fact that Sri Lanka also presents higher educational performance outcomes for girls than for boys. The only view expressed that indicated a negative association with a feminised teaching force came from a few male administrators, who indicated that school principals have been known to specifically ask for male teachers to carry out school functions that included sports, after school activities and field trips, etc. However, all other respondents claimed that they did not feel female teachers had hampered these school functions in any way, with many going on to argue that female teachers were 'more committed than male teachers, often taking teaching more seriously than their male counterparts', a perception that possibly contains its own gender bias.

By comparison, research among teachers in Lesotho showed a definite lack of consensus on the issue of teachers' gender and educational performance, with varied responses surfacing when teachers of both sexes were asked to comment specifically on whether boys needed male teachers in order to perform better in school. Overall, the majority of teachers indicated that they felt boys did not need male teachers in order to perform educationally. Many refused to give reasons for their view on this. Of

the minority who did feel that boys need male teachers in order to perform well, various reasons were given, including: 'boys listen better if taught by males….for discipline…they need men as role models…women are gender-biased….some activities need to be done by men'. Male and female teachers appeared to split in their responses however, with a greater proportion of men interviewed feeling that boys needed male teachers in the classroom for many of the above reasons. The issue of discipline in particular was a recurring theme that also came-up in some of the responses of teachers (both male and female) when asked about the status of the profession. There seemed to be a correlation between the perception that women find it harder to discipline children, particularly boys, and that this impacts on the way the profession is viewed. Although not said explicitly by any of the respondents, possibly the association of feminisation with a lack of authority is at the root of such comments, a possibility that poses further questions regarding societal perceptions of men and women and issues surrounding gender equality. This will be further explored later.

In Dominica, the responses were also mixed. In-depth interviews conducted with principals, deputy principals, teachers, an education officer and a leaders of a teachers' trade union provided perspectives on issues including the overall importance of 'gender matching' between pupils and teachers (e.g. whether boys need male teachers and girls need female teachers), on the issue of teachers as role models, and whether pupils actually respond differently according to the gender of the teacher.

On the issue of gender matching, respondents were doubtful about this, feeling that there was a need for it not to be too prescriptive. While several saw the need for gender matching to a certain degree, these seemed to be more for reasons outside of educational performance per se, for example, when pupils need to turn to an adult in the school environment to deal with personal issues, such as the menstrual cycle for girls and other adolescent issues that may affect boys. In this respect it was felt that boys might feel they cannot approach a female teacher, making the suggestion of gender matching more important in the later years. Additionally, it was also felt by one respondent that boys did respond more readily within the sports environment if a male teacher was present. However, female principals in two co-educational schools were keen to play down the importance of gender matching. One firmly held that female teachers had an important relationship with male students that involved helping to avert them from negative masculinities of machismo and chauvinism, while the second emphasised the need for professionalism and seriousness rather than gender. This respondent felt that as long as the teachers were committed, students tended to look beyond gender.

Research among pupils themselves remains one of the more rare research samples used when exploring the teacher feminisation debate. Research conducted as part of this study in Dominica has been able to provide some strong insights into perceptions regarding responses by primary students to assumptions about the gender of their teachers. Using a significant sample, 335 Grade 5 pupils were asked to respond to a series of statements that ranged from whether they thought more male teachers were needed as 'role models' in primary schools, to whether female teachers have a harder time disciplining boys than a male teacher would. The responses showed a variety of perspectives from both male and female pupils.

For example, when asked if it was important to have both male and female teachers in primary school, the majority of pupils (83 per cent) responded positively to this, with only a 1 per cent difference between the percentages of male to female pupils. When asked whether more male teachers were needed as role models, there was a split within the overall sample, with 52 per cent not agreeing with the statement. Interestingly however, the gender-disaggregated responses indicate that while the

female sample had a higher disagreement rate, only a slight majority of boys (51 per cent) felt that more male teachers were needed as role models. Following through on the theme of gender matching between pupils and teachers, both male and female students were equally divided in the view that female teachers were good role models for boy children, while when asked whether they felt that pupils identified more easily with teachers of their own gender, more boys than girls actually disagreed. The above results indicate that where male and female representation in the teaching profession is concerned, although pupils can see the overarching benefits of having both male and female teachers, they are not associating any significance to the idea of gender matching within education, with boys themselves not demonstrating any particular need for male teachers as role models or as teachers that they more easily relate to. However, a further response within the questionnaire does suggest that this may have something more to do with their current age and where they are within the education system: When asked to respond to the statement 'older pupils prefer male teachers to teach them', male and females pupils were at odds, with significantly more boys than girls agreeing with the statement. Although overall only half of boys did agree with the statement, the greater divergence in response between boys and girls in this question suggests the beginning of a change in perception that could grow as they get older. A similar study that samples secondary school pupils – as they go through adolescence and start to assume more enhanced gender identities – would help to illuminate this, especially as the statistical data shows that male teachers are less in a minority at the secondary level within feminised systems.

Just as the concept of gender matching between pupils and teachers is one that looks at associations between boys' underachievement and high numbers of female teachers, so the issue of discipline and its association with male teachers needs to be addressed. Dominica is the only country within this study that presents us with a pupil perspective on the issue: when asked to respond to the statement 'female teachers have a harder time disciplining boys than male teachers', female students were much more likely to agree with this statement than boys (63 per cent of girls agreed, only 47 per cent of boys agreed). As a result, just over half the total sample of pupils (54 per cent) agreed with the statement. Combined with the perceptions that adults who tend to agree with the statement that women do have more difficulty in disciplining than men do, these results present an ongoing contention within the debate.

Conclusions, recommendations and further research

Conclusions

Women and the teaching profession is an area of research that clearly presents multi-layered considerations both in terms of education provision and gender equality. In the first instance, evidence remains strong that the introduction of women into the teaching profession in increasing numbers has been a major contribution towards greater education provision within societies. This was first evidenced in the work conducted in countries with long-standing education systems in the global north and in Latin America, and the results of this study seem to suggest a similar conclusion, with each of our case studies demonstrating that where high female teacher numbers are present, the education system is providing notable successes in terms of universal primary education and – to various degrees – secondary education also. Following through from that, the major issue of girls' access to basic education is also one that those countries appear to no longer be dealing with at the most fundamental of levels, as demonstrated by recent education indicators in Chapter 3. With the education of girls being one of the first blows a society can strike for women's equality more broadly, the importance of this link cannot be overestimated. The very growth of women's employment in the teaching

profession itself can be put forward as an example of a shift towards greater gender equality between men and women, as the presence of educated women within a professional, salaried field in the formal sector is testimony to women's move away from economic dependence and vulnerability, towards empowerment through a visible and established role in a country's economic and social landscape.

Having acknowledged that however, there remains a complex duality within the issues that surround women and the teaching profession in those countries where the workforce can be described as feminised. Evidence from research countries presented in this study suggests quite clearly that there is a strong association between teaching as a profession and traditional gender roles that align themselves with women's long-held responsibilities in the domestic sphere, suggesting that while women may no longer be confined exclusively to this sphere, their role in the public one is very much influenced by it. This is manifested at two levels: first in an assumption within societies that women have a biological predisposition towards teaching because children are involved; and secondly, through the difficulties women experience in finding a balance between work and their family obligations, and the ways which teaching can help address that balance. In the first instance we have seen that many respondents in the varied interviews, questionnaires and focus groups across each of the countries have referred to what they believe to be an inherent female ability among women to work more effectively with children. These views were explicitly present in Sri Lanka, Dominica and Lesotho. Many female respondents also made it clear that their motivations for joining the profession were rooted in desire to work with children. In the second instance, responses and evidence from several countries demonstrated the need for women to find employment that was conducive to their responsibilities as wives and mothers. This included a need for more flexible working hours in order to be available for their own children. This view was expressed quite consistently by female teachers themselves who did not wish to compromise their traditional roles as mothers and home makers, and reflected in the opinions of others within those societies such as their parents, underpinning the socio-cultural expectations that have made teaching an increasingly chosen form of employment for women. In Sri Lanka, the view was also held that women who entered into other, more time-demanding professions were less likely to have successful marriages. In some societies – such as the case of Kerala – where there has been a long record of female education, women are increasingly being expected to occupy a new symbiotic role of 'working mother' which the teaching profession appears to readily fulfil. These gender associations have been instrumental in the propagation of a view overall that teaching – and primary teaching in particular – is indeed 'women's work'.

Intersecting both the growth of women's educational achievement and the continuance of traditional gender roles is the likelihood of more women to be found accessing teacher training opportunities. A review of growth in female numbers in a couple of our case study countries suggest varied experiences that reflect on the one hand an organic movement of women into the profession in Samoa as males sought opportunities in a growing public sector post-independence, while in India we see evidence of targeted policies and recruitment strategies by certain states such as Kerala towards bringing women into the profession, including the creation of quotas, gender-sensitive deployment policies and a leniency in academic entry requirements. More currently, Samoa seems to present an argument where the fact that a greater number of girls than boys qualify with the necessary requirements for teacher training courses is one of the core reasons why more women are entering the profession overall. But we do not find consistency in other countries such as Lesotho, where many female respondents in the primary sector spoke of their decision to join the primary

sector in particular as one determined to a large extent by having only the minimal qualifications. Without further, detailed investigations of motivations among teacher trainees specifically in each country, it would be difficult to understand the real inter-linkages between gender role expectation, access to teacher training courses and the question of personal choice.

One question that would need to be asked in such a study is the extent to which personal choice influenced the trend where more women are to be found at the primary level in each of the research countries. At present, the reasons for this appear to be linked to the perpetuation of traditional gender roles. These associations with teaching tend to diminish as one moves up the educational sectors, with secondary education demonstrating feminisation to a far lesser extent. In the cases of Dominica and in particular Samoa, the percentage of women is significantly less, to the extent that it would be difficult to say that those sectors are actually feminised in those two countries. The data also demonstrates that high female numbers rarely translate into mirrored proportions within the management structure as principals or deputy principals, especially not at the secondary level. Only Dominica presented almost comparable figures, with women teachers not only in abundance at the primary level, but also in the more gender-balanced secondary sector. Aside from Dominica's scenario, the reasons for the more common trend in these countries remains an area for further research. The consistency with findings in other country studies indicates a need to ask critical questions that relate to gender equality within the profession. Does career progression within teaching remain hampered by the very reasons why women go into teaching: the opportunity to fulfil traditional maternal/wifely roles while also earning a salary? And to what extent are gender biases towards women's abilities impacting on promotion within the profession, and what are the reasons for these biases?

While the impact of female teachers on fulfilling workforce needs is considered a positive outcome for the education provision overall, and a particularly positive impact on access to education for girls, evidence from the country studies offered varying perspectives on the impact of women in the profession on educational outcomes, particularly for boys. Boys occupied the primary concern in this area as each of the countries showed higher enrolment and completion rates in general for girls, and higher academic achievement overall at the national level[17]. In Lesotho, both male and female teachers felt that male teachers were needed for issues of discipline and role-modelling. In Dominica the results were mixed, although many teachers and principals overall felt that greater gender balance was needed in the profession if boys were to benefit equally. Male and female primary pupils in Dominica offered a slightly different perspective. While agreeing with the overall need for both male and female teachers in school, they did not concur fully with the more widely held adult views that male teachers were better disciplinarians or better role models for boys than women teachers. It is acknowledged that these responses could change if the research was conducted among older pupils in the secondary sector. However, direct correlations between the gender of teachers and actual educational outcomes still remain inconclusive and difficult to prove. The example of Samoa demonstrated this difficulty, where although boys' under-participation in secondary schools remains a major concern for the country, female teacher numbers cannot be held accountable as male teachers are almost 50 per cent in that sector. This indicates that other reasons – such as male responsibilities to the family and other possible masculine socialisations – need as much further investigation as any concerns regarding feminisation.

17 Although this did not follow through in tertiary level achievements for all of the case studies.

The issue of teacher remuneration is one that resonated in the majority of the countries under review. Teacher salaries remain comparatively low in many countries, and the research indicates that this has been a factor in countries where men are not as attracted to the profession. The issue is interlinked with men and women's gender roles in society, and the expectation on men to be main providers within the family. The perception of teacher pay and its relationship with the teaching profession's status is mixed, with most ex-male teachers in Samoa who had left for financial reasons conveying the view that teaching still retained a well-respected status within Samoan society because of the importance of education, regardless of the female numbers and regardless of the pay. In Lesotho, we saw a clearer indication of how the status issue is nuanced, with respondents who felt that status was not compromised arguing from the perspective that teaching is a woman's job anyway. However, many in Lesotho did indicate that they felt the presence of so many women in the profession meant lobbying for pay increases would not be taken seriously by policy-makers. Additionally, when asked to offer insights into how the profession could attract more men and how the status of the profession could be raised, many respondents were keen to emphasise pay increases as a male incentive.

The above analysis surrounding pay and status in particular presents two underlying implications that are crucial to the dual issues of the MDGs and EFA: a) teacher provision and delivering and sustaining quality in education, and b) gender equality at all levels of education and broader society, especially as it seeks to go beyond gender parity.

For the first implication, the need to address the linkages between a diminishing respect or status of the profession and the association that this has with teacher remuneration is crucial, as this will in time have subsidiary impacts on quality. It is important to stress at this juncture that teaching quality is not synonymous with encouraging males specifically into the profession with higher pay, but rather that teaching quality is more likely to be assured with an increase of better qualified teachers overall, whether they be female or male. The relationship between quality education and ensuring equity considerations for women teachers was highlighted at the 55th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women by the ILO statement that *"…to achieve quality in education, the status of teachers, and particularly that of women teachers, must receive more attention"* (ILO, 2011).

More so, higher status of the profession along with better remuneration will not only generate interest in teacher training courses among graduates but is more likely to ensure a fall in attrition rates more broadly. In many respects, the success of EFA is dependent on ensuring that both the status and economic desirability of the teaching profession increases significantly.

In terms of gender equality more broadly, at the most basic level, the assumption that pay increases are needed to restore males to a profession indicates that women within society are generally expected and/or accept the fact they earn a lower wage than men. Just as countries with high female teacher numbers appear to demonstrate a greater propensity towards gender parity and – in many instances – great achievements in girls' education, it is also noticeable that this does not always translate to either workforce participation or equality in pay. These are issues not unique to the case studies in the research, but ones that continue to be struggled with in other feminised teacher' countries with as long a history in gender equality advocacy as the United Kingdom, where the gender wage gap between men and women stood at 19.8 per cent in 2009, and the percentage of women in full-time work is only two thirds of men (UK Office of National Statistics, 2010). We see commonalities in such trends with the cases within this study. In Sri Lanka for example, educational attainment among

girls and women has been such that even the tertiary sector has gender-balanced female percentages, and often within subject areas such as medicine and commerce that are often associated with men. However, it is also worth noting that the percentage for unemployed women is double that for men, with greater numbers of highly-qualified women out of work than men. Unpacking the reasons for this trend are needed to understand whether these are women actively seeking work on the same level as men (and therefore potentially being discriminated against) or whether they are women who are moving in and out of employment as a result of responsibilities within the domestic sphere. Much of the dialogue that emanated from the focus group discussions indicated that women are still more likely to enter into professions that have a gendered association, with societal expectations around the domestic sphere playing a large role in career and financial aspirations. In the case of the teaching profession, many women in Sri Lanka, it appears, are willing to make the trade-off between a lower salary as a teacher that nonetheless allows them to spend time with their children. In Dominica, women's dominance in educational achievement and in the teaching profession does not absolve the inconsistency of very few women being in prominent decision making roles at the government level, along with their much lower labour force participation overall. Similarly with the Indian state of Kerala, debates around gender equity are often polarised, with female education overall demonstrating a respect of equity on the one hand, but tight 'gendering' of academic choices and careers shows underlying limitations.

Therefore, where women in the teaching profession is concerned, the duality that exists between accepted women's roles in the home and finding a career that does not compromise that role also presents implications for broader issues of gender equality. The goal of gender balance/proportionality in society is one that is sought overall as a means of ensuring equality. And yet with teaching in these countries we see an imbalance that exists not as a result of prejudicial barriers towards men entering the profession, but more as a result of complex associations that have developed over time and which now prevent many from wanting to. Nothing within the research presented in this study indicates that women dominate the professions in those countries as a result of men encountering the kind of sexism that has barred women from accessing many male dominated professions. Indeed, the research has unearthed either a lack of concern regarding the absence of men, such as with Sri Lanka, or an active desire for more men in order to provide gender balance, such as in Dominica. Attempting to 'redress' feminisation is therefore an equality issue converse to ones that societies have become traditionally accustomed to, where more commonly the unequal group in question are actively seeking entry. The overall consistency with which the research in this study has presented men's presence in management positions– comparative to their overall numbers – is an issue that has potential ramifications for a country's commitments in the MDGs and EFA – namely gender equality in education, and gender equality more widely. Alongside family structures, school environments present children and young adults with formative introductions to societal expectations of various groups, whether these are based on gender, race, ethnicity or social class/castes. As a result, feminisation of the teaching profession through increasingly high numbers of women entering the profession is potentially being perpetuated through a cycle of expectation that girls and boys are introduced to at an early age, shaping their attitudes towards viable careers. So just as a feminised profession on the one hand can present a positive example for girls – offering a clear and often secure employment path – on the other it can also infer lack of choice in other areas. Lack of career progression for women teachers comparable to men can also translate into how both sexes perceive women in management/positions of authority. There is also an argument of lost plurality for men

due to an alienation from the teaching profession, particularly the primary sector. But this is a much more difficult argument to make – especially in primary teaching – as many societies appear to find an inherent discomfort in the idea of men working closely with young children. Whether such perceptions also have negative consequences on men's equality and well-being is a contentious yet arguably much needed area of debate and exploration for another time.

Recommendations

Recommendations that flow from this report are based on an understanding and acceptance of the complexities that exist within the debates around feminisation of the teaching profession. As indicated in the introductory chapter, the purpose of the study has not been to identify feminisation of the profession – categorised as teaching workforces with disproportionately high numbers of women teachers – as a problem in and of itself. The role that women have played in fulfilling the teaching needs of expanding education systems is whole-heartedly acknowledged and upheld. Instead, the research has sought to uncover some of the trends and issues that have arisen within feminised teaching workforces, focusing on how feminisation occurred and what the implications are for a country's education and gender equality mandates. In so doing, the recommendations that follow are less policy prescriptions but intended instead to provide thoughts and guidance for countries with feminised workforces, as well as those that still have a shortage of female teachers but which are following or soon to follow a path that involves targeted female teacher recruitment as a means of achieving the MDGs and EFA. The following takes into account the many recommendations put forward by the country researchers within this study, and seeks to reflect the broadly common suggestions that came from all five. It is understood however that each country report carries within it its own unique perspective on many of the issues put forward, and for more targeted recommendations at the country level, the case studies in Part II will provide further guidance.

On increased female teacher recruitment among countries aiming to achieve the education MDGs and EFA goals

In countries or states where the number of women teachers has increased in the last few years due to special recruitment drives (but still remains low), it is important firstly to reflect at all levels the rationale behind such a recruitment drive and to be aware of the trends that are being set within this process. These include:

1) Understanding the relationships between a reliance on contract/para teaching and gender inequalities, and the longer-term consequences this will have on the profession in terms of value issues, such as salary and status, and on gender equity. For countries seeking to dramatically expand their workforces as a means of meeting the MDGs and EFA, they must not lose sight of future issues surrounding the difficulty in delivering and maintaining quality education and the relationship with low wages and a growing dependence on untrained teachers. This recommendation broadly correlates with the premise that addresses 'The teacher shortage' in developing countries within the already established ILO/UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers;
2) Following through from this, while it is understood that such countries are struggling with budgets and are looking for opportunities to make savings, it is also important that teacher remuneration and the formalisation of secure contracts and training opportunities should not take the brunt of budgetary cuts. The following quote from the Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers highlights this most eloquently:

Authorities should recognise that improvements in the social and economic status of teachers, their living and working conditions, their terms of employment and their career prospects are the best means of overcoming any existing shortage of competent and experienced teachers, and of attracting to and retaining in the teaching profession substantial numbers of fully qualified persons.

Countries seeking to expand their teacher population should not view the targeting of women into the profession as a low-wage 'cure all', lest education expansion becomes more about economic exploitation of a 'voiceless' and un-empowered group, than it is about appreciation of women's crucial role as teachers in the pursuance of EFA and the wider benefits of female teachers in meeting education goals;

3) It is important to ensure that just as women are being targeted for recruitment into the profession, they are also being given the opportunities for promotion and career enhancement simultaneously, lest the management structure reflect pervasive gender inequalities, with women disproportionately in the lower echelons. While the initial goals of educational provision may not be adversely affected by this characteristic of teaching professions with high female numbers, more nuanced barriers to gender equality in education that become important later down the line (such as the removal of gendered associations with academic and career choices that school experiences are very much responsible for) could become a problem;
4) Finally, countries should be observant of the development of societal perceptions around teaching – particularly primary teaching – as 'women's work' during this process. Evidence from this report has shown that there has been a synchronicity between the need for more teachers and an utilisation of traditional gender roles that justify women's entrance into the profession. If such associations continue to become developed as more women enter the profession, successes such as gender parity in education in the one hand could become devalued in the long-term through the continuation of more deep-rooted gender inequalities in other sectors of society, such as employment. The need and processes involved in delivering education should not be viewed as existing in a vacuum, devoid of societal biases. Indeed, as a primary facilitator of child socialisation it has a responsibility to ensure that it does not reflect those biases if they are deemed to impact negatively on the opportunities and outcomes of individuals.

On addressing current equity challenges for women teachers within feminised workforces:

1) As a first recommendation it is important that education systems take note of the lack of women in positions of authority in the teaching profession comparative to their numbers. On a pure equity premise, such a consistent trend does not meet the expected standards of gender parity and equality that countries are trying to meet. The message that is sent at a societal level is a negative one, while the possibility that the education system is therefore contributing to the reproduction and acceptance of negative gender roles among students of both sexes cannot be ignored. It is important that assumptions are not made around women's commitment to roles that involve greater responsibility and time. Instead, reasons for a lack of female managers should be investigated more thoroughly from an equality perspective as a means of understanding what barriers exist for women's promotion within a management structure. Women teachers must also be empowered by enabling them to take leadership responsibilities.

2) It is important that there is more discussion on this during in-service training programmes. There is need for greater awareness of systemic constraints for women wishing to develop their career within the education sector, such as negative attitudes towards women's ability to manage and lead schools, lack of female role models, long hours, and commitments that are difficult to reconcile with family and child care responsibilities. There is also a need to spread awareness of constraints for female teachers within families and communities. Teacher training programmes should pay attention to the different experiences, perspectives, and priorities of women, rather than assume the gender-neutrality of being a teacher.
3) Teacher remuneration and working conditions needs to be reviewed in line with other similar professions in the public sector, mindful of the negative impacts of associations between low pay and a profession regarded as 'women's work' on gender equality in general. Incremental pay rises based on performance is one approach that could be introduced more systematically within the profession. Similarly, revision of career structures at the institutional levels could yield positive results in terms of both male and female teacher retention.
4) Where it is perceived that women's voices are not sufficient to ensure increased pay and status within the profession, women teachers need support from the mainstream education system itself, along with other employment bodies that can help to strengthen their position. The creation of forums for female teachers is essential so that they can collectively bargain and negotiate better pay and working conditions in schools.

On the recruitment of male teachers into feminised workforces:

1) As discussed in this report, in some circumstances male teachers are likely to exit the teaching profession because of financial responsibilities that cannot be met through the available salary packages for teachers. Societal expectations tied to male gender roles as heads of households are as much responsible for this as for the limitations met by female teachers in expanding their own careers or going into other areas. As already recommended, salary increases are necessary and will work for both men and women coming into the profession. However, such a strategy would need to be followed through with a conscientious observation to ensure that a higher pay scale does not lead to the profession no longer being viewed as a role that is still available to women, or that women find themselves further marginalised from managerial positions.
2) In countries where male secondary completion rates are lagging (and this has been identified as a possible reason for fewer men in the profession), it may also be prudent to consider the expansion of pathways into the teaching profession that allow for a re-entry into academia as a means of fulfilling the qualifications needed to start teacher training. As an example, possible pathways can be created through appropriately-structured teacher training programs for mature individuals who did not achieve the required scores but have since then joined the workforce and demonstrated skills and knowledge in a particular area. However, such an undertaking would only be successful through partnerships between the relevant organisations, in view of the possible barriers that might be encountered in implementation.
3) In several of the case studies in this report we have noted that the primary sector is where men are most under-represented. One recommendation for addressing this is the provision of pre-service and in-service training to change male teachers' attitudes towards teaching young children; training institutions may have to

develop courses that enhance positive attitudes in males so that they can work with small children. Studies in gender may also bring an understanding in men that teaching need not be gender-related.

4) On a broader level, there also needs to be a public campaign that popularises and enhances the image of primary school teaching to men. It is understood however, that this may not be easy in some contexts, where the perception of primary education and childcare remain intertwined, and where childcare is still considered exclusively a woman's domain. The more positive and balanced the overall view of gender is within society, the more likely primary teaching will be considered a balanced career for both men and women.

Further research

The areas covered in this study have been wide, and as an initial exploration on feminisation of the teaching profession in countries where the issue is relatively new in research terms, the opportunity for follow-through is abundant. Several gaps within this study and more generally in the overall available literature would provide the first set of suggestions for future research:

Women teachers and recent drives towards EFA: relationships between gender and increases in 'para' and untrained teachers.

More research than currently exists is needed on this area from a gender perspective. Research will need to take place in countries where the teaching forces have significantly increased their numbers in the last ten years, although may not yet be deemed 'feminised' in terms of women's proportionality, in order to keep it current. There currently remains a need for better clarity on who a para-teacher is, a need that has been hampered by insufficient data collection on the issue. Understanding where para-teachers are primarily located is also key, as although traditionally para-teachers have been known to be found in the under-resourced remote and rural areas, new strains on city schools due to the growth in urbanisation in many countries could also present more complex demographic patterns. Research around this subject can be broached from various perspectives, but more notably in the interest of following through on this research it would be beneficial to approach from a quality education provision angle in one instance, and from a gender equality in the labour force angle on another.

A gender-analytical review of teacher training curricula, institutions and other processes.

In countries that have majority-female teachers as well as those that don't but have shown significant increases, a gender analytical review of the teacher training process is important as a precursor to the earlier recommendation around incorporating a gender 'lens' into pre-service teacher training programmes.

Women and leadership in the teaching profession.

The findings of this research have demonstrated that in the majority of cases women's preponderance in the profession does not equitably translate into managerial roles in schools, indicating an issue around women and leadership within the profession. An in-depth piece of empirical research that specifically explores this issue among teachers, principals, education officers and pupils would be beneficial to unpacking some the causes and consequences of the trend. This could be juxtaposed with research in a country where women are found in high numbers as school principals, such as Dominica.

Pupil perspectives on gender and the teaching profession, particularly at the secondary level.

The empirical research from Dominica was successful in presenting some interesting insights among primary age children around the gender of their teachers and how they believed this related to them as students and on their educational attainment. The contentious issue of male educational underachievement (with its related sub-texts around role models, discipline and teaching styles) becomes more pertinent it seems at the secondary level when boys and girls begin to go through puberty and fulfil their gender roles more visibly. Although female teacher numbers generally decrease at the secondary level even feminised workforces, the secondary-level illicits the greatest amount of concern in this area and the voices of the pupils themselves is one that has so far been generally absent from much of the fervent discourse.

Comparative empirical research with teacher trainees entering the teaching profession – motivations behind choice of career.

Research in this study has looked at in-service teachers, and those who have also left, and their perceptions of the profession. An area of interest would include research among teacher trainees on the motivations behind teaching as a choice of career. Many of the responses in this study from women teachers were relatively in-sync with traditional female gender roles. n interesting insight would be whether women teachers in countries with similarly high female teacher numbers to Sri Lanka or Lesotho – the UK or Canada would be a good choice – are also entering the profession for similar reasons, despite the more radical approaches and frameworks around gender equality that exist in the global North.

PART TWO: COUNTRY REPORTS

5 Dominica

Dr. Francis O. Severin

The Commonwealth of Dominica - background

The Commonwealth of Dominica is a small island state – 29 miles long and sixteen miles wide or 754 square kilometres (291 sq miles) – in the Caribbean Sea, which lies in-between two French islands (overseas departments): Guadeloupe to its north-west and Martinique to its south-east. According to an estimate of July 2009, the population is about 72,660. It is a green, very mountainous and rugged country. The capital is Roseau. The island is divided into 10 parishes: (1) St Andrew; (2) St David; (3) St George; (4) St John; (5) St Joseph; (6) St Luke; (7) St Mark; (8) St Patrick; (9) St Paul; and (10) St Peter (See map). In 1978, Dominica became an independent nation.

Education in Dominica

Like other former British colonies, the project of education in Dominica essentially emerged from a humanitarian motive. The humanitarian movement had contributed to the struggle for the freedom of the slaves, the latter also having precipitated their liberation through their own physical struggle – underpinned by a philosophy of personal and natural freedom.

In 1834, some Mico Charity funds were used for the education of the liberated slaves, the goal being mainly to afford them elementary education as well as training for native teachers. The Mico Charity was non-denominational in its teaching and did much work in Catholic islands like Dominica. The first allocation for education in Dominica was made in 1835 to the tune of £600 (Honychurch, 1995).

Geography and history were very much a part of the trajectory of educational development in Dominica as indeed it was a part of other developments. Education was mounted in certain areas of Dominica but impediments such as the islands rugged relief, the French patois and denominational friction between some of the main players (the Wesleyans, Catholics and Assembly) were a fundamental setback (Honychurch, 1995).

Failure followed immediately, on the heels of the passage of the Education Act in 1863 that legislated for the operation of secular schools. This was due to the following factors: (a) scattered communities; (b) relative absence of a population which earned or even used money; (c) relative absence of a population which saw the value of education and thus the wisdom of making sacrifices to secure it for their children; (d) the general thinking by parents that it was more useful and convenient to have their children perform manual labour at their sides rather than dispatch them to school; and

(e) a realisation by the government that it was not possible to exclude the priests from education in a Catholic community like Dominica (Honychurch, 1995).

The latter issue was to become a very important part of – or indeed shape – Dominica's education framework and by a new education bill, the Board of Education and the Catholic priests were mandated to co-operate in the provision of education. Hence the clergy would play a significant role in the implementation of education and specifically the teaching and learning process. Catholic elementary schools grew rapidly all over Dominica but, as Honychurch (1995) reports, both attendance and standards continued to be low, well into the twentieth century.

Education at the secondary level began much later. The following summarises the trend: (a) nuns of the Roseau Convent commenced classes for a restricted number of girls in the town during the 1850s; (b) a secular school, the Dominica Grammar School, started in 1893 with an enrolment of 25 boys; (c) the St Mary's Academy, Catholic school for boys, started operating in 1932, followed by the Wesley High School for girls. It is noteworthy that these schools remained Roseau-based, to all intents and purposes excluding children from the country districts especially in a setting where public transportation from country districts was scarce, or absent (Honychurch, 1995).

The first rural high school was launched in the 1960s in Portsmouth. As the elementary schools fed their annual output of students into the secondary schools, the population in that sector began to increase rapidly. Quite forward-looking in those days, parents collaborated in a co-operative venture to start the Community High School in 1976, deeply concerned that they were unable to find spaces for their children in the 'established' secondary schools. In 1979, a group of citizens backed up by the Methodist Church launched the St Andrew High School, thus opening up greater opportunities for children in the north east in the parish of St Andrew. At about the same time the Seventh Day Adventist Secondary School was established at Portsmouth.

In 1948, over six decades ago, The University of the West Indies (UWI) was established at Mona in Jamaica as a college of the University of London. The UWI has evolved from a fledgling college in Jamaica with 33 students to a full-fledged University with over 40,000 students, serving the entire Caribbean. Today, it is the largest and most long-standing higher education provider in the English-speaking Caribbean, with campuses in Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and sites which are part of the Open Campus in Dominica, Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Grenada, Montserrat, St Christopher (St Kitts) and Nevis, St Lucia, and St Vincent and the Grenadines. UWI recently launched its Open Campus, a virtual campus with over 50 physical site locations across the region, serving over 20 countries in the English-speaking Caribbean. UWI is an international university with faculty and students from over 40 countries and collaborative links with over 60 universities around the world (News Release, UWI Marketing and Communications Office, 3 December 2010).

Table 5.1 Levels, numbers of institutions, durations of student stay, age groups and ownership

Level	Number	Duration	Ages	Ownership
Pre-Schools	82	2 years	3–4 + years	Private
Primary	63	7 years	5–11 years	Private & Public
Secondary	15	5 years	12–17 years	Private & Public
Tertiary	2	2 years	17+ years	Public

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

As a point of departure, Table 5.1 provides a synopsis of the levels of education, number of institutions, the conventional duration of student stay within those institutions, age groups and ownership of the educational institutions in Dominica.

It is important to note that the Education Act makes education obligatory for students between the ages of 5–16 in Dominica. The schools in Dominica fall into three categories depending on their main source of funding and/or upkeep or otherwise their financial 'independence'. These are *public*, *assisted* and *private*: (a) public schools are fully owned and financed by the central government; (b) assisted schools are privately owned but receive financial assistance from government; and (c) the private schools are fully owned and financed by private organisations.

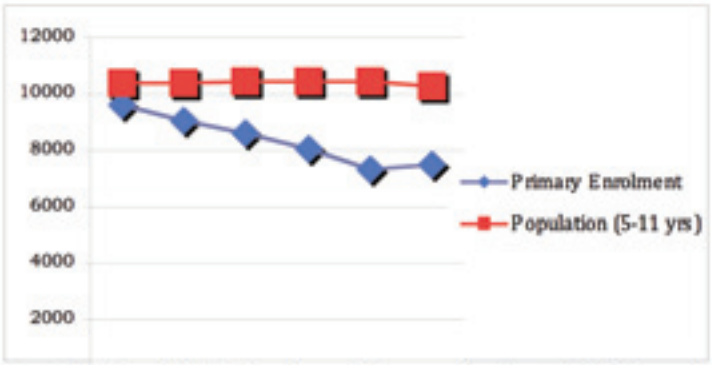
Access to education

Table 5.2 Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) at the primary level, 2002–2008

Year	Primary Enrolment (Grade K – 6)	Population (5–11 year olds)	Net Enrolment Ratio (NER)
2002/03	9,615	10,382	92.6
2002/03	9,065	10,490	87.2
2004/05	8,610	10,416	82.7
2005/06	8,029	10,431	77.0
2006/07	7,285	10,445	69.7
2007/08	7,483	10,253	73.0

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Figure 5.1 Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) at the primary level, 2002–2008



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

It may be observed that primary enrolment in Dominica consistently fell below the official school age population. Indeed the primary enrolment continued to decline between 2002/03 – 2006/07 alongside a slight increase in the relevant population. This is further evidence of a failure to achieve universal primary education, the year 2006/07 and 2007/08 showing that 30 per cent and 25 per cent respectively of the eligible population were not at primary school.

Table 5.3 and Figure 5.2 show the Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) in the JSP and secondary levels (combined), 2002/03–2007/08.

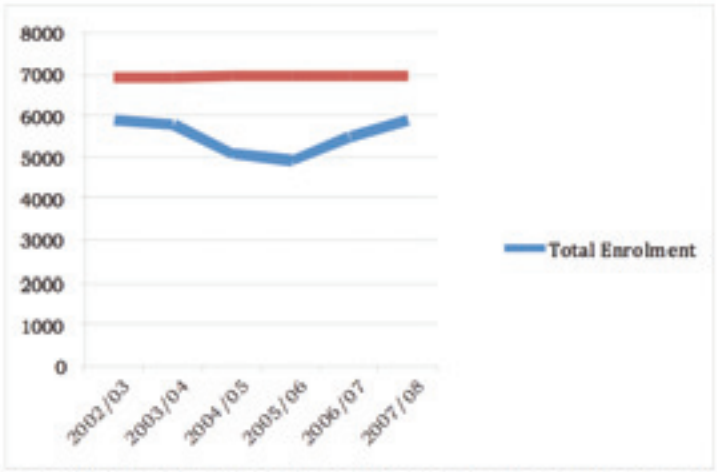
It is clear that the NER evinces a picture of incomplete or partial enrolment of the eligible population. Based on these figures, a fairly significant percentage of the population appears not to be participating in secondary school. It cannot be said therefore that Universal Secondary Education (USE) has been achieved based solely on the data cited here. Indeed what appears to be occurring is a decline in enrolment from 2003/04 until 2005/06 whence it begins to pick up again upon the 'implementation' of USE.

Table 5.3 Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) at the junior secondary programme (JSP) and secondary level, 2002/03–2007/08

Year	JSP Enrolment	Secondary Enrolment (12–16 Year Olds)	Total Enrolment	Population (12–16 Year Olds)	Net Enrolment Ratio (NER)
2002/03	606	5,328	5,934	6,934	85.6
2003/04	475	5,317	5,792	6,944	83.4
2004/05	370	4,720	5,090	6,955	73.2
2005/06	173	4,748	4,921	6,965	70.7
2006/07		5,482	5,482	6,975	78.6
2007/08		5,889	5,889	6,983	84.3

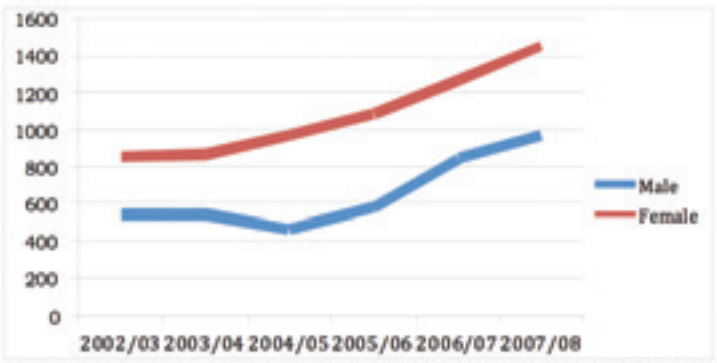
Source. Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Figure 5.2 Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) at the junior secondary programme (JSP) and secondary level, 2002/03–2007/08



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Figure 5.3 Male and female participation in tertiary education, 2002/03–2007/08



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

It may be noted that tertiary enrolment has increased over the years. This trend may be explained, *inter alia*, by the increased access that has emerged from the establishment of the Dominica State College (DSC).

As background to the foregoing, the DSC was established by an act of parliament as a corporate body under the control of a board of governors. This Act was passed by

Parliament on 17 April 2002. The DSC is a publicly-funded and nationally-accredited institution, established to provide tertiary education and training in agriculture, arts, science and technology, health and environmental science, teacher education, technical and vocational studies, tourism and hospitality, business, ecological and marine studies.

The DSC was established by merging the Dominica Teachers Training College, the Clifton Dupigny Community College (Academic and Technical Studies Divisions) and the Princess Margaret Hospital School of Nursing.

The DSC's programmes of study lead to Certificates and Associate degrees (2004/2005 Student Handbook). Additionally, as stated above, a group of citizens called the *GCE Advanced Level Support Group* – in collaboration with the DSC – conducts A-Level classes which lead to the sitting of Cambridge examinations.

At this level, females preponderate throughout the period 2002/03 – 2007/08, begin to ascend in 2003/04 while male numbers actually begin to decline. This is not an unprecedented trend and indeed has become the norm. At the regional University of the West Indies, for instance, in 2008/09, there is even a larger percentage of females, with 75 per cent of the 503 Dominicans registered there being female.

Male and female teachers in Dominica

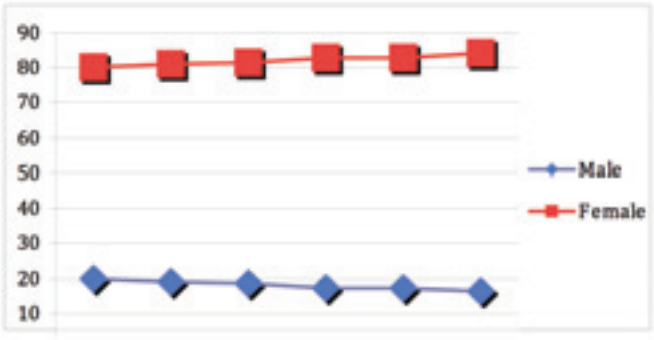
Teachers at the primary level

Table 5.4 Number and percentage of male and female staff (including principals) at the primary level, 2002/03–2007/08

Year	Total Staff	Male	Female	% Male	% Female
2002/03	658	131	527	19.9	80.1
2003/04	623	119	504	19.1	80.9
2004/05	615	114	501	18.5	81.5
2005/06	580	100	480	17.2	82.8
2006/07	565	96	469	17.0	83.0
2007/08	562	90	472	16.0	84.0

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Figure 5.4 Percentage of male and female staff (including principals) at the primary level, 2002/03–2007/08



The data shows an unequivocal picture of female teacher preponderance at the primary school level. Not only is there a depiction of female predominance over the years, but the gap between female and male teachers appears to be increasing in favour of females.

Table 5.5 Number and percentage of trained teachers at the primary level by sex, 2002/03–2007/08

	Number Trained			Percentage Trained		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2002/03	53	304	357	46.9	63.2	60.0
2003/04	50	307	357	49.5	67.0	63.8
2004/05	45	287	332	46.3	63.0	60.1
2005/06	39	306	345	47.5	69.7	66.2
2006/07	33	273	306	42.0	65.0	61.0
2007/08	31	266	297	42.0	64.0	60.0

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Logically, and all other things being equal, it is quite possible to argue that since there are more female teachers at the primary level, one should expect that there will also be a higher percentage of trained female teachers at that level. The data coincide with the foregoing judgment. Throughout the period the average of female trained teachers exceeds the total average and resided at 65 per cent or thereabouts (that is, almost two-thirds). Among the male teachers, the average percentage trained was about 45.7 per cent. One may also notice a sharper increase from 2004/05–2005/06 for female trained teachers compared to male trained teachers. This has been during a period where the overall number of trained teachers has decreased.

Teachers at the secondary level

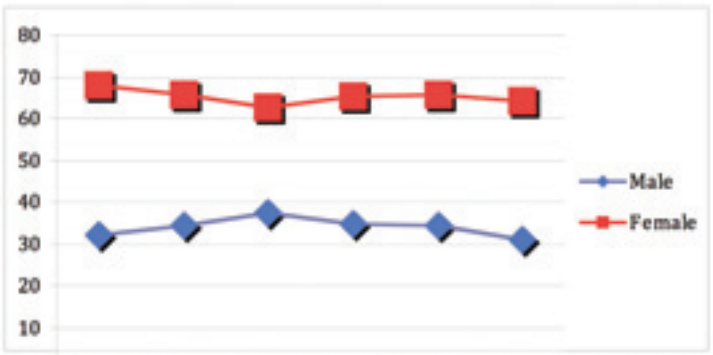
The disparity between female and male teachers at the secondary level narrows compared to the primary level; however, the trend at the secondary level shows a continuation of female predominance. On average, 66 per cent of teachers were female while about 34 per cent were male at the secondary schools. At the primary schools it is 82 per cent female compared to about 18 per cent male.

Table 5.6 Number and percentage of secondary school teachers by sex, 2002/03–2007/08

Year	Total Staff	Males	Females	% Males	% Females
2002/03	395	126	269	31.9	68.1
2003/04	385	132	253	34.3	65.7
2004/05	415	155	260	37.3	62.7
2005/06	437	152	285	34.8	65.2
2006/07	466	160	306	34.3	65.7
2007/08	491	151	340	30.8	69.2

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Figure 5.5 Percentage of secondary school teachers by sex, 2002/03–2007/08



Source. Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Table 5.7 Number and percentage of trained teachers at the secondary level by sex, 2002/03–2007/08

	Number Trained			Percentage Trained		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2002/03	40	97	137	31.7	36.0	34.6
2003/04	42	94	136	31.8	37.1	35.3
2004/05	45	89	134	29.0	34.2	32.2
2005/06	44	94	138	28.9	33.0	31.6
2006/07	62	126	188	39.0	41.0	40.0
2007/08	56	126	182	37.0	37.0	37.0

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

The disparity between trained females and males at the secondary level was narrower compared to the primary level. The trend in trained teachers at the secondary level shows a continuation of female predominance. On average, 36 per cent of female teachers were trained while the average for males was about 34 per cent. It is striking, from the reported percentages, that males appear to catch up very quickly by narrowing the gender disparity in terms of training. This does not negate the fact that on the whole, the figures at both the primary and secondary levels evince a somewhat longer-term commitment by females if the level of training as well as the willingness to be trained is any indication of commitment. Males however seem to show an increased long-term commitment at the secondary level. The data plainly shows the narrowing trend on the basis of sex. Indeed the both sexes are equal in 2007/08.

Geographic disaggregation

Table 5.8 shows the numbers and percentage distribution (in parentheses) of male and female teachers at primary schools in Dominica, disaggregated by districts, during the years 2003/04–2007/08.

Table 5.8 Numbers and percentage distribution of male/female teachers at the primary level by district, 2003/04–2007/08

	East			North			South			West		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2003/04	25 (27%)	68 (73%)	**93**	23 (18%)	105 (82%)	**128**	21 (21%)	81 (79%)	**102**	32 (14%)	204 (86%)	**236**
2004/05	25 (27%)	66 (73%)	**91**	19 (15%)	108 (85%)	**127**	20 (20%)	78 (80%)	**98**	33 (14%)	203 (86%)	**236**
2005/06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2006/07	16 (20%)	64 (80%)	**80**	19 (15%)	107 (85%)	**126**	16 (18%)	73 (82%)	**89**	28 (14%)	179 (86%)	**207**
2007/08	17 (22%)	59 (78%)	**76**	19 (15%)	105 (85%)	**124**	16 (18%)	73 (82%)	**89**	22 (10%)	189 (90%)	**211**

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

It is clear from the foregoing table that female teachers preponderated at all districts during the years under consideration. While figures are not available for 2005/06, it is quite possible to assume that the percentage distribution would have been comparable in that year. It must be noted that the female percentages were highest in the Northern and Western districts, which, remarkably, also had the largest numbers of teachers. In the Western district in 2007/08, 90 per cent of the teachers in primary schools were female.

In the Dominican context, it is not possible to place the districts neatly into the rural/urban dichotomy, especially the Western district that contains a combination of rural, sub-urban and urban areas. For example, within the Western district, the capital Roseau is located; in the Northern district, which contains a fair number of rural

hamlets (even deep rural), the second town, Portsmouth, is located. What one will have to conclude tentatively, for present purposes, is that the highest percentages of female teachers are found in the two districts where there are large towns.

What this means is difficult to say, except that there may be many more women who are on hand for professional pursuits such as teaching and who are not otherwise engaged in agriculture and full-time domestic chores. Conversely, it could also mean that in the Western and Northern districts, the locations of the major towns (Roseau and Portsmouth respectively) and where the majority of the secondary schools are concentrated, the males who are engaged in teaching were more likely to seek employment at the secondary schools. As stated elsewhere in the report, the disparity between female and male teachers at the secondary level narrowed compared to the primary level; however, the trend at the secondary level still showed a continuation of female predominance. On average, 66 per cent of teachers were female while about 34 per cent were male at the secondary schools. At the primary schools it is 82 per cent female compared to about 18 per cent male.

Variances based on school provider

Table 5.9 shows the numbers and percentage distribution (in parentheses) of male and female teachers at primary schools in Dominica, disaggregated on the basis of school type (in terms of funding source), during the years 2003/04–2007/08.

One might immediately notice that, while all school types have higher percentages of female teachers, as might be expected, the government assisted and private schools have the highest percentages of female teachers. There is no written policy with regard to employment of teachers on the basis of gender; however, in the author's empirical survey, it was possible to perceive from what the principals said, that they were generally more comfortable with employing females at that level for several reasons, including competence and social factors. At least two principals had specifically indicated that an overwhelming majority of their applicants were females.

Table 5.9 Numbers and percentage distribution of male/female teachers at the primary level by type (Government, Government – Assisted, and Private), 2003/04–2007/08

	Government			Government – Assisted			Private		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2003/04	86 (21%)	330 (79%)	**416**	10 (11%)	82 (89%)	**92**	5 (10%)	46 (90%)	**51**
2004/05	83 (20%)	332 (80%)	**415**	9 (10%)	82 (90%)	**91**	5 (11%)	41 (89%)	**46**
2005/06	67 (18%)	313 (82%)	**380**	10 (11%)	84 (89%)	**94**	4 (9%)	39 (91%)	**43**
2006/07	64 (18%)	298 (82%)	**362**	9 (10%)	84 (90%)	**93**	6 (13%)	41 (87%)	**47**
2007/08	60 (17%)	296 (83%)	**356**	10 (11%)	83 (89%)	**93**	5 (10%)	46 (90%)	**51**

Source; Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Women teachers within the school managerial structure

Primary schools

Table 5.10 shows the numbers and percentage distribution (in parentheses) of male and female principals at the primary level, also disaggregated by district.

Table 5.10 Numbers and percentage distribution of male/female principals at the primary level by district, 2003/04–2007/08

	East			North			South			West		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2003/04	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	18	5 (31%)	11 (69%)	16	4 (25%)	12 (75%)	16
2004/05	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14	4 (22%)	14 (78%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	4 (24%)	13 (76%)	17
2005/06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2006/07	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14	6 (33%)	12 (67%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	2 (12%)	15 (88%)	17
2007/08	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	2 (12%)	15 (88%)	17

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

The gender profile of principals at primary schools is similar to the case for teachers generally. Indeed, the highest percentages of female principals also exist in the Northern and Western districts. In the latter district, for instance, especially in the years 2006/07 and 2007/08, the percentage of females rose to 88 per cent, which in raw figures meant that out of 17 principals in that district, as many as 15 were females with just two males in each year. Hence, the males are virtually absent as school leaders at the primary level.

Table 5.11 shows the numbers and percentage distribution (in parentheses) of male and female principals at primary schools in Dominica, disaggregated on the basis of school type (in terms of funding source), during the years 2003/04–2007/08.

Table 5.11 Number and percentage distribution of male/female principals at the primary level by type (Government, Government – Assisted, and Private), 2003/04–2007/08

	Government			Government – Assisted			Private		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2003/04	15 (28%)	38 (72%)	53	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	6
2004/05	15 (29%)	37 (71%)	52	0	5 (100%)	5	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	6
2005/06	17 (33%)	35 (67%)	52	0	5 (100%)	5	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	6
2006/07	16 (31%)	35 (69%)	51	0	5 (100%)	5	1 (14%)	6 (86%)	7
2007/08	14 (27%)	37 (73%)	51	0	5 (100%)	5	1 (14%)	6 (86%)	7

Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

The highest percentages of female principals are at the government assisted schools. During the years 2004/05 to 2007/08, all the principals at the government-assisted schools were female. Government schools have retained a similar percentage over the five-year period; while private schools have shown a further increase female preponderance.

Secondary schools

Table 5.12 Female teacher numbers in secondary schools, 2011

	Government			Government – Assisted			Private		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2011	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	7	1 (24%)	6 (86%)	7	0	1 (100%)	1

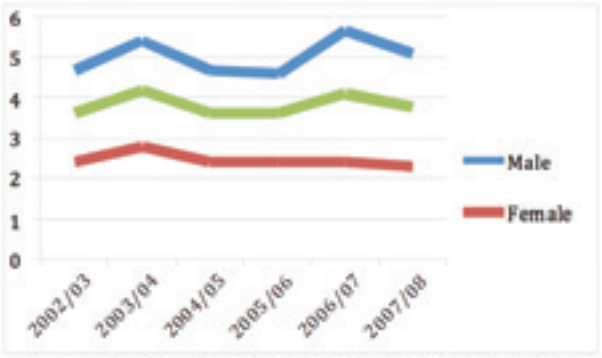
Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Data for the secondary sector was collected only for 2011. There are 15 secondary schools in Dominica. Seven of these are government owned, a further seven are government assisted and one is privately owned. As with primary schools, women principals are predominant, with 11 out of the 15 principals being female (735). However, we can also note that at the government level the proportion is comparatively only four out of the seven headships (57 per cent), a much lower proportion than the number of women teachers in secondary schools as a whole.

Educational outcomes

Over the period 2002–2008, the number of students who passed five or more subjects fell well below the numbers who were enrolled in fifth form and those who actually sat examinations. Five subjects are often used as a quality benchmark since it appears to be the minimum qualifications for gaining white-collar employment in the public and private sectors as well as the lower level requirements for accessing tertiary education. For instance, the University of the West Indies Open Campus requires a minimum of five CXC-CSEC subjects as its lower level matriculation for enrolling in various Bachelor's degrees. When students fall below this minimum, there is a sensibility that they have not achieved through the mainstream academic stream and are unable to secure certain levels of employment.

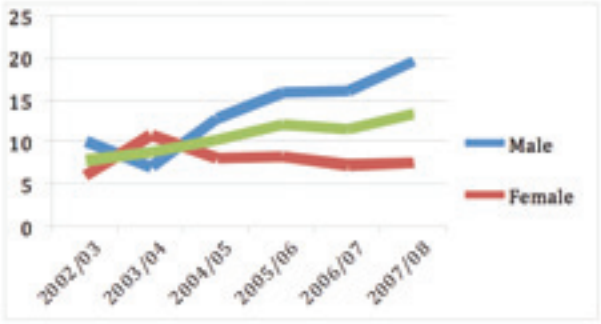
Figure 5.6 Primary school repeaters and repetition rates by gender, 2002/03–2007/08



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Educatio
Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Collected here is a sense of the performance of boys and girls at primary school, thus allowing one to form a basis for conclusions about the learning milieu for boys as opposed to girls. The Ministry of Education defines repetition as the 'percentage of pupils enrolled in a given grade/form in a given school year who study in the same grade/form the following year' (Education Planning Unit, 2009, p. 44). Figure 5.6 is illustrative and clearly shows the disparity on the basis of sex. The females fell below the national rate while the males were above the national average, meaning that on average fewer girls repeated a class compared with boys, over the period 2002/03 and 2007/08. The inability to progress through the curriculum without repeating results in wastage of time, money and specifically physical (chalk, paper, etc.) resources, whether state or individual.

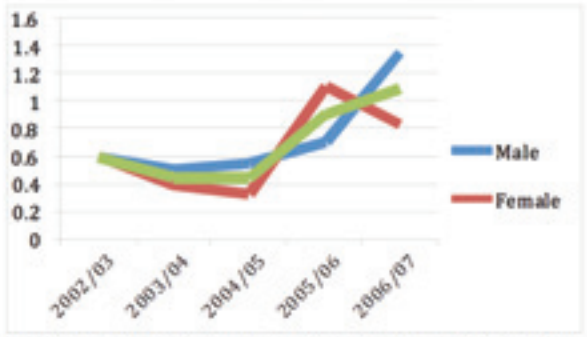
Figure 5.7 Repetition rates by gender in secondary schools, 2002/03–2007/08



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Education Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Except for the year 2003/04, the status of boys and girls at secondary schools in terms of repetition rates shows a similar trend to what occurs at the primary schools – the girls' rate of repetition is below the average while the boys' rate is above. Figure 5.7 shows that from 2003/04 the boys' repetition rates began to rise steadily while the girls' rate declined and seemingly levelled off in between 2006/07 and 2007/08.

Figure 5.8 Primary schools drop-out rates by gender, 2002/03–2006/07

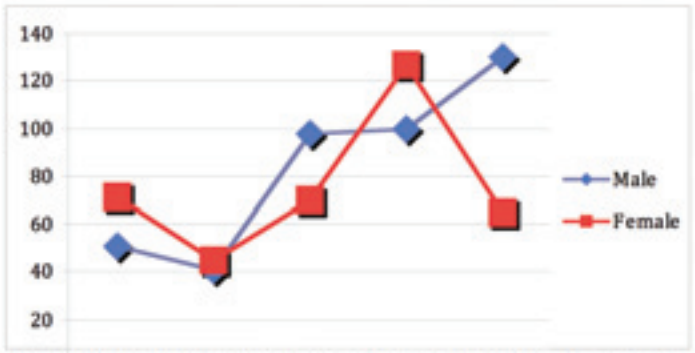


Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Educatio Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

Regarding dropout rates, the trend is not as clear-cut or unambiguous as is the case with repetition rates. In 2002/03, the dropout rates were the same for boys and girls and both declined in 2003/04; the rate for the girls however declined more sharply than for the boys. The rate for the girls continued to decline in 2004/05 while that of the boys increased. Then in 2005/06 the girls' rate climbed very sharply and surpassed the boys in that year. It then declined in 2006/07 while the boys' rate increased.

Overall though, more boys dropped out of primary school over the period 2002/03–2006/07. The National Policy and Action Plan for Gender Equity and Equality (NGPP) reveals that out-migration of one or either parent and its concomitant family disruption is one of the fundamental roots of school drop-out.

Figure 5.9 Secondary schools drop-out rates by gender, 2002/03–2006/07



Source: Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Sports and Youth Affairs, Educatio
Planning Unit Indicators 2008.

The numbers for the secondary schools suggest that there is no clear-cut trend either. More females dropped out of school in 2002/03, 2003/04 and 2005/06 compared to males. In the period 2002/03 – 2006/07, 420 males and 378 females dropped out of secondary school. Like the case with the primary schools, more males than females dropped out of secondary school.

Dominica, women in teaching, and gender equality

Women in teaching – a historical perspective

It is quite possible to link the supposedly 'female' tradition in schooling with the establishment of the early dame-schools by means of which *respectable* women took the initiative to 'accommodate' groups of children at the 'primary' level in order to instruct them in the necessaries. These schools were undoubtedly patterned on the dame schools in Britain and other English-speaking countries, which offered an early form of private elementary schooling. They were usually taught by women and often located in the home of the teacher. Dame-schools were fairly varied – some functioned mainly as day care facilities, supervised by illiterate women, while others provided their students with a good foundation in the basics.

In Dominica, women tended to preponderate in teaching because the men were very much occupied with matters of the estates, agriculture, and so on. Dr Lennox Honychurch noted that in the early twentieth century, very few professions were open to women. The only profession of status for *respectable* women was teaching. Other white-collar jobs were mainly the preserve of men, including clerks, secretaries, etc. Education was thus the avenue for *respectable* women.

Logically, as time progressed and it was resolved that education ought to be more of a secular function, there grew an urgent need for trained teachers. Prominent early male educators such as S. J. Lewis, H. L. Christian, et al., went to the Mico College in Jamaica. The Mico College was founded in 1836 through the Lady Mico Charity, one of four teacher training institutions established during this period in the British colonies. Importantly, the Mico College was established as a non-denominational Christian institution that catered both for male and female students.

The Erdiston Teachers' Training College, later established in Barbados in 1948, opened up the formal avenues for Dominican women to be trained in teaching. The curriculum offerings included Education, English, Mathematics, Social studies, Religious knowledge, Health, Physical education, Music, Home economics, Woodwork, Gardening, Visual aids and Art. By 1954, Erdiston became a regional teacher training institution. Consequently, fifteen teachers from Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent, Montserrat, Dominica and Tortola in the British Virgin Islands were admitted. Overall, in

the 1930s to 1950s, more and more women entered the teaching profession. It is quite possible to view this period, in broad terms, as a turning point in education, although, arguably, teaching always seemed to have been reserved for females.

In 1938, the West Indies Commission led by Lord Moyne visited Dominica in order to investigate and report on conditions on the island. The findings were later published as part of the Moyne Commission Report. Some of the social and economic problems in the British colonies had much to do with the decrepit education system. Hence, according to the Moyne Commission, the conditions under which people of the British Caribbean lived were horrible. It pointed to the deficiencies in the education system, and economic and social problems of unemployment and juvenile delinquency. It was also very concerned about the use of child labour and the discrimination against women at workplaces, especially since they worked long hours for less pay than men received. The foregoing pointed to the urgent need for an efficient and organised education system.

In 1940, as a result of the Moyne Commission, the Colonial Development and Welfare Office established for the British West Indies, began to provide funding for big changes to Dominica in the form of roads, jetties, air communication, health, education and other social services. Hence more money became available around that time for training of women in education.

Even in later years, such as the 1980s, 1990s and at the turn of the twentieth century, as more and more men earned university degrees, it is quite possible that the promise widened for them in fields – more attractive to males – other than education, that is, engineering, law, medicine, accounting, and so on.[18]

Women in broader Dominican society and economy

Dominica, like other Caribbean countries, has its gender stereotypes. However, the NGPP (2005) indicates that gender roles in Dominica are not as cut-and-dried in practice. Dominica is unique to some extent in that it has a powerful legacy handed down by Dame Eugenia Charles who was, up to the time of her demise in 2005, the only Caribbean woman to have been the co-founder and leader of a major political party, to be elected as head of government, and to hold for fifteen years the offices and portfolios of prime minister, minister of finance and economic affairs, and minister of foreign affairs. This significant record of female leadership is unfortunately not reflected more broadly within the country's legislature. Between the years 2000 and 2001, no more than 6 women out of thirty Members of Parliament (inclusive of opposition and Cabinet members) could be found sitting in any one year. In 2005 only 3 women held seats (House of Parliament Records, 2005).

The media is a powerful agent of socialisation and in Dominica one observes that there is generally a relative absence of women newsmakers, analysts and commentators, including talk-show hosts. Men dominate, especially the latter grouping. Additionally, since the majority of media depend upon advertising for their survival, balanced gender considerations are often treated peripherally, if unwittingly so. Advertisements tend to perpetuate gender stereotypes.

While 'over-represented' in a sexist and perhaps exploitative way in advertisements, women are under-represented in positions of power, especially economic, social, legal and political power. They earn less than their male counterparts in the labour market,

The foregoing might be seen as a tentative explanation as it must be juxtaposed against the fact that females, especially in the 2000s decade, have evidently outnumbered men at the Caribbean's regional University, the University of the West Indies, in practically every faculty (humanities and education, social sciences, natural sciences/pure & applied sciences, law, medicine, agriculture) with the exception of engineering.

in spite of their often superior educational attainments/achievements. Although, as indicated above, Dominicans elected the first female Prime Minister in the Caribbean, women in the island have not been embraced as a group into positions of power and influence. This is unfortunate since a solid and intelligent section of the population is effectively debarred from important development matters. The NGPP (2005) is perhaps correct to argue that:

> *Gender inequalities impose large costs on the health and well-being of men, women and children and affect their ability to improve their lives. In addition, gender inequalities reduce the productivity of enterprises and lower the prospects of reducing poverty and achievement of economic progress. (p. 79)*

Data indicates that despite a high proportion of women within the teaching profession, and the higher academic achievement of women and girls overall, this does not necessarily translate into a dominance of women in the overall labour force of the country. 2001 labour force participation rates show women at 45.1, compared to men at 70.2 (Labour Force Surveys and 2001 Population Census, Government of Dominica). A closer look at the employed population by type of worker shows that men outnumber women as paid employees, although there are more unpaid female workers overall. The largest disproportion however can be seen in the statistics for employers. Of the 1,235 employers registered, 919 are male. Similarly, of the 6,047 'own account workers' in the country, over two-thirds of these are also male. This data demonstrates that not only are women less likely to be employed than men, but that – overall – they are less likely to be found in more autonomous positions within the economy (2001 Population Census), such as in the role of an employer.

Having said that however, there remains a complexity to gender relations within Dominican society and economy that undermines a blanket review of the data without looking further into both industries and occupations. When the employed population is disaggregated by type of worker the data begins to demonstrate the gender nuances that have allowed for a vocation like the teaching profession to become numerically feminised on the one hand, while men continue to dominate the workforce overall. The following table with 2001 census data illustrates some of these complexities:

Table 5.13 Employed population by occupational group

Occupational Group	Sex	1991	2001	% Of Total Employed for 2001
Legislators/Senior Officials/Managers	Women	770	958	3.9
	Men	626	721	2.9
	Total	**1396**	**1679**	**6.8**
Professionals	Women	218	416	1.7
	Men	383	499	2.0
	Total	**601**	**915**	**3.7**
Technicians and Associate Professionals	Women	1263	1505	6.1
	Men	1033	1104	4.4
	Total	**2296**	**2609**	**10.5**
Clerks	Women	1506	1864	7.5
	Men	406	515	2.1
	Total	**1912**	**2379**	**9.6**
Service (incl. Armed/Defence Force), Shop and Market Sales Workers	Women	1120	1936	7.8
	Men	827	1459	5.9
	Total	**1947**	**3395**	**13.7**
Agricultural, Forestry and Fishery Workers	Women	704	658	2.7
	Men	4960	3768	15.2
	Total	**5664**	**4426**	**17.8**
Craft and Related Workers	Women	552	548	2.2
	Men	3417	3611	14.6
	Total	**3969**	**4159**	**16.8**
Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	Women	42	75	0.3
	Men	976	1237	5.0
	Total	**1018**	**1312**	**5.3**
Elementary Occupations	Women	1799	1845	7.4
	Men	2627	2077	8.4
	Total	**4426**	**3922**	**15.8**
Not stated	Women	267	3	0.0
	Men	319	12	0.0
	Total	**586**	**15**	**0.1**
TOTAL all Occupational Groups	**Women**	**8241**	**9808**	**39.5**
	Men	**15574**	**15003**	**60.5**
	Total	**23815**	**24811**	**100.0**

Source: 1997, 1999 Labour Force Surveys and 1991 and 2001 Population Censuses.

While women constitute less than half of those officially employed, they are heavily concentrated in the professional and semi professional sectors. Although men are also well-represented in the first two occupational groupings in Table 5.13, the preponderance of women becomes marked as one moves down the professional scale – the role of 'clerk' for example is also arguably a statistically feminised profession. Balancing out this disproportionately is a marked absence of women in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors, also within the craft sector and among the Plant and Machine Operators/Assemblers. Having said that, it is worth noting that traditionally women in the rural areas have often been found within the informal economy and are therefore not necessarily absent from sectors such as agriculture, but rather are 'unseen' due to official statistical limitations.

Interestingly, the high numbers of women within the first banding of legislators, senior officials and managers does not accurately illustrate the relative dominance of men at the highest levels of decision-making. Data of gender-disaggregated senior level positions in government between 2000 and 2004 demonstrates that men consistently make-up over two-thirds of those positions (Personal Services Department and Office of the Prime Minister). Notably, over that five-year period there was no female Head of Public/Civil Service, and no female Commissioners of Services.

Dominica's experience includes, to a large extent, female-headed households, single parent families, women who are breadwinners and protectors, men who are eking out an existence, men and women who have as a result of dire circumstances been forced to migrate leaving their families at home, and so on (NGPP, 2005).

Qualitative and quantitative research at the school level

The Dominica Growth and Social Protection Strategy (GSPS) (2008) reveals that that there is no major difference in participation rates between boys and girls at the primary level; however, speaking to quality and perhaps more relevant issues, it makes the point that females do better than boys at the primary level. Further, at the secondary level, we have seen that girls' participation rates are higher and they also surpass boys at that level as well as at the tertiary level. Herein lies the problem that underscores the difference between quantity and quality.

There is also the very important element of the education level of the household head. The 2008 GSPS reveals that their education level was very low, with over 75 per cent of household heads not having proceeded beyond primary level and 60 per cent of households having no one with secondary or tertiary education. Hence it is possible to argue that there is a 'burdensome' backlog to be educated, coupled with the fact that the learning environments in these households may not necessarily be conducive to high achievement. There were also marked differences in all age groups in the proportions between the poor and non-poor households who have no secondary education. This was particularly considerable within the 15–19 year olds. Very few adults in poor households had the benefit of tertiary education. Hence one has to interpret with much caution the conclusion by the GSPS (2008) that the outlook is positive. Added to the foregoing, the NGPP (2005) sets out the following from its own observations of the pattern of gendered educational achievement:

- Higher repetition rates among primary school boys
- Girls outperform boys in all Common Entrance Examination[19] subjects
- Lower numeric and literacy rates for boys in grade three
- Higher repetition rates for boys at secondary schools
- Higher dropout rates among boys in secondary schools
- Lower enrolment of males in tertiary education
- Violence among under-achieving males

The above paints a rather unpromising portrait of the status of boys at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education. Is the very lopsided preponderance of females as teachers at the primary level, coupled with imbalance, albeit less, at the secondary level, sending an unequivocal message that education is a feminine matter? While employment statistics indicate that more men are employed within the economy and that a core group of males still hold key decision-making roles at the high-end of Dominican society, it can be supposed that family income stratifications and class opportunities help to mitigate any negative gender perceptions of education for the kind of individuals who pursue further education and eventually claim those roles. A larger group of Dominican males are however underachieving disproportionately compared to their female counterparts. The linkage between a statistically feminised teaching cadre and male underachievement remain hard to pin-down. However, perceptions among teachers and students themselves remain an important measurement of socio-cultural expectations and behaviours that play a role in these issues.

19 Now called the Grade Six National Assessment.

As a means of ascertaining some of these perceptions, field research was carried out involving both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. For the qualitative enquiry, seventeen respondents participated in the in-depth interviews. These consisted of: 6 female teachers; 2 male teachers; 2 female deputy principles; 4 female principals; one classroom assistant; the District Education Officer, and the President of the Dominica Association of Teachers. One of the teachers interviewed was untrained, with four years experience. Participants were drawn from a mixture of co-educational and single sex schools, both government and denominational.

This section summarises the responses received under a number of headings based on the general guidelines of the interview schedule. An attempt is made to bring to the fore the narratives gleaned from the rich dialogue between researcher and interviewees.

Matching teachers and pupils by gender: importance and reasoning

There was no unequivocal *affirmative or negative* response to the question of whether matching teachers and pupils by gender was important. In some instances, respondents tended to assume a guarded posture although they leaned towards the response "no". Herein resides the boon of open-ended questions. Many respondents opined, *"I don't think so"*; *"to some extent it is important to match …"*; *"it would not make much of a difference…"*; *"there should be no gender barriers…"*; *"this has its pros and cons…"*; and *"the boys need to identify with someone…."*

An unqualified male teacher at a co-educational school who was opposed to matching teachers and pupils as a standard practice believed that there should be exceptions to the rule, as for example, in the case of sports, where there were situations, he thought, which called for a certain level of "privacy" or "discretion". Given the physical requirements of sports, and the sometimes "awkward" physical position that the girls may have to assume in exercising, both pupils and teachers may well feel more comfortable if they were matched by gender. He made the interesting observation however that sports was more associated with males, apparently suggesting that it was more common to have male sports teachers.

In other areas of the school curriculum, more so the *hidden curriculum*, he felt that females were more understanding and they had a deeper emotional side. As an example, he offered that a female was more likely to sit and listen to a child and identify with that child. The male teachers on the other hand, although they may be genuine in showing concern, may not fully understand the needs. He thought that male teachers, however, may be better able to deal with issues specific to boys.

A graduate female teacher at a co-educational school held similar views. Her overall opinion was that matching was necessary to a certain extent. At the pre-kindergarten stage teachers had to dress them. That could prove to be embarrassing or awkward for male teachers. At a certain age, when the girls experienced their menstrual cycle (period), they became more self-conscious and aware and it was her unequivocal belief that male teachers should not be the ones to deal with those matters. In suggesting balance, she contended that in certain matters concerning even the boys themselves, the female teachers may also be uncomfortable, in spite of their supposedly 'maternal' role. She thought therefore that matching should not be something continuous but necessary at such specific ages (age groups).

In this co-educational school's principal's view, it was absolutely unnecessary to match teachers and pupils by gender. For her personally, she had a better relationship with boys and suggested that all teachers had their particular preferences, which must be discounted in terms of their approach to teaching. She firmly held that female teachers had an influence on male pupils since they tended to view her as a mother figure. This, she believed, might help them to change their attitudes from machismo or male

chauvinism to gentleness. In her experience, when a female teaches boys, the latter saw another side of femininity. She conceded that she was less sure of what particular effect male teachers might have on girls. She suggested that there could be distractions.

One qualified female teacher in a co-educational school with 23 years teaching experience had no doubt concerning her belief that pupils should be exposed to both male and female teachers. To her, both allowed for balance as they had their strengths and weaknesses:

> *There are qualities to learn from both genders. The children need a fatherly figure as well as a sensitive and gentle touch so they are balanced in their upbringing.*

A qualified female teacher (with 20 years teaching experience) in a co-educational school firmly suggested that she did not believe in matching. Arguing similarly to her counterpart quoted above, she said that the children came from homes where there were both mothers and fathers so it seemed logical to her that they should have both male and female teachers. Additionally, she argued, others came from single-parent homes and therefore it was important for those without either a mother or a father to experience the presence of female or male teachers. Her line of reasoning was that it was incumbent on the school to cater for the deficiencies at home in that regard.

A qualified male teacher was of the opinion that at the primary level, matching teachers and pupils on the basis of gender did not make much of a difference. He held that matching became significant when children commenced puberty, at about 10–11 in girls and 12 in boys. At that life stage, he said, both boys and girls were searching for identity and that phenomenon became a fundamental preoccupation in their lives. At such a time, he suggested, it may be necessary to mix and match.

The principal of an all-boys school considered that matching was good to the extent that boys needed to emulate persons of their own gender. She however believed that the boys also needed that motherly care and attention that could only come from female teachers. She proceeded to share the following anecdote:

> *I recall in a previous school that I had taught there was a class which was unruly and untidy. Then a male teacher stepped onto the scene. He was neat, he wore undershirt and dressed properly and kept his haircut tidy. Within a short space of time the boys were emulating him. Hence, when a man is a good role model it has a greater impact on the boys.*

The principal of a co-educational school who has about 25 years experience as a teacher illustrated her case for good male teachers rather than male teachers for the sake of male teachers per se with a narrative of an excellent male teacher whom she said contrasted sharply with another:

> *I have seen some good male teachers who were excellent role models. Mr John Paul[20] is one such male teacher. Students listened to him. He was a positive influence on the students, both male and female. He was consistent. There was a certain justice and fairness about him. He paid attention to all students. He was not afraid to ask the girls to comb their hair. He went beyond the boundaries of school. He would go to the homes of students to meet with their parents. He was a positive influence. Contrast Mr Paul with a male teacher we have at present who is a joker. We have to tell him how to dress. He is kind of casual. If we have work around the school to do, he will take off [absent himself]…. Mr Paul took initiative. He still visits our school occasionally.*

20 Real name not used to conceal identity and uphold confidentiality and anonymity.

Emphasising the place of professionalism and seriousness of approach rather than gender, she contends:

> *I think for most children, once they have a teacher who cares about them, who uses different strategies, that's what they want. It does not matter if they are male or female. It is who you are. It is not simply about having a male teacher; it is the quality of the teacher. I am not totally for male teachers teaching male students. As long as the teachers are committed, students look beyond male or female.*

The leader of a professional teachers' union asserted that pupils tended to say that they did not care whether their teachers were male or female, once they were good and dedicated teachers. Teachers must be professional and care about their pupils. In families, men and women were the natural phenomenon. She warned against the claim that the many ills in society were caused by there being too many female teachers and too few male teachers in the education system. She avowed that she did not want males in schools simply because they were males or to make up the numbers. They must be good teachers.

Role modelling in school. How are principals and teachers role models for pupils?

In attempting to define the term 'role model', the leader of a professional teachers' union said that she equated teaching to modelling. To her, teaching really meant introducing one's pupils to a right way of doing things. Hence, teachers' whole demeanour, deportment, what they said, what they did, spoke several volumes more than merely stating that 'I am a good person'.

Another female qualified teacher who has taught for 21 years said she was distressed that in our society, the positive role models tended to be quiet. The negative role models were the ones who got all the air play (media). She said that since many of the pupils suffer deprivation, it is the money that makes them follow role models rather than character as such. She tells the parents that they must get their children to appreciate who they are and what they have.

Arguing similarly, a male qualified teacher with 37 years teaching experience he is always conscious of his role as a teacher. For instance, he smokes but careful not to do so while at school. Indeed, as a rule, he does not leave his home with cigarettes. He merely tries to do the right thing at all times (e.g., saying *good morning, good afternoon*, etc.) and tries to inculcate that in the pupils.

Varying teaching style in accordance with pupils' gender

An unqualified male teacher with four years experience says that his guide is not gender but making his teaching appealing to both boys and girls. He accomplishes this by the activities he employs in his lessons: *"I use a lot of drawings because that appeals to the students especially the boys. Boys are more visual. I do a lot of demonstration especially for the boys (bring the actual material, e.g. floating and sinking). Girls are more cognitive; they read and remember. Boys love seeing and doing."*

Generally, the majority of respondents divulged that they did not vary their teaching styles on the basis of gender. Some conceded that they did so in special cases, for example, depending on the subject being taught as well as learning ability. The principal of a single-sex boys' school however contends:

> *Teachers should do so* [i.e., vary teaching style on the basis of gender]. *Boys are more practical; they like to use their hands; they like to feel things. A simple lecture will go down well with the girls compared to the boys. The boys get fed up or frustrated quickly.*

Part of the following comment by a principal of a co-educational school suggests a general approach, eschewing gendered approaches. She says, *"No. There is no need to do so [i.e., vary teaching style on the basis of gender]. I have not really seen any method that is appropriate for girls but not for boys. Quite possibly in what I say in the classroom, one gender might relate to it more readily than another."*

A qualified teacher with 20 years teaching experience said, *"It depends on the subject being taught. Boys tend to do better at mathematics even if they do not do well at Language. I try to use examples that boys and girls can identify with or are more accustomed to."* Likewise, a qualified teacher of 14 years experience argues:

> *I don't (vary teaching style according to gender). I merely try to use the strategies that were taught to us. I do whatever will arouse their interest. I use drama. I take them into the village. I take them to the airport. I brought them at a time when the plane was taking off. I take them to the bay front. Some had never been to those places before. After the visit, they have to write about it. Both boys and girls can identify with those places and can write about what struck them most.*

The Education Officer for the Western District is of the view that one pot does not hold all and boys are still being neglected. She is unhappy with this global approach. In her view, schools are girl centred.

Relating more to one gender or the other: personal choices

Some respondents said that they attempt to reach out to both genders equally while others said they tend to be inclined to one or the other. For instance, one male unqualified teacher said, *"I relate to both equally although some boys may say I treat the girls better and vice versa. I try to be fair."* His female colleague said:

> *I try not to but I gravitate more towards the boys. I try to pay more attention to them. Maybe trying to make up for the lack of male teachers. The reason they don't do well is because they don't get much attention. From what parents say, it seems they make a greater fuss over the girls. They say "oh he is a boy" but they insist that the girls do their work and excuse the boys as 'that's what they are supposed to do'*

Respondents appeared to have specific and arguably legitimate or logical reasons for relating to one gender or the other, besides an emotional fondness or fancy. For instance, a qualified female teacher with 23 years teaching experience said that she related more to the girls and suggested that this inclination might very well be a function of the age group. She also offered the view that girls being "more settled" and taking school more seriously may play a role in her feelings.

A principal of a co-educational school with about 25 years teaching experience said that in general, she related more to boys than to girls. She grew up relating more to boys than to girls. Her best friends were boys. She admitted that she did not notice whether she actually related more to one or the other in the context of the school. The children might be better able to notice or point that out. She said she had a little more sensitivity to the boys and tried to ensure that they never felt crushed. She indicated that she tried to allow the boys to cry when they came to her about something that hurt or troubled them. She tells them that it is okay to cry.

The Education Officer for the Western District indicated that some female teachers did not want to teach boys because they thought boys were disgusting and difficult. Some of the female teachers felt intimidated by the boys. On the other hand, one did not hear of male teachers making any such complaints. She said that she was aware of

a female teacher who exchanged one boy for two girls with her colleague, that is, she gave up one male pupil in return for two female pupils.

The professional trade union leader said that there was a lot of warming up between female teachers and female pupils and sometimes between female teachers and male pupils. Male teachers, on the other hand, spoke *hard* to the boys. They might endear them with phrases such as *"You can do much better!"* She observed that on the football/cricket field or basketball court, they hugged one another, embraced one another, jumped with one another; however that ended once they were away from the playing field. To do so was taboo.

Do pupils respond differently according to the gender of the teacher? Examples

A male qualified teacher (with almost 40 years teaching experience) doubted that the gender of teachers had anything to do with how pupils responded to teachers. In his teaching experience, he had come across some female teachers who were strict to the extent that their presence would cause the pupils to get into order. On the other hand, there were some males who were laid back and the pupils would take chances with them. He concluded that it depended on the individual teacher. Some teachers may be more experienced and trained and will probably have better management skills.

The principal of the all-boys' school believes however that some pupils respond according to the gender of the teacher, as some male teachers are more assertive than female teachers. Another principal has found that the girls did not really like the male teachers although there was one they liked who was more loving (and had more fatherly qualities). No doubt suggesting the "motherly" nature of female teachers, she said that even the boys would cuddle up with them. A qualified teacher with 20 years experience said that sometimes pupils responded to teachers on the basis of their gender. There are times when one would find male teachers who were easy-going. She gave the example of a male teacher whom the pupils did not respect because he was too easy-going. She said she found that, in general, pupils had a greater fear of male teachers, especially when they were strict.

A qualified female teacher with 23 years teaching experience agreed that pupils responded to their teachers based on the latter's gender. If pupils were talking or otherwise misbehaving and a male teacher walked into the classroom they would stop talking immediately. A female teacher, she thought, may not necessarily achieve a similar reaction from the pupils. She contended that on the whole, with a serious male teacher, the children responded better in terms of discipline; however, where there was a male teacher who was not serious, chaos would be extensive. Another qualified female teacher with 21 years teaching experience held a similar view, to some extent:

> *The boys behave better for the female teachers. The girls behave better with the male teachers. The boys are looking for a mother in the female teachers while the girls are looking for a father in the male teachers. The boys might be more afraid of and respectful towards a stern male. If it is a joker male teacher, there will be chaos. If you are a male teacher and there is nothing "male" you can bring to the boys, your presence will not have an impact. Hence, it is not the presence of males per se but males who can bring maleness to the students. A soft female teacher may not be disrespected by the boys as much as a soft male teacher.*

The principal of the rural school in the sample offers the following point of view to suggest that it depends on the individual rather than the gender as such. However, there is a bit of incongruity in what she says, suggesting a sort of anomaly between the

home and the school in the sense that males are more feared at home even though they may not actually be the punishers:

> *They look at how tough you are and once they recognise that they cannot control you, they will behave and do what they are told. You can have a softie male. My female qualified teacher is given a lot of respect compared to the male teacher. They will take more advantage over a softie female though. Children, for some reason, will take advantage of mothers compared to fathers. I am the one who does all the punishment at home yet my children would not dare do to their father what they do to me. If from Biblical days men did what was expected of them, the world would be a better place.*

It appears from the following two quotations that the respondents believe that there is a greater tendency to fear males and that a weak female is more likely to be taken advantage of by the pupils than a weak male. Hence, says the Education Officer:

> *Some students do what they like with female teachers but they respect the males. This was especially so during the days of corporal punishment. You can have some really stern female teachers who both boys and girls respect.*

The professional trade union leader makes the point rather directly:

> *If a teacher is weak, particularly when female, the students take advantage. I can tell who is in the classroom given the level of noise. If the teachers are equally weak, they are more likely to take advantage of the female.*

A female teacher with 14 years teaching experience sums it up thus: "They (pupils) feel they should be quiet in the presence of the male teacher. Maybe because of the male dominance at home."

Quantitative enquiry

In addition to the qualitative interviews described above, a quantitative approach was employed by means of the survey method employing the questionnaire instrument. The questionnaire was structured and designed to elicit specific information. Two different questionnaires were designed:

(a) Questionnaire for principals, teachers, public education officials; and
(b) Questionnaire for primary school pupils.

The types of questions or stimuli included both closed-ended (pre-coded) and open-ended (free answer), and used varying levels of scales of agreement/ disagreement customised to the different capacities of the two groups of respondents.

(a) Questionnaire for principals, deputy principals, teachers and professional trade union leader.

In the case of the principals et al., the sample comprised 42 respondents, including 35 females and 7 males, from six schools and one other organisation, the Dominica Association of Teachers (DAT). It is understood that this gender disproportionality (which reflects the numbers of female and male teachers at the primary level) potentially offers biased responses when discussing questions that pertain to gender in the teaching profession. From the foregoing numbers, it is also useful to note the following attributes regarding staff categories:

1) Teachers in training/student teachers: n = 3
2) Untrained teachers: n = 4
3) Trained teachers: n = 26

4) Deputy Principals: n = 3
5) Principals: n = 6

Teaching experience ranged from 1 year to 40 years.

Positive and balanced overall view of gender in teaching

Respondents were asked to 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' with 20 statements indicating attitudes towards gender in teaching. There was a mix of statements representing positive and negative statements regarding male and female teachers:

Table 5.14 Responses to questions based on positive and balanced overall view of gender in teaching

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided - Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1) The gender of teachers is irrelevant at Primary School.	10 23.8%	8 19.0%	5 11.9%	11 26.2%	8 19%
2) It is vital that both male and female teachers are recruited to Primary schools.	36 85.7%	6 14.3%	–	–	–
3) Pupils identify more readily with teachers of the same gender.	2 4.8%	17 40.5%	8 19.0%	13 31.0%	2 4.8%
4) Male teachers have a crucial part to play in fostering positive attitudes to study among young boys.	24 57.1%	17 40.5%	1 2.4%	–	–
5) More male teachers are needed as "role models" in school.	28 66.7%	12 28.6%	2 4.8%	–	–
6) Female teachers often have better communication skills than male teachers.	3 7.1%	9 21.4%	12 28.6%	17 40.5%	1 2.4%
7) The gender of teachers is irrelevant at Primary School.	10 23.8%	8 19.0%	5 11.9%	11 26.2%	8 19%
8) It is vital that both male and female teachers are recruited to Primary schools.	36 85.7%	6 14.3%	–	–	–
9) Pupils identify more readily with teachers of the same gender.	2 4.8%	17 40.5%	8 19.0%	13 31.0%	2 4.8%
10) Male teachers have a crucial part to play in fostering positive attitudes to study among young boys.	24 57.1%	17 40.5%	1 2.4%	–	–
11) More male teachers are needed as "role models" in school.	28 66.7%	12 28.6%	2 4.8%	–	–
12) Female teachers often have better communication skills than male teachers.	3 7.1%	9 21.4%	12 28.6%	17 40.5%	1 2.4%
13) Male teachers are better teachers in numerical subjects (Mathematics, Physics, etc.) compared to female teachers.	1 2.4%	12 28.6%	12 28.6%	14 33.3%	3 7.1%
14) Female teachers teach subjects like English Literature and English Language better than do male teachers.	–	16 38.1%	11 26.2%	14 33.3%	1 2.4%
15) Female teachers are generally more caring than male teachers.	4 9.5%	18 42.9%	4 9.5%	15 35.7%	1 2.4%
16) Female teachers have a harder time disciplining boys than their male colleagues.	3 7.1%	16 38.1%	5 11.9%	17 40.5%	1 2.4%
17) Female teachers make just as good 'role models' for male students as do male teachers for male students.	11 26.2%	25 59.5%	1 2.4%	4 9.5%	1 2.4%
18) The public (and parents in particular) tend to have more doubts/fears concerning male teachers who work with younger children (in particular).	–	19 45.2%	9 21.4%	12 28.6%	2 4.8%
19) Female students prefer female teachers.	1 2.4%	6 14.3%	15 35.7%	18 42.9%	2 4.8%
20) Male students prefer male teachers.	–	9 21.4%	12 28.6%	17 40.5%	4 9.5%
21) Male teachers use more sarcasm and ridicule to discipline students.	–	5 11.9%	15 35.7%	20 47.6%	2 4.8%
22) Male teachers are more severe with male students and more polite towards female students.	1 2.4%	19 45.2%	10 23.8%	9 21.4%	3 7.1%
23) Schools tend to have more doubts/fears concerning male teachers who work with younger children (in particular).	2 4.8%	8 19.0%	14 33.3%	15 35.7%	3 7.1%
24) Female teachers prefer to work with the younger students as this is more in keeping with their "maternal" instincts.	10 23.8%	20 47.6%	5 11.9%	6 14.3%	1 2.4%
25) Male teachers prefer to work with older students.	11 26.2%	16 38.1%	10 23.8%	5 11.9%	–
26) Male teachers are more likely to administer corporal punishment and use insults compared to female teachers.	1 2.4%	7 16.7%	11 26.2%	20 47.6%	3 7.1%

The percentages speak for themselves, but in summary the following patterns were notable in terms of the respondents' attitudes:

- Respondents were split over whether a teacher's gender was relevant. In Primary School, however, respondents were almost unanimous on their agreement that it is vital that both male and female teachers are recruited to primary schools;
- Agreement was also strong in the view that male teachers have a crucial part to play in fostering positive attitudes to study among young boys and that more male teachers are needed as 'role models' in school;
- However, the majority of respondents were agreed that female teachers make just as good role models for male students as do male teachers;
- Where discipline is concerned, opinion was again more or less split over whether women teachers have a harder time disciplining boys than their male colleagues, and there was no overwhelming view that that women teachers were more caring than male teachers;

Primary teaching as a balanced career for men and women

Respondents were given a similar questionnaire with a sliding scale of agreement as a means of gauging the extent that primary teaching is viewed as a balanced career for both men and women.

Table 5.15 Responses to questions around the view that primary teaching is a balanced career for men and women

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided - Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1) Primary teaching is a career equally suitable for both men and women.	25 59.5%	16 38.1%	–	1 2.4%	–
2) Primary teaching is as intellectually demanding as secondary teaching.	27 64.3%	12 28.6%	1 2.4%	2 4.8%	–
3) Primary teaching is a stressful occupation.	8 19%	20 47.6%	8 19.0%	5 11.9%	1 2.4%
4) Primary teaching involves excessive paperwork.	13 31.0%	16 38.1%	2 4.8%	11 26.2%	–
5) Increasing the number of men in primary schools will enhance the status of this sector of education/of the teaching profession.	9 21.4%	20 47.6%	11 26.2%	2 4.8%	–
6) Parents are more likely to encourage their daughters to train as primary school teachers than their sons.	9 21.4%	19 45.2%	10 23.8%	4 9.5%	–
7) Primary teaching is a well-respected career.	7 16.7%	15 35.7%	10 23.8%	9 21.4%	1 2.4%
8) Secondary school teachers are regarded more highly in society than their primary school counterparts.	9 21.4%	22 52.4%	8 19.0%	2 4.8%	1 2.4%
9) Men enter primary school teaching because it provides them with a rapid means of career advancement (e.g. more likely to become the Principal than their female colleagues in primary school).	5 11.9%	9 21.4%	13 31.0%	13 31.0%	2 4.8%
10) Primary teachers are reasonably paid for the work they do.	24 57.1%	13 31.0%	–	5 11.9%	–
11) Secondary teacher training courses often attract better qualified applicants than primary teacher training courses.	2 4.8%	19 45.2%	12 28.6%	7 16.7%	2 4.8%
12) Primary teaching provides men and women with the same opportunities for promotion.	4 9.5%	23 54.8%	8 19.0%	7 16.7%	–
13) Men who teach at primary schools are somehow considered less 'masculine' than their counterparts at secondary schools.	–	8 19%	9 21.4%	18 42.9%	7 16.7%
14) Primary school teaching is viewed by the public as closer to the domestic duty of childcare and therefore it is to be done by women.	2 4.8%	19 45.2%	5 11.9%	12 28.6%	4 9.5%
15) Men are less likely to view teaching as a long-term profession for them since other careers are more attractive.	21 50%	15 35.7%	3 7.1%	3 7.1%	–
16) Men are more likely to take other jobs (e.g. teaching at secondary schools) since Primary teaching may mean that they will earn less than their wives or partners.	17 40.5%	16 38.1%	7 16.7%	2 4.8%	–

The following patterns were notable in terms of the respondents' attitudes:

- The majority of respondents agreed that primary teaching is a career equally suitable for both men and women, however, of those who responded the majority felt that men who teach at primary schools are somehow considered less 'masculine' than their counterparts at secondary schools;
- While the majority agreed that is as intellectually demanding as secondary teaching, there was no unanimity over whether secondary teaching training courses attracted better qualified applicants;
- However, while more respondents agreed than disagreed that primary teaching is a well respected career, at least 23 per cent were undecided, and when asked whether secondary school teachers were more highly regarded in society, almost three quarters were in agreement;
- The majority agreed that parents are more likely to encourage their daughters to train as primary school teachers than their sons, and about half of the respondents felt that primary teaching is viewed by the public as being closer to the domestic duty of childcare and therefore should be done by women;
- The vast majority agreed that men are both a) less likely to view teaching as a long term profession and b) are more likely to leave primary teaching for other jobs (e.g. secondary teaching) as primary teaching may mean that they earn less than their wives or partners.

(b) Questionnaire for pupils of primary schools

The sample size executed was 334 primary school pupils in grades 5 and 6 (ages 9–11) from across 6 schools. Of this number 145 of the pupils were female, constituting 43 percent of the sample. In 2008/2009 (the latest figures available from the Education Planning Unit), there were a higher percentage of boys vis-à-vis girls at primary school as well as a higher percentage of grade 6 vis-à-vis grade 5 pupils. The present sample reflects the foregoing disparity.

Total Sample (N = 334); Female (n = 145) versus Male (n = 189) Samples

The pupils were offered three options or responses for each question: Yes, No or Unsure. The researcher believed that this answer structure was simpler than the Likert scale structure, given the age of the pupils. The section presents the findings for the total sample (N = 334), as well as disaggregation on the basis of gender – female (n = 145) and male (n = 189) pupils. It is important to note that all female pupils in this study's sample belonged to co-educational schools while the male pupils belonged to both co-educational (n = 113) and single-sex (n = 76) schools.

Is the gender of teachers important at primary school?

This question sought to discover the pupils' perception of the importance to them of the element of teachers' gender at primary school. A slight majority of pupils (n = 176 or 52.7 per cent) believed that the teachers' gender was not important at primary school. Note that a larger percentage of male pupils compared to female pupils held that view.

It is important for both male and female teachers to be employed at primary schools

This statement sought to discover the pupils' view of the desirability of having teachers of both genders at the primary school level. Most pupils (n = 277 or 82.9 per cent) believed that both male and female teachers should be employed at their schools.

Pupils identify more easily with teachers of the same gender

In this case, the question elicited the pupils' view of whether or not they identified more readily with teachers of their gender, that is, did male and female pupils identify more naturally with male and female teachers respectively? The majority of pupils (n = 187 or 56 per cent) said they did not identify more naturally with teachers of their own gender; 129 (or 38.6 per cent) said they did. Eighteen (5.4 per cent) pupils were unsure.

A larger percentage of girls were therefore agreeing that pupils identify more easily with teachers of the same gender, while a larger percentage of boys rejected the notion that pupils identified more easily with teachers of the same gender.

Male teachers have an important part to play in encouraging positive attitudes to study among young boys

About two-thirds of the sample (n = 223 or 66.8 per cent) believed that male teachers had an important role to play in encouraging positive attitudes to study among young boys;

A near even percentage of female (66.2 per cent or n = 96) and male (67.2 per cent or n = 127) pupils were in agreement with the statement that male teachers had an important part to play in encouraging positive attitudes to study among young boys.

More male teachers are needed as 'role models' in primary schools

There was almost an even response to this question with those responding affirmatively (n = 154 or 46.1%) falling about 4 percentage points below the 50 per cent mark. A slender majority (n = 173 or 51.8 per cent) did not believe that more male teachers were needed as "role models" in primary schools. There were differences in opinion between boys and girls with regard to this item, while the majority of girls (n = 85 or 58.6 per cent) differ from that statement, the majority of boys (n = 97 or 51.3 per cent) concurred with the statement

Female teachers often have better communication skills than male teachers

Nearly two-thirds of the sample (n = 217 or 65 per cent) believed that female teachers often had better communication skills than male teachers. A larger percentage of girls (71.7% or n = 104) compared to boys (59.8 per cent or n = 113) agreed that female teachers often had better communication skills than male teachers.

Male teachers are better teachers in mathematics compared to female teachers

Slightly over half of the sample (n = 183 or 54.8 per cent) did not agree that males were better teachers in mathematics compared to female teachers. Just about two-thirds (66.9 per cent or n = 97) of the girls did not accept that male teachers were better teachers in mathematics compared to female teachers; on the other hand, 47.1 per cent (n = 89) of the boys agreed that male teachers were better teachers in mathematics compared to female teachers.

Female teachers teach subjects like English Language better than male teachers

The majority of pupils, nearly three-quarters of the sample (n = 234 or 70.1 per cent) believed that female teachers taught subjects like English Language better than male teachers, while 82 (or 24.6 per cent) did not believe so. Eighteen (5.4 per cent) pupils were unsure. Both girls (n = 109 or 75.2 per cent) and boys (n = 125 or 66.1 per cent) were of the opinion that female teachers taught subjects like English Language better than male teachers.

Female teachers are more caring than male teachers

Most of the sample of pupils (n = 212 or 63.5 per cent) believed that female teachers were more caring than male teachers; just under one-third (32 per cent or n = 107) did

not accept that female teachers were more caring than male teachers. A larger percentage of boys (65.1 per cent or n = 123) compared to girls (61.4 per cent or n = 89) held the view that female teachers were more caring than male teachers.

Female teachers have a harder time disciplining boys than male teachers

Over half the sample (n = 182 or 54.5 per cent) believed that female teachers had a harder time disciplining boys than male teachers. A significant 140 (41.9 per cent) however did not share the foregoing belief while 12 (3.6 per cent) were indecisive.

Male pupils were more or less equally divided on this item. Ninety-one (48.1 per cent) boys did not believe that female teachers had a harder time disciplining boys than male teachers; however, 90 (47.6 per cent) boys were in agreement with the view that female teachers had a harder time disciplining boys than male teachers. The difference in both percentage and real terms is small. Interestingly, most female pupils (n = 92 or 63.4 per cent) believed that female teachers had a harder time disciplining boys than male teachers. One-third (33.8 per cent or n = 49) did not agree.

Female teachers are good role models for boy children

A little over half of the sample (n = 173 or 51.8 per cent) accepted as true that female teachers were good role models for boy children. Both female (n = 76 or 52.4 per cent) and male (n = 97 or 51.3 per cent) pupils agree in comparable measure that female teachers were good role models for boy children.

Pupils trust male teachers as much as they trust female teachers

One hundred and eighty (or 53.9 per cent) respondents believed that pupils trusted male teachers as much as they trusted female teachers; 139 (or 41.6 per cent) did not consider this to be true. In percentage terms, both girls (n = 77 or 53.1 per cent) and boys (n = 103 or 54.5 per cent) concurred on this item.

Female pupils prefer female teachers

This was a very direct question that contained no ambiguity and did not leave much room for interpretation other than what it states prima facie. Almost three-quarters (71.6 per cent or n = 239) of the total sample felt that female pupils preferred female teachers.

Male pupils prefer male teachers

This question, the corresponding male item to the one above concerning preference by female pupils for female teachers did not yield comparable results favouring male teachers. Indeed, just about half (49.7 per cent or n = 166) of the total sample (which was made up of a majority of male pupils) believed that male pupils preferred male teachers. With this item (male pupils vis-à-vis male teachers), there was more hesitancy compared to the comparable item regarding female pupils and female teachers. Roughly half (51 per cent or n = 74) of the female pupils and 48.7 per cent (n = 92) of the male pupils felt that male pupils preferred male teachers.

Male teachers criticise pupils more than female teachers

The majority of respondents (n = 204 or 61.1 per cent) did not concur with the view that male teachers criticised pupils more than female teachers. Both female and male pupils did not concur with the view that male teachers criticised pupils more than female teachers. However, a larger percentage of male pupils believed that male teachers criticised pupils more than female teachers.

Male teachers are harsher with male pupils and more polite towards female pupils

Just about half of the respondents (50.6 per cent or n = 169) were in agreement with the view that male teachers were harsher with male pupils and more polite towards female pupils; 155 (or 46.4 per cent) disagreed while 10 (3 per cent) were undecided.

Pupils prefer female teachers to work with them as they get that motherly love from them

Most respondents, over three-quarters of the total sample (n = 256 or 76.6 per cent) agreed that pupils preferred female teachers to work with them as they received that motherly love from them.

Older pupils prefer male teachers to teach them

A little below half of the respondents (n = 161 or 48.2 per cent) did not agree that older pupils preferred male teachers to teach them while 39.5 per cent (n = 132) believed so. A relatively large number (n = 41 or 12.3 per cent) were unsure or hesitant in offering a definitive opinion.

The male and female pupils were at odds on this item. Eighty-four (or 57.9 per cent) girls did not agree that older pupils preferred male teachers to teach them while 49.2 per cent (n = 93) of boys believed that older pupils preferred male teachers to teach them. Less than half (40.7 per cent or n = 77) of the boys did not believe that older pupils preferred male teachers to teach them; 39 (26.9 per cent) girls accepted the view that older pupils preferred male teachers to teach them.

I am more afraid of male teachers than I am of female teachers

Although representing just a little over half of the total sample, the majority of respondents (n = 181 or 54.2 per cent) did not concur with the item, *"I am more afraid of male teachers than I am of female teachers."*

My school should have more male teachers

The responses to this item were more or less even in percentage terms as opposed to real numbers. Just a little more than half of the respondents (51.8 per cent or n = 173) felt that their school should have more male teachers. Boys agreed with this statement more than girls.

Discussion and implications

Through its inter-method triangulation, both qualitative and quantitative, the empirical research has yielded rich data. While quantitative data tend to be more straightforward and uncomplicated in terms of what they present to the researcher and general audience, qualitative data must be carefully pondered since what they contain is not always obvious prima facie. The preceding does not mean that it is not necessary to decode quantitative data since 'statistics do not speak for themselves'. The focus will be on seeking to isolate the main points emerging from the extensive qualitative data while trying to grasp the main trends yielded by the quantitative data.

On matching teachers and pupils by gender, generally, respondents are doubtful about the wisdom of this. There appears to be a sense that it is not possible to be too prescriptive in this matter. Parry (2000) might be interpreted as cautioning that gender differences more often than not are indicative of cultural biases and ought not to be 'embellished' to the extent that they mask what is practical. It is quite possible to argue that in the real world pupils must encounter males and females and therefore to match them creates a much rehearsed or managed scenario. Indeed, there is also a more

distinct possibility of perpetuating stereotypical notions in a male teacher-to-male pupil or female teacher-to-female pupil setting, as opposed to a mixed setting. Although specifically referring to a secondary school environment, Parry's (2000) observation that males who teach tend to be situated within 'traditional' male subjects and unwittingly assume a gender-constrained posture thus perpetuating strong stereotypes, may also be applied to the primary level, albeit tentatively.

To all intents and purposes then, the foregoing may lead male or female teachers to make gender-specific assumptions in either pure male or pure female classrooms that can undermine attempts at gender neutrality. Evans (2001) implies the foregoing when she says, "Although boys and girls follow the same formal curriculum, there may be subtle differences in the messages that they pick up from that curriculum. For example, at the primary level, they may receive biased portrayals of men and women and boys and girls" (p. 136). Morris (2004) concurs, emphasising the significant influence of the informal or hidden curriculum, "the implicit messages that students receive from their interactions with teachers…" (p. 87). It is being suggested here that in the light of what respondents have said in the present study, such is more likely to occur with exact gendered-matching. Specifically, the results from the pupil survey reveal that teacher gender is not important; that teachers of both genders must be employed at primary schools; and that pupils do not necessarily identify more naturally with teachers of their own gender. All of this is well summarised by a qualified female teacher in a co-educational primary school thus:

> *… I feel there should be no gender barriers. One has to consider parenting. There ought to be fathers and mothers. Some children have never seen a father or mother so the school should cater for that. Granted, there might be a need for gender-specific instructions, e.g., for certain skills, auto mechanics. This however is no longer so. We don't want to stereotype.*

And, says a principal:

> *I think for most children, once they have a teacher who cares about them, who uses different strategies, that's what they want. It does not matter if they are male or female. It is who you are.*

On teachers as role models, the present results agree that, "Teacher recruitment should target both male and female role models who present appropriate positive and non-sexist approaches to education" (Parry, 2000, p. 63). The pupils, whether taken as a totality or disaggregated by gender are unequivocal in their stance: that both male and female teachers need to be employed at primary schools. Hence, to do otherwise, as Parry (2000) suggests, is indeed a source of concern. Figueroa (2004) asserts:

> *The feminisation of the teaching profession has been part of a process that has seen a dramatic fall in levels of pay and, with them, in the status of the profession. As males leave the profession, education increasingly appears to boys as a "woman thing"…The absence of role models and the sit-still-and-listen methods of teaching, along with the chauvinist attitudes of the boys, put them at great disadvantage.* (p. 152)

Respondents are not consistently fixated or obsessed about having male teachers per se. The pupils, taken as a whole, are almost equally balanced in terms of their desire to have more male teachers at their schools and indeed slightly less of them believe that more male teachers are needed as "role models". Male pupils however would like to see more male teachers as role models but in percentage terms, such males do not

far outnumber their other male counterparts. Female pupils do not believe more male teachers are needed as role models.

What must be noted here however is the strength of teachers, as role models, in terms of the influence they might have on pupils' general socialisation. The role model "assignment", from respondents' point of view, is broad and encapsulates a wide gamut as indicated in Chapter 3. There is a sensibility that this can be fulfilled by both male and female teachers.

Evans (2001) sheds light on the matter of classroom management as well as teaching styles by implication. In reviewing previous studies in her book, "Inside Jamaican Schools", she said that teachers appeared to pay more attention to and interacted more with girls but tried to encourage and motivate the boys. This interaction between teachers and pupils was sufficiently glaring to be observed by the pupils who in turn admitted that teachers in fact treated boys and girls differently. The pupils seemingly took it for granted that boys received more harsh and unfair treatment compared to girls. Interestingly, the pupils differentiated between interactions in terms of instruction (teaching) and interaction in terms of behaviour (management). The pupils conceded that in both situations, boys were unjustly treated. Evans, citing Keith (1976), Evans (1988, 1991) and Parry (1995) has concluded *that, "... in Jamaican schools girls are more likely than boys to like school, to be given more positive evaluations and have positive interactions with the teacher, to be seen as more well behaved, and be given more responsibility in the classroom"* (p. 138). Parry (2000) concurs, asserting that, *"The use of educationally harmful strategies of verbal disciplining, such as sarcasm and ridicule, is justified by the belief of many (untrained inexperienced) teachers that boys are more resilient and less sensitive than females"* (p.66).

In the present study, the respondents generally said that they do not vary their teaching styles on the basis of gender; however, some disclosed that it is almost inevitable that teachers would adjust their teaching styles to suit their pupils' gender. The researcher sensed that varying teaching styles according to gender was solely to accommodate the students – boys in particular – rather than to discriminate. This is illustrated by one teacher who observed that the boys do not like to read aloud so she does not force it upon them, lest they feel uncomfortable and inadequate. Instead she gives them advanced notice so that they are not taken by surprise. She does not perceive this as being discriminatory or even unfair advantage in favour of the boys.

The Education Officer admits that principals and teachers are more likely to treat the boys harshly even as they are lenient with the girls. The quantitative results cast some doubt on this view. A larger percentage of boys compared to girls believe that female teachers are more caring than male teachers and boys are equally split on the matter of female teachers having a harder time disciplining boys compared to male teachers. The boys however feel that male teachers are harsher with male pupils and more polite towards female pupils (see following section).

The results from the survey among pupils are interesting for what they reveal regarding the question of whether pupils respond differently depending on the gender of the teacher, and vice versa. Taking both male and female pupils collectively, it is observed that they were just about equally divided on the view that male teachers were harsher with male pupils and more polite towards female pupils. What is worrying however is that a fairly large (almost half) percentage believed otherwise. When disaggregated by gender, it is clear that boys believe that there is definitely "favouritism" in that regard. Parry (2000) anticipates this:

> *Educators should be sensitive to the type of verbal disciplinary strategies that they use. At present, some (particularly untrained and inexperienced teachers) are unaware of the*

sensitivity of both male and female pupils. Insensitive strategies of verbal discipline (sarcasm and ridicule) are detrimental to the educational performances of all pupils (p. 64).

Perhaps also offering some insight into this area, the researcher learnt that both boys and girls prefer female teachers to work with them as they received that motherly love from them. But both boys and girls are saying that they are not more intimidated by male teachers vis-à-vis female teachers. That may be so but the results show that a fair number are. Pupils are also not very committed in percentage terms regarding the question of having more male teachers. Boys believe there should be but girls do not agree. Again it must not be forgotten that most pupils (n = 277 or 82.9 per cent) believe that both male and female teachers should be employed at their schools and both girls (n = 77 or 53.1 per cent) and boys (n = 103 or 54.5 per cent) agree that pupils trust male teachers as much as they trust female teachers. At best, there are some inconclusive findings, no doubt due to a bit of ambivalence on the part of the pupils. It is perhaps useful to repeat what one teacher said during the in-depth interviews in that regard, suggesting *different strokes for different folks*:

The boys behave better for the female teachers. The girls behave better with the male teachers. The boys are looking for a mother in the female teachers while the girls are looking for a father in the male teachers. The boys might be more afraid of and respectful towards a stern male. If it is a joker male teacher, there will be chaos. If you are a male teacher and there is nothing "male" you can bring to the boys, your presence will not have an impact. Hence, it is not the presence of males per se but males who can bring maleness to the students. A soft female teacher may not be disrespected by the boys as much as a soft male teacher.

The pupils themselves reveal their preferences. Almost three-quarters of the female pupils and a slightly smaller percentage of the male pupils felt that female pupils preferred female teachers. There is less certainty with regard to boys preferring male teachers. Roughly half of the female pupils and nigh on half of the male pupils feel that male pupils prefer male teachers. This suggests that there are a large number of pupils who do not believe that male pupils prefer male teachers. Figueroa's (2004) revelation is didactic:

For those teachers who seek to discipline the boys there is evidence that they adopt far more brutal methods than they would apply to girls. Such teachers are far more likely to punish boys, and in doing so are far more likely to apply the strap. Combined with this tendency is a sometimes separate and equally pernicious one: teachers, so much under pressure from large classes and lack of facilities, often do not even try to instil discipline in boys, taking it for granted that they will be bad. (p. 151)

Morris's (2004) own findings reveal a similar scenario, she suggesting that, *"Teachers seem to have internalised traditional gender stereotypes so that boys are thought to be physically stronger and more troublesome and as a result they need to be punished more severely"* (p. 88). Evans (2001) is blunt when she asserts that, based on her evidence, boys do receive *"harsher treatment than girls, and that (female) teachers show preferential treatment toward girls"* (p. 141).

On "relating more to one gender or another" through education, it appears that most respondents believe that, all other things being equal, a mixture of boys and girls in classrooms (co-education) is closer to reality and allows for more dynamism in their approach to teaching. This is not to say that teachers do not have preferences; they are

quick to point out that they deliberately try not to allow these preferences to emerge and where there are preferences, these might have originated from them having children or siblings of a particular gender. This suggests that socialisation practices at home or outside the classroom are sometimes unwittingly repeated within the classroom. What is interesting is the consistency between the findings in the present study and the literature (Evans, 2001; Figueroa, 2004; Morris, 2004; Parry, 2000). There is an expectation that girls will behave better than boys and in so doing an almost subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle self-fulfilling prophecy arises. Parry (2000) sums this up thus:

> *Male and female teachers … used adjectives like 'attentive', 'applied', 'serious' and 'encouraging' to describe female pupils' attitudes to classroom work and adjectives like 'lazy', 'disruptive' and 'noisy' to describe the male pupils' attitudes to work. (p. 26)*

In all of this, what captures one's attention is when teachers, females in particular, proceed to say that the girls hold grudges and the like for a very long time whereas the *boys get up, dust themselves off and move on*. Parry (2000) found that teachers in Jamaica, Barbados and St Vincent preferred to teach males compared to females. Indeed, a female teacher in rural Jamaica had described girls as *"masters of deception"* (p. 26).

Recall in the present study, one principal of a coeducational school admitted that she seems to have a greater liking for the boys because they are more loving; they are more likely to say hello to their old (former) teachers when they encounter them in public and more boys will return to school to look for their former teachers. Another principal agreed, saying that she was closer to the girls although when they (girls) got older, her preference changed towards the boys. The girls, she said, did not seem to be as loving afterwards. It seems teachers could not detach what occurred inside the classroom from what occurred outside.

Recommendations

A number of relevant recommendations have emerged directly from the findings of this study. There is much that has been revealed throughout the narrative from the qualitative aspects of the research and the data produced from the quantitative study. Hence, there is much information that can be gleaned by the interested reader that has not specifically been stated within the recommendations.

1) There is a role for both male and female teachers at primary schools (e.g., male teachers have a crucial part to play in fostering positive attitudes to study among young boys; as role models, etc.) and as such, recruitment processes should be directed accordingly, both at the school and ministerial (policy) levels. This includes policies and practices that attract good quality teachers, especially males who are inclined to seek employment in other more financially rewarding/lucrative sectors.
2) Male and female teachers have separate as well as interlinked roles and school leadership and management practices ought to take these on board in delegating and assigning work. This should not be prescriptive as much as creative; that is, by constant monitoring of individual talents, both formal and informal roles must be assigned, being mindful of gender stereotypes.
3) Primary teaching is a career equally suitable for females and males and to that end, there does not appear to be any strong cultural taboo that should make males feel that their masculinity is diminished if they become primary school teachers. Indeed, it is considered intellectually demanding and the perception is that it offers both males and females the opportunity for promotion or career advancement. The recommendation is that there needs to be a public campaign that popularises and

enhances the image of primary school teaching to males. The present study's results from Pearson's reveals that the more positive and balanced the overall view is of gender in teaching, the more likely will primary teaching be considered a balanced career for men and women.

4) Notwithstanding the above specific gender-sensitive recommendations, it is to be noted that respondents (teachers, principals and pupils) appeared to be suggesting that while male presence at primary schools is important, it was not that presence per se that accounted for much when all was said and done. Rather, it was having excellent, trained, conscientious and respectable teachers, whether male or female, who did not harbour gendered stereotypes and could approach their duties professionally and treat students fairly and with dignity. The foregoing is recommended as the kinds of professional ethical skills that must be emphasised in teacher training programmes as well as continuous career development programmes.
5) It must be emphasised to male teachers their fundamental role in encouraging positive attitudes towards study among male pupils. Excellent role models such as Mr John Paul must be seen to be rewarded for his level of professionalism even while it is emphasised that his example must be followed by both female and male teachers and that the bigger reward is the positive effect his teaching and pastoral care has on both male and female pupils.
6) Pupils believe that female teachers often have better communication skills than male teachers. In addition, pupils also believe that female teachers teach subjects like English Language better than male teachers. Linked to this is – notwithstanding the differences between boys and girls – the finding that generally pupils do not accept that male teachers are better at teaching mathematics compared to female teachers. It is not surprising that pupils believe that female teachers are better at communication and other verbal skills than male teachers in the light of the fact that as boys, male teachers may well have experienced the very same socialisation processes that authors such as Evans (2001), Figueroa (2004), Morris (2004), Parry (2000), et al. speak of. This socialisation does violence to their verbal facility.
7) The female pupils in particular believe that female teachers have a harder time disciplining boys than male teachers and a fair number of boys (almost 50 per cent) believe so as well. Indeed some teachers and principals in this study suggested that this was the case. It therefore means that the necessary structures must be established within primary schools to minimise whatever sensibility of intimidation and insecurity that female teachers might feel in disciplining pupils. This must be clearly defined at the micro- and macro-level.
8) There is also the important consideration of the perceived harsher treatment meted out to boys by male teachers. This has been discussed at some length above. It is simply worth recommending here that there should be measures to ensure sensitivity in that regard. Several previous studies have dwelt upon this issue.

The foregoing may well show what students value in teachers besides gender as such. It is recommended that the way boys vis-à-vis girls are trained at school must be revisited. This has implications for what boys value in education and perhaps the extent to which they value education in itself. Figueroa's (2004) discussion about *"The assertion of manliness, with its macho value of toughness,* [including] … *the rejection of English as a more refined, softer, 'feminine' form of communication"* points exactly to this unfortunate phenomenon. There are obvious implications for teacher education but also, which is a more nebulous and larger problem, for male and female socialisation at home. One is not discrete from the other.

6 Lesotho

Matselane B. Khaahloe [21]

Introduction and background

Lesotho is completely landlocked by South Africa and is largely a mountainous country with four main geographical regions (ecological zones); the lowlands, the foothills, the highlands and the Senqu River Valley. Recent studies show that at present the population of Lesotho has stabilised to about two million (MOET 2006.)

Socio- economic background

According to Lesotho Overview of Economy (2010,) the economy of Lesotho greatly depends on subsistence agriculture, livestock, manufacturing and remittances from migrant labour in South Africa. Currently Lesotho's economic success stems mainly from water runoff from the mountains. This is the only important natural resource that results in Lesotho earning about 30 billion dollars a year. Like other developing countries, Lesotho strives to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with regard to Education for All (EFA) and Gender equality by the year 2015 to alleviate poverty, to reverse the scourge of disease through quality education, mainstream HIV/AIDS and to eliminate gender disparities. Despite the current economic recession, according to World Bank Fast Track Lesotho Report 2009, the country allocates 20 per cent of its budget to education and this expenditure on education is considered high by international standards.

Education in Lesotho: historical background

Lesotho education can basically be classified into three main streams, which are: indigenous education, colonial education and post independence education. Indigenous education was the type of education that was mainly controlled by Basotho themselves, before the colonial era, and it was the informal type of education. In the indigenous education, the type of learning was oriented towards practical activities for boys and girls at home and in the plantation fields. Formal colonial education can be traced back to the arrival of the missionaries in the 1830s (Butterfield, 1977). The first missionaries came to Lesotho in 1833. The first formal school was started by one missionary of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) during the 1830s, Constant Gosselin in 1833, another missionary had started an infants' school together with the adult centre which was attended by about 200 Basotho who were learning to read and write. More schools were established after the arrival of the Roman Catholics in 1862. By 1909 there were nine schools educating 1200 children (Butterfield, 1977:74). These schools were at elementary level. The first four secondary schools were established in 1948 and only one of them had senior classes (Ambrose 2007:76).

The National University was founded as Pius XII Catholic University College in 1938. The university became an independent and non-denominational University and was formally inaugurated as the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (UBBS in 1964). In 1966 the university was turned into the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (UBLS) when the three sister countries obtained independence. Ten years later, in 1975, the three institutions, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were

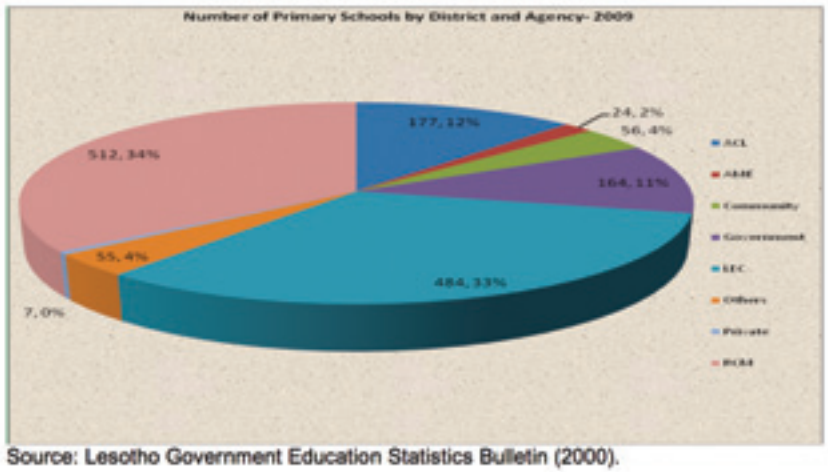
21 The researcher of this report would like to acknowledge the contributions of Dr. Kuebu Khalema, Coordinator at LCE, Mrs. Marathabile Khanyane and Mrs. Bonang Makamane for the empirical research, and Mr. Pitso Metsane for the Distribution of questionnaires.

officially split and the university in Lesotho became the National University of Lesotho. As Lesotho only got its independence in 1966, education remained the responsibility of the missionaries in Lesotho, from primary to tertiary, with the exception of the university, that remained the joint venture of the government and church denominations. Lesotho's education system has since been expanding and currently more so because of the influx of large numbers of primary pupils due to the introduction of Free Primary Education (FEP) in 2000.

School proprietors

Despite the fact that MOET is responsible for administration of finances and control of academic activities of all formal schools, the schools in Lesotho are owned in a partnership between the government and the churches or with the community. Recent estimates of statistics show that out of 1,476 primary schools, about 512(34 per cent) schools belong to Roman Catholic Missions (RCM); 484 (33 per cent) belong to Lesotho Evangelical Church, while only about 164(11 per cent) belong to the government of Lesotho. The rest of the primary schools belong to African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and Anglican Church of Lesotho (ACL) while very few are private schools.

Figure 6.1 Ownership of primary schools



Source: Lesotho Government Education Statistics Bulletin (2000).

The school system in Lesotho

The school system of Lesotho can be divided into five parts. These are: pre-schooling (ages 0–6 years) which is referred to as the Integrated Early Childhood Care and Development (IECCD); primary schooling, for from 6–10 years; junior secondary schooling, which takes 3 years; and high schooling which takes a further 2 years.

Basic education is supposed to cover 10 years of continuous learning from age six (to be completed at the end of junior secondary). On successful completion of high school education students can enrol into different institutions of higher education. This depends on the individual performance of students and different entry requirements for admission of students into different courses. A number of public institutions exist. These include the Lesotho College of Education (LCE), the National University of Lesotho (NUL) and Lerotholi Polytechnic (LP) and the newly founded university Limkokwing on 15 October, 2008.

Teacher education

During the colonial education era, between 1947 and 1959, there were about seven teacher training colleges around the country and these were governed by the churches

(Ambrose (2007:76). These colleges were later replaced by the National Teacher Training College (NTTC) now called Lesotho College of Education (LCE) in 1975 when they were turned into high schools. Lesotho College of Education (LCE) and National University of Lesotho (NUL) are the only two institutions of higher education charged with the responsibility of training teachers in the country. LCE trains both primary and secondary teachers. It offers diploma courses in secondary education and primary education. The primary diploma programme is offered both through the distance and the conventional modes. The National University also trains teachers through its faculty of education. For a very long time NUL focused only on secondary education offering both degree and diploma programmes in conventional mode. It is only recently that the university has started to train primary teachers using the Open Distance Learning (ODL) mode to offer higher diploma and degree programmes in primary education.

Lesotho MOET policies in the context of EFA and MDGs

In an endeavour to meet the MDGs and EFA, the Government of Lesotho (GOL) implemented Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2000. This resulted in significant increases in enrolments in primary schools and it must be noted that as a consequence, this escalated to secondary school level when the first cohort of FPE entered this level. Lesotho was then faced with problems of overcrowded lower classes (grades), high teacher-pupil ratios and lack of an adequate and qualified teaching labour force. Most importantly the country was faced with the challenge of education quality. The quality of education in the era of HIV/AIDS is also a concern because of high teacher attrition. In response to these problems and challenges, MOET has built a number of schools and classrooms; recruited more teachers; provided book rental and school feeding schemes as well as subsidising school fees in secondary schools (MOET 2009). In primary schools, FPE policy abolished school fees on an annual incremental basis starting with grade one in 2000 until 2006 when all the primary grades had no school fees. In 2007 GOL further passed the Act on Universal Primary Education (UPE) by which education will be free and compulsory.

There is great pressure for expansion of the education system in Lesotho. The government of Lesotho has planned provisions for equal and accessible opportunities of basic education at an equitable basis to all the people as a key developmental goal. Basic education is seen as an essential part of social and economic development and is therefore regarded by the government of Lesotho as a fundamental human right. Basic education is also regarded to be an essential pre-requisite for mid level employment as well as secondary and post-secondary and training. This is expected to create the practical skills and knowledge that will facilitate rapid and better integration of Basotho men, women and children and as well as to reduce poverty. The education sector is therefore moving towards improving the quality of education in Lesotho by equipping schools and educational centres, reforming the curriculum, ensuring provision of teaching and learning materials, investing in teacher training and professional development and providing cost-effective and efficient teacher supervision and support. At present, one of Lesotho's greatest challenges is that of teacher shortages at both primary and secondary levels. While numbers of teachers have increased in the last ten years, the percentage of qualified teachers has dropped significantly (Education International, 2007). This could be attributed to the rise in enrolments after the introduction of Free Primary Education in 2000. As a result, while access has increased between 1999 – 2008 with an old NER of 57 compared to 73 respectively (GMR, 2010), the issue of quality in education is a prevalent one. Where secondary education is concerned, the problem of teacher supply is indicative within the far more worrying enrolment rates: in 1999 the GER was 30, with an increase to 40 by 2008.

Situational analysis on the feminisation of the teaching profession

Both statistical analysis and document analysis were undertaken with the purpose of analysing and examining existing and relevant statistics and documents to uncover the extent of feminisation of the teaching profession at primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education in Lesotho.

Female teachers in Lesotho

According to Boyle (1985) feminisation of teaching refers to a numerical overdependence of women in the profession. By observation this situation has been in existence in many Lesotho schools for years. The MOET report (May, 2005) points out that the teaching force is largely comprised of women. In 2004 MOET (2004) reported that the proportion of female teachers ranged from 71–83 per cent among the four main geographic zones of Lesotho. The report indicated that the teaching force is predominantly female with about 80 per cent of teachers being females (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Primary teachers and pupils by gender and geographical zone, 2004

Geographical zone	Foothills	Lowlands	Highlands	Senqu River Valley
Female teachers	79%	83%	71%	74%
Female pupils	49	49	48	50

Source: MOET Planning Unit

Table 6.1 indicates a very high level of female representation in the Lesotho teaching force in 2004 whilst on the other side the average female pupils' representation was close to a gender balance at 50 per cent. An average of 77 per cent female representation of female teachers in primary schools signifies very high levels of feminisation.

It was necessary to carry out this situation analysis in order to have a broad picture of the extent of feminisation, the underpinning factors, and the accompanying consequential perceptions on the status of teaching profession. Other factors that also enter the debate include boy-child academic performance and teachers' salaries. The findings of this situational analysis may function as indicators or as a monitoring tool to measure how far Lesotho is with regard to achievement of EFA and MDGs. The findings of the study may also assist in establishing sound intervention strategies in line with EFA goals and MDGs. Most importantly, the study will inform policy-makers, institutions of teacher education, educators at all levels as well as international NGOs in partnership with MOET in Lesotho.

Gender representation among primary and secondary school teachers by districts

The following table provides comparative analysis of gender inequalities in secondary and primary school teacher numbers by district in 2010.

Table 6.2 explicitly displays a statistical feminisation of the teaching profession at both secondary and primary levels in Lesotho. The extent of this feminisation does vary however. While the level of feminisation is comparatively high in primary schools (67–80 per cent) than in secondary schools (51–59 per cent), it is also clear that the levels of feminisation are highest in lowlands for primary schools; that is in Maseru (80 per cent) and Leribe (82 per cent) respectively. These are the most industrialised areas in Lesotho and they are mostly located in the lowlands region. An overall average percentage of 74 per cent is evidently a clear indication of high measure of feminisation of teaching profession at primary education level in Lesotho while 57 per cent average representation of for secondary schools is moderate this year (2010).

Table 6.2 Lesotho primary and secondary teachers by gender and by district, 2010

District	Post primary				Primary			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	All	%	All	%	All	%	All	%
Thaba-Tseka	68	49	72	51	199	33	411	67
Qacha's Nek	67	41	98	59	135	27	358	73
Mokhotlong	59	43	81	57	170	31	386	69
Maseru	330	34	641	66	408	20	1621	80
Mafeteng	224	44	282	56	225	29	776	71
Leribe	339	46	407	54	286	18	1312	82
Mohales'Hoek	134	37	224	67	258	20	1035	80
Berea	201	41	290	59	278	21	1002	79
Butha-Buthe	82	27	225	73	138	20	550	80
Quthing	117	45	141	55	200	27	528	73
Total and av. (%)	**1621**	**41**	**2461**	**59**		**25**		**75**

Source: District education offices and MOET planning unit (2007 & 2008)

Gender distribution of teachers at all levels of education

The next sections examine gender distribution of teaching staff in MOET sectors including primary, secondary and tertiary sectors examined over an eleven year timeframe.

Female teachers in Lesotho primary and secondary schools since 1999

Table 6.3 and Figure 6.2 below present Lesotho secondary and primary teachers by gender between 1999 and 2010.

Table 6.3 Primary and secondary teachers by gender, 1999–2009

	Secondary					Primary				
Year	Total	M	%	F	%	Total	M	%	F	%
2010	4382	1621	37	2461	63	10276	2297	22	7979	78
2009	4735	2077	44	2658	56	11536	2672	23	8864	77
2008	4307	1181	27	2426	73	10778	2471	23	8316	77
2007	4006	1756	44	2250	66	10778	2471	23	831	77
2006	3673	1653	44	2020	56	10418	2335	24	8083	76
2005	3495	1543	44	1952	56	10154	2342	21	8812	79
2004	3404	1477	43	1927	57	9993	2098	21	7894	79
2003	3470	1572	45	1898	55	9294	1936	21	7358	79
2002	3384	1540	45	1844	55	8908	1803	20	7105	80
2001	3290	1520	46	1770	54	8762	1746	20	7016	80
2000	3198	1495	46	1703	54	8578	1700	20	6878	80
1999	3175	1428	45	1747	55	8225	1630	20	6595	80
Averages (%)			**43**					**22**		**78**

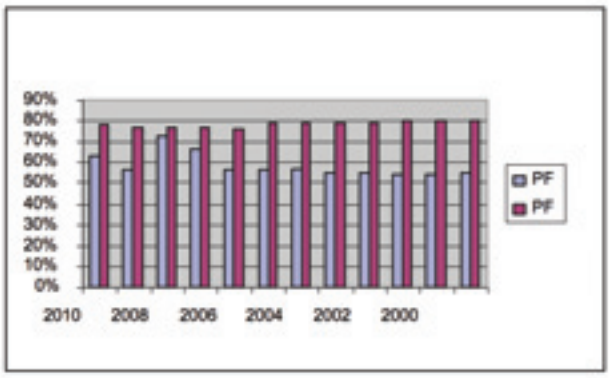
Source: MOET Planning Unit (2009).

The table above demonstrates that majority female teachers within the primary education system has been the case for over ten years, with women already dominated that sector of the profession (80th percentile) since 1999. A review of the numbers immediately highlights the fact that primary education is currently far better resourced in comparison to secondary education in Lesotho. However, the increase in female teachers over the ten year period (and therefore since the introduction of FPE) has only been by 2,000 teachers. During this increase, the percentage of female teachers has actually decreased. In primary schools women teachers constitute between 76–80 per cent, with an average of 78 per cent. In secondary schools the percentage of female teachers ranges between 57 per cent and 54 per cent with an average of 55 per cent. This is much lower than in primary schools. Gender representation for male primary teachers ranges between 20 per cent and 24 per cent with an average representation of 22 per cent The gender imbalance in secondary schools is lower. Male representation is a little higher in secondary schools although it ranges between 27 per cent and 46 per cent. Figure 6.2 provides a clear graphical picture that compares feminisation of teaching profession in primary (PF) and secondary (SF) schools over the given period. This result is

an overall high degree of feminisation at the primary level across all years, with medium to high levels of feminisation at the secondary level across the same period.

Other trends do also need to be noted within this data set. Firstly, additional secondary data corroborates that women's importance within the teaching profession has is far from a new phenomenon: the National Teacher Training College records about five times as many women teacher trainees as men in 1994 (Lephoto, 2002). Primary teacher numbers appear to have dropped in the last three years by about 500 teachers – the reasons for this are unclear. Secondly, in reviewing this data, the issue of unqualified teacher numbers within these statistics need to be addressed. Statistics for 2007 indicate that at the primary level about 30 per cent of teachers in the workforce were unqualified (UNESCO International Task Force on Teachers for EFA, 2007). This percentage is as high as 59 in the remote Mountain Zone (Phamotse et al, 2005).

Figure 6.2 Female teachers in both primary and secondary schools



Source: MOET planning unit 2009.

When comparing the degree of feminisation of teaching staff in secondary and primary schools (Table 6.3 and Figure 6.2) it is clear that although feminisation of the teaching profession is highest at primary level, in 2007 and 2008 an increase in female numbers at the secondary level is also observed, with the percentage in 2008 going above the 70th percentile, before dropping once again in 2009 to just over the 50th percentile.

Gender distribution of teaching staff at tertiary level

Gender distribution among the teaching staff at LCE was examined as shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 LCE teaching staff by department and gender, 2009

Department	Teaching Staff				
	Males	%	Females	%	Total
Social Sciences	8	42	11	58	19
Education Foundation	9	64	5	36	14
Faculty of Education	4	57	3	43	7
Curriculum & Instruction		0	2	100	2
Applied Sciences	3	30	7	70	10
Pure Sciences	9	47	10	53	19
Technology Studies	8	100		0	8
Creative Art	3	33	2	67	5
Literature and Languages	5	36	14	74	19
DTEP	6	26	17	74	23
Total/%	**55**	**43**	**72**	**57**	**127**

Source: MOET Planning Unit 2009.

Similar to secondary and primary schools, gender disparity is also evident at LCE with a representative percentage of 57 per cent in favour of women. There are no male lecturers at all in department of curriculum and instruction, although it is notable that

there are no women in the department of technology studies. It can be concluded that despite the feminised teaching labour force at LCE, gender inequality in favour of men is evident in department of technology studies. Overall, the disparity gender disparity within the LCE teaching cohort is not proportionate with the gender disparity of the teaching profession (primary and secondary combined) as a whole (57 per cent compared to 80 per cent). This indicates that men are more likely to be found in roles as teacher educators as opposed to teachers themselves. The next section presents enrolments in the IECCD centres, primary and secondary schools by gender.

Enrolments in IECCD centres, primary and secondary schools by gender

Enrolments of learners at all levels of MOET also play an important role to show the extent of the statistical feminisation of teaching profession is, and to determine if there is any link between feminisation of teaching profession and learners' population in registered schools. Enrolments in IECCD centres (2000–2003), primary and secondary schools (1999–2009) and two main institutions NUL and LCE were also scrutinised to establish whether they contribute to high levels of feminisation in the teaching profession. Table 6.5 presents data on enrolments in IECCD centres.

Table 6.5 Enrolments in IECCD centres by gender, 2000–2003

Year	Total	M	%	F	%
2002	41469	21520	52	19949	48
2001	34507	17284	50	17223	50
2000	30540	15216	50	15324	50
Average %			**51**		**49**

Source: MOET Planning Unit 2009.

According to country level statistics, gender representation in enrolments of early childhood education from 2000–3003 and basic primary education is balanced (Tables 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7. The average gender representations for males and females are 51 per cent and 49 per cent respectively. Minor differences of 2 per cent in favour of males in 2002 are observed at IECCD level. The conclusion is that the gender representation is balanced in IECCD.

Table 6.6 Enrolments in primary and secondary schools by gender, 1999–2009

	Secondary					Primary				
Year	Total	M	%	F	%	Total	M	%	F	%
2009	111,488	46,880	42	64,600	58	389,424	193,105	50	196,319	50
2008	103,317	44,162	43	59,155	57	396,041	200,332	51	195,709	49
2007	97,936	42,357	43	55,595	57	400,934	202,710	51	198,224	49
2006	94,545	42,357	44	52,908	56	425,855	214,123	50	210,732	50
2005	93,096	41,086	44	52,010	56	422,278	212,683	50	209,595	50
2004	88,142	38,915	44	49,227	56	429,009	214,321	50	214,179	50
2003	83,104	36,621	44	46,483	56	429,720	214,974	50	214,746	50
2002	81,130	35,467	44	45,663	56	418,668	209,024	50	209,644	50
2001	77,919	34,226	44	43,693	56	415,007	206,665	50	208,342	50
2000	72,992	31,537	44	41,455	56	410,745	202,760	49	207,985	51
1999	72,437	30,833	43	41,604	57	364,951	176,365	48	188,586	52
Averages %										

Source: MOET Report 2009.

At primary level gender representation is mostly balanced with 50:50 representations for six consecutive years (2001–2006) and in 2009. Minor disparities are seen in 2007 and 2008 (1 per cent) in favour of males and 1999 and 2000 2 per cent and 1 per cent respectively in favour of females. In secondary schools, differences in per cent are broadening. In 1999 the difference was 3 per cent; it narrowed to 2 per cent from 2000 to 2006 and widened again to 3 per cent from 2007 to 2008. The biggest difference was observed in 2009 when it increased to 6 per cent. It can be inferred that

the enrolments rates in preschools, primary schools and secondary schools do not contribute to high feminisation levels in teaching profession as there is more gender balance. However, it may be argued that the widening gap may be the beginning of gender inequalities as the learners proceed to higher levels

Enrolments and gender representation in main tertiary institutions in MOET

This section examines status of feminisation in LCE and NUL. Enrolment rates at teacher training institutions will facilitate and clarify whether the disproportioned gender distribution in the teaching profession emanates from enrolments and access to teacher education.

Gender patterns in teacher training: enrolments at LCE, 1998–2010

Table 6.7 illustrates gender distribution in enrolments of primary and secondary teacher trainees at LCE from 1998 to 2010. Data was obtained from Student Information Management system (SIMS).

Table 6.7 Teacher trainees at LCE by gender, 1998–2010

	Secondary teacher trainees					Primary teacher trainees				
Year	ALL	M	%	F	%	All	M	%	F	%
2010	401	147	37	254	63	2478	763	31	1715	69
2009	371	125	34	246	66	3061	952	31	2109	69
2008	341	129	38	212	62	3010	903	30	2107	70
2007	270	97	36	173	64	2991	772	26	2219	74
2006	350	126	36	224	64	2729	741	27	1985	73
2005	189	75	40	114	60	1866	450	24	1416	76
2004	147	51	35	96	65	1883	496	26	1378	74
2003	244	99	41	145	59	1225	348	28	877	72
2002	190	37	20	153	80	1338	355	27	983	73
2001	402	131	33	271	67	597	149	25	448	75
2000	376	148	39	228	61	595	118	20	476	80
1999	323	123	38	200	62	625	104	17	521	83
1998	323	125	39	198	61	602	102	17	500	83
Average (%)			**36**		**64**			**25**		**75**

Source: Lesotho College of Education SIMS 2010.

High levels of gender disproportion at LCE are highly conspicuous and largely correlate with gender representation of teachers at both primary and secondary schools (Tables 6.6 and 6.7) and (Figures 6.3 and 6.4). The males in primary teacher education are less represented than their counterparts in secondary teacher education. Similarly, although there are more females than males in registered teacher trainees in secondary division, the females in primary division are far more highly represented than their counterparts in secondary division. The average gender representations for females in secondary and primary divisions are 64 per cent and 75 per cent respectively and 36 per cent and 25 per cent for males in secondary and primary division respectively. It is clearly indicated that feminisation is at its highest levels in primary division than in secondary division among the teacher trainees at LCE.

The numbers above also indicate insights that are important to note: firstly, the increase in teachers at the primary level in terms of numbers has clearly been greater than that at secondary school over the last ten years. In terms of gender, the proportion of female primary teacher numbers has grown only three-fold since the 1999 rate, while for male teachers there has been a six fold increase in their number. This indicates that while women continue to dominate as trainees within primary teaching, their numbers as qualified teachers has visibly decreased. At the secondary level the rate of increase in teacher trainees has been accompanied by a lack of visible change in the proportion of women.

The issue of unqualified teachers working in Lesotho schools is crucial area that needs greater understanding within the gender context of the teacher trainee figures

presented above. A 2005 study (Phamotse et al.) highlighted this problem, particularly in the under-resourced rural areas where qualified teachers are less likely to want to be deployed to. Figures indicated that within the teaching force male teachers were more likely to be unqualified. This information highlights a serious of problems that implicate issues not just with training, but also with deployment and/or broader work availability. Earlier data indicated that women teachers are more prevalent in the lowland and urban areas, where the facilities are not only more conducive but where there is a higher possibility of alternative employment for men. The issue of unqualified teachers in the more remote highland areas is therefore also potentially tied to the lack of female teachers in those regions.

Enrolments at NUL by gender from 1994/95 to 2008/09

Enrolments at National University of Lesotho have been increasing over years.

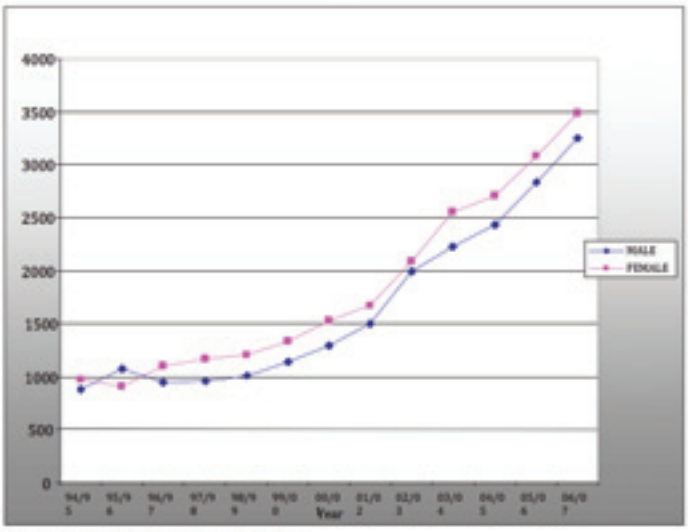
Table 6.8 NUL undergraduates by sex, 1994/95–2008/09

		MALES		FEMALES	
Year	All	M	%	F	%
08/09	8,146	3,892	47	4,302	53
07/08	7,346	3,473	47	3,873	53
06/07	6,724	3,247	48	3,477	52
05/06	5,921	2,838	48	3,083	52
04/05	5,140	2,439	47	2,701	53
03/04	4,765	2,221	47	2,544	53
02/03	4,067	1,989	49	2,078	51
01/02	3,167	1,503	47	1,664	53
00/01	2,812	1,289	46	1,523	54
99/00	2,471	1,142	46	1,329	54
98/99	2,208	1,004	45	1,204	55
97/98	2,118	959	45	1,159	55
96/97	2,048	947	46	1,101	54
95/96	1,981	909	46	1,072	54
94/95	1,855	882	49	973	51
Average %			**47**		**53**

Source: MOET Planning unit 2008.

Gender representation in overall enrolments of undergraduates at NUL seems to be more balanced than at LCE. The line graph in Figure 6.4 further shows the consistency of disparities and how the differences of gender representation deviated within the range of 1 per cent and 8 per cent over a period of 15 years.

Figure 6.3 NUL undergraduates, 1994/95-2006/07



Source: MOET Planning unit 2008.

Figure 6.3 compares male and female students' representations among NUL undergraduates. Although there were more females than males over 13 years, the gender disparities are not wide. In the academic year 1996/97 there were more male students than female students.

Gender distribution in headship positions in primary and secondary schools

Gender disparities among the primary and secondary school principals were also examined and information in Table 6.9 was collected from TSC data for teachers.

Table 6.9 Secondary and primary principals by districts by gender, 2010

	Secondary School Principals					Primary school				
	Total	M	%	F	%	Total	M	%	F	%
Berea	31	16	52	15	48	123	23	19	100	81
Butha-Buthe	18	6	33	12	67	63	7	11	56	89
Leribe	50	19	38	31	62	98	26	27	72	73
Mafeteng	20	9	45	11	55	110	33	30	77	70
Mohales'Hoek	23	16	70	7	30	–	–	–	–	–
Quthing	19	18	95	1	05	8	0	0	8	100
Qacha's Nek	13	6	46	7	54	30	15	50	15	50
Mokhotlong	15	10	67	5	33	62	20	32	42	68
Thaba-Tseka	13	8	62	5	38	51	30	59	21	41

Source: Teaching Service Commission (2010).

Congruent to observed high feminisation of teaching staff in primary schools, there are more female principals than male principals in almost all of Lesotho with the exception of Qacha's Nek and Thaba-Tseka, where gender distributions are 50:50 and 59:41 in favour of male principals respectively. The highest gender disparities in favour of females are observed in the districts of Berea, Butha-Buthe and Quthing with the percentage range between 81 per cent and 100 per cent. Although the female teachers seem to hold more headship positions in primary schools, in secondary schools gender disparities are not as wide as in primary schools. The reverse situation is observed in districts of Thaba-Tseka, Mokhotlong, Mohales'Hoek and Quthing where more headship positions are comparatively held by the male principals. Furthermore, there are more secondary male principals than female principals in mountain districts (Thaba-Tseka and Mokhotlong). It can be concluded that female primary teachers hold more positions of principals than their counterparts in secondary schools. In secondary schools more men than women hold headship positions.

Gender distribution in leadership positions at LCE

For tertiary level the focus was on teacher education institutions; LCE and NUL as the only institutions of higher education charged with the responsibilities of training teachers in the country. Gender representation in leadership and management positions LCE is presented in the following table.

Table 6.10 Senior management positions by gender at LCE, 2010

Position	Number(s)	Males	Females
Rector	1	1	–
Deputy rectors	2	1	1
Directors	6	4	2
Librarian	1	–	1
Bursar	1	–	1
Registrar	1	–	1
Deans	3	3	–
Totals	**15**	**9**	**6**

Source: Lesotho College of Education calendar 2009–2010.

According to Colman (2003: 58) leadership is a much 'gendered' concept in a wide variety of cultural contexts; it continues to be identified with the male and there is a tendency to assume that the 'rightful' leader is a male. In line with Colman's view, the Deans' positions are only held by men at LCE and the directorate positions are also held by a low percentage of women (33 per cent). The Deputy Rectors' positions are equally distributed between the two genders. Figure 6.4 further clarifies the status quo with regard to gender representation in management positions at LCE by providing graphical comparison of representation between the two genders. Out of six directors there are only two who are female. Despite the large numbers of women teachers, and the fact that women staff also constitute a modest majority within LCE (59 per cent) female managers comprise only 40 per cent of senior management team at LCE. From the data presented in Figure 6.4 and Table 6.10, it can be construed that the highest positions are held by men while more women hold the middle management positions at LCE. This indicates that statistical 'feminisation' of the teaching profession is mainly applicable to the role of teachers themselves, as opposed to the entire structure of the teaching profession.

Figure 6.4 Senior management positions by gender at LCE, 2010

Source: LCE Calendar 2009/2010.

Gender representation in leadership positions at NUL

The following table illustrates gender representation in leadership and management positions at NUL from vice chancellor to deans.

Table 6.11 Senior management positions at NUL, 2010

The picture here is more complex: most senior positions (VC and PVC) at NUL are

Position	Numbers	Males	Females
Acting VC	1	1	–
Acting PVC	1	1	–
Librarian	1	–	1
Registrar	1	–	1
Directors	3	1	2
Deans	7	6	1
Total	**14**		

Source: Institute of Education NUL (2010).

occupied by males while two out of three directors are females at NUL. The biggest magnitude of gender disparity is observed in the positions of the deans; there is only one female dean out of seven deans. This further confirms the observations that despite high levels of feminisation within teacher numbers, the most senior positions are held by males at the tertiary level.

School performance and transitions by gender

Results from the 2007–2008 Primary School Leaving Examinations (ECOL, 2008) showed that overall boys and girls are performing roughly about the same. A district wide analysis

of the results suggests that boys actually receive better pass marks than girls in five out of the ten districts (when reviewing the first class pass percentages), and were only a few percentage points behind girls in other districts. Three of the districts with the highest grades overall – such as Thaba-Tseka, Qacha's Nek and Butha-Buthe – had varied female teacher percentages from 67 per cent (Thaba-Tseka) to 80 per cent (Butha-Buthe).

The performance of boys at primary schools relative to their female counterparts was further demonstrated with transition rates. Standard seven in basic education is the exit point from primary into junior secondary schools and the transition rates at this point are presented in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12 Transition rates from Standard 7 to Form A, 2001–2009

Transits from Standard 7 to Form A				Transition rates		
Year	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
2001	9799	13035	22834	67.0	66.7	66.8
2002	10354	13698	24046	65.3	62.2	63.5
2003	10121	13138	23259	63.6	62.1	61.6
2004	10892	14367	24809	67.5	64.7	66.5
2005	11586	14999	26585	69.6	68.3	68.9
2006	10924	14205	25129	70.3	69.1	69.6
2007	12995	17980	30975	68.3	66.4	67.2
2008	12527	17525	30052	68.0	70.0	69.2
2009	13198	18105	31303	71.7	74.1	73.1

Source: MOET Planning Unit (2009).

The transition rates at these levels show that from 2001 to 2007 more males than females were able to pass standard seven and proceed to junior secondary. Minor differences were only observed in 2008 and 2009 when more females than males from primary schools went to secondary schools.

Table 6.13 Transition rates from Form C to Form D, 2001–2009

Year	Males	Females	Total
2001	73.8	72.4	73.0
2002	74.3	75.2	74.8
2003	79.0	77.0	77.9
2004	78.3	76.4	77.2
2005	75.2	73.7	74.4
2006	75.2	73.2	74.2
2007	68.7	67.0	67.7
2008	71.8	75.7	74.0
2009	71.7	78.2	75.3

Source: MOET Planning Unit (2009).

Transition rates between junior secondary and senior secondary levels were also inspected. According to Table 6.13, transition rates seem to have been deviating annually; in 2001 more males than females went to senior secondary schools. However this changed in 2002 when more female students entered into the senior level. The situation continued until 2008 and 2009 when more male students went to high schools.

The tables present two interesting assumptions regarding teacher profession feminisation: firstly, male students are not necessarily underperforming compared to their female counterparts, and therefore this cannot be attributed in any way to the reason why males are not going into the teaching profession; and secondly that a majority of female teachers (75 per cent at primary and 59 per cent at secondary) are not adversely affecting the transition rates of one gender over the other.

Number of graduates at exit levels in tertiary institutions

It was also necessary to examine gender representation amongst the graduating students at exit level as this could be in a position to present a clearer picture of the main source of feminisation of teaching profession.

Teacher trainee graduates at LCE by gender (2002–2009)

The following table portrays the gender distribution among the graduating students in years 2002–2009.

Table 6.14 Teacher trainee graduates at LCE by gender, 2002–2009

	Secondary teacher trainees					Primary teacher trainees				
Year	All	M	%	F	%	All	M	%	F	%
2009	262	94	36	168	64	844	253	30	590	7O
2008	258	69	27	176	73	537	150	28	387	72
2007	194	82	42	112	58	526	132	25	394	75
2006	115	44	38	71	62	210	56	27	154	73
2005	110	55	50	55	50	218	55	25	163	75
2004	102	40	39	62	61	242	55	23	187	77
2003	116	45	39	71	61	224	65	29	159	71
2002	119	48	40	71	60	181	50	28	131	72

Sources: LCE Graduation Programmes (2007–2009).

Table 6.14 also corroborates data presented earlier, with female graduate representation evident at LCE. Feminisation is evident in both secondary and primary graduates however; it is highest among primary graduates. Female representation among secondary graduates ranges between 50 per cent and 73 per cent while for primary graduates the range is 70–77 per cent. On the other hand, males are under-represented among both the primary and the secondary graduates with the ranges between 23 per cent and 30 per cent; and 27–50 per cent. Throughout the annual increase in number of graduating students (quite a dramatic increase at the primary level in 2008), feminisation of teaching profession continues to be observed throughout the years, although the percentage of female graduates has not increased significantly.

Graduating students at National University Lesotho in 2010

At the National University of Lesotho (NUL), lists of graduating prospective teachers were also scrutinised for gender representation. The analysis focussed only on teacher education programmes and this was determined by the context of this study. Table 6.15 illustrates a profile of graduating student teachers at NUL for the 35th convocation on Saturday, 25 September 2010.

Table 6.15 Graduating secondary and primary teacher trainees at NUL, 2010

Degrees/diplomas	Graduates				
		Males		Females	
	All	No.	%	No.	%
Postgraduate Diploma in Education	14	6	43	8	57
Master of Adult Education	16	3	18	13	82
Bachelor of adult Education	44	6	14	38	86
Bachelor of Education	310	102	33	208	67
Bachelor of Science Education	48	34	71	14	29
Higher Diploma in primary Education	220	50	23	170	77
Diploma in Agricultural Education	19	9	47	10	53
Average graduating teachers %	**671**	**210**	**36 %**	**461**	**64 %**

Source: NUL graduation programme (2010).

This also corroborates that there are more women more women than men in teaching profession in Lesotho; more female student teachers than male student teachers graduated from NUL in recent graduation(25 September 2010). The percentage of female graduates is not markedly different to those at LCE. It can be inferred that the feminisation of teaching starts with entry into the teaching profession at the level of training. Despite high levels of female representation in almost all teacher education programmes for the graduating student teachers of NUL this year (2010), an exceptionally very low representation of women (29 per cent) who obtained qualifications in Bachelor of Science Education (B.SC.ED) was revealed. Similar to most

of primary teacher groups, men were least represented (23 per cent) in Higher Diploma in Primary Education programme graduated this year.

The field research

This section delineates the methods and procedures followed to carry out the empirical component of the study.

The purpose of the empirical research was to:

- identify factors that contribute to feminisation of the teaching profession at primary level;
- determine the impact of feminisation – if any – on the performance of boys, on the status of the profession, and on the salaries of teachers;
- uncover ways of striking a balance between proportions of men and women in the teaching profession.

Research tools

Two qualitative questionnaires (A and B) were used to collect data in this case study. The purpose of questionnaire A was to find in-depth opinions with respect to reasons for high levels of feminisation of the teaching profession in primary schools, its impact on performance of the boys, the status of the profession and the salaries of teachers. The questionnaire further searched for the opinions of the teachers with regard to the strategies that may be implemented to retain the male teachers that are already in the profession and attract more to join the profession. The purpose of questionnaire B was to close the gaps in data collected in using questionnaire A.

Sampling techniques

For questionnaire A, cluster sampling was found appropriate to sample four out of ten districts of Lesotho. One district was selected from each of four main geographic zones to represent a cluster. The schools and teachers were selected conveniently on the basis of availability and accessibility because of time and budgetary constraints. Sixty was the targeted number of teachers per district regardless how many were available from each of the participating schools. The return rates vary between 58 and 38 completed questionnaires, totalling 154 responses in all.

Table 6.16 Sample of districts per ecological region

Ecological zone(s)	Foothills	Lowlands	Highlands	Senqu River Valley
District	Berea	Maseru	Mokhotlong	Qacha's Nek

Figure 6.5 Ten districts of Lesotho

For questionnaire B convenience sampling was also found suitable. Sampling mostly depended on availability and convenience of teachers, and was much smaller in size. 60 teachers (30 males and 30 females) were targeted. Some teachers were the current students in advanced diploma in special education programme at LCE (The programme is a new one year primary teachers' programme in special education, it is offered to experienced and qualified primary teachers who already hold PTC, APTC or DEP certificates. The other teachers were DTEP year four students who had converged at LCE for December, 2010 examinations.

Validity and reliability of the study

Qualitative questionnaires allowed participants to 'speak out' their minds and express their opinions as freely as possible. Some questions answered by statistics were repeated in the questionnaire. The responses were written by the respondents themselves. The return rate was 60 per cent. Saturation of similar or related views or points was easily reached. When analysing the responses of the participants, phrases and short sentences were categorised in sub themes and consequently examined.

Limitations of the study

The study had some limitations as indicated below:

- It was not easy to access some of the necessary statistical data such as differences between low, middle and high income constituencies for reasons of confidentiality.
- All schools could not be included in the empirical study due to time and budgetary constraints. Only registered schools were investigated. Data on union membership by gender was also not accessed for the same reasons.
- The empirical study was narrowed to the feminisation of teaching profession in primary schools leaving out secondary schools and institutions of higher education. Furthermore, few primary schools were selected from each of the four sampled districts so that data collected through a highly qualitative questionnaire could be manageable.
- When analysing the responses of the participants, phrases and short sentences were categorised into sub-themes and consequently examined but numbers could not correspond as in some questions the teachers were requested to give as many responses as they could.

  Finally
- Most teachers did not respond to the question on the impact of feminisation of teaching profession on performance of boy-children.

Questionnaire A: responses and findings

The questionnaire contained fifteen open-ended questions and the questions were categorised into four main sections according to major questions of the case study. The questionnaire was distributed at different times as the selected districts constituted clusters. Some of the copies of the questionnaire were distributed to schools in Mokhotlong district during teaching practice school visits. As a result the participating schools for Mokhotlong districts are not many schools. For Qacha's Nek the questionnaire was completed by LCE Distance Teacher Education Primary (DTEP) student teachers who attended contact session in Qacha's Nek in September, 2010. For Berea district some copies of a questionnaire were distributed by the researcher to few schools while a certain portion of the copies of the questionnaire were completed by Berea primary teachers who converged at LCE in Maseru for contact sessions for part-time B.Ed primary programme. Lastly, it must also be noted that some of Maseru primary teachers who participated in this study were B.ED part-time students who had also converged at LCE for mid-term contact sessions.

Presentation, analysis and findings of data

The following section presents data, the findings and conclusions from questionnaire A. Initial background data of a personal nature was requested and enumerated as shown in some tables below. Biographical information was sought in section I of the questionnaire. These included information on the names of districts, schools, age groups and qualifications. The numbers of male and female teachers as well as the gender of principals and the deputy principals were sought and used for validation of the existing statistical data in respect of feminisation of the teaching profession in Lesotho primary schools. The names of individual schools are not used in analysis of the data for confidentiality. Respondents were not asked to identify their gender on this questionnaire, leaving the gender desegregation of responses to the smaller sample used for questionnaire B.

Numbers and age groups of the participants

154 teachers participated in questionnaire A. Of those, the following age desegregations were found:

Table 6.17 Age groups of participating teachers

Age group (years)	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	Above 60	Total
Mokhotlong	11	14	9	8	1	43
Berea	11	22	6	4	1	44
Maseru	13	11	3	3	–	30
Qacha's Nek	21	11	3	2	–	37
	56	**58**	**21**	**17**	**2**	**154**

Most teachers are between age groups 30–40 and 20–30 years of age respectively. Only small numbers of teachers belong to age groups 40–50, 50–60, and lastly, 60 and above.

Participating teachers by gender and schools per districts

The 154 participating teachers were asked to indicate the numbers of both female and male teachers in their secondary schools respectively. The following table shows the numbers of women teachers among the schools selected for research.

Table 6.18 Participating teachers by gender in selected schools by district

Districts	Schools	All teachers	Gender of teachers			
			Males		Females	
			No.	%	No.	%
Mokhotlong	8	97	25	26	72	74
Berea	24	265	42	16	223	84
Maseru	30	491	89	32	402	68
Qacha's Nek	39	232	61	26	171	74
Totals	**101**	**1085**	**217**	**20**	**868**	**80**

The results for these questions clearly show very high representation of women (80 per cent) in participating primary schools as opposed to representation of male counterparts (20 per cent). These results correlate with current statistics on gender imbalance in the teaching profession at the primary level.

Schools and gender of principals and deputy principals

Table 6.19 Principals and deputy principals by gender in sampled schools per district

	Number of schools	Principals		Deputy principals	
Districts		**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**
Mokhotlong	8	3	5	6	2
Berea	24	3	21	1	20
Maseru	30	7	23	3	25
Qacha's Nek	39	13	26	10	22
Total	**101**	**26**	**75**	**20**	**69**

Newly established primary schools do not have deputy principals, hence the number of deputy principals is not equal to the number of participating schools as indicated. In Berea and Maseru districts three and two did have deputy principals. The table shows that in primary schools more women than men hold the positions of headship.

The following questions were then asked regarding their opinions on the feminisation of the teaching profession in Lesotho:

1) In your opinion, why do you think many women choose to become primary teachers?
2) Which reasons influenced you in particular to choose to become a primary teacher?
3) In your opinion, what is the impact of having far more female teachers than me (feminisation) in your school?
4) Do you think that boys need male teachers to perform better in schools?
5) Do you think that having too many female teachers lead to a reduction of teachers' salaries in the profession?
6) What strategies do you think might help more men enter the profession?

Participants were asked to give reasons for the answer to each of the questions. The resultant data was tabulated to easily manage and organise into meaningful themes and sub-themes.

1& 2) Answers around reasons for choosing the teaching profession

Table 6.20 Reasons why individual teachers choose to become primary teachers

Sub-themes	Examples of common phrases in teachers' responses
Love of a profession and to work with small children	Like the job... enjoys playing with kids... patient.... interested.... easy to control... respectful... easy to work with children.... passion for young ones... it is a calling...to impart knowledge and skills to children, teacher and parental role model...development of young children
Academic marginalisation	Because of qualification at COSC, ... did not qualify for the university, ...because of my poor C.O.S.C results;
Job security	...was desperate for a job, I needed a job,.... only job available,.... to earn a living
Access	Easy to enter into the profession...easy job.
Work and family	...Can work and stay at home...primary schools near homes, to meet domestic demands.
Opportunities	Can study part-time

Table 6.21 Opinions on reasons why women choose the teaching profession

Sub-themes	Examples of common phrases in teachers' responses
Natural fitness of job	To care for the young...care takers... responsibility to young children by nature... motherly care ... like small children ...are merciful, patient... sympathetic ... have good approach, easy to teach small ones, ...communicate better with small children... like to bring up small children... guardians to young one ... know family life.... nature of women to care for the young ones.... teaching is women's work...children are their responsibility...they are good at looking after small ones... woman's work is to raise children...can talk well to children...they are not harsh...naturally responsible for young ones...naturally born to care for young ones... good in caring for the young ones... they like small kids, good at raising young ones...are care takers... good at handling young ones...can nurture young ones...like the profession... development of young children
Work and family	Work near home ...no transfers... look after families...can work and stay at home...easy to find work near home...primary teachers usually stay with their families...work and look after children at home. ... can have children and live with them....want to live with their children...want to care for their families, like to stay permanently in their homes
Academic Marginalisation	Could only be accepted into primary programme ...qualified only for primary teaching, no other job available and no qualification to work in secondary schools ...low qualifications...do not qualify to work in secondary schools.
Low self esteem	Women undermine themselves...do not like challenging things...
Stress free job	Primary children are easy to control...easy to manage...easy to handle... Primary pupils are not rough... they obey rules...they are not troublesome...they are obedient... they are not stubborn ...Do not want to work with teenagers...
Job security	Easy to find job
Access	easy to get DEP qualifications ...easy to get DEP courses
Culture	By culture women look after children

Looking at the responses to both questions, it is clear that many teachers chose to become teachers for several reasons that can be related into a series of both positive and negative premises. The response themes are ordered according to frequency. On the positive side, these included: love of the profession and to work with small children; the nature of women to like and care for the young ones and fitness of job for women; the ability to work while they also look after families; easy and more open access to the job; greater job security, lack of stress, as well as other opportunities such as studying part-time. Negative reasons for joining the profession included: a feeling of academic marginalisation by circumstances, indicated that they could only be accepted into diploma programmes or that there was no other alternative employment; low self esteem (which by implication suggests that they did not have the self esteem to apply for other, more coveted roles).

3) Answers around the impact of feminisation on the status of the teaching profession

Table 6.22 Impact of feminisation on status of teaching profession

There is no impact	There is a positive effect	There is negative effect
No impact ...females can do what males can do... As long as they have same qualification females can do as well as males	Can handle and teach kids ...women behave better than men...know how to talk to young children ...play vital role in handling the young ...Can solve problems of small children ...female teachers work hard.	Women are lazy to carry out manual work and other duties ...gender bias decision making ...Children will think teaching is for women ... it is women's profession... conflicts...females like to gossip ... jealous, like to quarrel and can affect performance of the school and some time for teaching affected ... men think it is women's work or gender-oriented profession ... it is unfavourable working environment for men... Basotho customs undermine women ... women considered as inferior...primary schools taken as day care centres... some years back only females could teach when men go to the mines in south Africa.

There are conflicting opinions with regard to the impact of feminisation of the teaching profession. Some teachers feel that there is no impact on the teaching profession as the qualifications themselves are independent of whether a person is a female or a male. In other words, the preponderance of women in the teaching profession indicated that both females and males can equally perform well. On the other hand, some teachers felt that feminisation has had a negative impact on status of teaching profession for reasons such as the gender prejudices associated with women, poor decision making and the creation of a working environment that no longer appears applicable to men. Many participants did note the issue with salaries, highlighting that some time ago fewer men began to work in primary schools as many opted to work in the mines where the salaries were better (MOET 2006).

4) Answers around whether boys need male teachers to perform better in school

The responses of the participants also showed conflicting opinions with regard to this issue. Most teachers indicated that the gender of the teacher has no impact on performance of boys but without giving reasons. Those who did feel that more male teachers were needed indicated the following:

Table 6.23 Impact of feminisation on performance of boys

No!	Yes! Reasons
No! They do not need male teachers (with no reasons given).	Boys listen better if taught by males ...for discipline ...they need men as role models ...women are gender bias ... Boys need male teachers to control their behaviour ... discipline problems ... Boys need men for their needs ...many boys drop out because they have no role models. ..Because of weak nature of women... some activities need to be done by men ...

Despite those who answered with a view that feminisation had had a negative impact, the general opinion appears to be that the feminisation of the teaching profession has no impact on performance of boys in schools. Those who are of the opinion that feminisation of teaching profession has an impact of performance of boys indicate that these were primarily for discipline and good performance, and that boys need men as role models. For example, they point out that despite the fact that female teachers know how to handle small children, they may be lacking necessary skills to handle disciplinary problems of boys in schools. The implication is that this can affect the performance of boys negatively because of reasons including what some respondents described as the 'soft nature of women'.

5) Answers around the impact of feminisation on the salaries of teachers

Table 6.24 Impact of feminisation on salaries of teachers

No!	Yes! Negative effect
No reasons given.	Low because it is assumed that their husbands earn some salaries ... females are afraid to stand up for their rights. E.g. fighting for salary increase... Because of weak nature of women ...males need more salaries...female teachers do not fight for salaries they are satisfied with little ... they accept every thing ...even poor salaries...if salaries are not good men move away.

Most participants did not respond to this question. Many did not appear to fully understand the thrust of the question and instead answered primarily to the issue of prejudices in salaries between male and female teachers already within the system. However, most respondents did begin to address the issue by also responding that – unlike female teachers – male teachers can fight for salary increases if there are more of them in primary schools. The view appears to be that as men are less represented,

their voices in the advocacy for good salaries and other opportunities may not be heard. It was acknowledged that many had left the profession for 'greener pastures' in neighbouring South Africa.

6) Answers around strategies for attracting and retaining men into the teaching profession

Most teachers responded and suggested the following strategies to address high levels of feminisation in primary schools in their own words:

> *Changing attitudes of men towards taking care of small children..., increase of salaries and attractive salaries,... improve working conditions/ infrastructure,... introduction of practical subjects, (men) be given leadership positions and incentives like housing allowances,...introduction of subject specialisations or subject teaching ...and equal opportunities for both secondary and primary teachers.*

The most common response was to increase salaries and improve of working conditions in primary schools. The teachers' responses on what can be done to retain men in the teaching profession included the following were similar:

All in all the teachers seem to have the following opinions with regard to attracting and retaining men in teaching profession:

- Increasing salaries and improving working conditions like introduction of subject teaching and improvement of infrastructure – this was by far the most common response;
- In-service training to change male teachers' attitudes towards teaching young children;
- Address male drop-outs from school and increasing access for male students in teacher training institutions by giving them administrative positions.

Questionnaire B: presentation, analysis and the findings of the data

Questionnaire B used a much smaller sample of teachers (60 in total, 30 men and 30 women) and requested that respondents indicate their gender in the questionnaire so that the data responses could be disaggregated. The same five open-ended questions were used.

Responses of male teachers

Reasons for choosing to become teachers

This question required male teachers to give reasons for choosing to become schoolteachers. All 24 male teachers responded and gave the following reasons.

> *Working with young children is easy (11)… to improve the quality of education in Lesotho (3)… to help children develop/raise/ at an early stage (4)… wanted to earn a salary (4)… was limited to/by teaching by my COSC results (2).*

Generally, it can be deduced from the results that male teachers mostly chose teaching because they felt it was easy work to help to raise and teach children. Only a few indicated that their primary motivation was improve the quality of education. Two felt that they were forced by the circumstances because of not having very good COSC results that marginalised them to opt for teaching to earn a living.

Impact of feminisation on the status of teaching profession

The questionnaire requested the male teachers to give their views regarding the impact of having more female teachers on the status of the teaching profession. Three

teachers did not respond to this question, 21 teachers responded, and 14 teachers responded that they felt there had been an impact on the status of the profession and gave the following reasons:

> *Females are not able to discipline learners, especially older boys and teenage girls(4)…they like (cause) conflicts (5)…make teaching seem a female career (2) ...females are afraid to fight for their rights hence the low salaries in the teaching profession (3).*

From the views above it appears that some male teachers feel that women teachers have a negative impact on the teaching profession due to their failure to discipline older boys and teenage girls. There were also more cryptic responses that indicated a negative male view of women "liking" and "causing" conflicts, while some felt that large numbers of women in the profession make teaching seem like an inferior profession because they are afraid to fight for their rights, hence the low salaries in the teaching profession.

However, seven teachers responded that the status had not been negatively impacted, and provided the following reasons:

> *Female teachers have skills for educating small children (3) …Baby sitting is done well by females (2)…women understand children's problems better.(2)*

From the results above it is revealed that some teachers do not believe that having more female teachers has anything to do with a lowering in the status of the profession, and instead feel that women are well suited due to innate skills for teaching small children and understanding their problems better. Those male teachers who responded were of the opinion that women are actually better suited to the job of teaching young children, implying that the status cannot be impacted because primary teaching is quite a gendered profession in their view.

Impact of feminisation on performance of boys

This required teachers to respond on whether they felt a higher proportion of female teachers had made any difference to the way boys performed. The results are presented below: All 24 teachers responded. 15 teachers felt that feminisation had resulted in a negative impact (often coupled with an inference that more male teachers are needed) and gave the following reasons:

> *Male teachers can help with any male challenges(7)…male teachers are better able help with discipline problems(7)…boys can freely share their problems with male teachers (4)…boys relate better with male teachers(3)… boys behave badly and undermine female teachers(3).*

What transpires from these results is more than half of the male respondents in the research felt that men are in a better position to deal with the challenges and disciplinary problems of boys as the boys relate better with them.

Nine teachers who were opposed to the view that feminisation had had any (negative impact) or that boys need male teachers to perform well had the following reasons:

> *Male and female teachers perform the same (6)… It depends on individuals (3).*

This indicates that a while less than half of the respondents, a sizeable proportion of male teachers felt that having lots of women in teaching profession does not affect the performance of boys. These teachers held the view that male and female teachers perform the same, and boys' performance all depended on individual teachers and their abilities as opposed to the gender of the teacher.

Impact of feminisation on salaries of teachers

This requested the teachers' views regarding the impact of having more female teachers on teachers' salaries. The responses are presented below:

Three male teachers felt that there had been a negative impact on salaries due to feminisation and offered the following reasons:

> *Female teachers do not know their work (1)…female needs are cheaper hence low salaries in teaching profession… (2)*

Sixteen of the respondents appeared to respond to the question from a different perspective:

> *Both sexes perform the same job… 'teachers' salaries are determined by the country's economy not by gender.*

Those who disagreed felt that – as both sexes perform the same job – salaries do not depend on gender but on the economy of the country.

Strategies for attracting and retaining men in the teaching profession

Teachers were asked to suggest the means by which male teachers may be retained and attracted into the teaching profession. The results are presented next:

> *Increase teachers' salaries(13)…males should be given upper classes to teach(7)…LEC should implement one year degree after Diploma(1)… sporting activities should be increased in schools(1)…MOET should provide career guidance to influence boys to choose teaching as their career(1)…boys should be given special scholarship to study education(1).*

Motivation seems to be the general view and increasing the salaries seem to the most common suggested strategy. This indicates that despite the overarching view earlier that a high percentage of women teachers had not negatively impacted on salaries, there was still a clear linkage among participants about the gendered nature of high and low salaries within the job market. Other strategies suggested included allocating male teachers to upper classes, implementing a one year diploma by LCE; increasing sporting activities as well as providing career guidance to influence boys to choose teaching as a career and securing scholarships to further their studies in education.

Responses of female teachers

Reasons for choosing the teaching profession

Thirty-seven female teachers responded. Their responses are as follows:

> *Working with young kids is easy (11)…primary school kids are respectful(5)… love for kids (9)…better chance of employment (8)… failure to acquire profession of choice (1)…had no other option (1)…it gives me time to carry on with other projects (1)…had good teacher role models (2).*

The common reason was that women find it easy to work with small children, indicating a similarity with many of the male responses to this question. However, female responses also indicated a love for children and better job security. Several also indicated that they find primary children to be respectful. The results also suggested that female teachers believe that there are better chances of securing employment as a teacher. The fact that some have good teacher role models and that are also able to carry on with other projects seem to be some of the reasons for choosing teaching as a profession.

Impact of feminisation on status of teaching profession

Two women did not attempt this question. Nineteen teachers did not feel that there was a negative impact and gave the following reasons:

> *Male and female teachers have equal training and abilities (7)…males are harsh on small children (1)...women know a lot about children (11)… Difficult for males to teach young classes (6).*

Seven of the responses appear to be suggesting that there has been no negative impact on the teaching profession due to the fact that both genders within the profession adhere to the same standards by having equal training and abilities. A large proportion of the female teachers interviewed felt that women know more about small children, and it is more difficult for men to teach the younger classes. The common views are that while both men and women are equally trained and able, women are suited to the job of handling small children.

Sixteen women felt that the impact of more women on the profession's status was negative and provided the following reasons:

> *...males assist in the growing of boys (3)….. they help with discipline and develop positive attitudes in children (7)…seems that the teaching profession is inferior because of more females and there is a need to balance number of teachers to make the kids confident in their teachers (6).*

Female teachers who agree that having more female teachers has a negative impact on the teaching profession offer a variety of reasons for this. They suggest the need to balance the number of male and female teachers to make children confident in their teachers and also suggest that males are required to assist in the growing of small children; help to discipline them and to develop positive attitudes in them. The understanding is that men are mostly needed for discipline and as role models for the boys.

Impact of feminisation on performance of boys

Sixteen teachers felt that boys needed male teachers for better performance and presented the following reasons:

> *They (men) are able to control bullies… boys would participate freely in class…boys believe females have little knowledge…need male teachers to train them in sports… need male teachers as role models…*

Some female teachers felt that boys need male teachers to perform better because they are able to control bullying, help them (boys) participate freely in class and train them in sports. They also felt that boys need male teacher role models and that boys seem to believe that female teachers have little knowledge. Generally it appears that both male and female teachers who argued for male teachers in this respect felt that

males are needed for proper socio-psychological development of boy-children so that they can perform well.

Twenty-one teachers who disagreed had the following opinions:

Learning has nothing to do with gender (13)…both males and females have the skills to approach both boys and girls (7)…

The common view is that learning has nothing to do with the gender of the teacher because both male and female teachers have skills in approaching both boys and girls.

Impact of feminisation on salaries of teachers

Six teachers said that there had been a negative impact and gave the following reasons:

Women cannot fight for their rights…the men that do (construct) salary structures undermine females…females are not listened to by government…

Some female teachers were clearly of the view that having more female teachers has a negative impact on teachers' salaries. Women's apparent inability to 'fight for their rights' is a view that was previously echoed by a few of the male respondents Looking from the broader perspective of how salary structures are decided within government and by whom, there is an understanding that salaries within teaching may be suffering because women's employment needs are undermined within government.

However, far more were in opposition of this view and they had the following reasons:

They are both professionals (5)…salary is the same whether male or female (26)…

What appears to be suggested by these responses is that from the perspective of the female teachers themselves, having many women teachers does not have any impact on salaries of teachers as the professionalism of both males and females is viewed similarly.

Strategies for attracting and retaining men in the teaching profession

However, the majority of responses to the previous question immediately appear inconsistent in light of the following responses regarding the kind of strategies needed to attract and retain men within the profession, with the majority of respondents indicating that males would respond positively to an increase in teacher salaries.

Motivate them by increasing the salary (23)…good working conditions (4)… have to be taught the importance of working with small children (6)…should be given higher classes to teach (2)…introduce more practical subjects in primary school (2).

Motivating teachers by increasing teachers' salaries seems to be the most universal view to retain and attract teachers in the profession. Such inconsistency lead the provocative suggestion that there is a subconscious acceptance among many male and female teachers themselves that higher salaries and working conditions are an intrinsic part of being a man within the workforce. The implications of what this means in terms undermining the salary of a profession that is now dominated by women (and where therefore higher salaries appear to not be as expected) appears to be explored by only a few within the survey. Some teachers suggest training and improving working conditions, letting men teach higher classes and introducing more practical subjects in primary school.

From the results above it can be concluded that both male and female teachers put forward similar reasons for why women tend to choose teaching as their profession, the most common being the view that working with small kids is easy. On the other hand it seems that there is also a perception that some women were confined to teaching because of the results they obtained at COSC that would not allow them to further their studies in their fields of choice. Respondents also suggested that it is generally easier to secure employment in teaching than other professions.

However, there is a marked difference in the way male and female teachers regard the impact of having more female teachers on the status of the teaching profession. Males were more likely to think that female teachers are not able to discipline children and that female teachers are unable to provide boy children with the right kind of support and gender role models which could impact on their performance. Having said that, the findings did indicate that such views were far from universal, with both male and female respondents generally split in this area. Some male teachers for example think that male and female teachers are equally capable of helping boys to perform better in class. The same view is largely shared by female teachers.

Similarly, most of the male teachers as well as the female teachers believe that salaries have nothing to do with gender; but rather that they are dependent on the economy of the country. Nonetheless, to retain and attract male teachers in to the teaching profession, many respondents felt that the government of Lesotho is advised to motivate male teachers by increasing teachers' salaries. This presents an interesting contradiction within the findings that only deeper questioning of the participants will help to illuminate. It was also felt that there was a need to introduce more practical subjects, as well as implementing more sporting activities in primary schools.

Findings, conclusions and discussions

Feminisation in the teaching profession in terms of high proportions of women teachers compared to men is not a new dynamic in Lesotho – the evidence suggests that women have been at the heart of education provision for several decades. However, the predominance of women within the profession in the last ten years is clearly more complex than at first glance, for while the percentage at the primary level has remained within the 'high feminisation' bracket, there has been a gradual decrease in proportionality, even as the overall numbers have risen. While at the primary level the numbers of teachers in Lesotho are not far off from projections for achieving UPE, with over 30 per cent of the primary teaching workforce currently unqualified (this being higher in the rural areas), there is a clear need for a surge in the training and strategic deployment of more qualified teachers, irrespective of their gender.

Despite the differing degrees of feminisation at all levels of education, there are more female teachers than male teachers in all districts of Lesotho in both primary and post-primary schools. Female teacher numbers are highest in primary schools in the lowlands and more especially so in the densely populated areas such as Maseru and Leribe. Statistical feminisation of the teaching profession is therefore more prominent in the urban areas – this is also where the more qualified teachers tend to stay. Feminisation is evidenced at the earliest stages of the profession, with more women entering teacher training institutions than men.

There are also more female principals than male principals in almost all districts at the primary level, although this lessens significantly at the secondary level, where women are only found as principles in any numbers primarily in the more urban lowlands. Notwithstanding the fact that there are more women than men in the teaching profession at tertiary level, what emerges is that the most senior

management and leadership positions are held by men – the notable exception to this is the teacher training college of LCE itself.

Despite the high percentages of women in the teaching profession gender balance is observed in enrolment statistics in both primary and post primary schools in Lesotho. Transition rates and the performance of pupils at both primary and junior secondary does not appear to contribute to high feminisation in the teaching profession – in other words, it does not appear to be for want of severe lack of school completion that boys choose not to pursue teaching. Gender balance is observed within junior secondary completion, with only slight and insignificant variations occurring annually. One of the starting points of high feminisation lies in the enrolments of teacher trainees at entry points into the teaching profession, and appears to be based more on choice rather than a lack of educated males wanting to become women. Overall the initial implication is that comparably, more women than men apply or 'choose' to become teachers. This in turn gives rise to further questions that would require a far more thorough probing into gender roles, male and female student socialisation within education, along with a deeper understanding of how men and women aspire towards different professional careers in Lesotho society.

Conclusions from the results of the empirical research have helped to flesh-out some of those questions and the statistical trends observed in this study, presenting a combination of reasons for higher female numbers in the profession and offering teacher perspectives on the consequences of such a trend. These ranged from the view that primary teaching was 'easy', along with other reasons that can be related to the following premise: marginalisation by academic circumstances as they indicated that they could only be accepted into diploma programmes or that there was no other alternative employment. Many women also professed a love for the profession and a desire to work with small children, along with the view that it was in the nature of women to like and care for young children. Many teachers within the study also indicated that the profession offered suitable employment conditions for women in Lesotho, allowing them the time to look after their children. Also mentioned was the benefit of greater job security.

There were however conflicting opinions with regard to the impact of feminisation. Most teachers responded that there has been no impact on the teaching profession. On the other hand, some teachers indicated that they felt feminisation has had a negative impact on the status of the teaching profession, suggesting that it led to gender biases and unfavourable working environments for men.

There were similar differing opinions regarding the impact on male students. Most teachers indicated they felt that feminisation has no impact on the performance of boys. However, for those who disagreed with this, the dominant response was around the issues of discipline, role models, and lack of respect for the knowledge of female teachers. There was a feeling that more male teachers are needed in primary schools in order to take care of discipline-related issues and also for boys to feel they could talk to someone. However, it is notable that the general opinion – particularly among women – is that feminisation of the teaching profession has no impact on the performance of boys in schools. Overall, this issue continues to remain a controversial and divisive one which – without conclusive evidence that suggests boys' are underperforming owing to a lack of male teachers – should be handled with caution.

It was also suggested that, since men are less represented in the profession, the call for good salaries and other opportunities within teaching are not being heard by government. This implies recognition that work predominantly done by women is undervalued. However, only a relatively small number of those interviewed gave this quite strong response, with the majority of respondents indicating that they felt

women's presence in the profession had nothing to do with why salaries are kept low. Nonetheless, the overall majority of teachers within the study felt that when attracting more men into the profession, it would be important to increase salaries and improve working conditions in primary schools. Similarly, the most common opinion on how to retain male teachers in primary schools was the need to increase salaries. The contradiction within those responses indicates complexities that need to be addressed in understanding some of the issues.

Recommendations

The following recommendations offer a series of next steps for better understanding the context of feminisation within teaching in Lesotho, and how this ties-in with addressing recruitment of teachers for achieving quality EFA and the education MDGs, attracting more qualified teachers into the profession, including men into the primary sector, and issues around women's employment.

1. This report has demonstrated that there are concerns regarding provision of good salaries. Perspectives around such concerns highlight that men have increasingly felt unable to pursue the profession due to unacceptable salaries that cannot provide them with the earnings needed. The other side of this gendered situation is that women who enter teaching are going into a profession whose value is potentially not being recognised financially. It is understood that Lesotho faces the challenge of meeting EFA and the MDGs by providing more fully qualified teachers for the primary and (in particular) the secondary levels of education, and it also understood that the cost implications of that mean that budgetary constraints make salary increases a challenge for the Lesotho economy. However, it is recommended that the issue of teacher salaries be seriously reviewed and a balance found between the need for expanding teacher numbers and ensuring that the profession does not garner a reputation for low pay. The implications for this in terms of attracting the most qualified individuals for the job, along with potentially negative impacts this will have in the long term on the large numbers of women who currently populate the profession, cannot be ignored. Addressing salary concerns should be taken as being relevant and beneficial to the welfare and motivation of teachers generally, and not just for the pursuance of encouraging male teachers into the profession. While the latter may be desired as a means of dispelling gender perspectives around the suitability of men teaching primary children, policy-makers must be careful to ensure that women themselves are not pushed out of the profession if it becomes more financially desirable to men.
2. Perspectives regarding teaching as women's work appear to be widespread among both genders and these needs to be addressed if any meaningful discussion around gender balance within the primary teaching profession is to be held. Pre-service and in-service training to change male teachers' attitudes towards teaching young children is one small step toward this: training institutions could develop courses that enhance positive attitudes in males so that they can work with small children. Given the wide variances in opinion on the matter, it is also important that perspectives around women's ability to teach boys and older children also be investigated, rather than assumed. However, it is understood that these views reflect deep-rooted perspectives on the roles of men and women within Lesotho society and are therefore also part of a larger debate on gender.
3. With men and the teaching profession in Lesotho, the issue of choice by male students prior to entering teaching institutions will still need to be addressed. A tentative recommendation is to explore the pros and cons of various interventions in this area, such as introducing quota systems for male students into primary level

teacher training programmes and institutions. This recommendation is offered tentatively because it is recognised that quota systems are usually implemented in the case of marginalised groups who need to combat prejudice in a particular sector: there is nothing that indicates that this is the reason for fewer males within the profession. As a result, it would be important that any move towards such a policy would only be viable if similar positive discrimination measures were being offered in professions where women are under-represented.

4. Another tentative recommendation involves introducing more practical subjects such as carpentry, information technology, and others in primary schools as a way to possibly bring more men into the profession. Such an approach would need to be fully cognisant of the need to not over-encourage gender stereotypes in school, with both men and women teachers being encouraged to diversify their specialties when possible to include both 'masculine' and 'feminine' disciplines.

Recommendations for further research

The findings of the study indicate several possible research directions:

- In-depth analysis of gender disaggregated data at the district level of qualified and unqualified teachers.
- Empirical research among teachers at the secondary level on the feminisation debate.
- Empirical research among students at all levels of education on their perspectives regarding the gender of teachers.
- A follow-up study in next five years to see if the statistical trends have remained the same.

7 India

Meera Samson and Anuradha De

The teaching profession in India cannot be said to have been feminised, in the sense of women statistically dominating the teaching profession. Rather the overall picture indicates a shortage of female teachers, and the need to expand recruitment of female teachers, so as to facilitate the attainment of EFA and MDG goals. It is hoped that increasing the number of female teachers will "create a stimulating, participatory learning environment" (meeting at Nagarkot, Nepal in August 1997 cited in UNESCO, 2000).

The paper has five sections. Section 1 provides a statistical overview of the situation in India. Within the Indian sub-continent, there are considerable differences in the extent to which women are represented in the teaching profession. The paper explores these variations, and in particular, focuses on the states of Kerala and Rajasthan, which are at opposite ends of the spectrum on this parameter. Section 2 looks at the policy framework which impacts female teacher recruitment. Section 3 focuses on Kerala where the teaching profession is feminised. It highlights the socio-cultural factors which have facilitated this process, in particular the gendered expectations of women. It discusses how women's choices are further constrained within the teaching profession. Gender relations in present-day Kerala are touched upon. We then come to how high levels of education have affected growth in Kerala, before concluding with some concerns about the quality of education in the state.

Section 4 focuses on Rajasthan, where women are poorly represented in the teaching profession. Schooling in Rajasthan is a relatively recent phenomenon. There are enormous challenges concerning both access and quality of schooling. Rajasthan is still in a situation where it is necessary to recruit female teachers to contribute to greater gender parity and social equity in school enrolment. The situation is very different between urban and rural areas of Rajasthan. Urban areas have much higher proportions of female teachers, although gender roles for women are very strongly defined here too. In rural areas, it is much more difficult to recruit female teachers, with only small proportions of women with the requisite schooling able to go in for higher education and subsequent employment in schools. Teacher training is however a popular choice for girls who are able to enrol in higher education. Gendering within the teaching profession is very strong. We conclude this section with looking at the social background of female teachers in Rajasthan, and suggest why it could be difficult for female teachers in Rajasthan to be change-agents. In the final section, the paper discusses a few research studies which indicate that recruiting female teachers is useful in certain contexts but that it is not sufficient to improve school quality, or to definitively enhance gender and social equity in schools in the Indian context. Kerala with its high proportion of female teachers still struggles with the need to improve the quality of public schooling, and to bring about more gender equity in its society.

Section 1 Overview – women in the teaching profession in India

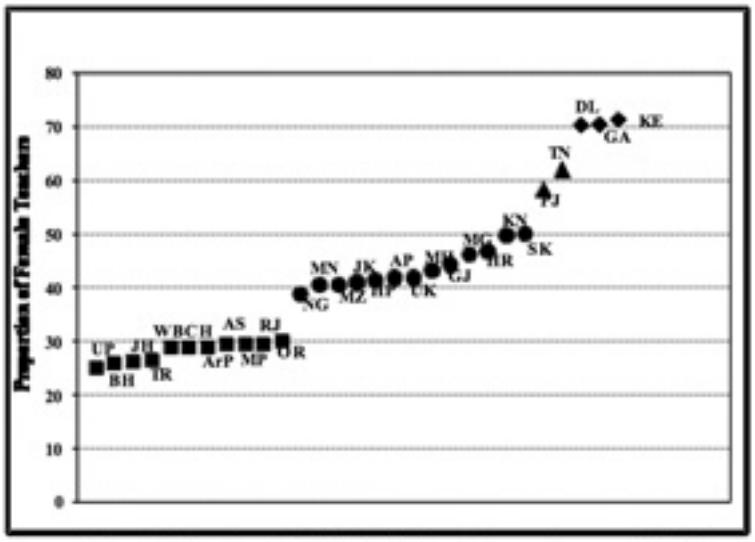
The proportion of female teachers in India among those teaching grades 1–12 was found to be 39.1 per cent in 2006–07. In India, being able to recruit higher proportions of female teachers is still an aspiration for education authorities in most states.

1.1 Variations in proportions of female teachers in different states

Proportions of female teachers vary enormously in different states (see Figure 7.1). They can be separated into 3 groups:

(1) Kerala has the highest proportion of female teachers. There are four other states where the proportion of female teachers is moderately high to high. In these states, the teaching profession could be said to be feminised, if one uses the term to imply that female teachers predominate.
(2) There are 11 states including Rajasthan where proportion of female teachers is considerably lower than the all India average. These include Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, UP, and some of the eastern states (West Bengal, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura and Orissa).
(3) In a number of states (13), the proportions of female teachers are above the all India average but hover around 50 per cent.

Figure 7.1 Statewise proportion of female teachers in schools (grades 1–12), 2006–07



Source: Selected Education Statistics, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India.

UP: Uttar Pradesh	BH: Bihar	JH: Jharkhand
TR: Tripura	WB: West Bengal	CH: Chhattisgarh
ArP: Arunachal Pradesh	AS: Assam	MP: Madhya Pradesh
RJ: Rajasthan	OR: Orissa	NG: Nagaland
MN: Manipur	MZ: Mizoram	JK: Jammu & Kashmir
HP: Himachal Pradesh	AP: Andhra Pradesh	UK: Uttarakhand
MH: Maharashtra	GJ: Gujarat	MG: Meghalaya
HR: Haryana	KN: Karnataka	SK: Sikkim
PJ: Punjab	TN: Tamil Nadu	DL: Delhi
GA: Goa	KE: Kerala	

1.2 Focus of the study: two states – Kerala and Rajasthan

The focus of the study is the situation in two states with great variations in the proportions of females in the teaching profession: the coastal state of Kerala (71 per cent of teachers were female in 2006–07) and the desert state of Rajasthan (30 per cent of teachers were female in the same period). The all India figure for proportion of female teachers (39 per cent) is much closer to Rajasthan than to Kerala; Kerala is very much an outlier.

Kerala is a state which is small in size in terms of area (39 thousand sq. km.), but has a high population density (819 per sq. km.) (see Table 7.1a). It is located on the east coast of the southernmost part of peninsular India. It has fertile land with abundant water and

other resources. The level of urbanisation is relatively low (26 per cent), below the average for India as a whole. At the same time it has 78 towns and cities (with a population of 100,000 or more) (Gopalan, 2004). The relatively low level of urbanisation is because Kerala's villages are well connected and highly developed[22] and there is no large-scale migration to urban areas. However, due to limited employment opportunities in the state, a significant proportion of its population does migrate outside the state – within India and abroad. Kerala has a high per capita NSDP (Rs 43,000) compared to India as a whole (Rs 32,000). While it has a strong agrarian base for its economy, industrial development has lagged behind. The contribution of the services sector to GDP is high (63 per cent). In terms of social composition, Kerala has a mix of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Its historically disadvantaged groups comprise 11 per cent of the population – Scheduled Castes or dalits (10 per cent) and Scheduled Tribes (1 per cent).

Table 7.1a Basic statistics for India, Kerala and Rajasthan

	India	Kerala	Rajasthan
Area (sq. km.)	32,87,240	38,863	3,42,239
Population density (per sq. km.)	325	819	165
Level of urbanisation (%)	28	26	23
Road length, 2008 (length in kms per 100 sq. kms area)	97	527	50
Net State Domestic Product per capita (Rs), 2008–9 (2004–5 prices)	31,801	42,646	23,125
Contribution to GDP, 2008–9 (%)			
Primary	19	12	28
Secondary	24	26	26
Tertiary	57	62	46
Religious groups (%)			
Hindus	80.5	56.2	88.8
Muslims	13.4	24.7	8.5
Christians	2.3	19	Negligible
Others	3.8	0.1	2.7
Scheduled Castes (%)	16.2	9.8	17.2
Scheduled Tribes (%)	8.2	1.1	12.6

Sources: 1. Census, 2001 for all figures for which dates have not been specified. 2. NSDP and road length figures are from Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (www.mospi.nic.in).

Rajasthan is one of India's largest states (at 342 thousand sq. km. it is close to 9 times the size of Kerala); 60 per cent of it is desert and drought-prone (see GOI, 2006). Situated in the north-west of India, it is reported to be the most water-deficient state in the country (Sen et al., 2009). Less than one-quarter of its population (23 per cent in 2001) lives in urban areas, although its urban population is reported to be growing rapidly largely on account of migrants from rural areas coming in search of employment, education, and so on (see GOI, 2006). It has relatively poor connectivity – 50 kms of road length per 100 sq. kms compared to the all India average of 97 kms of road length per 100 sq. km (see Table 7.1a). Its per capita NSDP is far below the all India average, and only a fraction of that in Kerala. The contribution of the primary sector (subsistence rain-fed agriculture; animal husbandry, marble/stone/tiles) to GDP is 28 per cent, indicating that it plays a larger role than in Kerala and in India as a whole; the proportionate contribution of the secondary sector is similar to that in Kerala; while the services sector's contribution to GDP at 46 per cent (though far less significant than in Kerala), is still the largest in Rajasthan. Close to 90 per cent of the population is Hindu, with Muslims forming a sizeable minority. The state has a high proportion of historically disadvantaged groups – 17 per cent of its population belong to the dalit community and 13 per cent of its population are classified as belonging to Scheduled Tribes.

22 This has led to the coinage of the term "rurban" to describe much of the countryside in Kerala (Sreekumar, 1990 cited in Kanaan, 2000).

Table 7.1b Development indicators for India, Kerala and Rajasthan

	India	Kerala	Rajasthan
IMR Infant mortality rate (per 1000), 2008	53	12	63
MMR Maternal mortality rate, 2007	254	95	388
TFR Total fertility rate, 2008	2.6	1.7	3.3
FMR Female Male Ratio	933	1058	921
Literacy rate (%)			
All	65.4	90.9	60.4
Females	53.7	87.9	43.9
Literacy rates among SCs (%)			
All	54.7	82.7	52.2
Females	41.9	65.0	33.9
Literacy rates among STs (%)			
All	47.1	64.4	44.7
Females	34.7	43.5	26.2
Per capita budgeted expenditure (Rs) on education, 2007–08*	6208	8400	4963
Per capita expenditure on education as a % of domestic product, 2007–08**	4.0	3.6	3.4

Notes: *Based on Plan/non-Plan expenditure.
**Based on expenditure from revenue account.
Sources: 1. Census, 2001 for all figures for which dates have not been specified. 2. Infant mortality rate from Economic Survey of India, 2010–11. 3. Total fertility rate and Maternal mortality rate from indiastat.com. 4. Expenditure figures, 2007–08 calculated from data accessed through Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (www.mospi.nic.in) and www.indiastat.com

Kerala is justifiably highly acclaimed for its high indicators of overall development. It has a low Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) (14/1000 live births); and a comparatively low Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) (95 women dying in childbirth/100,000 live births) (see Table 7.1b). Its low Total Fertility Rate (TFR) (1.7) indicates that it is in an advanced stage of demographic transition. Its high Female Male Ratio (FMR) (1058) reflects that females are not disadvantaged here, as they are in much of India, in the sense that even their survival is threatened. Kerala is educationally well-developed as is indicated by a high female literacy rate (88 per cent). Literacy among its dalit population is high at 83 per cent; though female literacy in these communities is much lower at 65 per cent. Far worse is the situation for the tribals in Kerala who form only 1 per cent of the population (overall literacy is 64 per cent with female literacy at 44 per cent). The per capita budgeted expenditure on education is as high as Rs 8335, benefiting from Kerala's high net state domestic product.

Rajasthan, on the other hand, has very poor development indicators, particularly reflecting the acute lack of gender equity in the state. It has a high IMR of 80/1000 live births; and a high MMR of 388 deaths due to childbirth per 100,000 live births. It has a high TFR of 3.3, indicating that it is in a much earlier state of demographic transition than Kerala. It also has a low FMR of 921/1000 males. Its relative backwardness in the field of education is revealed in its low female literacy rate (44 per cent in 2001). Female literacy among the SC groups is still lower at 34 per cent, and lower than that among STs at 26 per cent.

The relative differences between India, Kerala and Rajasthan are also visible when looking at school attendance figures collected in household surveys by NSSO (National Sample Survey Organisation). We focus on rural areas. Within Kerala, 84 per cent of the children from the least advantaged group – the STs – are enrolled in school (see Table 7.2a). Higher proportions of children are enrolled among all other social groups. Looking at figures for India as a whole, girls are less likely to be enrolled than boys, and similarly children from SC families are less likely to be enrolled than those from OBC families, and children from ST families are less likely to be enrolled than children from SC families. Deprivation is most acutely visible for girls in rural Rajasthan – 68 per cent of them are enrolled compared to 85 per cent of the boys.

Table 7.2a School attendance rates for the 5–14 age group (rural), 2004–05

Proportion (%) who reported attending school	India	Kerala	Rajasthan
Boys	83.5	96.2	85.3
Girls	76.7	98.3	68.1
OBC	84.3	97.4	86.0
SC	80.9	93.6	84.9
ST	76.7	84.2	78.6

Source: GOI, 2004–05, NSSO, 61st Round.

Enrolment of girls in grades 10 and 12 and in higher education are based on school and college data collected by the Ministry of Human Development of the Government of India. These figures also reflect the very different situations in the two states (see Table 7.2b). The Kerala figures do not indicate that girls are at a disadvantage. On the other hand, in grade 12 and in higher education, they are a higher proportion of total enrolment (54.6 per cent and 54.4 per cent, respectively). In Rajasthan, enrolment figures indicate girls being greatly disadvantaged – they are approximately one-third of total enrolment (in class 10, class 12 and in higher education). The situation for India as a whole, shows girls at a disadvantage, but to a lesser extent than in Rajasthan. In India, they are 43 per cent of total enrolment in grades 10 and 12. Proportions decline further to 39 per cent in higher education.

Table 7.2b Comparing girls' enrolment in India, Kerala and Rajasthan (for grades 10/12 in school and in higher education)

	India	Kerala	Rajasthan
No. of girls who are enrolled in class 10, 2007–8	57,95,659	2,44,264	2,67,369
Proportion (%) of enrolled who are female	43.4	50.3	34.4
No. of girls who are enrolled in class 12, 2007–8	32,93,321	1,44,618	1,20,897
Proportion (%) of enrolled who are female	43.0	54.6	32.1
No. of girls enrolled in higher education, 2006–7	59,59,236	2,45,506	1,77,347
Proportion (%) of enrolled who are female	38.8	54.4	33.8

Source: Statistics of School Education (2007–8) for girls enrolled in classes 10 and 12; Annual Report, 2008–09, MHRD for girls enrolled in higher education.

Finally, we compare proportions of women who have completed class 10 in urban and rural areas, data for which are available through household surveys conducted by the NFHS (National Family Health Survey). Even Kerala, who has a history of women's education being encouraged had only 30 per cent of rural women and 36 per cent of urban women who had completed grade 10 (see Table 7.2c). Figures for India as a whole were much lower – 8 per cent of women in rural India and 29 per cent of women in urban areas had completed grade 10, and figures for Rajasthan were really dismal (22 per cent in urban areas and 2 per cent in rural areas).

Table 7.2c Completion of secondary schooling among adult women, 2005–06

Proportion (%) of adult women (15–49 years) who have completed class 10:	India	Kerala	Rajasthan
Urban	28.5	35.8	21.9
Rural	8.0	29.9	2.0

Source: NFHS-3, 2005–06.

The wide range of statistics are extremely useful as they provide a comparative overview of the situation in the two states of Kerala and Rajasthan and where they stand relative to the country as a whole.

1.3 Changes in proportions of female teachers in India, Kerala and Rajasthan from 2002 onwards

There appears to have been little change in the proportion of female teachers for India as a whole in the four year period prior to 2006–07, although the number of female teachers has increased from 2.2 million to 2.5 million in this period (see Table 7.3).

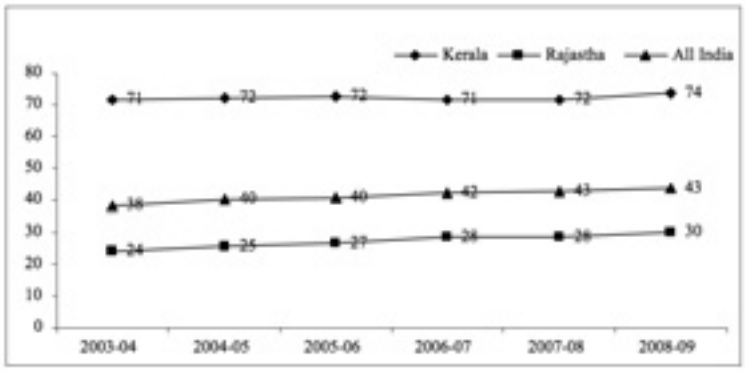
Table 7.3 Changes in numbers and proportion of female teachers, 2002–03 to 2006–07

	No. of female teachers (thousands)	Proportion (%) of female teachers
2002–03	2203	39.9
2004–05	2240	38.4
2006–07	2458	39.1

Source: Selected Education Statistics, various years.

This data based on Selection Education Statistics is collected annually by MHRD, GOI, but is available only till 2006–07. More recent data was available through DISE, which is collected annually by NUEPA, but excludes schools which do not have primary or upper primary grades. We use DISE data to look at changes in proportions of female teachers in India, Kerala and Rajasthan between 2003–4 and 2008–9 (see Figure 7.2). The DISE data indicate that in Kerala, proportions of female teachers are high and increasing only marginally, while in Rajasthan, the proportions are low but increasing at a slightly higher rate. Proportions of female teachers for India as a whole follow a similar pattern of increasing at a steady rate from 38 per cent in 2003–04 to 43 per cent in 2008–09.

Figure 7.2 Proportion of female teachers



Source: DISE, State Report Cards, various years.

1.4 Disaggregating the picture for India: extent of female representation among teachers

Primary / middle / secondary and senior secondary schools

Data suggests lower proportions of female teachers at higher levels of schooling. Proportions of female teachers are highest in primary and middle schools (see Table 7.4), slightly lower in secondary schools, and slightly lower than that in senior secondary schools. The picture presented by SES data is slightly blurred because data is not collected separately for different stages of schooling. Data is disaggregated only by school. A further disadvantage of SES data is that it is not disaggregated for urban and rural areas.

Table 7.4 Proportion (%) of female teachers: all India (2006–07)

Primary schools (1–5)	39.6
Middle schools (1–8, 6–8)	39.5
Secondary schools (1–10, 6–10, 9–10)	38.5
Senior secondary schools (1–12, 6–12, 9–12)	37.9
All schools	39.1

Note: In several states, the primary stage includes grades 1–4, the middle or upper primary stage includes grades 5–7, with the next stage beginning with grade 8. Source: SES 2006–07.

Urban and rural areas

The DISE data indicate high proportions of female teachers in urban (65 per cent) compared to rural areas (37 per cent) in 2008–09. The rural urban gap in proportions of female teachers was found to be high in all states with the exception of Kerala (see section 3).

Table 7.5 Rural urban gaps in proportions (%) of female teachers in 2007–08

% of female teachers:	Rural	Urban	All
In primary schools (grades 1–4,5)	37.7	69.6	42.3
In primary plus upper primary schools (1–7,8)	38.3	66.6	45.1
In primary plus secondary / senior secondary (1–10; 1–12)	43.9	68.6	55.8
In middle schools (grades 5–7, 6–8)	29.8	62.5	35.4
In upper primary plus secondary / senior secondary (5–10; 5–12; 6–10; 6–12)	31.0	53.6	37.9
In all schools	**36.5**	**65.2**	42.7

Source: DISE, 2007–08.

DISE data is available only from 2002 onwards. To get a picture of changes over time in rural and urban areas, we can use data collected by NCERT in the Sixth (1993) and Seventh (2002) All India Educational Surveys. The coverage of schools by NCERT and DISE differs so the two sets of data are not comparable. We need to note also that NCERT data are disaggregated by school rather than by stage. The NCERT figures show a considerable rise over the nine year period which overlaps with the 3 phases of the DPEP (District Primary Education Programme) initiative. The number of female teachers in rural areas rose from 954 thousand to 1458 thousand, proportionately increasing from 24 per cent to 29 per cent. The dominance of female teachers vis-à-vis male teachers in urban areas, already visible in 1993, was more pronounced by 2002, with proportions of female teachers rising from 55 per cent to 59 per cent. The rural-urban gap in proportions of female teachers decreased slightly over this period.

Table 7.6 Changes in numbers and proportions (%) of female teachers in rural and urban areas, 1993–2002

	Rural	Urban	All-India
No. of female teachers, 1993	9,54,117	3,02,191	12,56,308
Proportion (%) who are female	23.5	55.0	33.6
No. of female teachers, 2002	14,58,102	5,34,229	19,92,331
Proportion (%) who are female	29.1	59.2	39.4

Sources: 1993 data: Sixth All India Education Survey, 1998. 2002 data: Seventh All India School Education Survey, 2007.

Government and private schools

The proportions of female teachers is higher in private schools: The all-India proportion of female teachers in government schools (39 per cent) in 2007–08 is substantially lower than in aided and unaided schools (53 per cent), according to DISE 2008–09 (excludes schools with only grades 9–10, 9–12, and 11–12).

1.5 Limited data on female teachers at tertiary level

The proportion of female teachers in tertiary education for India as a whole was only 18 per cent in 1993–94 (see Chanana, 2004). The author rues the lack of reliable disaggregated data on faculty and students in public and private institutions providing higher education. She found that the proportions of female teachers are much lower than proportions of women who are students and researchers in higher education, which is close to 39 per cent (op.cit.).

The limited figures for proportion of female teachers in tertiary education indicate that they are much lower than at school level. In 1950–51, at the time of independence the gap between the proportion of female teachers at school and college level was 7 per cent. The proportion of female teachers has increased in tertiary education between the 1950s and the 1980s, but at a slightly lower rate than in school education.

Table 7.7 Proportion (%) of female teachers in higher education, India

Year	% female teachers in higher education
1950–51	8.3
1960–61	12.3
1970–71	15.3
1980–81	19.4

Source: Based on statistics released by Department of Secondary and Higher Education, MHRD.

Women's choice of courses in school and college are often not made with a career in mind. This may be because of their socialisation or because of explicit constraints on the choices open to them. General education has always been a preferred option. Professional education often requires additional investment in coaching for entrance tests. Since the nineties, more women are taking up professional education, but they continue to be employed in certain sectors many of which offer them short-term, contractual low-paid jobs.

Section 2 The policy framework which impacts female teacher recruitment

2.1 Policy initiatives to increase recruitment of female teachers

Pre-independence and post-independence

Educational policy in post-independence India has been concerned about increasing the recruitment of female teachers, particularly to draw girls into school. The presence of a female teacher is useful to assure parents of the well-being and safety of their daughters, particularly important, as Chudgar and Sankar suggest, in gender-segregated societies (see Chudgar and Sankar, 2008).

Policy documents on education (post-independence in 1947) (see Agrawal and Aggarwal, 1992) all include recommendations to incentivise female teachers. Suggestions include: giving females preference when giving admission to recruits in teacher training institutions; giving females from rural areas greater preference at the time of admission to teacher training institutions; giving female teachers posted to rural areas living quarters and a special allowance.

To encourage women's education, the committees made a number of additional recommendations, many of which involve recruiting female teachers:

- Setting up exclusively girls' schools and colleges where most teachers will be female but there will also be male teachers.
- Appointing some female teachers to all co-educational institutions.
- At least half of all teachers appointed (in some specified situations) to be female.

In the last twenty years, recruitment of female teachers has been an important policy at primary level (under Operation Blackboard and DPEP (District Primary

Education Programme), and at primary and upper primary level (under SSA (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan). Operation Blackboard, 1990 explicitly recommended that all schools should have at least two teachers, one of whom should be a woman. This reflected the concern of NPE (National Policy for Education), 1986 on the need to increase the number of female teachers. The current SSA programme (2002–present) also states in its aims that 50 per cent of all teachers are to be female (see SSA, n.d.).

An important recent initiative under SSA has been the setting up of residential schools for girls in grades 6–8 primarily for girls from SC, ST and minority communities in certain areas which are officially classified as educationally backward blocks[23] (EBB) where the rural female literacy is below the national average and the gender gap in literacy is more than the national average. The scheme[24] (Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya KGBV) provides for a minimum reservation of 75 per cent of the seats for girls belonging to SC, ST, OBC or minority communities, and priority for the remaining 25 per cent is accorded to girls from families below the poverty line (officially classified as BPL). It is being implemented in 27 states, including Rajasthan. These schools cater to 50–100 girls and provide for up to 5 full time female teachers, and 3 part time female teachers. The scheme has been in operation since 2004. It has been revised in 2008, and more blocks have been included (in the list of those eligible for the setting up of residential schools), and in addition, towns where there are a concentration of minorities. Currently, there are 2,573 KGBVs (residential girls' schools under this scheme (see Table 7.8), with an average enrolment of 79 girls. More than four-fifths of the KGBVs are in 8 states: six of these states are in the Hindi-speaking heartland (Rajasthan, Chhatisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh), the remaining two are Orissa in the east and Andhra Pradesh in the south. All these states (with the exception of Andhra) have proportions of female teachers far below the national average, and the KGBV scheme is playing an important role in boosting girls' education, as well as contributing to higher proportions of female teachers being employed. Rajasthan appears to have opened up at least 1 KGBV in every EBB, unlike several other states where the number of KGBVs is less than the number of EBBs.[25]

Table 7.8 Educationally backward blocks (EBBs) and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBVs) in India, Kerala and Rajasthan

	India	Kerala	Rajasthan
No. of Educationally Backward Blocks, 2008	3,479	1	186
Proportion (%) of blocks which are EBB	49.2	1	74.7
No. of residential girls' schools (KGBVs), 2009–10	2,573	–	200

Source. GOI, 2010b, www.education.nic.in

2.2 How proportions of female teachers have increased over time

Looking at the five decades after India attained independence in 1947,[26] we see that there is a steady increase in the number and proportion of female teachers. Figure 7.3 shows how the number of female teachers shot up from 0.1 million in 1950–51 to 0.6 million in 1970–71 to 1.3 million in 1990–91 to 1.8 million in 2000–01. The rate of growth of proportions of female teachers in the system at school-level can be seen in Figure 7.4 showing that it increased steadily, though at a modest rate.

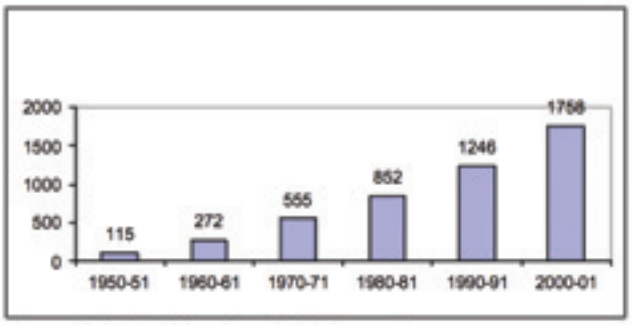
22 Three states contain 56 per cent of the EBBs – Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. See GOI, 2010b.

23 Details obtained from the SSA website (see GOI, 2009).

24 Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh who have the largest number of EBBs, also have the largest number of EBBs without a KGBV (139, 248 and 342, respectively in the 3 States) (see GOI, 2010b).

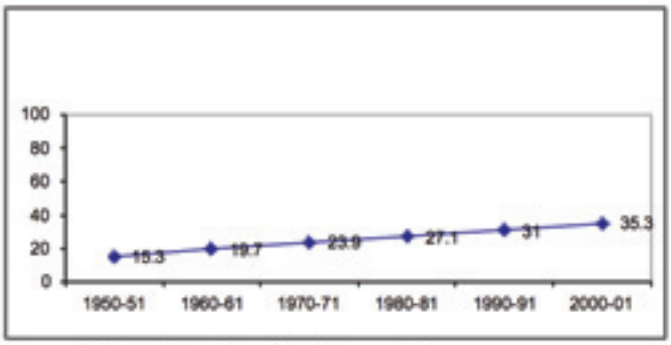
25 In the pre-independence period, the proportions of female teachers were much lower. In 1926-27 it was only 9 per cent for the country as a whole. Over the next 20 years, it rose to 14 per cent (see Agrawal and Aggarwal, 1992).

Figure 7.3 Number of female teachers, 1950–51 to 2000–01 (thousands)



Source: Selected Educational Statistics, various years.

Figure 7.4 Proportion of female teachers, 1950–51 to 2000–01



Source: Selected Educational Statistics, various years.

2.3 Varying state policies and progress with regard to female teacher recruitment

Since recruitment and deployment of teachers is a state subject (and not under the Central Government), these suggestions set out in policy documents on education have been implemented differently in different states. A large number of teachers were recruited in the 1990s at primary level in all states, many of whom were female (see Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001). There were enormous differences between states.

Below are some examples of the recruitment policy in different states that has determined the extent to which women were able to access teaching jobs. Some states (Karnataka,[27] Tamil Nadu) actually reserved 50 per cent of their primary-stage teaching posts for women (op. cit.). Orissa reserved 33 per cent for female teachers at the primary-stage. Rajasthan has reserved 30 per cent places for female teachers at the primary-stage (see SSA Rajasthan, n.d.), and this policy has been in the government's policy documents for many years (see the 1970 Rajasthan service rules, GOR, n.d.). Many states chose to make no explicit quota for female teachers, and proportions of female teachers have remained low in these states.

The proportion of female teachers in any particular state is also influenced by the way in which teachers are recruited.

In some states they are recruited through a centralised examination as was done by Bihar where the examination was conducted by the Bihar Public Services Board in 1994. In such examinations, it is suggested that women lose out because of greater levels of

27 Karnataka implemented this policy in 1993-94, which led to a significant increase in the proportion of female teachers in the state.

competition from persons of varied educational background in such state-level examinations – Jha and Bhardwaj cite the example of the Bihar recruitment where less than 5 per cent of the successful candidates were women[28] (Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001).

Those states where teachers were being recruited district-wise based on merit lists of candidates, prepared from their grades in Class 12 Boards and in pre-service training courses, were found to be more favourable to women as it allowed recruitment to be made among those who had actively chosen to train to be teachers. These were found to include a higher proportion of women.

Raising the minimum qualifications required for teacher recruits was a policy that was implemented by the UP government. Instead of a minimum of senior secondary schooling and pre-service training, it asked for graduation (Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001) and pre-service training. This worked against women, as women have lower levels of education compared to men. In addition, it worked against women of disadvantaged groups such as SCs, STs, and minorities since educational levels among women in these groups is still lower.

Policies of deployment also greatly reduce the attractiveness of teaching jobs for female teachers. In Bihar, it was decided that no teacher should be posted within 15 kms of their village (Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001). This is particularly difficult for female teachers, since in a patriarchal society, it is the female teacher's husband's location that will determine where the family will live. Many other states no longer have the policy of not posting the teacher in their own block/village.

In the last twenty years, there has been a growing trend to recruit contract teachers, or para-teachers as they are also known. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

2.4 Impact of the use of para-teachers

Over the last two decades, as the educational system has had to expand to bring children into school, states have increasingly chosen to recruit contract teachers. In some states, contract teachers are locally recruited and appointed by the Panchayat or Village Education Committee / School Management Committees to a particular school. In others, they are now recruited at district level. In all cases they are paid less than regular teachers and they get fixed term contracts of a year. No pre-service training is required.

Several advantages and benefits are attributed to the introduction of contract teachers. Most importantly, it allows the state to reduce teacher shortages within a short period (availability of qualified trained teachers in rural areas is otherwise a constraint), and within limited resources. Recruitment and payment through village bodies potentially makes for better accountability to the community. If locally recruited, they do not have to commute, which potentially contributes to lowering the rates of absenteeism. Local contract teachers are more likely to understand the language and culture of the students, being from the same milieu, and can thereby contribute to greater learning in school.

However, the recruitment of contract teachers through local village bodies has increased the likelihood of making the teacher cadre even more politicised. Candidates who are recommended / recruited by local politicians are unlikely to act accountably to education authorities. This applies to both male and female contract teachers. As far as sharing language and culture of disadvantaged children, even selected candidates who are local, may belong to the more privileged social groups in the district (e.g.

28 Even this small proportion of women among the new teacher recruits could have come in because there was a 3 per cent quota reserved for women teachers.

OBCs), and not necessarily at an advantage in terms of effective communication with, for example, tribal children enrolled in the school.

States have been found to differ considerably with regard to whether they use para-teachers. Evidence that is available for Kerala suggest that the state has used para-teachers only supposedly as a temporary and stopgap measure. In 2006–07, the number of para-teachers employed was 2438, and 74.5 per cent of them were women (DISE, 2007 cited in Ramachandran et al., 2008). The majority of these teachers were in standalone primary schools and in schools with grades 1–8. The qualifications required for para-teachers were the same as for regular teachers (Ramachandran et al., 2008).

Para-teacher policy in educationally disadvantaged states

The Shiksha Karmi Programme in 1987 in Rajasthan was the inspiration for recruiting local teachers even if they were poorly qualified to deal with problems of chronic absenteeism among the well-qualified permanent teacher cadre. Within the scheme, there were efforts to recruit females. While the minimum qualification for men was completion of grade 8, for women it was reduced to grade 5. While the age group for male recruits was specified to be 18–33 years, the upper limit was extended to 38 years for females. Special efforts were also made to train women by opening Mahila Prashikshan Kendras or Women's Training Institutes where crèche facilities were provided. There was great resistance to the scheme from families who were concerned that the female teacher recruits might become too 'independent' or 'go out of control' (Rajagopal, 1999). Within this scheme, women (called Mahila Sahayogis) were also appointed to escort girls from their house to the school, as it was discovered that this was an important need. Nevertheless, an evaluation of the scheme (Sandhan, 1995 cited in Rajagopal, 1999) showed that retention of girls continued to be low.

Para-teachers in Rajasthan were later recruited for remote schools under the Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission in Rajasthan which had only grades 1 and 2. Later the recruitment was extended to other schools. There were a huge number of para-teachers in 2006–07 in Rajasthan (more than 32,000 according to DISE, 2007 cited in Ramachandran et al., 2008 and 25 per cent of them were women).

More recently, Rajasthan has stopped recruiting para-teachers and absorbed them into their regular teaching cadre.[29] The para-teachers recruited earlier are now termed Prabodhaks and put on the same level as 'third grade' teachers,[30] all to teach classes 1–5. The Prabodhaks are given a special six-month teacher training course to make up for their lack of training. As Prabodhaks, they get the same[31] basic pay (Rs. 4500), but a gross salary of Rs. 8950 for a probation period of two years. The probation period begins from the year when they were appointed as para-teachers. Once past the probation period, they are made permanent, and paid a salary of about Rs. 15,000.

The better terms and conditions for all teachers in Rajasthan are likely to make teacher positions more attractive to males in Rajasthan. The recruitment of all teachers through state level examinations is also likely to lead to a higher proportion of males being selected, with the wide gender gap in educational attainments. However, Rajasthan continues officially to reserve 30 per cent of all teacher positions for women.

It is useful to note the widely differing policies in two other states which can also be considered educationally disadvantaged. Uttar Pradesh has deployed para-teachers extensively – in 2006–07, it had employed close to 96,000 para-teachers, of whom 48% were female (DISE, 2007 cited in Ramachandran et al., 2008). However, there were

29 As a result the reported percentage of para-teachers in 2007-08 had dropped to 8% (see Sen et al., 2009).

30 These are directly recruited at State level.

31 The para-teachers were earlier paid about Rs. 4500.

certain stipulations in place which seemed to protect school quality: not more than 2 para-teachers could be appointed in a school; a para-teacher could only be appointed to a school which already had a regular teacher; a second para-teacher could be appointed only when the school had a second regular teacher, Jha and Bhardwaj 2001).

Madhya Pradesh began by deploying para-teachers only in remote schools under the Education Guarantee Scheme in MP which had only grades 1 and 2. Later, they were recruited in formal schools to replace regular teachers, and in 2006–07, there were over 119,000 contract teachers employed of whom 31 per cent were female (DISE, 2007 cited in Ramachandran et al., 2008).

Evidence that the para-teacher scheme has led to an increase in proportion of female teachers comes from the PROBE Revisited study which compares changes in the social background of teachers between 1996 and 2006 in all schools with primary education facilities in a randomly selected sample of villages in the states of Rajasthan and undivided Bihar, MP and UP (see Box 7.1).

Box 7.1 Changes in social background of teachers, 1996–2006
(Excerpted from PROBE Revisited)

The PROBE Survey was a study of primary education in rural areas in the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh in 1996. Himachal Pradesh was also surveyed as a contrast. In 2006, the Survey was repeated in roughly the same villages (see PROBE Revisited, 2011). Some relevant findings are discussed below.

The recruitment of contract teachers has contributed to very visible changes in the gender and caste background of teachers. The proportion of female primary school teachers was found to have increased from 21% to 37% in 2006. There was a decline in the proportion of general caste teachers, and an increase in the proportion of OBC teachers (see Table 1). The proportion of disadvantaged groups among teachers in both years remains unchanged.

Table 1. Changes in social background of teachers in rural schools (PROBE States*)

Proportion (%) of primary school teachers who are:	1996	2006
Female	21	37
"General castes" / high castes	53	37
OBC (Other Backward Classes) / middle castes	19	37
SC / ST (Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes)	20	19
Minorities	8	7

Source. PROBE, 1996; PROBE Revisited. 2006.

Studying the intersection between gender and caste is particularly useful. Among male 'permanent teachers', 41% are "general castes" whereas this figure is only 24% among male 'contract teachers". Contract teacher jobs are clearly not a preferred option for "general caste" males. Male 'contract teachers' are mostly OBCs (42%), a powerful group in rural north India. A substantial proportion is from the disadvantaged SC/ST groups (33%). This is in strong contrast to female teachers – permanent and contract. For both groups, close to half are "general castes", reflecting a higher level of education among women in the upper caste groups, their inclination to take up teaching, as well as their ability to access government jobs. Just over one third are OBCs, and negligible proportions are SC or ST or non-Hindu.

Table 2. Intersection between gender and caste among permanent and contract teachers in rural schools, 2006 (PROBE states*)

Proportion of primary school teachers who are:	Permanent teachers			Contract teachers		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
"General castes"	41	48	43	24	48	35
OBC	38	36	38	42	34	39
SC/ST	20	16	18	32	15	24
Minorities	1	0	1	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source. PROBE Revisited, 2006.
*PROBE states include Rajasthan and undivided Bihar, MP and UP.

Section 3 Case study of Kerala – teaching profession feminised

3.1 Kerala has high achievements in education

While introducing Kerala in the earlier section, we noted how the state has not just achieved universal literacy, it is also close to achieving universal secondary education, for both boys and girls (Mukhopadhyay 2007, Eapen and Kodoth, 2003).[32] Achieving gender parity in enrolment till secondary school level is a remarkable achievement. Access to secondary school facilities in Kerala is very high – in 2002, the proportion of rural population who had access to secondary schools within 6–8 kms was 97.8 per cent (Economic Review, 2002 cited in GOK, 2006).

The provision of teachers and the availability of physical infrastructure in Kerala's educational system are far superior to India as a whole. Kerala's primary schools are larger (higher student enrolment and more teachers[33]) with a much lower Pupil Teacher Ratio (24) compared to the average for India (PTR of 35). The declining PTR has to be understood (see GOK, 2006) in the context of falling student enrolment[34] since the early 1990s. The number of teachers has also declined but not as fast as enrolment. Kerala also has a negligible proportion of single teacher schools (less than 1 per cent), compared to the India average of 13 per cent of primary schools. Nearly all schools (with primary and /or upper primary grades) have at least one female teacher compared to only 74 per cent of schools for India as a whole. In terms of physical infrastructure, Kerala has a higher than average number of classrooms (6 compared to 3.1) in its primary schools, with a much smaller than average proportion (5.4 per cent compared to 9.5 per cent) requiring major repair. Most of its schools have at least one toilet (83 per cent), and most also have a separate girls' toilet (78 per cent).

Table 7.9 Provision of teachers and availability of infrastructure in Kerala, 2008–09

	Kerala	India
Teacher provision		
Average no. of children in a primary school	146.7	106.1
Average no. of teachers in a primary school	6	3
PTR in primary schools	24	35
Proportion (%) of single-teacher primary schools	0.7	13.3
Proportion (%) of schools with female teachers*	99.4	73.7
Infrastructure		
Average no. of classrooms in a primary school	6.0	3.1
Proportion (%) of classrooms which require major repair*	5.4	9.5
Proportion (%) of all schools without any toilet*	17.1	23.2
Proportion (%) of all schools without a girls' toilet*	22.1	46.4

Note: *Refers to all schools with primary and / or upper primary sections.
Source: DISE, 2008–09.

32 *School dropout rates among girls are actually lower than among boys since the seventies (Ambili, 1996 cited in Kodoth and Eapen, 2003).*

33 *Kerala has a negligible proportion of para-teachers as mentioned in the previous section.*

34 *Kerala is in an advanced stage of demographic transition, with the TFR below replacement level.*

The education system in Kerala has greatly benefited from both the government and private aided[35] institutions in school education and in higher and technical education. Both are important education providers at school level. Aided schools constitute the majority of schools in Kerala (55 per cent) (see Table 7.10), while government schools are a substantial 41% of all schools. The bulk of teachers (58 per cent) teach in aided schools; while 37 per cent of all teachers work in government schools. The unaided sector is very small, although growing at a rapid pace.

Table 7.10 Share of government, aided and unaided sectors: schools and teachers in Kerala

	Government sector	Private Aided	Private Unaided	All
% Distribution of Schools	40.8	55.4	3.7	100.0
% Distribution of Teachers	36.6	58.3	5.1	100.0

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

3.2 Role of historical and socio-cultural factors in Kerala's educational development

There has been a lot of interest in understanding how Kerala is close to universalising secondary education, particularly in the context of many states in India still struggling to universalise elementary education. Scholars suggest that both historical and socio-cultural factors have played a role. Kerala has a long history of being visited by traders (helped by its location and its rich natural resources), but Kannan (Kannan, 2000) suggests that it was the advent of 'colonial capital' in the nineteenth century which disturbed its 'social equilibrium dominated by a rigid caste structure'. Intermediate castes in particular benefited from the opening up of the interiors. The roles played by missionaries, and governments of the erstwhile princely states of Travancore and Cochin in the late nineteenth century are considered important (Ramachandran, 1996; Shailaja, 2006). Community organisations are also reported to have pushed for social reform in the early twentieth century. This included a widespread demand for education for all groups, including the disadvantaged (Kanaan, 2000; Kodoth and Eapen, 2005; Devika 2007).

Kerala also has a history of being very different from other states in India in terms of gender relations. Even till the early twentieth century, Kerala is said to have had a mix of diverse forms of matrilineal and patrilineal family systems which protected women from the worst types of discrimination (Eapen and Kodoth, 2003). In matrilineal families, the birth of girls was greeted with joy. Girls were able to access education even in the mid nineteenth century, to a greater degree than elsewhere (Jeffery, 1992 cited in Eapen and Kodoth, 2003). In spite of this, female literacy rates were only 3 per cent in 1901, and rose to 11 per cent in 1931 (see Table 7.11). Between 1931 and 1951, female literacy jumped to 36 per cent. By 1971, it had risen to 63 per cent, and by 1991 it was 86 per cent. Gender differentials in literacy rate were narrowing over this period (1951–2001) but they were quite pronounced in the period prior to 1991 (see Figure 7.5).

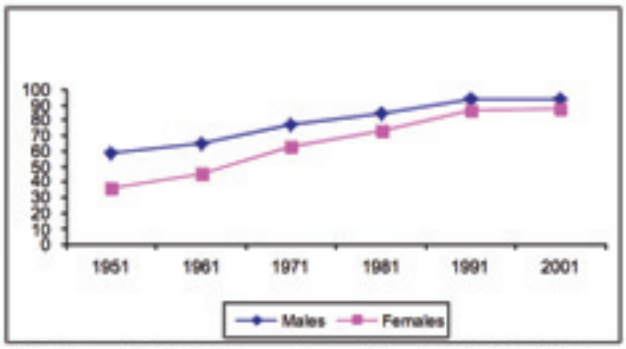
Table 7.11 Literacy rates in Kerala, 1901–41

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Males	19.2	22.3	27.9	30.9	–
Females	3.2	4.4	10.3	11.0	–

Source: http://www.srckerala.org/publication/facts_figures.pdf
Census documents cited in Table 6.

35 'Aided' institutions are privately managed institutions that receive aid from the government. Aided schools and colleges in Kerala are generally run by the major religious/caste groups in Kerala.

Figure 7.5 Literacy rates in Kerala, 1951–2001



Note: Figures for 1951–71 are for population 5+; 1981–2001 for population 7+.
Source: http://www.srckerala.org/publication/facts_figures.pdf
Census documents cited in Table 3.

The base for Kerala's social development, post Independence, was greatly strengthened by the high government spending on related infrastructure (see Government of Kerala, 2006). This includes facilities such as road transport – which as we have noted in section 1 is extensive in Kerala (Table 7.1a). However, post the mid-1980s Kerala also experienced a financial crunch, like the other states in India.

3.3 Important feature of Kerala's education system – high proportion of female teachers

Kerala differs from much of India in that it has a high proportion of women in the teaching profession. The proportion of female schoolteachers was 41 per cent as early as 1956–57 (Chakraborty, 2005). It was as high as 74 per cent in 2008–09 – based on DISE data which takes only those schools into account which have primary and/or upper primary grades (see Table 7.12).

Rural areas in Kerala are well connected and highly developed, as mentioned in section 1. This is reflected in the limited differences in the proportions of female teachers in urban and rural areas: the proportion of teachers who are female is 73 per cent in rural areas compared to 80 per cent in urban areas (see Table 7.12, from DISE, 2008–09). A similar picture emerges if we look at data which covers all teachers teaching grades 1–12 (SAISES, 2007), which gives us data for 2002. The proportion of female teachers in Kerala is lower in rural areas (67 per cent) compared to urban areas (75 per cent), but the gap is not large.

Table 7.12 Kerala and other states where the teaching profession is feminised: rural-urban differences in percentage of female teachers, 2008–09

% female teachers	All	Rural	Urban	Urban-Rural Difference
Kerala	73.7	72.5	80.2	7.7
Tamilnadu	75.0	70.6	84.8	14.2
Punjab	64.5	59.3	82.5	13.2

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

Kerala is quite different in this context even from other Indian states which have high overall proportions of female teachers. Tamilnadu and Punjab, both states where the teaching profession is feminised, have a rural urban difference of 14 and 13 percentage points, respectively in the proportions of teachers who are female (see Table 7.12). These two states also have a much higher level of urbanisation than Kerala (34 per cent in Tamilnadu and 30 per cent in Punjab).

While Kerala does not have great urban rural differences in female representation among teachers, it does have some spatial differences, and these are visible from district level data on rural female literacy in 2001 based on the Census, and on proportions of female teachers in 2002 from SAISES. Out of 14 districts, 8 districts have a higher percentage of female teachers than that for the state as a whole. The top 3 districts with high proportions of female teachers are: Thrissur (84.3 per cent), Ernakulam (82.4 per cent), and Alappuzha (79.9 per cent). The 3 districts with the lowest proportion of female teachers are: Malappuram (57 per cent), Kozhikode (53 per cent), and Kasaragod (50.7 per cent). The proportion of female teachers ranges from 51 to 84 per cent. Urban rural differences in proportions of female teachers are highest in Kasaragod, Kozhikode and Palakkad.

3.4 Gendered perceptions of female education and employment in earlier times

While education has been seen as important for women in Kerala, it is suggested that this was within a gendered framework. Teaching (and nursing) was seen as suitable for women where women's maternal gifts will be useful. These gendered perceptions of female education and employment have been responsible for high proportions of women in teaching. Evidence of this comes from two studies of pre-independence Kerala.

These studies indicate that well before Independence in 1947, policy and social norms were instrumental in promoting women in the teaching profession. A useful study (see Swaminthan, 1999) focuses on issues around feminisation of the teaching profession in Madras Presidency[36] in 1900–30. The main document analysed is a report entitled 'Development of Women's Education' (1929), which the author points out reflects the patriarchal attitudes of educational policy in Britain. In terms of access to school education, there were many more educational institutions available for boys. In terms of the curriculum in schools, the focus for girls was femininity and motherhood. Girls were also to be given moral education. They were to be prepared for their future lives as wives, mothers and homemakers. They also had limited access to higher education. The choice of courses was generally restricted to teaching and nursing. In terms of employment opportunities, there was an active policy to recruit female teachers at primary level, based on the argument that 'women had a natural skill in caring for young children'. Differential attitudes to women were also reflected in the fact that female teachers and educational administrators were placed on lower salary scales vis-à-vis their male counterparts.

Another study, which provides a historical overview of women in pre-independence Kerala, suggests that female education was pushed in colonial times as part of a vision to 'build the modern moral home, imagining the educated woman to be its fulcrum' (see Devika and Mukherjee, 2007). Women was seen as the homemakers – the 'domestic ideal' was praised (op. cit.). Women were to acquire not just literacy, but also 'gendered attitudes and skills (op. cit.). The potential contribution of women's housewifely and motherly skills to society came to be highlighted particularly in the early twentieth century. They were seen as very useful in professions such as teaching (where women could play 'a disciplining role with love' in schools) and nursing (where women could play a caring role).

3.5 Gender-differentiated decisions in educational paths taken by men and women

There is sufficient evidence to indicate that present day Kerala continues to be a strongly gendered society as reflected in the educational paths chosen by men and

36 One district of Madras Presidency (i.e. Malabar) later became part of Kerala when the State came into existence in 1956.

women. Even today, women dominate teacher-training courses; men are encouraged to go into professional courses such as engineering and management.

Eapen and Kodoth use sex-wise data on educational attainments at different educational levels (based on Census, 1991 data) to highlight the gendered nature of Kerala society (see Table 7.13). They find that at school level and in courses leading to graduate and postgraduate degrees, there is considerable parity between men and women, and for this achievement Kerala is justly acclaimed. However, women outnumber men in courses leading to a non-technical diploma (includes stenography, dress-making, cutting and tailoring, data preparation and so on) and in training to be teachers. Gender disparities are highest in engineering and technology. Eapen and Kodoth indicate that these choices reflect family decisions to invest differentially in their sons and daughters in accordance with how they see their future roles. Parents send boys to coaching for professional education (including engineering and technology). Girls are sent for general education. These courses are not job oriented. Girls are sometimes educated to improve their marriage prospects; sometimes to kill time while waiting to find a suitable groom.

Table 7.13 Gender disparities at different educational levels, 1991

	Proportion of males to females
Schooling	
Primary	0.96
Middle	1.05
Matric	1.01
Higher Secondary	0.87
Higher education	
Graduation other than technical degree	1.23
Post graduation degree	1.17
Technical diploma	1.49
Engineering and technology	6.63
Non technical diploma	0.50
Teacher training	0.45

Source: Eapen and Kodoth (2003), taken from Table 2 based on Census, Social and Cultural Tables: Kerala.

More recent data on the marked gender differences in courses being pursued by men and women has been presented by Irudaya Rajan and Sreerupa. They point out that in these courses of higher education, the proportion of women is very high in the areas of social work and education, traditionally associated with women, and much lower in other fields (computer applications and business administration) (see Table 7.14). They also report a preponderance of women in the general arts and science courses at graduate and post-graduate levels.

Table 7.14 Female enrolments in specified courses in Kerala, 2003

Courses	% of enrolled who are female
Masters in Social Work	78.6
Masters in Education	61.8
Masters in Computer Applications	49.7
Masters in Business Administration	42.8

Source: Irudaya Rajan and Sreerupa, 2007, part of Table 2.4 taken from Government of Kerala (2004), Women in Kerala-CD, Trivandrum: Department of Economics and Statistics.

The picture is similar when we look at figures provided by Selected Educational Statistics for female enrolment in higher education in 2005–06 (see Table 7.15). Proportions of girls enrolled peak in teacher training courses at 81 per cent. They are also high (63 per cent) in the medical group of courses which includes nursing. Women dominate graduate and post-graduate courses, with higher proportions in science, then arts, and least in commerce. The only exception to the predominance of female enrolment is in engineering and architecture.

Table 7.15 Female enrolment in higher education in Kerala, 2005–06

Courses in Higher Education	% females
B.Ed./B.T.	80.9
Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing, Pharmacy, Ayurvedic & Unani, Homeopathy etc.	62.5
M.Sc.	77.4
M.A.	74.8
M.Com	66.5
B.Sc./B.Sc.(Hons)	69.2
B.A./B.A.(Hons)	66.9
B.Com./B.Com.)Hons)	53.4
B.E./B.Sc.(Engg)/B.Arch	37.9
Total Higher Education	54.1

Source: Selected Educational Statistics, 2005–06.

We have seen in this section how women in Kerala are less likely to be enrolled in specific professional courses compared to men, and that high proportions are in the teaching profession. Within the teaching profession, a further level of gendering takes place.

3.6 Gendering of opportunities within the teaching profession in Kerala

There is a further gendering of opportunities within the teaching profession. We discuss how (a) those looking after the pre-primary age group were most likely to be women; (b) at primary, middle and secondary levels of schooling, the proportions of female teachers at primary level are slightly higher than at middle and secondary levels in both rural and urban areas; (c) women were less represented in head teacher positions compared to their representation in the teaching profession; and (d) women were more likely to be in the private sector than in the government sector.

Pre-primary age group

For the pre-primary age group (3–5 years), the government-run ICDS or Integrated Child Development Scheme is in operation under which nearly all staff at village level (known as anganwadi workers and helpers) are women. In other institutions which include independent pre-primary schools and those attached to larger schools, the proportions of female teachers were over 90 per cent in 1993 (see Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001).

Primary, middle and secondary schooling

Rural areas: Figures indicate that in rural Kerala, standalone primary schools are numerically the largest in number among all schools with primary level grades. Close to three-quarters of all teachers (74.9%) in these schools are female. Among the schools with upper primary grades, the largest numbers are those with grades 1–7, and these have 69.8 per cent of all teachers who are female. Among schools with secondary and/or senior secondary grades, those without a primary section outnumber the integrated schools, and here 72.6 per cent of teachers are female.

Table 7.16 Rural Kerala: percentage of female teachers by level of schooling, 2008–09

Schools in rural areas	% of institutions	% female teachers
Primary schools (grades 1–4)	55.1	74.9
Primary plus upper primary schools (1–7)	19.5	69.8
Primary plus secondary / senior secondary schools (1–10; 1–12)	8.4	74.1
Middle schools (grades 5–7)	6.1	69.9
Upper primary plus secondary / senior secondary schools (5–10; 5–12)	10.9	72.6
All schools	100	72.5

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

Urban areas: Similarly, in urban areas, standalone primary schools are numerically the largest group among those giving primary schooling. The proportion of female teachers is highest in these schools (82.7 per cent). For children in middle schooling, schools with grades 1–7 are the most common. Here 76.6 per cent of the teachers are female. Schools with secondary and senior secondary grades most commonly do not have a primary section. Close to four fifths of teachers (79.9 per cent) are female at this level of schooling.

Table 7.17 Urban Kerala: percentage of female teachers by level of schooling, 2008–09

Schools in urban areas	% of institutions	% female teachers
Primary schools (grades 1–4)	47.0	82.7
Primary plus upper primary schools (1–7)	20.7	76.6
Primary plus secondary / senior secondary (1–10; 1–12)	10.0	83.6
Middle schools (grades 5–7)	4.2	75.0
Upper primary plus secondary / senior secondary (5–10; 5–12)	18.1	79.9
All schools	100	80.2

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

Women in head teacher positions

Proportion of female head teachers is high (63 per cent in rural areas and 72 per cent in urban areas) in Kerala, though below the proportion of female teachers overall (which is 73 per cent in rural areas and 80 per cent in urban areas) (DISE, 2008–09). In terms of management type, the proportion of female head teachers was 50 per cent in government and aided schools, it was a bit higher at 53 per cent in private unaided schools.

In Kerala, the position of the headteacher is attractive in terms of salary and career development opportunities. A study (see Shailaja, 2002) found that the state government scales match central government scales both at primary level and upper primary level, unlike in many other states including Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. However, at secondary level, state government scales in Kerala were lower than central government scales. The study found that Kerala allows for elementary school head-teachers to be promoted to DEOs (District Education Officer), and headteachers of high schools to move up to ADPI (Additional Director of Public Instruction). This makes the headteacher jobs very attractive.

The same study found that the proportion of female head teachers was much greater than the proportion of male head-teachers at primary level (56 per cent female), lower than the proportion of male head-teachers at upper primary level (43 per cent female), and approximately equal to the proportion of male head-teachers at secondary level/training school (49 per cent).

Women may not take up leadership positions because they are socialised to believe that men are better leaders. They may also be caught up in a struggle with balancing responsibilities of work and home (see the next section for a longer discussion of gender relations in Kerala). Men on the other hand also face highly gendered expectations of earning as much as possible, and with this pressure to pursue positions of leadership such as head-teacher roles.

An interesting ICT study reveals the constraints on female teachers in Kerala when faced with demands on their time outside immediate working hours (see Raji and Arun, 2010). Firstly, their families resented that they could be called on the phone at any time, including by male teachers. Then, they resented that they had to work after school hours, in the evenings and on weekends. Finally, they did not like that they had to travel to the district head quarters for support and training.

Women teachers in private / government schools

The proportion of female teachers in Kerala in government schools (71 per cent) in 2008–09 was found to be slightly lower than in aided and unaided schools taken together (75 per cent) (see Table 7.18). Salaries in private unaided schools are usually lower than they are in government schools, with the latter being regulated by the government.

Table 7.18 Female teachers in schools disaggregated by management type

	Government	Private Aided	Private Unaided	All
% female teachers	71	75		74

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

3.7 Gender relations in present-day Kerala

As can be seen from the figures given in section 1, women in Kerala do enjoy a different level of access to education and healthcare, including gender parity in schooling and high proportions enrolled in higher education. Women in Kerala benefit from having smaller families (TFR Total Fertility Rate is as low as 1.7), and potentially less household chores compared to women in states such as Rajasthan which has a TFR of 3.3. The commute to the worksite (including schools) may also be easier in Kerala as the state is densely populated and connectivity is high. These conditions may be reflected in the larger numbers of women who look for and are able to get paid employment.[37] The poverty alleviation programme, Kudumbashree, has had considerable success in providing women with opportunities for employment. It has been helped by education among the poorest women and a lowering of barriers provided by caste. It is suggested that, as a result of the programme, the physical quality of women's lives have improved, although it has not been able to challenge a modern form of patriarchy (Devika and Mukherjee, 2007).

According to these scholars, gendering roles exist for both sexes[38] but are more oppressive for women than for men (op. cit.). Women in Kerala are constrained by their situation but are not passive either. 'Individuation is encouraged, but within the bounds of femininity.' Women still take the major role in childcare and all other household chores. The pressures of childcare on women includes children performing extremely well in school and college so they get a well-paying job. There is also an increase in pressure on unmarried women to earn to enable them to marry as dowries are going up. More recently, the authors point out, the domestic ideal is being replaced by the ideal of the income-earning mother, and is associated with the success of programmes such as Kudumbashree.

Other scholars have also countered the notion of Kerala as a society with a high level of gender equity. Eapen and Kodoth use the term 'patrifocal'[39] to describe Kerala society (see Eapen and Kodoth, 2003). They assert that what girls study and how far they study has always been decided such that it did not jeopardise the interests of the

37 Labourforce participation among women is important because it not only gives women income, but also exposes them to the outside world and to authority structures and networks other than kin based ones (Dixon-Mueller, 1993 cited in Irudaya Rajan and Sreerupa, 2007).

38 Men are pressured to take up professional education and professional employment. Boys also take up vocational jobs. Teaching jobs being given less social status is a consequence.

39 The term is reported to have first been used by Mukhopadhyay and Seymour (see Mukhopadhyay and Seymour, 1994 cited in Eapen and Kodoth, 2003). Patrifocal families are those who give precedence to the interests of the men in the family in all-important matters. Structural features of a patrifocal society are patrifocal residence, patrilineal descent, and patrilineal inheritance and succession.

patrifocal family.[40] They speak of the 'persistence of gender differentiated family roles, with the primary responsibility of domestic chores falling on women and perpetuating a sexual division of labour through an asymmetry of opportunities offered for acquiring untraditional skills' (op. cit.).

Female labourforce participation has been found to be low and declining (Kodoth and Eapen 2005). Unemployment is high among educated women in Kerala (34.2 per cent in urban areas compared to 36.7 per cent in rural areas in 1999–2000 (based on Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status, NSSO, 55th Round cited in Irudaya Rajan and Sreerupa, 2007). The same source reported that women outnumbered men among job seekers registered with employment exchanges in Kerala in 2003. Possible explanations for the high levels of female unemployment were related to women already carrying the burdens of housework and childcare and being unwilling to take up jobs which did not offer them social status and proximity to home (reported by a study of women in central Kerala, see Lakshmi Devi, 2002 cited in Irudaya Rajan and Sreerupa, 2007). Similar findings came from a study based on the CDS Employment Unemployment Survey, 2003 (see Sebastian and Navaneetham, 2008). It found 74 per cent of educated women in the sample unemployed; 94 per cent of these unemployed women reported that they were unemployed because they could not get a job at a convenient location, with convenience related to their need to be able to fulfil their household responsibilities. The authors cite Chasin and Frank, 1996 who ascribed lack of mobility among Kerala women for the high level of unemployment they experience. Higher unemployment may also be because women's expectations of getting particular kinds of jobs have risen with increased education levels. Enrolment in higher education is often disguised unemployment.

Women's organised sector employment was found to be 60% in the private sector and 40 per cent in the public sector, while for men it was the reverse (Government of Kerala, 1989 cited in Eapen and Kodoth, 2003). Looking at the employment in the private sector, it appears that regular employment for women in urban areas has been declining over time while casual employment has been increasing, indicating a further decline in women's access to 'self-acquired income', and an overall weakening of their position. Scholars are concerned that women in Kerala are not necessarily better off than they were earlier – there has been erosion of traditional rights, and at the same time increased access to relatively low-paid jobs.

Kerala's women are reported to suffer on account of domestic violence and issues of mental health (see Gopalan, 2004; Mukhopadhyay et al., 2007). There are still women who accept domestic violence as sometimes justified, as was revealed through the NFHS-2 (cited in Gopalan, 2004). In fact, higher proportions of women felt this way in Kerala compared to India as a whole (Kodoth and Eapen, 2005). Kerala also has one of the highest suicide rates in the country (Gopalan, 2004). In 2001, 29 per cent of the registered suicide cases were women. All these suggest that gender relations in Kerala are far from equitable.

3.8 How have high levels of education affected growth in Kerala?

There has been concern that in spite of education, the Kerala economy has grown at a very slow rate till the nineties. The relatively slow growth has been ascribed to a variety of reasons including the politics in the state which has been unfriendly to private investment. Kerala has had the CPI-ML, a left-wing party, in power for much of its post-

40 In their analysis the authors highlight the role of the family because it regulates the extent to which men and women are able to access education, healthcare, access to property, and so on.

independence history, but it has also had the Congress party in power. Both parties are committed to socialist traditions, although it is asserted that Kerala's strong religious and caste-based community organisations are politically very influential and play a key role (Mathew, 2005). It is also suggested that the climate is not friendly to private investment in the sense that any potentially negative impact the investment might have on civil rights and the environment is widely discussed by its politically conscious and educated citizenry, which tends to slow down or stifle the process altogether (Jeromi, 2005).

The Kerala economy has been reported to have grown faster in the nineties (Kannan, 2005; Subramaniam and Azeez, 2000 cited in Suresh Babu, 2005). Growth has been primarily in the tertiary sector. It is argued that the growth in the tertiary sector is a combination of skill-intensive high-value-added activities (such as software, communications and financial services) and low-skilled service activities (such as hotels, restaurants and other services) (see Suresh Babu, 2005). The same author suggests that growth which has taken place has clearly built on earlier investment in health and education.

Stimulus to growth was provided by the large numbers of men with school level education and basic skills who were able to migrate, particularly to the Gulf. A high level of remittances meant that per capita income was much higher than per capita net state domestic product. It is also suggested that the high level of migration and subsequent remittances led to a rapid development of infrastructural facilities such as banking and telecommunication (GOK, 2006).

Only a very small proportion of migrants (16 per cent) were women (Zachariah and Rajan, 2004 cited in Mukhopadhyay, 2007), and it is interesting in the context of this paper that women were reported to dominate certain occupational segments of migration such as nursing and teaching (Kodoth and Eapen, 2005). Migration of women was allowed in the context of family needs and dowry demands (Gallo, 2004; Joseph, 1999 cited in Kodoth and Eapen, 2005).

Rising education levels have also led to unemployment among the educated (including among women as discussed in section 3.7). This is a serious problem causing great concern, and has raised queries about the type and quality of education being offered by government institutions, and led to a spurt of private institutions offering market-driven courses of all kinds.

3.9 Serious concerns about quality of education in Kerala

School education

Low levels of learning: While Kerala's achievements in the social sector have been laudable, there has also been concern about deficiencies in the quality of education – as revealed through low levels of learning in certain national level studies. Learning achievements at primary level have been disappointing (according to the 2009 ASER (Annual Status of Education Report – Rural) survey). More than one-fourth of class 3 students (26 per cent) could not read a class 1 level text. More than half the children in class 5 could not do division (55 per cent). In both cases, girls did a bit better than the boys (see Table 7.19).

Table 7.19 Kerala rural: learning achievements of children, 2009

	Girls	Boys	All
% children in class 3 who can read at least class 1 level text	72.5	71.8	73.6
% children in class 5 who can do division	46.8	43.7	45.4

Source: ASER (2009).

Retention and dropping out among all communities, SCs and STs: Deteriorating quality of government schools hits disadvantaged groups the most because higher proportions of SCs and STs are in government schools than in unaided schools. A useful study (see Chakraborty, 2005) looks at dropping out and retention patterns among students from all communities, from Scheduled Castes, and from Scheduled Tribes, indicating that among the latter two (with Scheduled Tribes being among the most impoverished) retention rates are decreasing in Kerala.

The study does not put forward any arguments to explain the higher dropout rates among boys in all communities, and in particular among disadvantaged communities. A possible explanation could be that boys from disadvantaged groups were under greater pressure on several fronts – on the home front there may be pressure on them to earn. On the school front they may be unhappy because they cannot comprehend what is being taught, and/or the dislike the discipline in school life and the pressure to study. Girls on the other hand may prefer to continue with their schooling since schooling provides them a break from household chores, and their own socialisation to adjust may lead them to have more patience with their schooling experience.

Highly contrasting school experiences (and reasons for dropping out) were reported by male and female adolescents in Delhi (see Samson et al., 2007). The study found that roughly equal proportions of boys and girls from Delhi's resettlement colonies and JJ (jhuggi jhopdi) colonies had dropped out of school by class 8. While the boys reported that they dropped out of their own accord because of a negligent and violent school environment, and looked for casual opportunities to earn, the girls reported that they dropped out because of demands from the family, although they themselves would have preferred to continue with schooling.

Growing size of the private unaided sector: It is suggested that the growing size of the private unaided sector in Kerala is a result of people's unhappiness with the aided sector and the state sector (GOK, 2006). Between 1990–91 and 2002–03, enrolment in Government schools fell by 25.6 per cent, whereas it increased by 79 per cent in private unaided schools (op. cit.). Out-migration and fall in fertility rates have led to more income being available and more money being spent on private education. Most of the private unaided schools are English medium schools. Families are also turning to private tuition on a large scale (see George and Sunaina, 2005). Higher proportions of rural households in Kerala are spending on private tuition than in the rest of rural India (NSSO 61st Round, 2004–05 cited in Ajith Kumar and George, 2009). Private costs of education have been estimated for primary, upper primary and secondary sections (Namboothiri, 2004 quoted in Ajith Kumar and George, 2009). It was found that at upper primary and secondary levels, household expenses (which included costs of reading and writing materials, clothes, travel, tuition, donation to PTA, and so on) were more than government spending towards recurring expenses on these students.

Possible reasons for decline in quality of school education:

1. No expansion has taken place in the government or aided primary sector after the eighties. (George and Sunaina, 2005). Most of the government budget goes on teachers' salaries with little available for other expenses including improvement of infrastructure such as science laboratories, libraries and so on (Economic Survey of Kerala, 2002 cited in Gopalan, 2004; also GOK, 2006).
2. Schools declared as 'uneconomic' (with less than 25 children in a class) have teachers whose posts are 'protected'. These schools have come about due to school enrolment declining significantly since the late seventies owing to a decline in the rate of growth of population, and constitute a great drain on the exchequer (Gopalan, 2004). While some of those 'protected teachers' in the government sector have been re-deployed, those in the aided sector have resisted this (GOK, 2006).

More recently, the problem of 'protected teachers' has occurred with the transfer of the pre-university course to the higher secondary section under school education, and added to the burden on the exchequer (op.cit).

3. No control over management of aided schools in spite of efforts by the government to rein it in (GOK, 2006) It is alleged that teachers' recruitment is not based on competence but on nepotism and corruption (George and Sunaina, 2005). 'Social capital' has played a big role in teaching jobs accessed in private aided schools (and colleges) (see Mathew, 2005). In the context of large-scale unemployment among the educated, it is alleged that teachers' jobs are auctioned for large sums of unaccounted money (George and Sunaina, 2005).
4. Policy of automatic promotion leads to dropping out peaking at class 10.
5. Schools use out-dated curricula and teaching is lacklustre (GOK, 2006).

Higher education

Fees in government and aided institutions at the level of higher education and technical education are low. However, private costs of education at this level can be high as, for example, for students in government engineering colleges who have to spend on hostels. There are considerable complaints primarily about the quality of higher education provided in government and aided institutions. This has implications for pushing up costs of higher and technical education and potential exclusion of the less privileged, as only some students are able to turn to private tuition and/or to private unaided institutions.

Proportions spent by the state on higher education are relatively low compared with India as a whole. Here too most of the budget is absorbed by teachers' salaries. There is little available for other types of inputs into higher education (George, 1999; Tilak, 2001); there are constraints on starting new courses or providing IT connections, as suggested in a Government of Kerala document (Economic Review, 2002 cited in Gopalan, 2004). The education system has been criticised for evolving into providing skills for 'white collar jobs' in Kerala and outside – in the sense that it is very examination and rote-learning oriented (George and Sunaina, 2005). Families have turned to private tuition on a large scale through college (op. cit.). There has also been a huge growth in self-financing institutions imparting technical, medical and para-medical courses as well as teacher training (op. cit.), leading to increasing stratification of opportunities. For example, it is reported that students from Malayali medium schools find it difficult to get through entrance exams in colleges. With this discussion on the challenges faced by education in Kerala, we now move to our second focus state – Rajasthan.

Section 4 Case study of Rajasthan – low levels of female teachers

The state of Rajasthan lies at the opposite end of the spectrum from Kerala on many counts, as we have already highlighted in section 1. The issues related to female teachers are entirely different, and it provides a useful example of an area where policy-makers are struggling to increase the proportion of female teachers.

4.1 Schooling in Rajasthan is a relatively recent phenomenon

In Rajasthan, schooling for all communities has become a norm relatively recently. Looking at literacy rates over the fifth years after Independence, we see that male literacy rates in 1951 were only 13 per cent, and female literacy far lower at just 3 per cent (see Table 7.20). The large gender gaps are a characteristic feature of this state, although they are narrowing.

Table 7.20 Literacy rates in Rajasthan, 1951–2001

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Males	13.1	23.7	28.7	36.3	55.1	75.7
Females	2.5	5.8	8.5	11.4	20.8	43.9

Note: Figures for 1951–71 are for population 5+; 1981–2001 for population 7+.
Source: Women and Men in Rajasthan, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 2007.

Many factors are likely to have contributed to the relatively limited advance of formal schooling. Firstly, the arid and semi-arid land means rural families are able to engage largely in subsistence agriculture, and have also to depend on rearing livestock as a survival strategy (Kavoori, 1999). Women and children play a vital role in both these activities (Gold and Gujar, 2002; Samson et al., 2008) and even more so when men migrate to towns and cities for wage labour opportunities. Women and children also bear the burden of other household chores, particularly the need to bring water from great distances (Rajagopal, 1999). For many families, the opportunity cost of sending children to school is very high. Secondly, the difficult terrain and dispersed settlement pattern in the desert areas in the west, and the forested areas in the south, makes providing access to schooling more difficult, in terms of making schools available as per national norms (within 1 km of habitations in the case of primary, 3 kms in the case of upper primary, and 5 kms in the case of secondary level schooling). In addition, the terrain and the extreme heat particularly in the desert areas makes distances even more of a hurdle than if they had to be traversed in less hostile conditions. Limited connectivity also makes it difficult for teachers, who may be living in towns or other villages, to reach schools in remote areas. Thirdly, the state's inland location enables communities to persist with traditional values without challenge. These include holding on to a highly patriarchal and caste-based system, which is based on unequal treatment of women (vis-à-vis men) and lower castes (vis-à-vis higher castes). Tribal communities have also suffered from exclusion on account of living in remote, forested areas in southern Rajasthan. Any schooling facilities will thus first be extended to boys from the dominant caste groups. Girls are rarely given the opportunity to complete the schooling cycle and are instead absorbed into household chores and often subjected to early marriage (see Palriwala, 1999, Samson et al., 2008, Rajagopal, 2010). This is part and parcel of the restrictions they will face on their mobility and autonomy in their adult lives, which we discuss in greater detail in section 4.3.

There have been huge improvements in terms of access and quality of education in Rajasthan in the 1990s, when the target was taking primary schooling to all through a number of initiatives including the Shiksha Karmi programme, Lok Jumbish and DPEP or District Primary Education Programme. In 2002, close to four-fifths (79.8 per cent) of habitations in rural areas had primary schools available within 1 km of the habitation (see SAISES, 2007), a situation vastly better than in 1993 (SAIES, 1998). Data on female enrolment of 6–14 year olds in Rajasthan indicate a considerable increase from 40.6 per cent (NFHS 1, 1992–3) to 63.2 per cent (NFHS 2, 1998–9). Social norms with regard to educating girls had changed to some extent and girls had begun to be sent to school till class 8, or at least till class 5.

More recent figures indicate that, in 2007–08, at primary level, the GER[41] and NER[42] are 118 and 90 respectively (see DISE, 2007–08). What has contributed to the surge in primary-level enrolment, and girls' enrolment in particular, include the opening of more

41 Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) at primary level is the number of children in primary schooling divided by the total number of children in the 6-10 year age group. GER includes underage and overage enrolment.

42 Net Enrolment Rate (NER) at primary level is the number of children enrolled in primary schooling belonging to the 6-10 year age group divided by the total number of children in the 6-10 year age group

schools in remote rural habitations, improving infrastructure and facilities in schools, providing incentives such as free textbooks and cooked midday meals, and appointing more teachers including female teachers (based on the findings of the PROBE Revisited survey which compared the status of primary education in 2006 with that in 1996, in villages across seven states including Rajasthan – see De et al., 2011).

In 2002, the proportion of habitations for which upper primary schools were available within 3 kms of the habitation was 78.3 per cent (see SAISES, 2007), also vastly better than in 1993. With SSA in 2002, the focus of education reforms was extended from primary to both primary and upper primary schools. Large numbers of primary schools have been upgraded to upper primary schools. However, the infrastructure and facilities at both standalone primary schools and those extended to upper primary schools were found to be comparatively poor in 2006 (De et al., 2011). It appeared that the governments in the surveyed states (including Rajasthan) were not necessarily allocating sufficient resources for their primary or upper primary schools (op. cit.). This is confirmed by the picture we get in the next section when we discuss access and quality issues in greater detail.

The Rajasthan Human Development Report highlights the fact that retention of children in the schooling system till class 8 remains a major problem. In 2005, only 60 per cent of children enrolled in class 1 were reported to have completed class 8 (GOR, 2008a). The Aide-Memoire of the Eleventh Joint Review Mission of SSA (see GOI, 2010a) indicates that while the state has made some progress in enhancing participation and retention of SCs and STs, the proportions of Muslim children in school at primary and upper primary level is far below their proportions in the population. Problems with access and retention at secondary schooling level and beyond are even more grim (World Bank, 2003). We look next at school attendance rates among the 6–17 age group, disaggregated by gender and location.

The 6–17 age group encompasses the entire schooling cycle, based on the premise that a child is enrolled in grade 1 at the age of 6 years, and continues to go to the next grade each year, finally getting enrolled in grade 12 at the age of 17. School attendance rates among boys and girls in the 6–17 age group in 2005–06 show that gender differences are most stark in rural areas. Even in urban areas, girls' enrolment (71 per cent) lags behind boys' enrolment (80 per cent), but this differential is small compared to rural areas where only 53 per cent of girls are enrolled compared to 77 per cent of boys (see Table 7.21). In Rajasthan, there are still critical issues of gender parity in enrolment which need to be addressed. This will also address issues of social equity, since the girls out of school are primarily those from historically disadvantaged groups. It is important to plug this, including through the policy of appointing more female teachers. Large gaps in access and quality of school provision remain which we discuss in the next section.

Table 7.21 Proportion of children aged 6–17 in school, 2005–06

	Rajasthan			India
	Boys	Girls	All	
Urban	79.6	70.6	75.4	76.6
Rural	76.5	53.2	65.2	68.8
Total	77.2	57.2	67.6	71.0

Source: NFHS-3, 2005–06.

4.2 On-going concerns about access and quality of education in Rajasthan

It is important to realise that schooling has come a long way in Rajasthan in the last 50 years as we discussed in the last section. However, major challenges still remain including difficulties even in being able to access secondary schooling in some rural

areas in Rajasthan. Close to half of households could access a secondary school within 2 kms of their habitation; but 30 per cent had a secondary school between 2–5 kms away, and 23 per cent of the households were only able to access a secondary school more than 5 kms away. We have already mentioned how the difficult terrain and the climate could make traversing such distances very difficult. In addition, we do not have figures on what proportion of households could only access a secondary school between 5 and 10 kms away for instance, or what proportion had to travel more than 10 kms away, or even further. A 2001 study of schooling and labour among 11–18 year olds in Rajasthan, found that among the 16 villages in the study (selected randomly from the four agro-climatically varied districts of Bikaner, Barmer, Udaipur and Alwar), the average distance to the nearest secondary school was more than 7 kms, and to the nearest senior secondary school, as much as 28 kms (see Samson et al., 2008). The Government of Rajasthan is making efforts to incentivise girls' education at secondary level by providing cycles to girls enrolled in class 9 and beyond, and free bus passes for Rajasthan State Transport Corporation buses. While this is laudable, it is also essential to open more schools for this level of schooling, and particularly exclusively girls' schools.

Table 7.22 Access to secondary schools, 2007–08

Proportions of households with a secondary school	Less than 2 kms away	Between 2–5 kms away	More than 5 kms away
Urban	96.7	2.9	0.5
Rural	47.7	29.6	22.6

Source: NSSO, 64th Round, 2007–08.

Parents in a traditional society such as in rural areas in Rajasthan where gender segregation is a norm would naturally prefer to send their adolescent girls to exclusively girls' schools. In this context, it is surprising that there are only a small number of schools of this category in the government sector – 301 secondary schools and 504 senior secondary schools exclusively for girls, out of a total of 8288 secondary schools and 5319 senior secondary schools (Annual Report of the Department of Secondary Education, 2007–08 cited in Rajagopal, 2009). Much needs to be done to improve girls' physical access to schooling at this stage. In addition, there is a problem of costs of schooling. While girls pay no tuition fees in government secondary and senior secondary schools, they are required to contribute to the school's development fund and pay other miscellaneous fees which works towards excluding girls from vulnerable groups from schooling.

Infrastructure and facilities in secondary and senior secondary schools are not being discussed here in detail although the PROBE Revisited study referred to above indicates that these were better than what was available in the primary and upper primary schools. Below are some figures about teacher provision and physical infrastructure in the primary and upper primary schools in 2008–09 (see Table 7.23). The data indicates a huge shortage of teachers. While the PTR is not high, there are only 2 teachers on average assigned to 5 grades. The proportion of single teacher primary schools is extremely high (31 per cent). More than 36 per cent of schools do not have a single female teacher. Infrastructural gaps are also enormous, although we mention only two parameters here. The first is classrooms which require major repair. The proportion is 10 per cent. The situation is particularly dismal when one looks at proportions of schools without a toilet (58 per cent in 2008–09 in primary schools). The figure for schools without a separate girls' toilet was as high as 65 per cent in 2005–06 (DISE, 2005–06 cited in Sen et al., 2009).

Table 7.23 Provision of teachers and availability of infrastructure in Rajasthan, 2008–09

	Rajasthan	India
Teacher provision		
Average no. of children in a primary school	64.0	106.1
Average no. of teachers in a primary school	2	3
PTR in primary schools	32	35
Proportion (%) of single-teacher primary schools	31.4	13.3
Proportion (%) of schools with female teachers*	63.8	73.7
Infrastructure		
Average no. of classrooms in a primary school	2.7	3.1
Proportion (%) of classrooms which require major repair*	9.4	9.5
Proportion (%) of schools without a toilet		
Primary schools	58.4	38.6
All schools with grades 1–8*	44.0	23.2

Note: *Refers to all schools with primary and / or upper primary sections.
Source: DISE, 2008–09.

Poor quality of primary schooling in Rajasthan is also indicated by some research on what children have learned. A recent household survey of learning achievements in Rajasthan (ASER, 2009) found that just over one-third of class 3 children could read a class 1 text (see Table 7.24). A little less than one-third of class 5 children could do division. These figures are extremely low. Both girls and boys fared poorly, with girls faring considerably worse than the boys.

Table 7.24 Rajasthan rural: learning achievements of children, 2009

	Girls	Boys	All
% children in class 3 who can read at least class 1 level text	32.1	36.5	34.4
% children in class 5 who can do division	28.1	34.0	31.6

Source: ASER (2009).

The data on access and quality of schooling at primary and upper primary level indicate that there is a long way to go for the Government of Rajasthan to provide schooling of quality to all its children. Unfortunately, the per capita budgeted expenditure on education in Rajasthan in 2007–08 was less than Rs 5000 – lower than the average for India as a whole which was Rs 6200, and far lower than that in Kerala which was Rs 8400 (see Table 1b). Although the state is spending a proportion of its budget on education comparable to Kerala (3.4%, see Table 7.1b), it has a much lower State Domestic Product than Kerala (23 thousand rupees compared to 44 thousand rupees, see Table 7.1b). In this context, it is useful to understand how the economy has been growing in Rajasthan. Between 1993–94 and 1999–2000, the average annual growth in Rajasthan was a little more than 10 per cent per annum, but in the subsequent period – 1999–2000 to 2006–07, this dropped to only 5.3 per cent (Sen et al., 2009). Disaggregating the rate of growth, in the more recent period, by sectors, the state was found to have experienced only limited growth in all its sectors – primary, secondary and tertiary. The authors suggest that a higher rate of growth in the secondary and / or tertiary sectors could have propelled the economy forward (op. cit.). The low rate of growth makes it difficult for the state to finance the substantial allocations it requires to improve both access and quality of schooling.

4.3 Low proportions of female teachers in rural areas compared to urban areas in Rajasthan

Rajasthan is characterised by huge differences in proportions of female teachers in urban and rural areas. For schools with grades 1–8,[43] the proportion of female teachers

43 This includes schools with lowest grade 1 and highest grade 5/8/10/12, and schools with lowest class 6 and highest grade 8/10/12.

in rural schools was as low as 24 per cent in 2008–09, while it was more than twice that (53 per cent) in urban schools (DISE, 2008–09). We get a similar picture from SAISES, which provides 2002 data on all schools (including those without a primary or upper primary section). The proportions of female teachers in Rajasthan were significantly lower in rural areas (21 per cent) compared to urban areas (47 per cent).

Out of 32 districts, 11 districts were above the state average for female teachers and 21 were below average. The proportion of female teachers was highest in Ajmer (50.2 per cent), followed by Udaipur (44.5 per cent), Kota (43.0 per cent), Ganganagar (40.9 per cent) and Bikaner (40.3 per cent) (SAISES, 2002). The 5 districts with the lowest proportions of female teachers were: Karauli (13.1 per cent per cent, Dausa (14.3 per cent), Jalor (15.2 per cent), Nagaur (15.3 per cent) and Sawai Madhopur (20.2 per cent). Jalor and Nagaur are in the arid desert region of Rajasthan, described as 'sparsely populated and vast' in the Rajasthan HDR. They have rural female literacy rates of 26 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively. Sawai Madhopur, Dausa and Karauli are contiguous districts in the east, with rural female literacy rates of 30 per cent, 40 per cent and 43 per cent, respectively.

Ajmer and Udaipur, which are the two districts in Rajasthan which have the highest proportions of female teachers overall, also have the highest proportions of female teachers in urban areas (64–65 per cent), and the highest proportions of female teachers in rural areas (35 per cent); they also have among the largest gaps between proportions of female teachers in rural and urban areas. Jodhpur, Jaipur and Alwar are three other districts which have relatively high proportions of female teachers in their urban areas (57, 55 and 51 per cent, respectively). However, they differ from Ajmer and Udaipur in that they have only low proportions of female teachers in rural areas. The three districts have large differences between the proportions of female teachers in urban and rural areas. The pattern appears to be that districts with high proportions of female teachers in urban areas will have a large gap on this parameter between rural and urban areas, whatever the proportions of female teachers in rural areas.

One reason why it is difficult to recruit female teachers in Rajasthan particularly in rural areas is that educational levels of women are generally low, and only a small proportion may have enough schooling to qualify for getting into higher education. In urban areas, in 2005–06, only 22 per cent of adult women had completed class 10 or more, and 15 per cent had completed class 12 or more. In rural areas, the figures were nearly negligible (see Table 7.25). Only 2 per cent of adult women had completed class 10 and less than 1 per cent had completed class 12. Lack of availability of women with adequate levels of education are the reason why minimum qualifications were reduced when efforts were being made to recruit female contract teachers under the Shiksha Karmi programme to teach in remote rural schools (Rajagopal, 2000).

Table 7.25 Education levels of adult women (15–49 years) in Rajasthan, 2005–06

Proportion of adult women who have:	All	Urban	Rural
Not been to school	56.2	33.1	64.3
Studied up to less than class 5	17.1	15.5	17.7
Passed Class 5 but not passed class 10	19.4	29.5	15.9
Passed Class 10 but not passed class 12	2.7	7	1.2
Completed Class 12 and above	4.5	14.9	0.8

Source: NFHS-3, 2005–06.

Restrictions on adult women's mobility and autonomy are an important reason why it is difficult to recruit female teachers in Rajasthan. Young girls in India are deeply socialised to think of themselves in a certain context – to see their natal homes as a temporary abode,

and their future husband's home as a more permanent place where they will live out their adult lives as daughters-in-law, wives and mothers. Here they will be in a position of subjugation and dependence (Krishna Kumar, 2010). Their primary role as homemakers is clearly spelt out. Certain communities including the dominant castes in Rajasthan place considerable restrictions on adult women's mobility and autonomy. Gender segregation is a norm, and women are generally veiled in the presence of men. Women don't work outside the house. It is a relatively new development for women to take up paid employment.

In Rajasthan, the powerlessness for a married young woman is reinforced by the system that allows marriages to be arranged only when the bride belongs to a village some distance away from the groom's village (Palriwala, 1999), where she is likely to live after marriage. The wishes of the husband's family largely determine whether the daughter-in-law will take up paid employment, and particularly what type of employment.[44]

There are also specific problems faced by female teachers in Rajasthan, which makes it difficult to 'rationalise their deployment', that is, assign them to schools where they are needed rather than to schools at convenient locations. The female teachers often belong to urban areas in a few highly developed districts such as Jaipur and Alwar. They may be posted to other districts to which they do not belong, which may mean that they have to move there without their families. These postings may also be to remote areas within these districts. Even if they are assigned to the district to which they belong, they can face problems because of being transferred to villages far from their residence. Connectivity between villages with towns and cities is often poor, which makes for a difficult commute from home to school. These difficulties may also make it difficult for them to keep a balance between their responsibilities at school and at home, and they may not be at school the entire school day every day.

Female teachers are also vulnerable to harassment in a highly gender-segregated and male-dominated society. They are often unable to attend training programmes, because of family constraints on their mobility and because they are needed at home. Lok Jumbish did some innovative work with setting up of a Women Teachers' Forum (WTF) in Pisangan block in Rajasthan in 1994 (Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001). More such forums were later set up in other areas. The idea was to encourage women teachers' participation in training programmes and facilitate their becoming master trainers. In the Pisangan forum, women brought up a number of problems including lack of childcare facilities at the teacher training programmes. They also reported that at training sessions they feel unsafe about the relatively few women trainees in the course. The trainers were generally male, and women reported that men dominate trainings as they do schools (op. cit.). Actions were taken on women's suggestions and the WTF scheme led to greater female participation in training programmes, and an increase in the number of female master trainers (based on Annual Reports of Lok Jumbish cited in Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001).

Education authorities are well aware of the heavy demands of domestic duties on female teachers. For this reason, they often give them a posting to a school in the town or in a village which is conveniently located as, for example, a 'road-point' village on a bus route.

4.4 Teacher training is a popular choice for girls who enrol in higher education

Female enrolment in higher education in Rajasthan is relatively low as only low proportions of women complete class 10 and class 12. From Table 7.26, we see that only one-third of those enrolled in higher education in 2005–06 were women. Enrolment in particular courses indicates what is popular and acceptable for boys and

44 Teaching is encouraged among those families where females are permitted to take up employment because it can be taken up without badly affecting a woman's home-making responsibilities.

girls. Female enrolment is comparatively high in post-graduation courses in arts and science, indicating that these courses are not popular with males (see Table 7.26).

In professional courses, the share of female enrolment is comparatively high only in teacher training courses[45] (45 per cent), which very much reflects a gendering of opportunities available to women. Female enrolment is much lower (29 per cent) in medicine related fields (which include nursing), and very low in engineering and architecture (17 per cent), indicating that this is a strongly male domain in Rajasthan.

Table 7.26 Female enrolment (%) in higher education in Rajasthan, 2005–06

	% enrolled who are female
M.Sc.	54.4
M.A.	48.7
M.Com	41.8
B.A./B.A.(Hons)	39.4
B.Sc./B.Sc.(Hons)	37.6
B.Com./B.Com.(Hons)	34.2
B.Ed./B.T.	44.8
Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing, Pharmacy, Ayurvedic & Unani, Homeopathy etc.	29.2
B.E./B.Sc.(Engg)/B.Arch	16.7
All Courses in Higher Education	**33.0**

Source: Selected Educational Statistics.

Teaching is one of the most attractive options for educated women in this context of highly unequal gender relations. In a study of teacher motivation in India (see Ramachandran et al., 2005), female teachers in Rajasthan reported that they had chosen the profession because of its respectability, the security it provided, and because it allowed them to manage their home.[46] They also talked about how the teaching profession was the preferred choice of their husband / husband's parents, a matter of considerable importance as we mentioned in section 7.4.3.

Male teachers in Rajasthan in the teacher motivation study referred to above (op. cit.) reported that they opted to teach when they could not get another more preferred option. Most of them simultaneously pursued other work. Some male teachers saw teaching as a stopgap arrangement while preparing for a range of civil service examinations. In Rajasthan in general, but particularly in rural areas, there is a general shortage of paid employment opportunities, so teaching jobs are considered valuable by men.

4.5 Gendering within the teaching profession is very strong

Limited figures available for the pre-primary stage give a mixed picture

As in Kerala, very high proportions of anganwadi workers were reported to be female (see NCERT, 1993 cited in Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001). However, figures for the proportion of female teachers in 1993 in standalone pre-primary schools and in larger schools with pre-primary sections were found to be low – 35.4 per cent and 33.1 per cent, respectively (op. cit.). These schools were relatively few in number – only 122 and 121 were reported in all of Rajasthan in 1993.

Higher proportions of women teachers in primary schooling

In rural Rajasthan, standalone primary schools are the largest number of schools among those with primary level grades. These have the highest proportions of female teachers,

45 For India as a whole, girls dominate teacher training courses – they form 53 per cent of enrolment.

46 There is a lot of pressure on the young daughter-in-law to cook and clean and take care of her husband's parents, her husband, her children, and other unmarried male relatives who might be living in the house.

although it is low at 26.4 per cent. For children enrolled in upper primary grades, the 1–8 schools are the most common, and here the proportion of female teachers is slightly lower at 25 per cent. Among schools with secondary/senior secondary grades, there are a few more integrated schools than those without a primary section. In the integrated schools, the proportion of female teachers is 18.4 per cent; in the schools without a primary section, the proportion of female teachers is still lower at 14.9 per cent. It is clear that in rural areas in Rajasthan, not only are proportions of female teachers very low, but also that higher proportions of women in Rajasthan are clustered at lower levels of schooling.

Table 7.27 Rural Rajasthan: percentage of female teachers by level of schooling, 2008–09

Schools in rural areas	% of institutions	% female teachers
Primary schools (grades 1–5)	51.8	26.4
Primary plus upper primary schools (1–8)	35.6	25.0
Primary plus secondary / senior secondary (1–10; 1–12)	6.7	18.4
Middle schools (grades 6–8)	0.3	57.5
Upper primary plus secondary / senior secondary (6–10; 6–12)	5.7	14.9
All schools	100	23.8

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

In urban Rajasthan, the largest number of institutions providing primary schooling is the group with lowest grade 1 and highest grade 8. This is also the largest group among those providing middle schooling. In this group of schools, the proportion of female teachers is as high as 54.1 per cent. Among schools providing secondary / senior secondary schooling, integrated schools are most common, and here too the proportion of female teachers is quite high at 48.3 per cent. Overall in urban areas of Rajasthan, female teachers outnumber the males, although here too, higher proportions are clustered at lower levels of schooling.

Table 7.28 Urban Rajasthan: percentage of female teachers by level of schooling, 2008–09

Schools in urban areas	% of institutions	% female teachers
Primary schools (grades 1–5)	27.0	58.9
Primary plus upper primary schools (1–8)	44.4	54.1
Primary plus secondary / senior secondary (1–10; 1–12)	21.9	48.3
Middle schools (grades 6–8)	0.5	58.1
Upper primary plus secondary / senior secondary (6–10; 6–12)	6.2	51.0
All schools	100	52.8

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

Fewer women in positions of leadership

The proportion of female head-teachers is low in rural areas as a whole (14 per cent) but considerably higher in urban areas (36 per cent). It is substantially lower than the proportion of female teachers in both rural (24 per cent) and urban (53 per cent) areas. Pressures of housework and / or difficult travel to school can make female teachers less willing to take on additional work in school, or even to carry out their teaching duties.[47]

47 Ramachandran, 2005 discusses how new recruits soon understand what must be done and what can be left undone.

The DEO in a study of urban government-sector senior-secondary schools in Rajasthan (see Rajagopal, 2010) admitted that there is a gender bias in promotional avenues. Women teachers who had joined in 1976 had been promoted to grade II only recently but male teachers who had joined in 1988 as grade III had already been promoted. A female principal also spoke of being assigned a less important post than what she was entitled to.

Fewer female teachers in government schools

The proportion of female teachers in Rajasthan in government schools (29 per cent) is slightly lower than in private schools (32 per cent). In Rajasthan, the largest proportion of schools are under government management (77 per cent) (see Table 7.29) and this is where the bulk of teachers are employed (62 per cent). In the private sector it is the unaided sector which is comparatively large (22 per cent) and a larger proportion (37 per cent) of teachers are employed here.

Table 7.29 Government, aided and unaided sectors in Rajasthan

	Government	Private Aided	Private Unaided	All
% Distribution of Schools	77.1	0.7	22.2	100.0
% Distribution of Teachers	62.1	1.2	36.7	100.0
% Female Teachers	29	32		30

Source: DISE, 2008–09.

4.6 Female teachers in Rajasthan need to be empowered to be change agents as envisaged by NCF 2005

The objective of pushing recruitment of female teachers is to encourage girls' enrolment and retention in states such as Rajasthan where girls out of school. However, recruiting more female teachers need not be sufficient to counter social pressures for girls to drop out of school. The type of gender issues girl students face in Rajasthan are also faced by female teachers themselves (very limited autonomy in terms of any decision-making; individual choices subservient to family needs). A female teacher may not counter such forces – she may not think it is practical because of her own understanding and acculturation. She is likely to have internalised the power of patriarchal family forces; she may have exerted only limited agency, at most, to resist such forces which will make it difficult for her to encourage others to do so.

Female teachers may not have the energy to deal with gender issues faced by girls in their charge. Girls may come to school hungry and exhausted. They may also be irregular because of the demands on their time. Female teachers may themselves be exhausted by their household chores (see Ramachandran et al., 2005) and by their commute to school, and may be unwilling to think beyond the minimum that is required from them by the education system – to be physically present in school, and to finish what paperwork is required.

Female teachers may also expect that girls should be socialised to be quiet and accepting. Although the current National Curriculum Framework envisages education to be child-centric and allow the child freedom to express himself or herself, Krishna Kumar discusses how this is completely at odds with how little girls (and female teachers) are socialised themselves (see Krishna Kumar, 2010).

Girls who are in danger of dropping out may belong to disadvantaged castes or minorities. Recruitment of female teachers can even be regressive in terms of challenging discrimination on account of caste or religion, and promoting social equity. Female teachers are more likely to belong to the upper castes than male teachers since education among women in the disadvantaged caste groups is still at a

low level in Rajasthan. This is apparent from DISE data on the social background of teachers (see Table 7.30), which indicate that female teachers in both urban and rural areas are primarily from 'general castes' – 69 per cent and 47 per cent, respectively. Substantial proportions of female teachers are also from the OBC communities, particularly in rural areas in Rajasthan. Very small proportions are from disadvantaged groups – 6 per cent from SC groups and 2 per cent from ST groups in urban areas, and 11 per cent from SC groups and 9 per cent from ST groups in rural areas. Even smaller proportions are from other groups which include minorities.

Table 7.30 Teachers in Rajasthan: disaggregated by caste and gender

	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
'General castes'	28.1	47.3	32.7	46.8	68.6	58.3
OBCs	41.6	33	39.6	35.7	22.4	28.6
SCs	17.8	10.8	16.1	12.1	5.6	8.7
STs	11.5	7.8	10.6	3.9	2.0	2.9
Others	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.5	1.4	1.5
No. of teachers*	2,70,853	84,972	3,55,825	45,573	51,042	96,615

*Excludes a small no. of teachers who did not give a response
Source: DISE 2008–09.

Upper caste women face greater restrictions on mobility than lower caste women. Patriarchal controls on women's sexuality are maximum in the case of upper castes, who place the greatest premium on family honour (Batliwala, 1998 cited in Ramachandran, 2000). Women from these groups are likely to be more rigid than male teachers (the majority of whom are from the OBC group) about issues related to ritual pollution and religious taboos, since maintaining the family honour is a vital part of their identity. Women may also have only limited exposure to the outside world (physical constraints on their mobility – travel only with permission even to visit a doctor or their own families; have limited or no access to books), in spite of their teaching careers. Changing their world views is likely to be a very uphill task. Female teachers in Rajasthan need to be empowered, as for example through programmes such as Mahila Samakhya, for them to be agents of gender and social equity.

We come now to the last section where we discuss a few research studies which throw light on the value of recruiting female teachers to improve school quality and to enhance gender and social equity in schools in the Indian context.

Section 5 Female teachers and their impacts on school quality and on gender and social equity

5.1 Research studies

In this section, we look at a number of research studies in the India context which look at the impact of female teachers on school quality, and on gender and social equity. Certain important qualifications need to be made:

a. Female teachers are a very heterogeneous group. Female teachers in different states differ by qualification; by terms of service; by pre-service training; within states, there are considerable differences in teacher qualifications between urban and rural areas. Heterogeneity should make one conscious of the dangers of generalising.
b. Research studies have very different contexts. The issue of female teachers may be discussed in the context of situations where female teachers are quite scarce and/or school quality (in terms of teacher absenteeism, low teaching activity, lack of teacher accountability) is very low. Or the situations may be such that there is no

particular shortage of female teachers, or there may be national level coverage which includes all types of situations.

c. The research studies vary in terms of methodology (qualitative, quantitative and in some cases a combination of quantitative qualitative methodologies).

We begin with discussing research in areas where there is a relative shortage of female teachers. There are a few qualitative studies which indicate that female teachers have a much more positive impact on school quality than male teachers. However, weaknesses of female teachers also come up. The first of these is a study in Hardoi district in UP[48] (see Jha and Bhardwaj, 2001) which included a large number of interviews with all stakeholders in primary education in rural areas. Education authorities and teacher trainers felt the role of female teachers to be critical for students in classes 1 and 2. They also reported that they found women teachers to be more sincere and less involved in politics. The perceptions of children were also positive. The reasons included: "Female teachers make us understand well; they do not snub us if we ask questions; they are more sympathetic; they are more affectionate". On the flip side, it was felt that female teachers come late to school; and that female teachers want preferential treatment – to be posted to urban areas or to roadside villages.

A second study explored teacher motivation in 10 urban and rural government primary and upper primary schools in Tonk district in Rajasthan in 2004–05 (see Ramachandran et al., 2005). The study reported on perceptions of male and female teachers based on interviews and focus group discussions.

- Female teachers said that male teachers were more interested in local politics and other issues and took less interest in their work.
- Male teachers also felt that female teachers were more motivated about their work, interacted well with children, and were less aggressive with children. At the same time, they said that female teachers tended to take more leave because of their home-making responsibilities. Some female teachers were reported to come hungry to school,[49] which was alleged to reduce their productivity.

The study also found that both male and female teachers were just not engaged with issues of increasing rapport with children and improving children's learning levels. Even the more motivated teachers were primarily concerned with their presence in school each day, compiling and sending the necessary data, and maintaining discipline.

Positive feedback on female teachers came from a study done in the city of Jaipur in Rajasthan in 4 senior secondary schools (see Rajagopal, 2009). Two were co-educational, the third was a girls' school, and the last was a boys' school. The study found female teachers contributing to better school quality: a few female teachers were observed to be teaching better; most boys felt that female teachers were better than male teachers (generally friendly teachers were more liked).

Bringing to the forefront the possible impact that the social background of the female teachers might play is a study done in 2006 in rural primary schools across the erstwhile BIMARU[50] states using both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies (see Box 7.1 from PROBE Revisited, 2011 in section 7.2). With increasing recruitment of para-teachers in the government system, there are higher proportions of female teachers. More female teachers were found to be upper caste than male

48 The study was also conducted in Karnataka.

49 This was either because they are fasting (a weekly religious practice among Hindu women) or because they have no time to eat.

50 These include Bihar and Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Chhatisgarh, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand.

teachers, so this has led to greater social distance between teachers and students, the latter being more likely to be from socially disadvantaged caste groups.

The concept of social distance also came through in an ethnographic study[51] of schooling in a large village on the outskirts of Delhi (see Sarangapani, 2003). The author found that in her sample the female teachers came from the city and the male teachers were local, and that the children were freer with the two male teachers from their village and less comfortable with the female teachers.

The context was very different in a study of upper primary and secondary schools[52] in Delhi (see De et al., 2005, Samson et al., 2007) also using a mix of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The study found girls' secondary schools with all female staff functioning better than boys' secondary schools with primarily male staff. The female head-teachers were keenly involved in supervising the functioning of the schools, although they reported limited power to control teachers in their school. The female teachers themselves also expressed considerable motivation about teaching.[53] On the other hand, little effort was being made by the male head-teachers to check the performance of their primarily male staff. Many of the boys' schools visited were barely functional in terms of classes taking place. Violence by male teachers and in the playground were reported much more commonly by boys. Male teachers were unhappy with being teachers. They felt it gave them little social status. They had taken up teaching because they were unable to get other permanent employment. Although they were not unhappy with their salaries, they were also engaged in other occupations.

A quantitative study of teacher absence in India based on a nationally representative sample of primary schools in 20 states also had positive findings about female teachers (see Kremer et al., 2005). The study found that male teachers were significantly more absent than female teachers. It is suggested that this may be on account of power differentials. Older, more educated, more experienced teachers all had higher absence rates.

There appears to be very limited India-based research on the impact of female teachers on learning achievements of students. An extensive review of existing learning achievement research in India (Reddy, 2004 cited in Chudgar and Sankar, 2008) does not have any studies which look at the impact of the gender of the teacher on the attainments of the students.

A quantitative study of data[54] from schools selected from the five most populous towns in each of five Indian states[55] (Chudgar and Sankar 2008) suggests that male and female teachers differ considerably with respect to class management as well as their belief in a student's learning ability. It also shows that students benefit from a female teacher in the study of languages, but teacher gender has no effects on mathematics learning. These data do not show any evidence of specific beneficial effect of the presence of a female teacher on language or mathematics achievement for girl children. Equally importantly, the findings seem to indicate that the benefits of female-

51 The fieldwork was focused on a government school in the village, and was conducted in 1992-93.

52 Findings were based on a school survey of 40 randomly selected government schools (with a post primary section) in Delhi in 2000.

53 Mostly second earners in the family, they were happy to have jobs that enabled them to look after their domestic duties, although they were frustrated that their students did not understand what they were being taught because of poor teaching in primary schools.

54 The data was collected for 300 private and government schools and for teachers and students in grades 2, 4 and 6. The authors have based their findings on data for government schools and for teachers and students in grades 4 and 6.

55 The states are Andhra Pradesh and Chhatisgarh (two states with low proportions of female teachers), and Gujarat, Rajasthan and Uttarakhand (three states with average proportions of female teachers).

headed classrooms over male-headed classrooms may be limited to specific sub-groups of teachers such as the early-career teachers with fewer years of experience. The results presented here offer only a partial support for hiring more female teachers in India if the goal is to improve girl students' learning achievement.

Do high levels of female teachers have a negative impact on boys' achievements in school? This does not appear much in the research and policy discourse in India, possibly because high levels of female teachers are still limited to pockets e.g. to certain states such as Kerala. There are also comparatively higher proportions of female teachers in urban areas (rather than rural areas where the bulk of India's children live), and in private schools (rather than government schools where the bulk of India's children are enrolled).

Discourse on Kerala education is often concerned about the declining quality of education in government and aided schools and the rise of the unaided sector. Impact of feminisation of the teaching profession is written about mainly in two contexts: female teachers have made a very positive contribution to Kerala's development (Chakraborty, 2005); and high proportions of female teachers reflect a lack of gender equity in society (Devika, 2007 and Devika and Mukherjee, 2007; Eapen and Kodoth, 2003; Irudaya Rajan and Sreerupa, 2007). There are many other bits of evidence to confirm this lack of gender equity such as the fact that the majority of women in Kerala are out of the labour market, and that female unemployment is very high among the educated unemployed in the state. Incidence of domestic violence has also been widely reported in research studies.

5.2 Other factors which can improve educational access and equity more significantly than the gender of the teacher

The quality of education in the school depends on the teachers. There is a pressing need to improve recruitment, training, social status, and work conditions of teachers. Yet many states are still recruiting teachers at low pay, on contract, without ensuring that they have pre-service training, and without ensuring that they have access to good quality training once recruited. Instead the emphasis in teacher training continues to be on quantitative targets. Investment needs to be made in building up a cadre of teacher educators with sufficient teaching experience to improve the quality of training they are able to impart. There is little effort to sustain teacher motivation through a clear promotional path. As mentioned earlier, the teaching cadre is getting increasingly politicised in many states, and this contributes greatly to reducing levels of accountability that teachers feel towards their job.

5.3 Appropriate recommendations on how female teacher recruitment can be addressed to promote the goals of gender and social equity in education

Gender issues need to be addressed in different ways:

Gender issues are often addressed mechanically. Men, women and children need to understand the constraints on women on account of existing social norms, and how it would benefit all of society if they were eased.

There has been a special recruitment drive for women teachers in Rajasthan: The number of women teachers has increased in the last few years due to this special recruitment drive, but the percentage share is still low. It is important to reflect at all levels the rationale behind such a recruitment drive; the success and failure of such drives in different regions of Rajasthan, and the reasons thereof; the implications for the teaching community, including teacher unions; and the implications for enrolment and retention of students.

Women teachers must also be empowered by enabling them to take up leadership responsibilities. Women were rarely found in positions of authority and leadership in

schools in Rajasthan. The qualitative study of senior secondary schools in Jaipur city in Rajasthan (Rajagopal, 2010) found that female teachers reported a very patriarchal educational system. They were aware of gender bias towards female teachers within the system – for example, they reported female teachers being given a heavier workload in terms of classes to be taught compared to male teachers.

It is important that there is more discussion on this during in-service training programmes. There is need for greater awareness of systemic constraints for women wishing to develop their career within the education sector, such as negative attitudes towards women's ability to manage and lead schools, lack of female role models, long hours, and commitments that are difficult to reconcile with family and child care responsibilities. There is also a need to spread awareness of constraints for female teachers within families and communities.

Teacher training programmes should pay attention to the different experiences, perspectives, and priorities of women, rather than assume the gender neutrality of being a teacher. They should work closely with Mahila Samakhya, whose objectives are not simply about the inclusion of girls and women in formal education but about the transformation of their lives. The MS process draws from non-negotiable principles, rooted in respect for village women's priorities, centring on collective decision-making and actions controlled and directed by women (Unterhalter and Dutt 2010).

Women teachers need support from the mainstream education system itself. There is an urgent need to improve their status, conditions and career development opportunities. The creation of forums for female teachers is essential so that they can collectively bargain and negotiate better working conditions in schools.

8 Samoa

Tepora Afamasaga-Wright

Introduction

Samoa consists of 9 islands in the Pacific Ocean between 10 and 15 degrees south of the equator, located to the north east of New Zealand, within a cluster of island nations which include Fiji, Tonga and Tuvalu. Land area on the two main islands, Upolu and Savaii, is about 2,820 square kilometres. The last national Samoa census identified Samoa's population to be 180,741 individuals, of which 93,677 (51.8 per cent) were males and 87,064 (48.2 per cent) were females. The population of Samoa is relatively young, with 39% of the total population being 14 years and under.

The written record of Samoa's history of contact with the western world does not formally begin until European explorers came across the islands during the 1700s and missionaries from the London Missionary Society started spreading the Christian message in 1830. In 1914, German rule in Samoa was replaced by British rule under New Zealand administration, until Samoa became self-governing in 1962. While there is little remaining evidence of the German colonial influence on Samoa's education system, the New Zealand and British influence was and still is evident in administration, policy and curriculum.

Samoa is currently identified by the World Bank as a 'Developing Country', and by the United Nations as a 'Least Developed Country'. Samoa's 'Least Developed Country Status' was reviewed by the UN in 2006, and a recommendation made to progress to 'Developing Country Status'. However, in view of the devastation and economic disruption caused by the September 2009 Tsunami, this graduation has been deferred until 2013.

Samoa's small size, remoteness from global markets and vulnerability to natural disasters as often touted as major constraints to its economic development. It's Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.771 ranks it 94 out of 182 countries globally, and 3rd in the Pacific region behind Australia and New Zealand.

Education in Samoa

Formal and compulsory schooling in Samoa begins at five years, although early childhood education is carried out by church and private providers before students enter primary schools at five years of age. This early childhood education is not considered compulsory, nor is it regulated by government.

There are 8 years of primary schooling (Years 1–8) and secondary schooling consists of 5 years (Years 9–13) at various secondary schools and colleges in the country. The distinction between secondary school and college is made because secondary schools offer secondary education up to Year 12, while colleges offer classes up to Year 13.

Year 13 is considered the final year of secondary schooling, where students study towards the leaving qualification, the Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate. However, this is not a matriculation qualification, as students still have to undergo Foundation Studies at the National University of Samoa before they are eligible to enter university programs.

The vast majority of schools in Samoa are co-educational schools. The four single sex schools are all mission schools, two of which are primary and the other two are secondary schools. The single boys' school is a primary school run by the Marist Brothers. There were more single sex schools at one stage, but these became co-educational under policies to improve access to secondary schooling for all students regardless of gender.

In total there are 163 primary schools in the country, 6 combined primary-secondary schools, and 36 secondary schools (which includes 28 colleges). Of the colleges in the country (secondary schools which offer Year 13), 13 are either missions or privately owned, and 15 are government owned.

Education Indicators

The Ministry of Education Sports and Culture 2010 census records a total school (primary and secondary) enrolment of 57,078 students, of which 28,887 are male (50.6 per cent) and 28,191 (49.4 per cent) are female. At current population estimates, the total school enrolment (57,078) is a good one third of the total Samoa population.

Table 8.1 School enrolment in all schools, 2010

	Male	Female	Total
Primary	21,234	19,575	40,809
Secondary	7,653	8,616	16,269
Total	28,887	28,191	57,078

Source: MESC Statistical Digest 2010.

Completion rates for schooling in Samoa is available in two forms – firstly as the apparent retention rate which compares current enrolment in a level compared to the size of the cohort some years ago, and secondly as the number of students enrolled compared with the number of students who sit the national examinations in Year 8 and Year 12. In the figure that follows, the 83 per cent apparent retention rate for Years 1–8 decreases to 73 per cent at Year 12 and is a dismal 46 per cent at Year 13.

Table 8.2 Apparent retention rate for all schools, 2010

Levels	Years 1–8	Years 9–12	Years 9–13
Retention Rate	83%	73%	46%

Source: MESC Statistical Digest 2010.

In 2009, of the 4,820 students enrolled in Year 8, 4,756 students sat the National Year 8 exams at the end of the year, which indicates a 98.7 per cent completion rate for Year 8 students. With reference to the apparent retention rate, this means that students start exiting the formal school system before they get to Year 8. Also in 2009, there were 2,926 students enrolled in Year 12 of which 2,330 (80 per cent) sat the Year 12 Samoa School Certificate Exams at the end of the year. With reference to the apparent retention rate, it is clear that students also exit formal schooling between Years 9 and 12, as well as during their Year 12 studies. The following tables provide the Net Enrolment Rate and Gender Parity Index for Primary and Secondary from 2006 to 2010, primary school age being 5–12 years and secondary school age being 13–17 years.

Table 8.3 Primary Net Enrolment Rate (NER) and Gender Parity Index (GPI), 2006–2010

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
NER Males 5–12yrs	97%	96%	95%	95%	96%
NER Females 5–12yrs	99%	99%	98%	97%	99%
NER Total 5–12yrs	98%	98%	97%	96%	98%
GPI = (NERF/NERM) 5–12yrs	1.02	1.03	1.03	1.02	1.03

Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

Table 8.4 Secondary Net Enrolment Rate (NER) and Gender Parity Index 2006–2010

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
NER Males 13–17yrs	60%	63%	64%	63%	63%
NER Females 13–17yrs	73%	76%	76%	78%	78%
NER Total 13–17yrs	67%	69%	69%	70%	70%
GPI = (NERF/NERM) 13–17yrs	1.22	1.21	1.19	1.24	1.24

Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

The data in the previous tables identify two main aspects of school enrolment in Samoa. Firstly, the slight gender disparity in favour of females of primary school age is greatly expanded in secondary school in favour of females. Secondly, Net Enrolment Rates are much lower overall in secondary than in primary. It is evident that whereas the lower enrolment rate for girls in other countries is cause for concern, the opposite scenario in Samoa should attract equal attention.

The issue

The core concepts underpinning policy and planning by the Samoa Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture for the period 2006 to 2015 are Equity, Quality, Relevance, Efficiency and Sustainability (National University of Samoa, 2006). The principle of equity necessitates the fair and equitable regard of all participants in the education system, through the design and implementation of policies that enable all learners to receive maximum benefit from their formal educational experiences. Quality is defined as 'high standards of academic achievement, cultural understanding and sensitivity, and social cohesiveness' (MESC, 2006). The principle of Relevance makes it necessary to ensure the schooling and educational experience is relevant to the life of each Samoan individual, while Efficiency acknowledges the need to ensure resources are utilised for maximum benefit to individuals. The final principle, Sustainability, acknowledges that educational development for today's learners must be at no cost to the hopes and aspirations of tomorrow's learners.

The recent Millennium Development Goals Progress Report issued by the Government of Samoa (2010) indicates that Samoa is generally on track to achieve the eight Millennium Development Goals although there are concerns regarding some MDG areas such as primary school literacy, boys underachievement compared to girls, reduction of non-communicable diseases and reproductive health.

This paper presents a case study of what is now called the 'feminisation of the teaching profession' in Samoa, offers reasons for the phenomenon, as well as possible implications on educational access and equity.

Methodology

This case study is a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methodology, with a large proportion of the report focusing on the quantitative analysis. The Samoa Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture were very helpful in providing access to raw annual census data that included teacher statistics throughout villages, districts and regions in Samoa, for primary and secondary schools (including colleges) since 1994. Other statistical reports were utilised for the data they recorded on student enrolment and achievement such as the MESC Statistical Digest. Additional data that are not collected by the MESC but are also essential in providing a complete picture of the case study such as household expenditure and income statistics, and public service salaries and population was obtained from various statistical bulletins published by the Samoa Ministry of Finance – Statistics Division.

A qualitative interview/survey instrument was developed for gathering qualitative data to assist in the provision of case study detail of the situation as it is played out in Samoa. Since the research focuses on the status, causes and implications of the 'feminisation of the teaching profession' in Samoa, it was decided to use a purposive sample of 25 males who had left the teaching profession in the last 10 years, to provide their perspective on factors behind their exit from the teaching profession. The original aim was for a sample of 50, however, this particular group of individuals was quite difficult to track, hence the smaller sized sample.

Additional qualitative interviews with key personnel in the Ministry of Education (2) as well as those involved in teacher training past and present (3) were useful in providing several angles from which to approach the picture painted by the statistics analysis.

Feminisation of teaching in Samoa: a statistical overview

Teacher education

Pre-service teacher training in Samoa commenced with the establishment of the Primary Teachers College in 1939. Enrolment into teacher training from that point on until the mid 1960s was usually in favour of males. After the mid 1960s, enrolment in the Primary Teachers' College was in favour of females, and this difference became very marked after 1978. This is probably largely due to the establishment of the Secondary Teachers' College which may have attracted more males compared to the Primary Teachers' College.

According to an ex-lecturer of the Primary Teachers College, the distinct gender shift in pre-service enrolment after the mid 1960s was probably largely due to other occupations opening up for males such as the police force and the public service. Samoa achieved political independence from New Zealand administration on the 1 June 1962, and thenceforth started building her government administration physical and human resource infrastructure.

At the time of independence there were various primary schools and only 6 secondary schools. However, the numbers of both primary and secondary schools increased post-Independence as the government moved to expand primary and secondary education provision in Samoa. There was no targeted recruitment of women with the increased need for teachers as experienced in other countries.

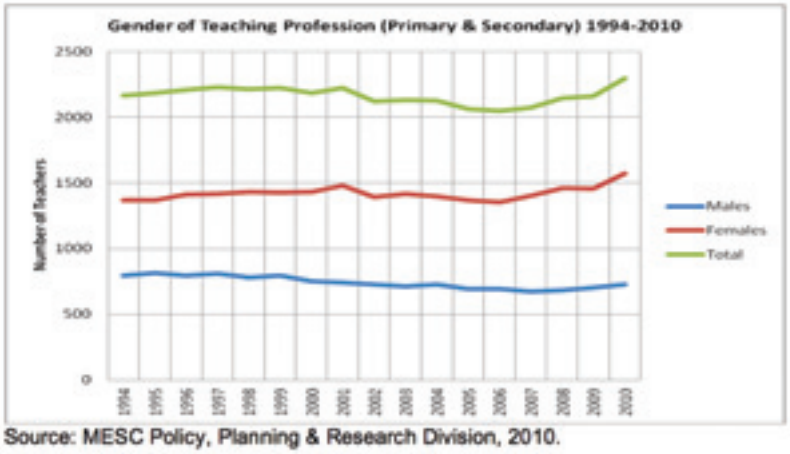
In 1978 the Secondary Teachers' College was established to train teachers for secondary schools and colleges. According to one of the long-serving lecturers of the college, enrolment in the Secondary Teachers' College was also in favour of females, but the numbers were not as disparate as in the Primary Teachers College. However, after several years, the numbers were sufficiently disproportional to warrant amendment of entry criteria to enhance access for males who usually achieved lower scores in the regional Year 13 exams.

The two teacher training organisations merged in 1990 and the new entity was called the Western Samoa Teachers' College (WSTC). Seven years later, the WSTC amalgamated with the National University of Samoa and became the Faculty of Education.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession (primary and secondary)

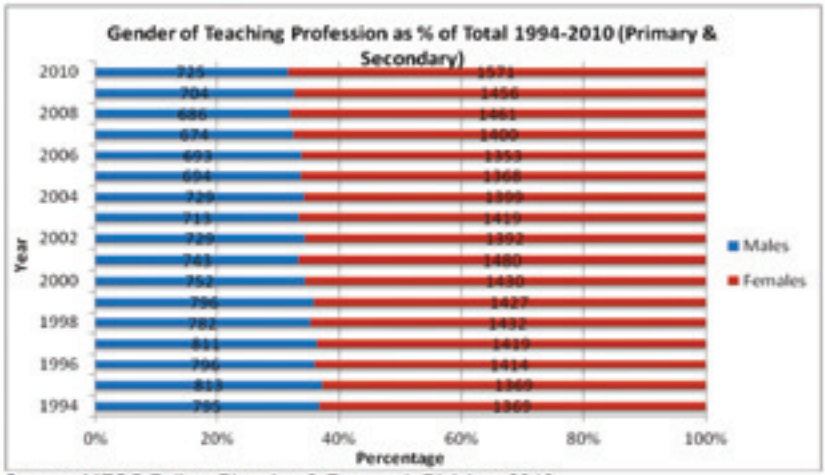
The gender distribution of teachers in primary and secondary schools between 1994 and 2010 shows female teachers outnumber their male counterparts overall, as illustrated in Figure 8.1. The number of male teachers seems to have decreased gradually since 1999, but numbers indicate a slight upward trend since 2008, reflecting on a smaller scale the upward trend in the total size of the teaching profession (primary and secondary).

Figure 8.1 Gender of teaching profession (primary and secondary) in Samoa, 1994–2010



Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

Figure 8.2 Gender of teaching profession as percentage of total (primary and secondary), 1994–2010



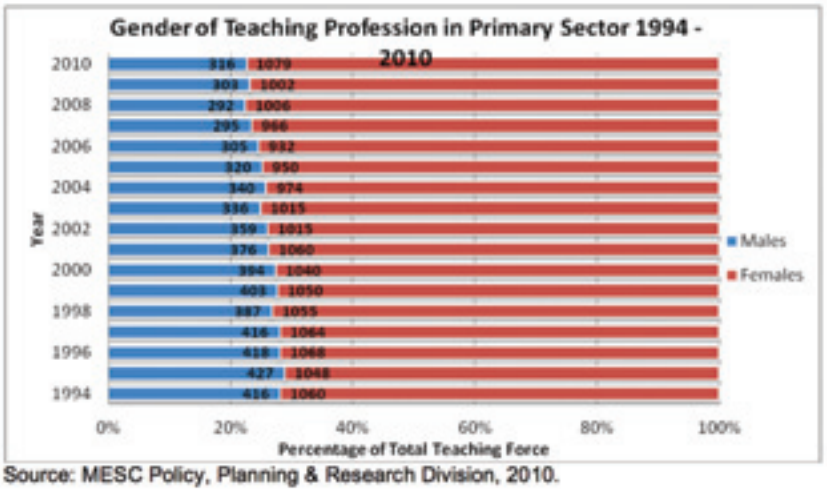
Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

Figure 8.2 shows gender distribution as percentages of the total teaching profession in primary and secondary schools since 1994. It is apparent that the overall percentage of males in the teaching force has declined gradually since 1994 until current figures show the teaching force in primary and secondary schools to be 68.2 per cent female and 31.8 per cent male.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession in primary sector

Figure 8.3 below shows the gender distribution of teachers in the primary sector from 1994 to 2010. The finding from this data is consistent with international trends for primary school teachers, which is that of a highly feminised teaching force.

Figure 8.3 Gender of teaching profession in primary sector, 1994–2010



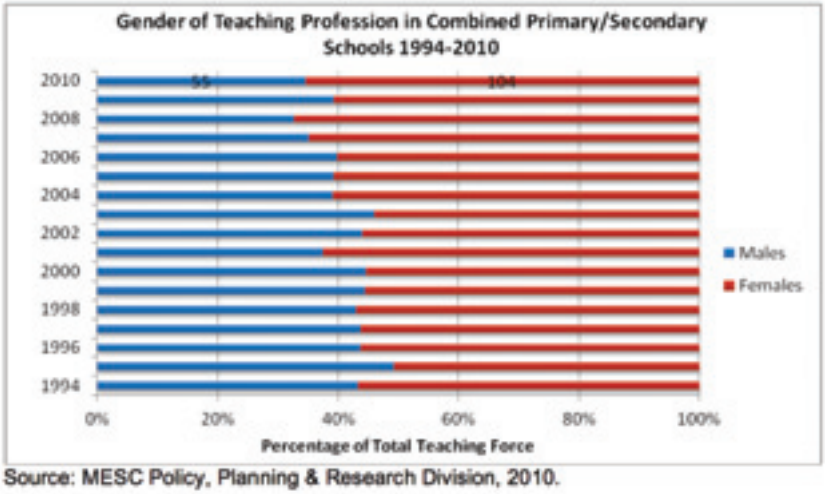
Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

As indicated in the previous figure, primary teaching in Samoa is mostly conducted by female teachers, currently representing 77.3 per cent of all teachers in primary schools, while male teachers make up 22.7 per cent of the primary teaching force.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession in combined primary/secondary schools

There are a number of combined primary/secondary schools in Samoa, which are recorded separately from the data for primary and secondary schools. The gender distribution for teachers in these combined schools are as illustrated below.

Figure 8.4 Gender of teaching profession in combined primary/secondary schools, 1994–2010



Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

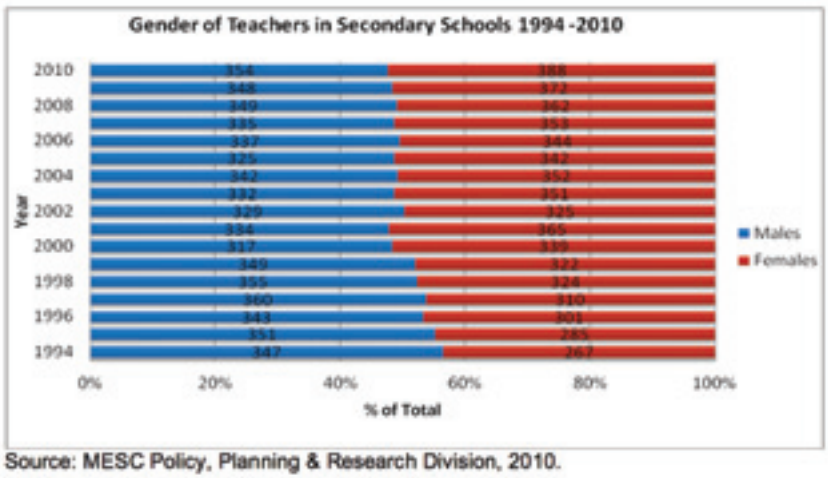
As seen above, the gender distribution of teachers in combined primary and secondary schools has varied since 1994, although there are generally more female teachers than male teachers. However, the proportion of teachers that are male is higher for this particular school sector, than for primary schools. In addition, the proportion of male teachers was above 40 per cent in 1994, but has declined gradually over the years to the current figure of 34.6 per cent of total teachers in combined primary/secondary schools.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession in secondary Schools (secondary schools and colleges)

In contrast to the composition of primary school teachers, the gender distribution of teachers in secondary schools is much more balanced. As seen in the next figure, male teachers outnumbered female teachers in all secondary schools until the year 2000. Since then, there have been more female teachers than male teachers, but the proportion of female teachers has stayed between 51.7 per cent (2000) and 52.3 per cent (2010). This indicates a vastly different case for gender distribution of teachers than that seen in primary schools, as the proportion of female teachers in secondary schools may be too low to call it a 'feminised' teaching force.

As explained previously, the secondary school sector in Samoa includes 'secondary schools' which offer Years 9 to Year 12, and 'colleges' which offer Years 9 to Year 13.

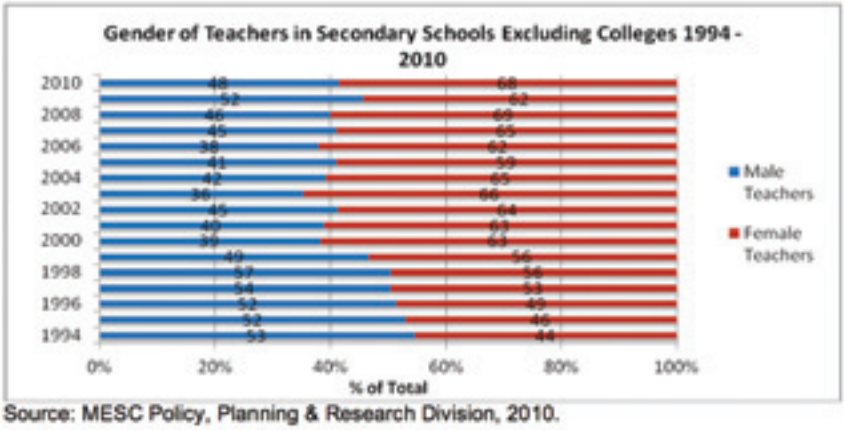
Figure 8.5 Gender of teachers in secondary schools, 1994–2010



Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

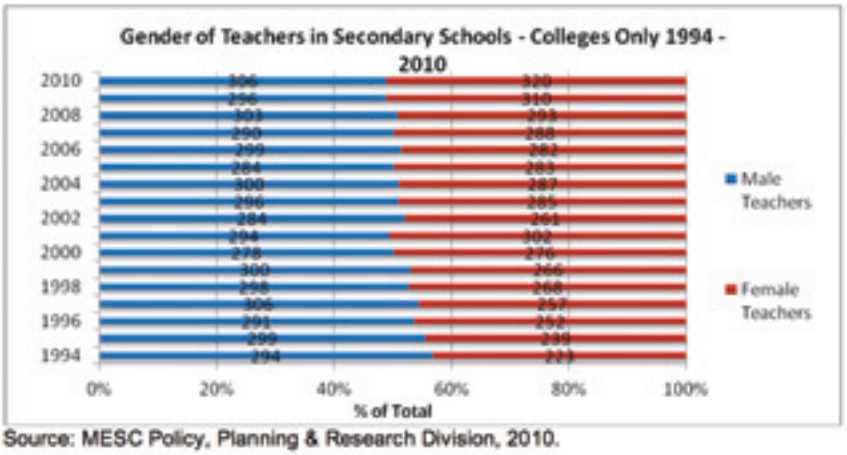
The next two figures disaggregate the teaching force into secondary schools excluding colleges and colleges only. There is clearly a different pattern of gender distribution between secondary schools proper and colleges, as secondary schools that do not offer Year 13 are more likely than colleges to have a greater percentage of female teachers.

Figure 8.6 Gender of teachers in secondary schools excluding colleges, 1994–2010



Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

Figure 8.7 Gender of teachers in secondary schools – colleges only, 1994–2010



Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession in post-school education and training sector

The formal Post-School Education and Training (PSET) Sector in Samoa is composed of two major institutions, and several small providers. The first major institution is the National University of Samoa created by the merger of the Teachers College, Nursing Training College and University Preparatory Year in 1997, and the second is the University of the South Pacific School of Agriculture and Food Technology, based at Alafua. However the other 22 much smaller PSET providers include 9 providers of theological and missions training, and 8 providers of technical and vocational training.

Table 8.5 Gender of teaching staff in formal post-school education and training sector, 2009

Males	Females	Total
181	66	247

Source: Samoa Qualifications Authority PSET Digest 2010 (draft).

There is currently limited data available on numbers and gender of teaching staff in the formal post-school education and training sector, however, the available information indicates that males greatly outnumbered females in 2009 as shown in the previous table[56]. This reflects the fact that the majority of staff in the technical and vocational training providers and almost all staff in theological and missions training providers are male.

Another source of data for the gender of the post-school teaching force is to look at gender distribution of teaching staff at the National University of Samoa (NUS), as the NUS employs the majority of teachers in the formal post school education and training sector.

Table 8.6 Numbers and gender of teaching staff at National University of Samoa, 2005–2009

	2005	2007	2009
Males	36	61	71
Females	104	93	81
TOTAL	**140**	**154**	**152**

Source: National University of Samoa Calendars 2005, 2006 and 2007

56 Due to the nature of data collection informing the source document, the numbers in Figure 8.12 includes numbers of staff in some Faculties/Schools of the National University of Samoa and not others.

An interesting trend can be seen in Figure 8.7 above, showing the gender breakdown of teaching staff at the National University of Samoa since 2005. The number of male teaching staff has increased steadily since 2005, while the numbers of female staff has been in decline. Although figures for 2009 show that female teaching staff still outnumber male teaching staff, the difference has decreased steadily over the years. It will be worthwhile monitoring this trend to note whether the trend will continue over the next few years.

Analysis of gender representation in leadership and management positions

It was possible to obtain data from the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture on the gender distribution of teachers in leadership and management positions for 2010, as tabulated below. These figures are for teachers on the government payroll, which excludes mission and private schools, whose data is housed elsewhere.

Table 8.7 Distribution of males and females in leadership and management positions in government primary schools, September 2010

Position of Responsibility	Males	Females	TOTAL
Principal	48 *(33.6%)*	95 *(66.4%)*	143
First Assistant	18 *(39.1)*	28 *(60.9%)*	46
Infant Supervisors	2 *(5.3%)*	36 *(94.7%)*	38
TOTAL	**68 *(30%)***	**159 *(70%)***	**227**

Source: MESC School Operations Division 2010

There are three positions of responsibility in primary schools – that of principal, first assistant and infant supervisors. These are in order of responsibility, although the Infant Supervisor has responsibilities specific to Years 1 to 3, or what is considered early primary.

As seen in the table above, the overall gender distribution of positions of responsibility in government primary schools is 30 per cent males and 70 per cent females. The proportion of females is highest in the Infant Supervisor position, which is responsible for the youngest primary school students, Years 1 to 3. The highest proportion of males in all positions of responsibility (39.1 per cent) is found in those occupying the First Assistant position.

In relation to the overall numbers of male and female teachers in the primary school sector, the distribution according to gender in the leadership and management positions is about the same as distribution in the primary teaching force.

Table 8.8 Distribution of males and females in leadership and management positions in government colleges/secondary schools, September 2010

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
COLLEGES			
Principal	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	15
Deputy Principal	11 (52.4%)	10 (47.6%)	21
SECONDARY SCHOOLS			
Principal	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)	9
Senior Assistant	5 (41.7%)	7 (58.3%)	12
TOTAL	**30 (52.6%)**	**27 (47.4%)**	**57**

Source: MESC School Operations Division 2010

The distribution of males and females in positions of responsibility in government colleges and secondary schools paints a different picture from the gender distribution of teachers in primary schools. It is evident that overall, there are more males than females in positions of responsibility, which amounts to a proportion of 52.6 per cent compared to 47.4 per cent females.

The highest proportion of males and conversely the lowest proportion of females are found among Principals of Colleges, 66.7 per cent male and 33.3 per cent female. The highest proportion of females found in positions of responsibility in government colleges and secondary schools is in the Senior Assistant position, which is the position next in line to the Principal of the Secondary School.

The overall proportion of male teachers in government colleges and secondary schools is 42.5 per cent compared to their female counterparts who comprise 57.5 per cent of total numbers. Comparison of such figures with the proportion of male and female teachers in leadership positions indicate that although there are more female teachers overall in government colleges and secondary schools, the fewer male teachers occupy more positions of responsibility than females.

It is also evident that females are less likely to occupy the top leadership position in a college, as opposed to a secondary school, which is perceived to have less status than a College.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession aggregated into government, mission and private schools

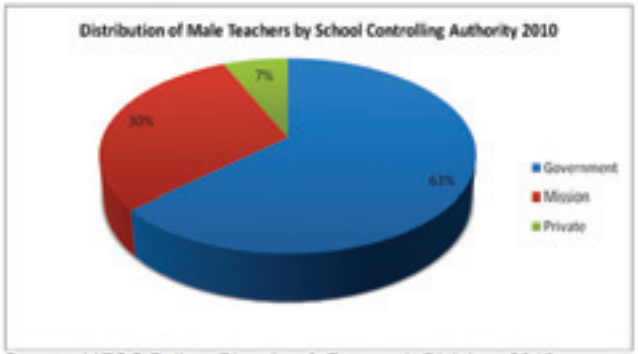
Primary and secondary schools in Samoa are either controlled by the government, mission departments of education, or private boards/committees. Although all types of schools can access government funding, the government is committed to funding public or government schools.

The government is the biggest employer of the teaching profession, employing 1520 teachers or 68.8 per cent of all teachers in Samoa (primary and secondary). They are followed by mission schools, which employ 529 teachers or 23.9 per cent of the teaching force (primary and secondary). Private schools run by school boards and school committees account for 161 teachers or 7.3 per cent of the total teaching force.

Since the educational reforms of this decade, the capacity of schools in the rural areas has been increased to reduce the pressure on schools in the Apia Urban Area, especially in the primary sector. The government has an agreement with village committees in rural areas, that the government will provide resources and teachers, while the village committees are responsible for the maintenance and payment of school operational costs such as electricity and phone lines.

The following figure shows gender-disaggregated data of teachers in Private, Mission and Government schools, according to most recent figures.

Figure 8.8 Distribution of male teachers by school controlling authority, 2010



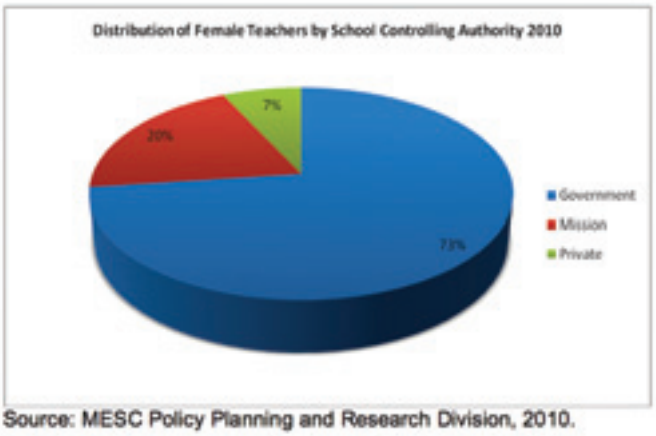
Source: MESC Policy, Planning & Research Division, 2010.

According to 2010 figures, government schools employ 63 per cent of all male teachers and 73 per cent of all female teachers in primary and secondary schools. Mission schools employ 30 per cent of all male teachers and 20 per cent of all female

teachers. Private schools represent 7 per cent of all male teachers and 7 per cent of all female teachers.

In comparison with the aggregate figure for male teachers and aggregate figure for female teachers, government schools employ a higher proportion of female teachers than male teachers; mission schools employ a higher proportion of male teachers than female teachers, and private schools employ the same proportion of either gender according to gender aggregates.

Figure 8.9 Distribution of female teachers by school controlling authority, 2010



Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

Simply put, in a group of 100 male teachers, 63 will be employed by the government, 30 will be employed by mission schools, and 7 will be employed in a private school. In a group of 100 female teachers, 73 will be teaching in a government school, 20 in a mission school, and 7 in a private school.

Furthermore, as the statistics show, the highest level of feminisation is experienced by private schools (70 per cent) followed by government schools (69 per cent). Mission schools by comparison enjoy better gender balance in their teaching force with females comprising 59 per cent of all teachers in mission schools.

The following table shows further disaggregation of the available data for gender of teachers by school controlling authority into types of schools: either primary; combined primary and secondary; and secondary.

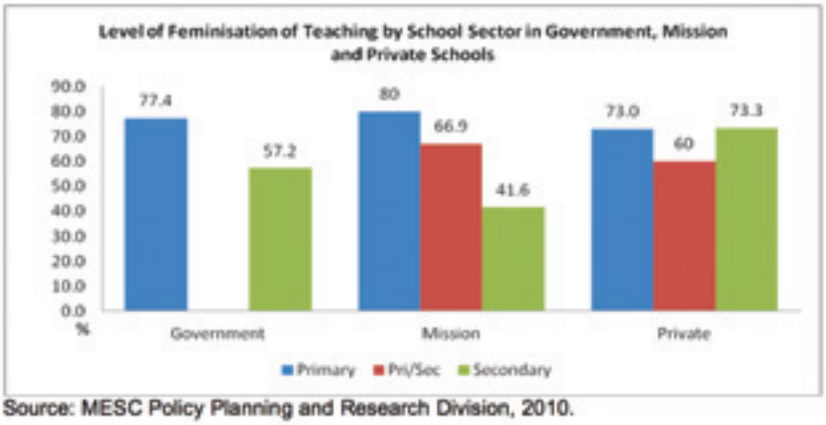
Table 8.9 Gender of teachers by school controlling authority by sector, 2010

Government Schools			
	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Primary	262	762	1024
Primary/Secondary	0	0	0
Secondary	211	285	496
TOTAL	**(31%)** 473	**(69%)** 1047	1520
Mission Schools			
	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Primary	31	124	155
Primary/Secondary	41	83	124
Secondary	146	104	250
TOTAL	**(41%)** 218	**(59%)** 311	529
Private Schools			
	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Primary	30	81	111
Primary/Secondary	14	21	35
Secondary	4	11	15
TOTAL	**(30%)** 48	**(70%)** 113	161

Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

From the above information, the level of feminisation in each school sector for government, mission and private schools is as shown in Figure 8.10 below.

Figure 8.10 Level of feminisation of teaching by school sector in government, mission and private schools, 2010



Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

In all types of schools (government, mission and private), the level of feminisation of the teaching force is highest in the primary schools. It is 73 per cent in private primary schools, 77.4 per cent in government schools and 80 per cent in mission schools. Combined primary/secondary schools also have a feminised teaching force, 66.9 per cent for mission schools and 60 per cent for private schools. Mission secondary schools are not feminised, with 41.6 per cent of total secondary teachers being female. Teaching in government secondary schools is moderately feminised at 57.2 per cent while teaching in private secondary schools is highly feminised at 73.3 per cent..

This means that a secondary school teacher is 57 per cent likely to be female if teaching in a government school, 73 per cent likely if in a private school, and only 41 per cent likely to be female if teaching in a mission school.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession in rural and urban areas

Samoa is divided into 4 statistical regions, namely the Apia Urban Area, North West Upolu, Rest of Upolu and Savaii. The Apia Urban Area is so labelled because of the concentration of government, economic and social infrastructure, and is physically the smallest statistical region in terms of land area.

Figure 8.11 Map of Samoa showing statistical regions

Source: Ministry of Finance 2006 Population & Housing Census Report.

The Apia Urban Area has the highest population density, followed by the North West Upolu region. This is due to the centralisation of most social and economic services in the two regions. Formal employment opportunities in both the public and private sector are concentrated in the Apia Urban Area and North West Upolu Region.

The following table shows female teachers as a percentage of the total teaching force in each statistical region over a 16-year period, from 1994 to 2010.

Table 8.10 Female teachers as a percentage of the teaching force in each region, 1994–2010

	Apia Urban Area	North West Upolu	Rest of Upolu	Savaii
1994	66	63	62	62
1998	66	64	66	63
2002	68	63	66	64
2006	68	64	69	63
2010	67	66	69	70

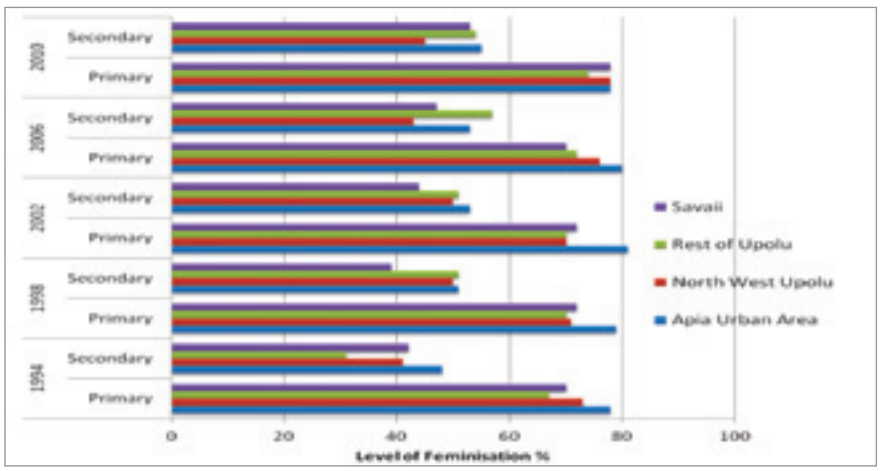
Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

Analysis of data above yields several findings. Firstly, the number of females as a percentage of the teaching profession in primary and secondary schools increased in every region between 1994 and 2010. Secondly, although the Apia Urban Area had the highest proportion of female teachers in 1994, this distinction was shared with the Rest of Upolu region in 1998, taken over by the Rest of Upolu Region in 2006, and subsequently Savaii in 2010. This means that the highest level of feminisation of the teaching force is variable between regions over time, and is not attributed to a single region.

This may reflect several factors, not the least of which is the government's efforts to provide incentives for people to stay in the rural areas instead of migrating to the Apia Urban Region in search of jobs and better schooling. Some of these strategies included the upgrading of primary and secondary school facilities in rural areas, and increasing the capacity of rural secondary schools to become colleges and offer Year 13 for students in their vicinities. Equally important, the establishment of a town centre in Savaii (Savaii Region) to encourage business and employment formation at a location other than Apia was welcomed by Savaii residents.

Further analysis is possible by breaking down the data tabled in Figure 8.12 into primary and secondary sectors. The figure below shows female teachers as a percentage of the teaching force in each school sector, employed in each statistical region, between 1994 and 2010.

Figure 8.12 Female teachers as a percentage of teaching force in primary and secondary sector by region



Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

Several trends are evident from the graphical representation above. Firstly, the percentage of female teachers in the primary teaching force has consistently been highest in the Apia Urban Area every year until 2010. In 2010, this distinction was shared between Apia Urban Area and two other regions. The second trend is that every region with the exception of Apia Urban Area experienced an increased proportion of primary female teachers (compared to total primary teachers) between 1994 and 2010. The female proportion of primary teachers in the Savaii Region in particular increased from 70 per cent in 1994 to 78 per cent in 2010, which means that the male teacher proportion declined from 30 per cent to 22 per cent in the region's primary schools.

The case of secondary schools is different from that of primary schools, which is to be expected given the overall gender distribution of teachers in secondary schools. In 1994, male teachers outnumbered female teachers in secondary schools in every region. Four years later, the proportion of female teachers in secondary schools increased to half the number of secondary teachers in all regions except Savaii Region. In 2010, the female proportion of secondary school teachers by region was 55 per cent in Apia Urban Area, 45 per cent in North West Upolu, 54 per cent in Rest of Upolu Region and 53 per cent in the Savaii Region.

In more than 10 years (between 1998 and 2010), the female component of secondary school teachers had increased from 51 to 55 per cent in the Apia Urban Area and from 51 to 54 per cent in the Rest of Upolu Region. The Savaii Region experienced the biggest increase, from 39 per cent in 1998 to 53 per cent in 2010, while the figure for North West Upolu actually declined from 50 per cent in 1998 to 45 per cent in 2010.

The figures outlined above represent slight increases, and the question can be posed whether a 50–55 per cent proportion of teaching force being female is sufficient to grant an occupation a 'feminised' status. The question is especially pertinent given that some regions experienced declining numbers of female secondary teachers in the period 1994–2010.

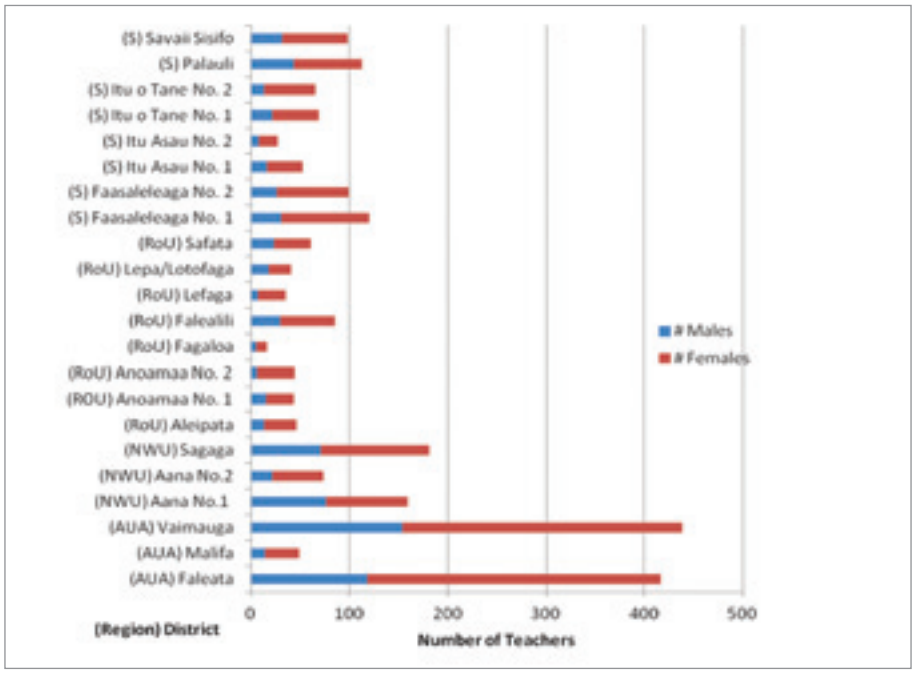
Analysis of gender of teaching profession in each district

Samoa is divided into 22 school districts that roughly correspond to electoral constituencies, although there are more school districts than electoral constituencies. Figure 8.13 shows the gender of teachers by districts according to 2010 figures.

At first glance, Faleata and Vaimauga districts immediately stand out as the districts with the highest numbers of both male and female teachers compared to other districts. This is explained by the fact that both districts are in the densely populated Apia Urban Region, with a higher school age population than other regions. In order to comply with the required teacher student ratio of 1:30, more teachers are needed in these districts.

To further illustrate the point, the Faleata district includes 20 schools, 13 of which are primary schools. The Vaimauga district which is also in the Apia Urban Area includes 22 schools, 15 of which are primary schools. By comparison, Fagaloa district which has the smallest numbers of female teachers consists solely of 4 primary schools. As it happens, male teachers outnumber their female colleagues in the Fagaloa district.

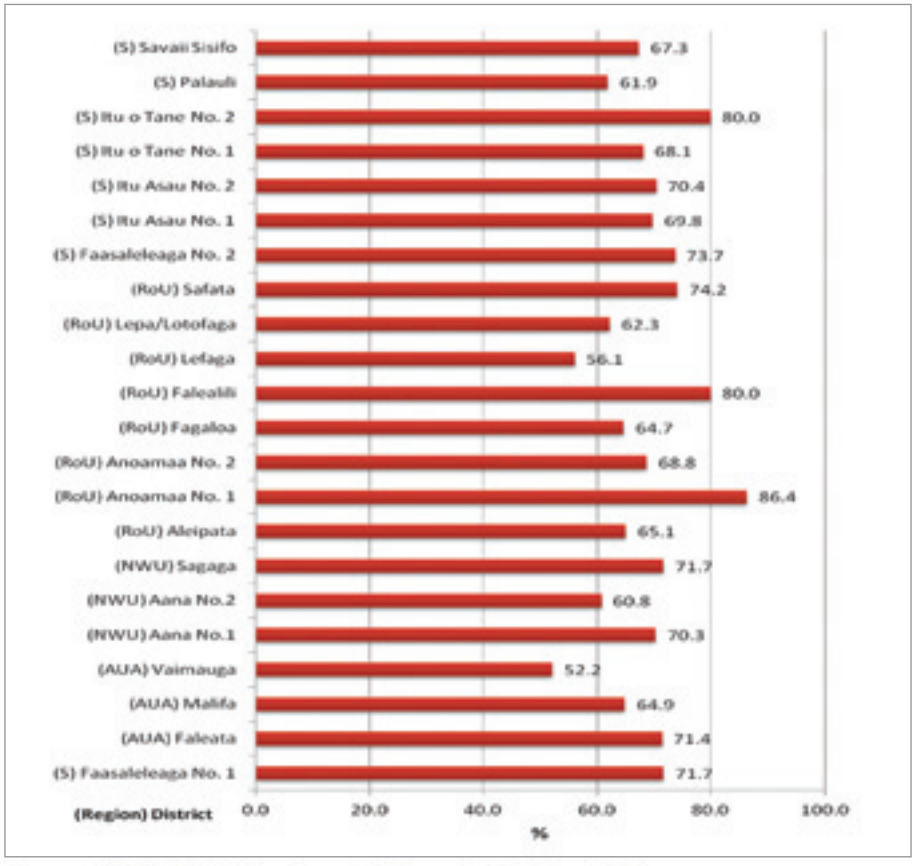
Figure 8.13 Gender of teachers by district, 2010



Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

The following figure shows female teachers as a percentage of the total teaching profession in each district, according to 2010 figures.

Figure 8.14 Female teachers as a percentage of total teaching force by district, 2010



Source: MESC Policy Planning and Research Division, 2010.

As illustrated in the above figure, female teachers make up more than 50 per cent of the total teaching force in each district. The highest level of feminisation is in the Anoamaa No.2 district, where females represent 86.4 per cent of the district's teachers. Anoamaa No.2 consists of 8 primary schools, 6 of which are government schools, with the other two being mission schools.

The district with the lowest proportion of female teachers is Aana No.1, with 52.2 per cent of its teachers being female. Aana No. 1 district consists of 8 primary schools, 2 secondary schools and one combined primary/secondary school. It is to be noted that Aana No.1 district includes Nuuausala College, a mission secondary school that employs 16 male teachers from a total of 21 teachers.

The only other district where female teachers comprise less than 50 per cent of total teachers is Lepa/Lotofaga, which is characterised by 5 government secondary schools, and one government secondary school. As to be expected, male teachers outnumber female teachers in Lepa/Lotofaga College, which explains the lower overall percentage of female teachers compared to other districts.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession by average household income

The most recent household and income census in 2008 identified the average household income and expenditure levels in each statistical region. As mentioned in previous sections, statistical regions in Samoa are divided into the Apia Urban Area, North West Upolu Region, Rest of Upolu Region, and the Savaii Region.

In 2008, the national average household income per week was $694 tala (about $277 USD), and the highest average weekly household income was found in the Apia Urban Area at $807 tala (about $322 USD). However, these figures shouldn't be taken at face value since the average weekly household expenditure was greater than average weekly household income in every region, as well as nationally. For instance, the national average weekly household income was $694 tala (about $277 USD) in comparison to the national average weekly household expenditure of $840 tala (about $336 USD).

Table 8.11 Average household income by region, 2008

Region	Apia Urban Area	North West Upolu	Rest of Upolu	Savaii
Average Income	$807	$724	$600	$641
Average Expenditure	$989	$877	$708	$781

Source: Household Income and Expenditure Report 2008, Samoa Bureau of Statistics, Government of Samoa, 2010

Comparison between the average household income by region and the proportion of the teaching force (primary and secondary) that is female does not indicate a strong relationship between average household income and the gender distribution of the teaching profession.

Analysis of gender of teaching profession and subject areas

There is indication of a strong relationship between teacher gender and subject area. For instance, an analysis of teaching staff at the National University of Samoa shows that the greatest concentration of female lecturers is found in the Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Education, while the greatest concentration of male lecturers is found in the School of Engineering and School of Maritime Training.

Table 8.12 Gender distribution of National University of Samoa teaching staff

	Male	Female	Total
IHE Faculty of Arts	1	16	17
IHE Faculty of Business & Entrepreneurship	5	5	10
IHE Faculty of Education	3	15	18
IHE Faculty of Nursing & Health Sciences	1	5	6
IHE Faculty of Science	8	13	21
IOT School of Business & General Studies	6	17	23
IOT School of Engineering	25	2	27
IOT School of Maritime Training	6	0	6
TOTAL	**55**	**73**	**128**

Source: NUS Calendar, 2010

Possible factors responsible for transforming teaching into 'women's work'

Access to pre-service teacher training

> *Female students usually outperform male students in the PSSC examinations, and this is reflected in enrolment into teacher training every year because females are more likely than males to achieve the scores needed for entry…*
> *Gatoloai Tilianamua Afamasaga, 2010*

Enrolment figures into pre-service teacher education are hugely in favour of females, laying the foundation for the continuation of a predominantly female teaching profession. An important factor determining the profile of the teacher profession is the profile of those who are able to enter teacher training.

Since the establishment of the National University of Samoa in 1997, which merged the Western Samoa Teachers' College with the newly created Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Sciences, entry into the Diploma of Education was dependent on achievement at Pacific Senior School Certificate (PSSC) level. The PSSC is the focus of studies at Year 13 level, and entry requirements into NUS programmes are usually in terms of an aggregate score obtained for English and best three subjects in this regional examination. PSSC subject scores range from 1 (highest) to 9 (lowest). For several years, the aggregate score for entry into the Faculty of Education programmes has been 18, for English and the best 3 subjects.

It has been noted for several years that female students on average out-perform their male counterparts in this regional examination. Gatoloai Tilianamua Afamasaga, considered an expert on teacher education in Samoa having served as head of the Faculty of Education for many years, made the observation that entry into teacher education programs are in favour of females because they are more likely to achieve the PSSC scores required for entry every year.

Figures show that on average, male students made up 44.1 per cent of all Year 13 students from 1999 to 2008 as shown on the table below. This is the closest we can get to numbers of students sitting the PSSC examination every year, which also represents the pool from which to draw teacher trainees.

Table 8.13 Male students as a percentage of total Year 13 enrolment, 1999–2008

Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
%	45.7	45.5	47.0	43.5	43.6	43.7	45.9	42.1	40.9	43.4

Source: MESC Statistical Digest, 2008.

As seen in the above table, the pool of potential teacher trainees is already skewed towards females. Given that PSSC achievement figures show female students achieve

higher scores than males, the profile of the student pool that can enter teacher training is hugely in favour of females.

Perceptions regarding teachers' work

It is entirely possible that females are more likely to enter the teaching profession than males because of its perceived benefits. The teaching profession is perceived to have shorter working hours and more flexible arrangements regarding maternity leave. It is also possible that teaching primary students holds a greater attraction for females whose socialisation as a Samoan female exposes them to being responsible for younger children at a young age.

The current Dean of the Faculty of Education at the National University of Samoa, Epenesa Esera, is of the view that the teaching profession seems to be more suited to a 'female' temperament and family priorities.

Interviews with males who had left the teaching force in the last ten years provides other clues to reasons for the relatively few numbers of males who enter teaching in the primary school sector. One respondent asserted that female teachers are more suitable for primary school classes as they have more patience compared to male teachers who are more likely to be impatient and lose their temper with misbehaving students. This perception of female teachers as having more patience with students than male teachers was echoed by 10 out of 20 participants.

> *Males – like me – are the head of the family… and my family rely on me for everything so that is the reason I wanted to look for another job with better pay and I left when I got one…*
> *Male Interviewee*

Areas of specialisation in teacher training

The Diploma of Education offers specialisations for primary school or secondary school teaching. The primary specialisation requires a general understanding of all subject areas, while teacher trainees specialising in secondary school teaching have to identify specialist school subjects as their teaching subjects.

The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture has for a number of years sponsored selected students to undertake the Diploma of Education program at the NUS. It is the observation of the current head of the School Operations Division responsible for this scheme, that female students prefer the general specialisation preparing them for primary school teaching, while the male students prefer to concentrate on specialist subjects, preparing them for secondary school teaching.

Teacher salary

The current Dean of Education at the National University of Samoa notes that female teachers seem to stay longer in the profession compared to males. When a group of males who had left the teaching profession in the last 10 years were asked why they left the teaching profession, 18 out of 25 responded that they left for better salaries elsewhere. Salary factors seemed by far the strongest factor contributing to male teachers' desire to leave the teaching profession. Other factors mentioned were a desire for a change in career and environment (3), disagreement/conflict with management (3) and the call of God to ministry (1).

The teacher salary was especially central to the decision to continue as a teacher or seek better-paid jobs, because it was seen as the major determinant of a male's ability to provide for their household, as head of the household.

All interviewees spoke of the all-important need to provide for their families, as provider and breadwinner. Two respondents indicated that they sought better-paid employment after getting married and starting a family, as the salary was no longer sufficient to provide for their needs. These particular respondents entered the community development sector where they obtained higher paying jobs.

The information in Table 8.14 below reveals the salary a teacher expected to receive in comparison with other public service positions between 2002 and 2006. The teaching force represents more than 60 per cent of employees of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. The average salary for someone working in the MESC in 2002–2003 was second to lowest of the entire public sector. For the next two years, the average MESC salary was in the lowest 3 of all ministries, and in 2005–2006, it moved up to the bottom 4.

Table 8.14 Average salary paid to public service employees between 2002 and 2006

Ministry	2002–2003	2003–2004	2004–2005	2005–2006
Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries	6949	6692	7910	11473
Commerce, Industry & Labour	15285	17556	18379	24965
Communication and IT	19137	16841	18733	23541
Education, Youth & Culture	11037	10894	11650	14565
Foreign Affairs & Trade	12824	16827	17661	20399
Finance	12824	16827	17661	63151
Health	11460	12675	12639	16672
Justice & Courts Administration	15105	17458	17762	29137
Natural Resources & Environment	15900	11647	11501	11443
Police, Prison & Fire Services	11217	12792	12614	14504
Office of the Prime Minister	12215	13452	16563	18895
Revenue	13648	12172	14521	18783
Women, Community & Social Devt	46848	17347	38533	40166
Works, Transport & Infrastructure	19944	18588	18797	20337
Attorney General	20391	22540	25552	32948
Audit	19134	20121	21399	28696
Legislative	14384	14758	16696	21573
Ombudsman	19662	24924	19846	21401
Public Service Commission	25449	27407	28885	37477

Source: Ministry of Financial Statistical Department Annual Statistical Abstract 2005 (37th Issue), Ministry of Finance, Samoa.

The Government of Samoa took steps between 2002 and 2006 to improve public service salaries resulting in substantial improvements in the remuneration scale for most sectors of the public service. While remuneration for the teaching force increased during this period, the improvement in salaries for those in the Education sector lagged noticeably behind the majority of sectors in the public service.

It has also been noted that while further improvements in the teacher salary scale was approved by government within the last five years, these have not been administered to teachers as expected. For those contemplating a career, teaching is still expected to have close to the lowest salary of all professional occupations, resulting in fewer individuals choosing the profession.

The importance of the rate of remuneration for male teachers cannot be emphasised enough. The salary scale does not have different scale for male and female teachers, yet it seems male teachers are more negatively affected by it. One respondent explained this by saying that female teachers were more likely to continue in the teaching profession regardless of the rate of remuneration, because their desire to teach outweighed the negative feelings they might have had regarding the salary. In comparison, because of the role of the male as head of the family and main

breadwinner, the need to ensure financial security for themselves and their families outweighed the interest males felt in practising the teaching profession.

One interviewee (male) made the observation that if a teacher possessed or gained a bachelor degree they were less likely to remain in the teaching profession, as the bachelor degree was the passport to a better paying job elsewhere. This perception seems to be supported by the current scenario in primary school teaching.

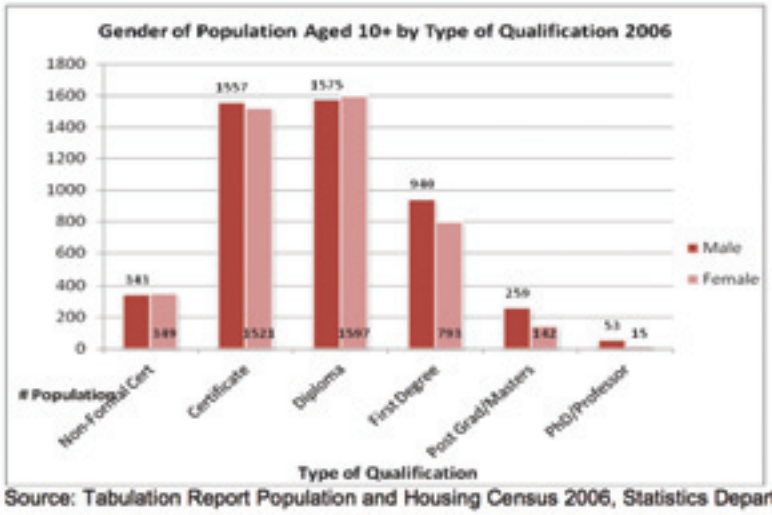
2010 figures show that 74 primary school teachers have Bachelor degrees while the rest have Certificates or Diplomas. Of this number, 62 are employed in private or mission schools while the remaining few are teaching in 7 government primary schools. The major reason for this revealing analysis is that non-government schools, private schools especially, pay comparatively high salaries so that they can attract teachers with higher qualifications to their staff. While this data is unfortunately not disaggregated by gender, we can draw conclusions on the likelihood of the gender of these teachers based on the ratio of male to female teachers.

I left teaching because my salary of $7,000 was not commensurate with the workload that I carried as a teacher…
Male Interviewee

In the 7 government primary schools where teachers are found to have a bachelor degree, the male to female staff ratio ranges from 1:2 to 1:16, implying that these degree holders are more likely to be female than male. The impact of the salary scale on the attraction and retention of males into the teaching profession is best expressed by one respondent who indicated that:

It must be said however, that the fewer numbers of males with bachelor degrees in primary schools does not reflect the national distribution of tertiary qualifications by gender. As shown in the following figure, males with post-secondary qualifications outnumbered females with post-secondary qualifications during the last national census in 2006.

Figure 8.15 Gender of population aged 10+ by type of qualification, 2006



Source: Tabulation Report Population and Housing Census 2006, Statistics Department MOF

Career structure

The second reason most often mentioned by male interviewees for leaving teaching was the perceived lack of opportunity for promotion within the teaching profession. As one interviewee put it *"there are so many of us teachers, and only one principal... it seemed like I*

would be going nowhere if I stayed in teaching, so I moved". Respondents spoke of their desire to keep moving forward in terms of promotion and career advancement, a desire that most decided would not be met within the teaching profession. One interviewee started looking for another job outside the teaching profession after realising that, because he was employed in a Catholic girls' school, there was no option for promotion as headship of the school could only be occupied by a nun or sister.

The current career structure for the profession includes only 3 positions of responsibility in primary teaching, and 3 in secondary teaching, and no practice of salary increments tied to performance review. Although it is clear from the MESC guiding documents that there is a policy for awarding salary increments based on performance, salary rewards have not been tied to performance appraisal in practice for at least 5 years.

However, the positive news is that the MESC is currently working together with the Public Service Commission to address the issue of teacher career and salary structure, as one of the strategies to improve the teacher retention rate and overall education outcomes for Samoa.

Feminisation of teaching profession and sexual/class divisions in society

Data from qualitative interviews with a purposeful sample of males who had left the teaching profession for a completely different government sector can help shed light on the possible link between feminisation of the teaching profession and gender identity.

Males were asked 8 questions targeting the reasons why they joined the teaching profession, the extent of their teaching experience, the reasons they left the teaching profession for jobs elsewhere, and their perceptions of differences in the practice of teaching (if any) relating to gender differences.

It was evident that the main reason for joining the teaching profession was the professional appeal of teachers' work including a desire to help young people learn and the intrinsic attraction of imparting knowledge to others. All participants indicated that they still felt attracted to the practice of teaching regardless of having left the teaching profession for some years. However, their desire to leave for better paying jobs was due to the need to provide for their households, as head of the household. The gendered understanding of the male/father as head of the household is supported by data on heads of households in Samoa.

The most recent Population and Household Census Report (2008) indicate that the vast majority of households in Samoa are headed by males. As shown on the following table, 78 per cent of Samoa's households are headed by males and 22 per cent are headed by females.

Table 8.15 Gender of head of household by region, 2008

Apia Urban Area		North West Upolu		Rest of Upolu		Savaii		National Total	
Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	***Male***	***Female***
4178	1319	6211	1681	4535	1241	4705	1255	**19625**	**5495**
76	24	79	21	79	21	79	21	**78**	**22**

Source: Samoa Bureau of Statistics Household Income and Expenditure Survey Report 2008, Government of Samoa 2008

The male interviewees also spoke of an additional factor pushing them to pursue better salary paying jobs elsewhere in the form of customary responsibilities associated with being a matai or chief of the family and village. As a respondent indicated, "being a chief brings with it a lot of responsibilities many of them financial. I have to make sure I earn enough money for my family as head of the family, but also to fulfil my obligations as a matai (chief)".

Matai (chiefs) in Samoa enjoy a status not accorded non-matai or untitled individuals. As the head of their households, they represent their families in extended family and village council discussions and can stand for election to represent their electoral districts in Parliament. Suffrage for those aged 21 years and above was introduced in 1995, but was limited to matai prior to 1995. The only exception was the Individual Voters Roll, which represent those who have no linkages with traditional village councils. Matai also make the decisions regarding allocation of land to build and cultivate. However, matai are also expected to provide financial assistance when needed in their service to family, village and church. Researchers have estimated the annual extent of this financial contribution to family, village and church obligations at about 50 million Tala (approximately 22 million AUD) (Thornton, Kerslake & Binns, 2010).

The table below shows the gender distribution of matai as of 2006.

Table 8.16 Numbers and percentage of matai by gender, 2006

Male		Female	
12,589	79.8%	3,194	20.2%

Source: Population and Housing Census Report 2006, Samoa Bureau of Statistics , APIA

In the last census, 8.7 per cent of Samoa's population were matai or held chiefly titles. Of this number (15,783), 79.8 per cent were male and 20.2 per cent were female. Of the male ex-teachers interviewed, only 2 were non-matai, while the rest held one or more chiefly titles.

These numbers illustrate that, due to their roles and responsibilities as heads of their households, and matai in their families and villages, male teachers were more likely to leave the teaching profession to pursue better paying employment to assist with the associated financial demands of being a matai and head of the family. It is testament to the employability of the teaching profession that many (males and females) were able to find better-paid employment outside of teaching.

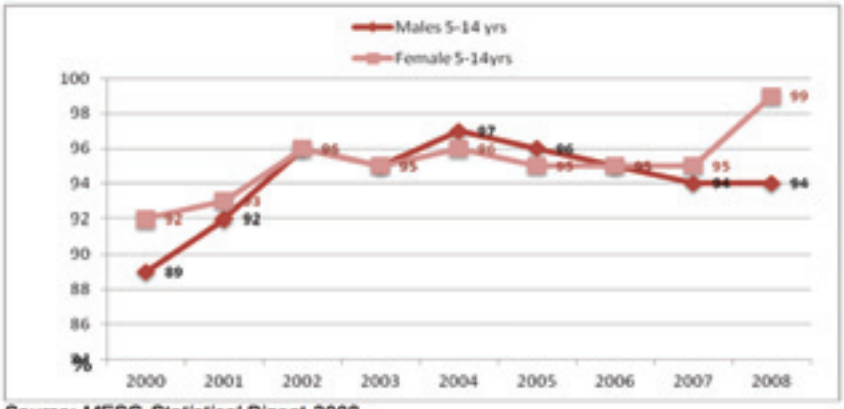
Implications and assumptions

Commencing from the standpoint that 'feminisation of the teaching profession' refers to the increasing proportion of women in the teaching profession compared to men, and without entering into a complex dialogue on gender issues, there are several implications suggested by research through the years.

School participation

The first implication, which needs focused investigation, is related to the assumption that female teachers encourage girls' participation and the absence of male teachers discourage male student participation. If this were true for Samoa, the result of increasing over-representation of women in the primary teaching workforce over the last two decades should have resulted in declining male student representation in primary schools in the same period.

Figure 8.16 School participation rate for population aged 5 to 14 years, from 2000–2008

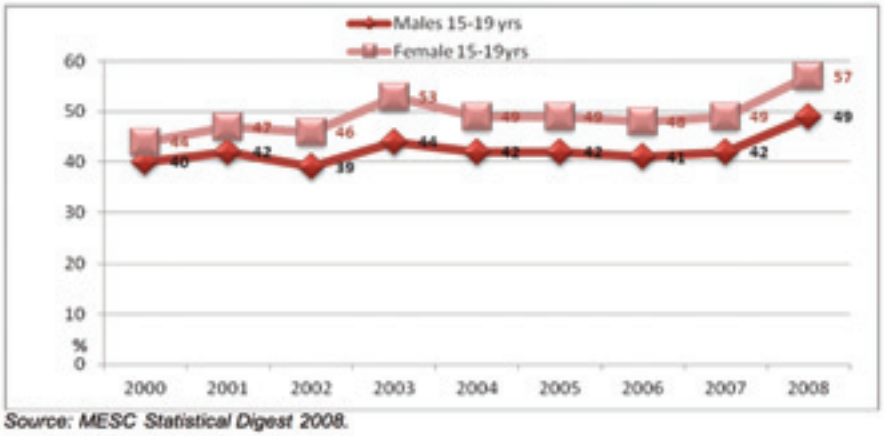


Source: MESC Statistical Digest 2008.

However, as shown in the above figure, school participation of boys aged 5 to 14 years increased from 89 per cent in 2000 to 97 per cent in 2004, declined then remained steady at 94 per cent since 2007. Although the rate of participation is lower than for girls of the same age, which is 99 per cent as of 2008, the rate of boys' participation is still high compared to many countries of the world. In addition, the differences in male and female 5–14 years participation rate did not constitute a large gap between 2001 and 2007. While the question should be asked why school participation for males aged 5 to 14 years did not increase in 2008 as it did for females, the assumption that having the majority of primary teachers being female leads to declining male participation is, in Samoa's case, unsupported.

The same assumption of female teachers benefiting girl student participation/ absence of male teachers discouraging male student participation can be extended to secondary school participation should be evident in increased male participation in comparison to female participation in secondary schools. This is because the proportion of male teachers in comparison to female teachers in secondary schools is higher than in primary schools, as discussed in previous sections. However, the following figure shows that this is not the case for Samoa.

Figure 8.17 School participation rate for population aged 15 to 19 years, from 2000–2008



Source: MESC Statistical Digest 2008.

It is immediately obvious that the school participation rate for males and females aged 15 to 19 years is much lower than for their younger counterparts. It is also apparent that there is a consistent gap between the participation rate for males and

that of females of this age group. At 2008 figures, just under half of all males aged 15 to 19 years were participating in school, in comparison to 57 per cent of their female counterparts. However, the 2010 figures are an improvement on school participation in 2000, which was 40 per cent of males aged 15–19 years, and 44 per cent of females in the same age group. The trend in the period analysed ends on an upward note, so it will be worthwhile observing whether the participation rate for both males and females in this age group continues to improve.

There are several possible reasons for the overall lower participation of males in schools. Firstly, the author's observations of the numbers and ages of the 'untitled men's group' in the home village of Samata-i-Tai indicate that many current members of this traditional group are of secondary school age. Informal questioning reveals many of them have opted out of formal schooling before the end of Year 12 in order to focus on supporting their extended family and fulfilling village obligations. The case of Samata-i-Tai might well be an example of what happens in other rural communities in Samoa. Males in the rural areas are responsible for the subsistence agriculture that feeds families and provides surplus that can be exchanged for money to buy needed items.

A second possible reason, which is really a contributing factor to the first reason, is that unless they are planning to move to Upolu to find jobs in the formal employment sector, completing 5 years of secondary schooling seems to be of little use to rural living. Although young people are encouraged to attend and do well in school, the life that much of secondary schooling prepares young people for is slightly removed from the reality of existence and being in the rural areas, where plantations have to be cultivated, heads of households must be served, and lands and homes must be maintained.

As seen in the following figure, secondary enrolment in most districts is less than half of the primary enrolment figures. It seems that whereas the majority of Samoan families are convinced of the importance of completing primary schooling, this conviction does not extend to secondary schooling. In view of the gendered enrolment in secondary schooling, it seems that the reasons for not participating in secondary schooling are stronger for males than females.

Table 8.17 Primary and secondary enrolment by district, 2010

Region	District	Primary Enrolment	Secondary Enrolment
Apia Urban Area	Faleata	6569	2676
	Malifa	Not available	1260
	Vaimauga	7990	3157
North West Upolu	Aana No. 1	2793	820
	Aana No.2	1807	442
	Sagaga	3469	1806
Rest of Upolu	Aleipata	1087	244
	Anoamaa No.1	684	416
	Anoamaa No.2	1373	no school
	Fagaloa	282	no school
	Falealili	1644	600
	Lefaga	644	156
	Lepa/Lotofaga	730	263
	Safata	1391	313
Savaii	Faasaleleaga No.1	1974	749
	Faasaleleaga No.2	1220	694
	Itu Asau No.1	784	430
	Itu Asau No.2	692	no school
	Itu o Tane No.1	915	582
	Itu o Tane No.2	1163	366
	Palauli	1774	783
	Savaii Sisifo	1824	512

Source: MESC Statistical Digest 2008.

It is highly likely that one of the major reasons for the lower participation rate in the 15 to 19 age group is that this age group may include individuals who have completed all 13 years of formal schooling and have moved on to find employment.

If the data in the previous figure is considered in conjunction with the finding that there are more male teachers in the secondary school sector than in the primary school sector, the tentative conclusion can be drawn that feminisation of the teaching profession does not have an adverse impact on school access and male participation rates. It is evident that school participation rates for males are generally below that of females of in the 15 to 19 age group. In relation to the assumption of female teachers encouraging female participation and male teachers encouraging male participation, this set of data for Samoa suggests otherwise.

Gender parity

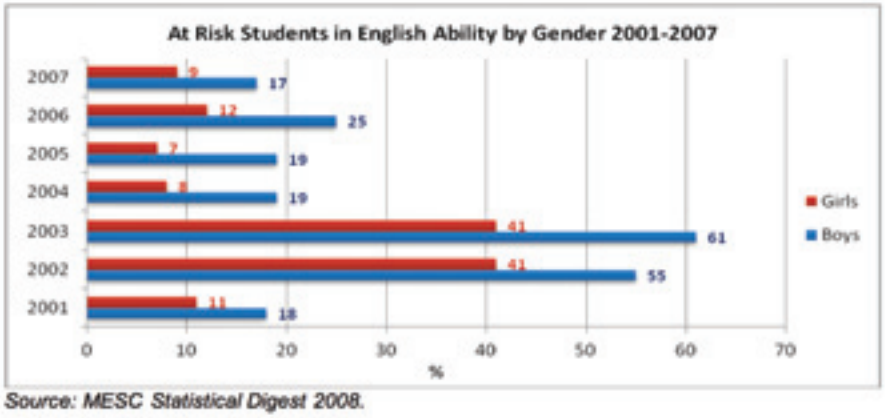
Samoa has achieved gender parity in primary schooling as reported in the latest EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2007). Nevertheless, mention must still be made of the case that Samoa has been identified as at risk of not achieving gender parity in secondary schooling by 2015 (UNESCO, 2007). It is highly likely that there are various factors behind the overall lower participation of both males and females in secondary schooling. It is also highly likely that certain factors are impacting more on males than females, resulting in less than half of secondary school age males participating in schools. It is unlikely that the increasing proportion of female teachers is the leading factor in Samoa's secondary school participation profile. More research is needed to identify and suggest solutions to the leading causes of Samoa's low secondary school participation rate, which is particularly poor for males of secondary school age. While concerns for boys' education and achievement have been expressed within regional networks, focus on other important issues in education means that there is a noticeable lack of attention on boys' underachievement and under-participation within Samoa itself.

Student achievement

An often-mentioned argument for measures to address the gender imbalance in favour of females in the teaching profession is the possible link with male student achievement. As already established, approximately 77 per cent of all primary school teachers are female. Results from national assessments show that there are serious problems regarding boys' achievement in primary schools.

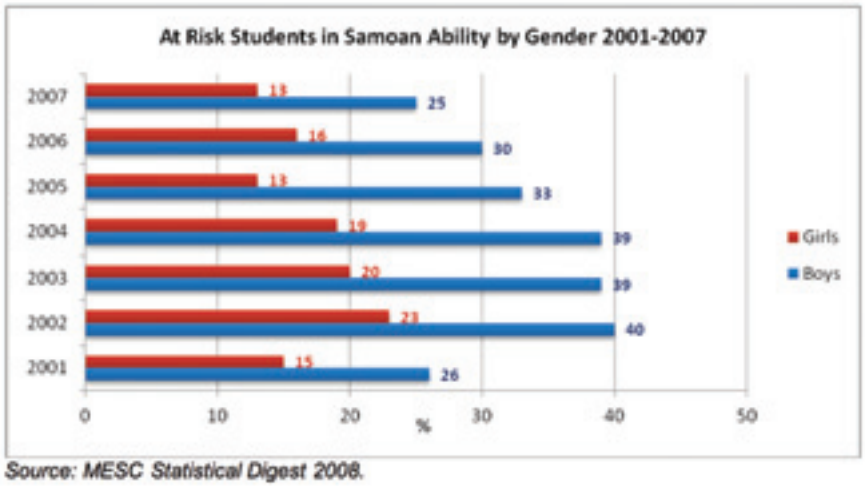
The following figures show student achievement in national assessments at Year 4 level in English, Samoan and Numeracy.

Figure 8.18 At risk students in English (results from spell one test) as percentage of student gender, 2001–2007



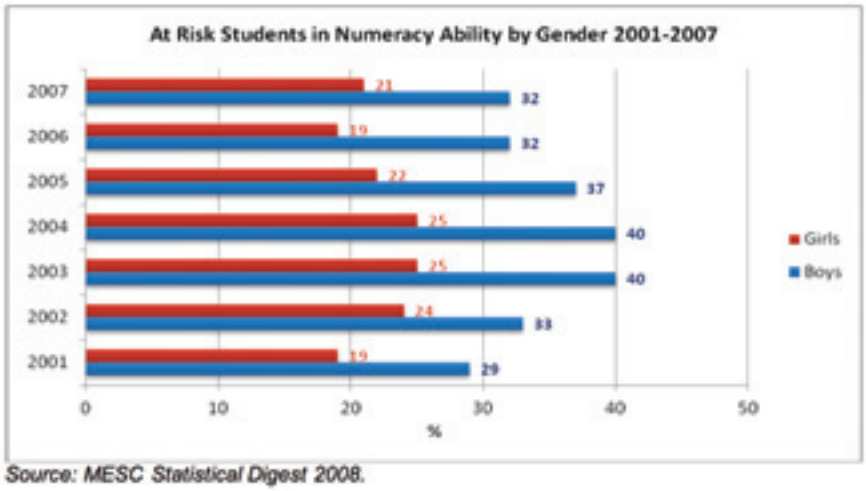
Source: MESC Statistical Digest 2008.

Figure 8.19 At risk students in Samoan (results from spell one test) as percentage of student gender, 2001–2007



Source: MESC Statistical Digest 2008.

Figure 8.20 At risk students in numeracy (results from spell one test) as percentage of student gender, 2001–2007



Source: MESC Statistical Digest 2008.

Analysis of Figures 8.18, 8.19 and 8.20 shows an unmistakeable pattern of higher numbers of male students at risk compared to female students in all three areas, English, Samoan and Numeracy. The highest proportion of male students at risk is found in results for Numeracy assessment in comparison to the other assessment areas.

It is also highly worrying that there are relatively high numbers of at risk male students in Samoan (25 per cent in 2010) in view of the fact that Samoan is the first language of the majority of the Samoan population, as well as being the language of instruction from Year 1 to Year 3.

It is evident that after increasing to disturbing highs in 2003 (English and Numeracy) and 2002 (Samoan), male student achievement in the Spell 1 Tests has followed a gradual improvement trend.

The question that remains to be answered is whether the increasing proportion of female teachers in primary schools is a causal factor in the relatively higher numbers of male students at risk in English, Samoan and Numeracy at Year 4. It is suggested that a direct causal relationship would be apparent in increasing proportions of male students at risk over the years, corresponding to an increasing proportion of female primary school teachers. That this is not the case indicates otherwise.

However, there are certainly troubling factors in play that result in the mismatch between male and female student achievement. A research initiative that focuses on identification of such factors and development of recommendations to address the effects of such factors would have to commence from an open theoretical viewpoint, one that is not limited to the lens of the 'feminisation of teaching' debate.

Continued perception of teaching as 'women's work'

It is highly likely that one of the impacts of feminisation of the teaching profession is the impact on children's perceptions of the teaching profession as being a gendered profession, at least for primary teaching. Children's perceptions of who is involved in the educational experience are very likely to be affected by having mostly female teachers throughout their school lives. It is to be expected that, after having gone through twelve to thirteen years of formal schooling in which the majority of teachers were females, young people will have the perception that teaching is for the most part, a female's profession. This is likely to affect career choices when contemplating careers and learning pathways, so that male students will unconsciously perpetuate the situation by making study choices that will take them away from the teaching profession.

That the teaching profession unfortunately pays a lower salary than other professional occupations in Samoa presents another possibility, that Samoan children will increasingly associate females with teaching and lower salaries, compared to other occupations. International research examining loss of status for the teaching profession as a consequence of 'feminisation' should consider whether the loss of status is the result of increasing numbers of female teachers, or whether the loss of status is due to it being a low-paying profession. It does not need to be said that this aspect of the debate merits further research and analysis.

Perceptions of teaching and authority

There are possible implications of the extent of feminisation of teaching profession on reproduction of cultural norms regarding gender and leadership. As shown in a previous table, the ratio of males to females in management positions in primary school is approximately 30:70. If children regard primary school teaching as 'women's work', due to the sheer numbers of women carrying out the task, then seeing more women than men in management positions will reinforce that perception. Equally important, children might develop the perception that women are the more authoritative source of information for their young lives, which is likely to challenge the stereotype of the male as the traditional authority figure. However, this assumption certainly needs further examination, not the least from school children's perspective.

However, perceptions of teaching as mostly women's work is likely to be challenged in secondary school, when students encounter not only more male teachers, but more male teachers in positions of leadership. The schooling years are a time of important identity formation and development of understanding of the world and social relationships, perceptions developed during primary schooling as a result of interaction with mostly female teachers will be revised in secondary school when they encounter more male teachers.

Practice around HIV/AIDS, non-communicable diseases and education

Samoa has been fortunate to escape the ravages of the HIV/AIDS pandemic as experienced by other nations in the region and all over the world. The most recent Samoa Progress Report against achievement of the Millennium Development Goals indicates that Samoa has achieved 91.6 per cent access to HIV/AIDS treatment for those who need it while HIV prevalence is lower than 0.2/1000 as of 2010 (Government of Samoa, 2010).

However, other equally important risks to the quality of life have been identified by the Ministry of Health in the high incidence of non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, hypertension, cardiovascular disease and obesity. In addition, Chlamydia, a sexually transmitted infection (STI) is reported to be present in endemic proportions in Samoa's population (Government of Samoa, 2010).

The increased proportion of women in the teaching profession presents a unique opportunity to reduce the incidence of Non-Communicable Diseases and STIs in Samoa's population through the role they can play in promoting awareness and disseminating information on prevention. Their perceived 'mothering' role as primary school teachers can be utilised to develop students' awareness of healthy living, especially on the delicate topics of sexual and reproductive health. This role need not be limited to the classroom, since as teachers; women can be accepted into most groups on the basis of their status as faia'oga (teachers).

Status of teaching and subject areas

As previously discussed, the loss of status of the teaching profession need not be attributed to the increasing proportion of female teachers, as there is little evidence to corroborate this. In fact, 60 per cent of male ex-teachers interviewed in the course of this research indicated that teaching was still considered a prestigious profession, especially in the rural areas. People living in the rural areas recognised the great importance of schooling to self-development, and regarded the main agent in the schooling process (the teacher) with very high esteem. Of the 25 per cent of interviewees that responded that teaching was considered a low-status occupation, some noted that this was because the salary of other occupations was much better than teaching, and that this low status had not always been the case for the teaching occupation. The other 15% of responses were not able to make a generalisation but responded that different people had different views of the status of teaching. The high esteem with which rural and school communities regarded teachers was present regardless of whether the teacher was a female or male.

Following this line of thought leads to the implication that a perceived loss/increase of status in certain subject areas is not due to the higher/lower numbers of female teachers that teach it, but due to the remuneration it is likely to bring as a career path. Certainly this is seen to be the case in areas traditionally dominated by males such as engineering and sciences, where there are now increasingly female students pursuing such career paths.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile remembering that the best source of information on the status of teaching subjects, and the perceived impact of having more women teachers in such subjects, would have to be the perceptions of students themselves. This is an area worthwhile pursuing in future research initiatives.

Conclusions and recommendations

It is clear from this case study that the teaching profession in Samoa is largely female, and has been for at least the last 20 years. Enrolment figures into pre-service teacher training since before Independence indicate that this feminisation started around the mid-1960s. The reasons for this early gendered distribution may have been due to increasing number of jobs being available to males, and entry into teacher education being in terms of a scores achieved at secondary school examinations, achievement of which favoured female students.

Feminisation of the teaching profession has ranged from about 62 per cent of total teachers 16 years ago and increased over the years to currently 68 per cent of the total. When this information is disaggregated into primary and secondary teachers,

feminisation is higher in the primary school sector at currently 77 per cent, compared to 53 per cent in secondary schools (including colleges). There are a few schools that offer both primary and secondary schooling, and the rate of feminisation in these schools is currently 65 per cent. In both primary and secondary schooling, the increase in female proportion of the teaching force has been gradual over the last 16 years.

Analysis of gender distribution in management positions shows that in managers in government primary schools are 70 per cent female and 30 per cent male compared to the overall primary teacher gender distribution of 77 per cent female and 23 per cent male. Management in government secondary schools (including colleges) is 53 per cent female and 47 per cent male, which is the same as the overall secondary teacher gender distribution of 53 per cent female and 47 per cent male.

Government schools account for the largest numbers of male teachers employed in the country (63 per cent of total), followed by mission schools (30 per cent) while private schools account for 7 per cent of all male teachers. In comparison, 73 per cent of all female teachers are teaching in government schools, 20 per cent are teaching in mission schools, and 7 per cent are in private schools. In other words, in a group of 100 male teachers, 63 will be employed by the government, 30 will be employed by mission schools, and 7 will be employed in a private school. In a group of 100 female teachers, 73 will be teaching in a government school, 20 in a mission school, and 7 in a private school. Of all three types of schools, private schools are the most highly feminised (70 per cent of all teachers are female), followed by government schools (69 per cent of all teachers are female) and mission schools were 59 per cent of all teachers are female. The feminised teaching force is not particular to any statistical region – all 4 regions have a female teacher proportion of 66 to 70 per cent.

While data is not available on the gender distribution of teachers by teaching subject in the primary and secondary school sector, the information from the National University of Samoa shows lecturers in education, nursing and the arts are more likely to be female, while male lecturers dominate engineering, maritime training and science.

The factors responsible for turning teaching into a 'women's work' include access to teacher training being in terms of PSSC national assessment scores, the continuing perception of teaching as women's work, structure of subject specialisations in teacher training programs, and the availability of other occupations for males such as the police force and ministry. Factors that cause male teachers to exit the teaching profession include the low teacher salary compared to other occupations and lack of career advancement options within teaching. The need for a better salary is itself linked to the need to earn enough money to meet family, community and church obligations associated with being a matai and head of the family.

It is clear from the statistics that the feminised teaching profession is not to blame for problems with student achievement and retention, which are of great concern especially at secondary level. However, the nature of student achievement and retention is 'gendered', in that boys underachieve throughout primary and secondary schooling and are more likely to exit the school system before completion of secondary schooling.

The impacts of a feminised teaching force is likely to be a continuation of perceptions surrounding teaching as women's work, which might have resulting impacts on the way children perceive authority roles. The assumption that the decreasing status of the teaching profession is due to it being a feminised profession is unsupported by the findings in this research. Rather, it is apparent that a more likely explanation for the declining status of the teaching profession is its earning power compared to other professions and occupations.

Recommendations for addressing the disproportionate number of men in the primary sector of the profession

It will not come as any surprise that any action to address the disproportionate numbers of males in the teaching profession should start with improvement of the current salary package for the teaching profession. As discussed in this report, male teachers are highly likely to exit the teaching profession because of financial responsibilities that cannot be met through the available salary package for teachers. The financial responsibility is tied to the traditional role of the male/father as the head of the household, and as matai, their responsibility extends to the wider family and village network.

Secondly, it is perhaps opportune to consider revising the career structure so that there are more options for recognised career advancement, which is of great importance to the gender identity of the Samoan male. In fact, the latest update from the Samoa Ministry of Education, Sports & Culture indicate that they are working on this aspect to help address the overall teacher retention rate, which is a commendable development. It is also recommended that policies addressing teacher retention and recruitment should be examined from the gender perspective, to establish whether they in fact pose limitations on teachers of a certain gender.

It may be also prudent to consider the expansion of pathways into the teaching profession that at this point in time is limited to achievement scores on the PSSC examination in Year 13. As already mentioned, the pool of students sitting PSSC greatly reduces the pool of possible teachers, not to mention that the PSSC examinations have comparably lower rates of achievements for male students.

Possible pathways can be created through appropriately structured teacher training programs for mature individuals who did not achieve the required scores in PSSC but have since then joined the work force and demonstrated achievement of skills and knowledge in a particular area. However, such an undertaking would only be successful through partnership between the relevant organisations, in view of the possible barriers that might be encountered in implementation.

Furthermore, it seems that the increasing proportion of female compared to male teachers in the teaching profession has attracted attention to its perceived negative impacts. A recommendation may be made to consider and maximise the possible benefits of such a profession profile, in view of the fact that the situation will not be reversed in the short term at least in the primary school sector.

Finally, there is no doubt that further research is needed to establish and address the root causes of important issues such as male student underachievement, lower participation rate of both male and females in secondary schools, and high non-completion rates for students in secondary school. It may well be identified that where 'feminisation of the teaching profession' is not considered a major causal factor, it can most certainly be instrumental in strategies to address the issues plaguing education in Samoa

9 Sri Lanka

Dr Upali M. Sedere

Background: the status of women in Sri Lanka

Sri Lankan women exercised universal franchise as early as 1932, and equal access to free education and health services came into effect in the 1940s. These have had already contributed to gender equality in some spheres of life of Sri Lankan women. With the majority of the population (70 per cent) being Buddhists, there was an even a longer heritage and cultural tradition of gender equality in Sri Lanka. In the Buddhist religion the women's clergyhood was established during the time of the Lord Buddha. Though various cultural practices and the influences of other cultures suppressed the women not allowing her to enjoy the full freedom as of men, the embedded Buddhist ideology always accepted the principle of gender equity. Sri Lanka has claimed the honour of electing the first woman prime minister in the world in 1960 – Mrs Srima Bandaranayake. This landmark came in the wake of a long-established principle of equity in Buddhist culture, further backed by three decades of electing women politicians to the parliament. To date, Mrs Bandaranayake has been the longest serving Prime Minister in Sri Lanka.

It was not long after, in 1978 that constitutional provision provided equal rights without discrimination on the grounds of sex and women had equal rights under the law. However, Sri Lanka's multi-ethnic and multi-religious composition has meant that family and community laws have continued to contain discriminatory provisions in varying degrees concerning marriage, divorce, property, and financial transactions. Women have been denied equal rights to land in state-assisted settlements. Labour legislation conforms to international practice but enforcement is relatively weak, and informal sector workers, many of whom are women, do not benefit from labour laws. The amendments to the Penal Code in 1995 and 1998 and the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act 2005 have strengthened legislation, yet the problems remain to a lesser degree in certain communities.

Thus, while Sri Lankan women enjoy a relatively better status than women in many other developing countries, they have not yet achieved full gender equality or empowerment as per the provisions of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and some of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). According to the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Report 2006, Sri Lanka's gender development index (GDI) in 2004 was 0.749, compared with the human development index of 0.755, but the gender empowerment measure was only 0.372 (ADB 2008). This shows that gender parity is yet to be achieved in many quarters of life. By 2009 the UNDP Human Development Report gives the HPI-1 value of 16.8 per cent for Sri Lanka, ranks 67th among 135 countries for which the index has been calculated. Further, the report states that Sri Lanka's GDI value, 0.756 should be compared to its HDI value of 0.759. Its GDI value is 99.6 per cent of its HDI value. Out of the 155 countries with both HDI and GDI values, 35 countries have a better ratio than Sri Lanka's (UNDP Human Development Report 2009).

Although the subject of this study – Sri Lankan women's high representation in the teaching profession – is an indication of both their educational achievements and ability to access an established occupation, there is overall more unemployment amongst the women and gender disparity in certain jobs that favour men. This is partly due to gender stereotypes in jobs. However, today there are more females entering traditionally male fields such as commerce and accounting, banking, medicine, law etc. Entry into the

engineering field is also increasing, yet remains firmly dominated by men. The system of education provides equal opportunity to girls and boys and the coeducation system also has enabled girls and boys to compete under the same school roof.

The education system

Sri Lanka as an Island nation in South Asia has been one of the better performing education systems amongst the developing nations. Sri Lanka's has a free education system that was introduced as early as in 1944, before independence from the British. The early start on free education as well as vernacular media of instruction enabled Sri Lanka to achieve universal primary education as early as 1980. The present free education system offers free schooling, free textbooks, school uniforms, mid-day meals and free school transport from Grade 1 through Grade 11. The system of education is 13 years of general education; Grade 1 through 13 and Grade one entry age is 5 years. The medium of instruction in primary school is the mother tongue and Sri Lanka being a plural society with two major ethnic groups Sinhala and Tamil are considered the vernacular media of instruction. English is an official language and minority populations other than Sinhala and Tamil offer education in English medium. Beyond Grade six a child could follow bilingual instruction in either Sinhala and English or Tamil and English. Grades 1 – 5 is designated as Primary School, Grade 6 – 11 as Junior Secondary phase leading to General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE OL), and Grade 12 – 13 leading to General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (GCE AL). Compulsory education is declared as Grade 1 – 9 and is to be raised to Grade 11 – (GCE OL), under a new policy. At the end of Grade 13 with GCE AL qualification students seek admission to university. Students leaving at GCE OL and AL can join the vocational training and other professional/vocational schools such as colleges of education, nursing schools, and agricultural schools etc. Beside the public education system a parallel private education system exists. The school dropout rates and grade repetition rates are very low, around 1.2 per cent and < 1 per cent respectively. 98 per cent complete the primary cycle and 89 per cent enters the secondary cycle and 85 per cent goes all the way to GCE OL and 55 per cent sit for the GCE AL. Gender parity is found at every level. However from Grade one to GCE AL gradually the enrolment is higher for girls than boys. The enrolment in vocational schools is rather low as every child is aiming to enter university education. The recent educational reforms promote the vocational training stream as a parallel stream to universities. The numbers in the professional schools such as schools of nursing and colleges of education are catering more to females. Over 80 per cent of women are currently enrolled in the colleges of education and over 90 per cent are women are in the schools of nursing.

Sri Lanka is one of the higher performance nations in the field of human resource development very much focused on the EFA and Millennium Development goals. The UNDP Report between 1980 and 2010 noted that Sri Lanka's HDI rose by 0.8 per cent annually from 0.513 to 0.658 today, which gives the country a rank of 91 out of 169 countries with comparable data. The HDI of South Asia as a region increased from 0.315 in 1980 to 0.516 today, placing Sri Lanka above the regional average (UNDP 2010).

Methodology

This study is largely based on the re-analysis of primary data collected through the School Census Data of the Ministry of Education. The data reported were never analysed on these lines before and a re-analysis was carried out of the available as well as comparable data from 2001 to 2009. The School Census before that has not been collected on the same variables therefore only comparable data is analysed. The data reported for the years earlier than 2009 are secondary data taken from the published documents. The most recent available data is the School Census 2009.

The statistical analysis examined the provincial and district-wide female teacher estimates, along with analysis of qualifications and school subjects. In addition to teachers, school principal and manager gender trends were also examined.

Two focus group discussions were also held. The first involved a sample of thirty Managers and Sri Lanka Education Administrative Service personnel; the second involved a sample of 36 teachers and 10 teacher educators. Results of the focus group discussions were used for interpreting and explaining of the factors affecting the observed situation.

Feminisation of the teaching profession in Sri Lanka: analysis of trends and patterns

Sri Lanka has a long tradition of having more female teachers in the public school system (Jayaweera 2008). Table 9.1 shows that in the year 1971 the female percentage in the teaching profession was 53.4 per cent. This gradually increased and passed the 60 per cent by 1985 and passed the 70 per cent by 2005. Today there are 71 per cent female teachers in the primary and secondary sub-sectors. The percentage-wise distribution varies from an administrative district to another, yet all districts show over 55 per cent female teachers.

Table 9.1 Percentage of female teachers in public schools, 1971–2009

Year	1971	1985	1992	2000	2005	2009
% of Female Teachers	53.4%	61.20%	67.30%	69%	69.30%	71%

In the District of Colombo the percentage increased from 78 per cent in 1996 to 81 per cent in 2009. The same trend is seen in all three districts and this is further illustrated in the next section of this paper.

The historical perspective of this development is the gradual expansion of education for all started in 1939 during the rule of the British and the Ministerial Portfolio of Education was in the hand of the elected state councillors who were Sri Lankans. The debate had two important dimensions. One is to what extent free education was to be offered and the other was the place of vernacular media of instruction at a time of English rule. This debate went on until the 1947 Ordinance and compulsory education was fixed at 14 years. Free education continued all the way to University level. Vernacular media and bilingual policy had many different operational policies and practices. In October 1945 the primary school medium became Sinhala and Tamil with no option of an English medium. The post-primary medium was optional English or bi-lingual and this policy continued until January 1953. In 1953, English medium was removed from Grade VI and gradually at other grade levels in the respective years. In December 1956 the English option was removed and even the High School Certificate (HSC) was also made available in vernacular media (Jayasuriya 1969). These policy changes always brought greater equity and opened the door for rural children and girls to overcome conservative cultural practices at that time. At the time of independence from the British Sri Lanka had only 3,091 schools with 1.17 million students enrolled and 32,700 teachers; one university (University of Ceylon) with 1600 students, 200 of whom graduated annually (Central Bank 1998). In 1953, the rate of literacy was 69 per cent, and 55.5 per cent for females. The literacy level rose to over 90 per cent by 1991 (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka 1995); Central Bank of 1998). In 1960 the government took over the management of private schools and this addressed a long established elitism in education. During the 1960–1966 period the government placed high priority

to the expansion of education to the rural areas. Of the 9,665 schools today in Sri Lanka, over 4,500 schools were built during this period and also expanded the secondary education to the rural areas by establishing and up-grading primary schools to secondary level (Maha Vidiyalayas). Further, in 1970 Sri Lanka changed its Constitution and its name from Ceylon to Sri Lanka and established a Socialist Democratic Republic. In 1972 curriculum and teacher education reforms also created a new demand for teachers. The University of Colombo and University of Vidiyalankara (now Kelaniya University) started a new Bachelor of Education degree with over 1500 undergraduates to meet the increasing demand for teachers. There were over 70 per cent females in this new batch of undergraduates entered the B.Ed. degree program to become teachers. In 1980 another round of reforms were introduced and 18 Colleges of Education were set up to provide the increasing demand for teachers. These colleges were specialised colleges and the percentage of females in these batches was above 70 per cent. This trend prevailed over time. Once the rate of female teachers exceeded 70 per cent, the percentage growth has since slowed down. This is a natural situation when the percentages reach higher levels. However, as can be seen from the number of trainees at the colleges of education, out of 3071 trainee teachers, 2578 or 83 per cent are female trainees, indicating that the trend in high female numbers continues.

Compared to its larger South Asian neighbours, Sri Lanka's high number of female teachers stands out, with India, Bangladesh and in particular Pakistan all still working towards increasing female teacher numbers. However, despite the successful expansion of Sri Lanka's education system several decades in advance of its neighbours, it must be noted that there remain voluntary teachers serving in some schools, particularly in the war-torn North and Eastern provinces, many of whom do not have the same qualifications though the Government has taken steps to regularise them if they successfully complete the three year teacher training that the government has now arranged through the National Institute of Education.

a. Feminisation across sectors of education

In 2009 Sri Lanka had 215,963 teachers employed in primary and secondary level public schools and 6,262 university academic staff serving in the 14 state universities. In 2010, this number further increased with the scheduled recruitment of another 7,000 teachers. Among the above reported number of primary and secondary school teachers 153,279 or 71 per cent are female teachers. This includes primary and secondary levels. Table 9.2 shows the actual number of female teachers at different levels primary, secondary, trainees at colleges of education, private schools, and universities – senior staff and junior staff levels.

Table 9.2 Percentage of female teachers at different levels of the education system in Sri Lanka, 2009

Level	Male Teachers	Female Teachers	% of Female Teachers
Public Schools	**62,484**	**153,279**	**71%**
Graduate Teachers	24,913	52,310	68%
Trained Non-Graduate Teachers	34,706	93,106	73%
Trainee Teachers	3,137	2,548	82%
Private Schools	1,211	4,490	79%
University	**3550**	**2,712**	**43%**
Professors	347	116	25%
Junior Staff	1889	1,870	49.7%
Sources: Ministry of Education: School Census 2009. University Grants Commission Statistics 2009.			

Geographic differences including between rural and urban areas

However, the rate of female teachers across the nine provinces of the decentralised administration varies from 80 per cent for the Western Province to 58 per cent in the Eastern Province. The distribution across the administrative districts varies from 81 per cent for Colombo district of the Western Province to 55 per cent in the Trincomalee district of the Eastern Province. Table 9.3 presents the female teacher distribution in year 2009 across the districts and the respective provinces and the source of data is the Annual Schools Census of the Ministry of Education. The information on Table 9.3 clearly shows that all 25 districts have over 55 per cent female teachers. The percentages of the distribution of female teachers may decrease if analysis could have performed at the divisional level, the next lower level of the administrative set-up. The deployment of female teachers to remote rural schools is difficult because of lack of basic facilities such as housing, water, satisfactory level of sanitation, and transport etc.

Table 9.3 Administrative provinces and district-wise distribution of female teachers, 2009

Province	Districts	Male	Female	% Female
	Colombo Total	2922	12860	81%
	Gampaha Total	3122	11969	79%
	Kalutara Total	2091	7841	79%
Western Total		**8135**	**32670**	**80%**
	Kandy Total	3701	12312	77%
	Matale Total	1764	4349	71%
	Nuwara Eliya Total	3008	5991	67%
Central Total		**8473**	**22652**	**73%**
	Galle Total	2936	8474	74%
	Hambantota Total	2382	5610	70%
	Matara Total	2632	7580	74%
Southern Total		**7950**	**21664**	**73%**
	Jaffna Total	2336	5367	70%
	Mannar Total	409	782	66%
	Vavunia Total	821	1768	68%
North Total		**3566**	**7917**	**69%**
	Ampara Total	3802	5304	58%
	Batticaloa Total	2422	3858	61%
	Trincomalee Total	2127	2557	55%
Eastern Total		**8351**	**11719**	**58%**
	Kurunegala Total	6149	14237	70%
	Puttlam Total	2440	4968	67%
North Western Total		**8589**	**19205**	**69%**
	Anuradhapura Total	3654	6813	65%
	Polonnaruwa Total	1435	2560	64%
North Central Total		**5089**	**9373**	**65%**
	Badulla Total	4117	8566	68%
	Monaragala Total	2213	3979	64%
Uva Total		**6330**	**12545**	**66%**
	Kegalle Total	2540	7653	75%
	Ratnapura Total	3461	8081	70%
Sabaragamuwa Total		**6001**	**15734**	**72%**
SRI LANKA TOTAL		**62484**	**153479**	**71%**

Source: Annual School Census Databases 2009 of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka

Table 9.3 is also indicative of the urban rural distribution of female teachers because most of the urbanised districts. The urban sector in Sri Lanka is largely concentrated in several districts. The highest level of urbanisation is in the District of Colombo in the Western Province. The rural districts in each of the provinces could also be easily identified. Most of the provinces are predominantly rural areas. In the Central Province the Nuwara Eliya and Matale districts are more rural, yet the female teacher percentages are 67 per cent and 71 per cent respectively for the most rural Nuwara Eliya and Matale districts. In the Southern Province the most rural district is Hambantota and has 70 per cent of female teachers. In the Northern province Mannar and Vavuniya are not only the remote rural areas but also are the war-affected areas and 66 per cent and 68 per cent of the teachers in primary and secondary schools respectively are females.

The whole of the Eastern Province is rural and the percentages of female teachers in all three districts of the Eastern Province respectively are Amparai 59 per cent, Batticalo 61 per cent and Trincomalee 55 per cent. Though the ratio of female teachers varies from 81 per cent to 55 per cent between the urban and rural sectors, there are remote schools, a few in numbers, where female teacher ratio is much lower than the district, provincial or national averages. This happens when there is a severe shortage of suitable residential facilities for the females. Further the government also has a teacher recruitment policy that allows candidates of such remote rural areas to be given priority at recruitment if they agree to serve in those remote areas. This is as a measure of combating the limitations in the deployment of teachers to remote areas.

Table 9.4 presents the provinces and districts wise female teacher percentages from 1996 to 2009. There is a coverage of 13 years of all 09 provinces and 25 districts of all provinces. The entire table has 325 entries – (25 districts x 13 years) and there is not a single entry below 53 per cent. This indicates that for over 13 years in each and every administrative district in Sri Lanka have had over 53 per cent female teachers in public schools since 1996. Further, other than in Mannar, Amparai and Trincomalee districts the percentage of female teachers present in the year 1996 has increased in all other 22 districts. The three districts where the percentage share of female teachers has dropped by a few percentiles were the districts most affected by the 30 years of ethnic conflict.

Figures 9.1a and 9.1b further illustrates the data in Table 9.2. Figures 9.1a and 9.1b illustrate the increasing trend in the percentage of female teachers in the three districts of the Western Province. Figure 9.1a illustrates the trend in the percentage of female teachers in the Western Province from 1996 through 2009. Over the thirteen-year period in the more urbanised Colombo district shows an increase of female teachers from 79 per cent to 81 per cent, while the increase during the same period in the other two districts of the Western province was also 03 per cent – increased from 76 per cent to 79 per cent. Figure 9.1b illustrates the trend in the percentage of female teachers from 1996 to 2009 in the most rural four districts in Sri Lanka. The Nuwara Eliya district shows a 03 per cent increase from 69 per cent to 71 per cent. The Mulative district shows a 05 per cent increase from 62 per cent to 67 per cent in the same 13-year period. The Batticalo district also shows a 03 per cent (58 per cent in 1996 and 61 per cent in 2009) increase in the same period. However, the Trincomalee district shows the increase is only 01 per cent – 53 per cent in 1997 and 54 per cent in 2009. The across-district difference is more due to the war situation that prevailed over 30 years and the districts in the East, North and the North Central Provinces had a major set back during the civil conflicts. In Sri Lanka there is no policy in favour of females or any ethnic or religious groups. The selections for recruitment of teachers or trainee teachers to the National Colleges of Education are only based on qualifications, subject specialities, and media of instruction. Despite of the war situation for over 30 years, even in the war affected districts the female percentage amongst teachers stayed above 50 per cent.

Figure 9.1a Trend in the percentage of female teachers in the Western Province of Sri Lanka, 1996–2009

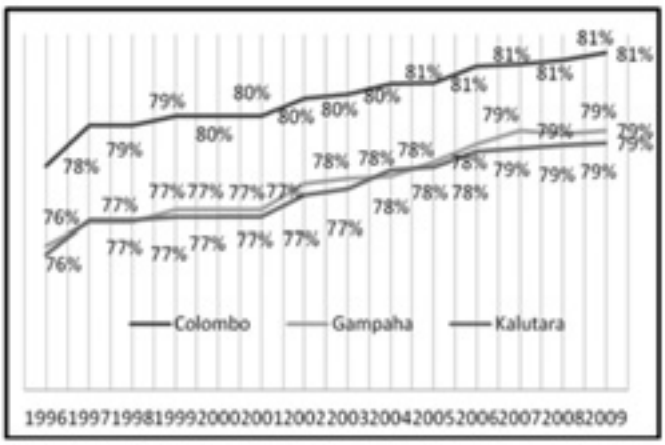


Figure 9.1b Trend in the percentage of female teachers in the most rural districts of Sri Lanka, 1996–2009

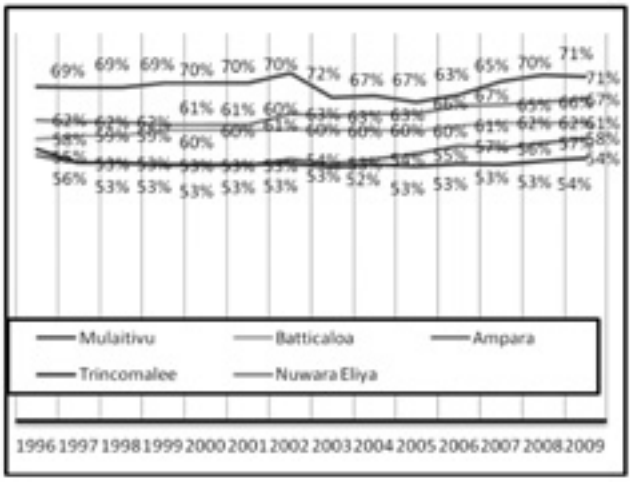


Table 9.4 Percentage of female teachers in provinces and districts, 1996–2009

Province	District	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
	Colombo	78%	79%	79%	80%	80%	80%	80%	80%	81%	81%	81%	81%	81%	81%
WEST	Gampaha	76%	77%	77%	77%	77%	77%	78%	78%	78%	78%	79%	79%	79%	79%
	Kalutara	76%	77%	77%	77%	77%	77%	77%	78%	78%	78%	79%	79%	79%	79%
	Kandy	72%	72%	72%	73%	73%	73%	74%	74%	75%	75%	75%	76%	76%	77%
CENTRAL	Matale	65%	66%	66%	66%	66%	66%	67%	66%	66%	67%	69%	70%	71%	71%
	Nuwara Eliya	62%	62%	62%	61%	61%	61%	63%	63%	63%	63%	65%	65%	66%	67%
	Galle	73%	73%	73%	73%	73%	73%	74%	74%	73%	73%	74%	74%	74%	74%
SOUTH	Matara	71%	72%	72%	72%	72%	72%	73%	73%	73%	73%	73%	74%	74%	74%
	Hambantota	68%	67%	67%	67%	67%	67%	68%	68%	68%	67%	69%	69%	70%	70%
	Jaffna	65%	65%	65%	68%	68%	68%	66%	66%	67%	68%	70%	70%	71%	71%
NORTH	Kilinochchi	69%	71%	71%	73%	73%	73%	73%	71%	71%	69%	71%	74%	74%	74%
	Mannar	69%	68%	68%	70%	70%	70%	68%	66%	65%	63%	62%	63%	63%	65%
	Vavuniya	69%	68%	68%	68%	68%	68%	69%	68%	68%	67%	68%	68%	68%	69%
	Mulativu	69%	69%	69%	70%	70%	70%	72%	67%	67%	66%	67%	70%	71%	71%
EAST	Batticaloa	58%	59%	59%	60%	60%	60%	60%	60%	60%	60%	61%	62%	62%	61%
	Ampara	55%	53%	53%	53%	53%	53%	54%	53%	54%	55%	57%	56%	57%	56%
	Trincomalee	56%	53%	53%	53%	53%	53%	53%	52%	53%	53%	53%	53%	54%	54%
WAYAMBA	Kurunegala	65%	67%	67%	67%	67%	67%	68%	68%	68%	68%	69%	69%	69%	70%
	Puttalam	64%	63%	63%	64%	64%	64%	66%	64%	65%	64%	64%	65%	65%	67%
	Anuradhapura	61%	62%	62%	62%	62%	62%	63%	63%	63%	63%	63%	64%	65%	65%
NORTH CENTRAL	Polonnaruwa	60%	62%	62%	63%	63%	63%	61%	59%	58%	58%	60%	61%	63%	64%
	Badulla	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	65%	66%	66%	67%	67%
UVA	Monaragala	59%	59%	59%	59%	59%	59%	62%	61%	62%	62%	61%	62%	63%	64%
	Ratnapura	67%	67%	67%	68%	68%	68%	68%	68%	68%	67%	70%	70%	70%	70%
SABARAGAMUWA	Kegalle	70%	71%	71%	72%	72%	72%	72%	73%	73%	73%	74%	74%	74%	75%
All Island		68%	68%	68%	69%	69%	69%	69%	69%	69%	69%	70%	71%	71%	71%

Source: Annual School Census, 1996 – 2009, Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

The teacher deployment policy is gender fair. However, the socio-political influence on deployment is very high. This has allowed a larger number of females to remain in the more urbanised districts, while the less affluent teachers deploying to the more remote or difficult areas. This trend of increasing female percentages can be seen across subjects, across the districts and at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This can be even better understood when one examines the number of under-graduates in the universities and the colleges of education as they are the potential teachers to join the profession in the future. This will be illustrated further in the section under future trends.

b. Differing levels of gender representation in leadership and management positions

The educational administrative cadre is selected either through direct recruitment or through promotion of the education career personnel mostly the teachers. Table 9.5 presents the percentage of female officers in the Sri Lanka Educational Administrative Service (SLEAS) from year 2001 to 2009.

Table 9.5 Percentage of female educational administrators in the districts, 2001–2009

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
DISTRICTS	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Colombo	52%	50%	52%	48%	49%	50%	60%	60%	62%
Gampaha	31%	34%	29%	35%	32%	33%	32%	51%	58%
Kalutara	71%	60%	50%	55%	45%	44%	42%	44%	50%
Kandy	53%	56%	62%	59%	67%	66%	67%	58%	61%
Matale	0%	100%	100%	33%	50%	50%	56%	50%	50%
Nuwara Eliya	25%	25%	40%	33%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%
Galle	11%	8%	9%	30%	20%	55%	36%	40%	44%
Matara	22%	33.00%	20%	20%	40%	50%	50%	38%	44%
Hambantota	67%	100%	100%	75%	100%	100%	100%	0%	33%
Jaffna	18%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Kilinochchi	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Mannar	0%	0%	100%	100%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Vavuniya	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	67%	100%	0%
Mulaitivu	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Batticaloa	33%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%	0%	25%
Ampara	13%	25%	33%	0%	0%	33%	50%	25%	25%
Trincomalee	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Kurunegala	14%	11%	19%	13%	20%	33%	24%	51%	52%
Puttalam	20%	25%	33%	33%	50%	0%	20%	29%	50%
Anuradhapura	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Polonnaruwa	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	33%	0%	0%
Badulla	27%	27%	36%	25%	29%	17%	20%	33%	57%
Monaragala	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	67%	0%
Ratnapura	50%	64%	86%	60%	43%	43%	60%	50%	50%
Kegalle	35%	39%	45%	60%	63%	57%	50%	45%	70%
All Island	**37%**	**41%**	**44%**	**43%**	**43%**	**45%**	**46%**	**49%**	**53%**

Source: Annual School Census Databases of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

These officers are attached to educational administrative offices at division, zone, district, and province or at ministry of education. Table 9.6 presents the percentage of female school principals in the public schools from 2001 through 2009. School principals too are selected through competitive selection procedures as a career promotional step. This is considered an administrative position. Although at the national level there was a steady increase of the percentage, there are obvious different degrees and patterns of increases across districts.

Table 9.6 District-wise percentage of female school principals, 2001–2009

Districts	2001 %	2002 %	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %	2006 %	2007 %	2008 %	2009 %
Colombo	47%	57%	56%	59%	55%	53%	49%	51%	52%
Gampaha	39%	36%	40%	40%	40%	42%	39%	37%	37%
Kalutara	43%	36%	40%	40%	39%	40%	40%	38%	36%
Kandy	38%	38%	38%	38%	37%	37%	35%	37%	37%
Matale	32%	30%	31%	32%	32%	32%	32%	31%	32%
Nuwara Eliya	30%	29%	31%	30%	31%	31%	29%	30%	30%
Galle	37%	31%	30%	27%	26%	26%	28%	25%	26%
Matara	33%	26%	29%	26%	24%	27%	31%	27%	27%
Hambantota	25%	21%	26%	26%	23%	22%	24%	22%	25%
Jaffna	23%	19%	20%	19%	17%	18%	18%	20%	23%
Kilinochchi	27%	27%	26%	26%	28%	33%	30%	32%	NA
Mannar	29%	31%	31%	30%	31%	32%	31%	30%	29%
Vavuniya	28%	29%	31%	28%	29%	32%	33%	34%	36%
Mulaitivu	29%	25%	24%	24%	25%	25%	25%	31%	NA
Batticaloa	18%	16%	17%	16%	18%	17%	17%	15%	18%
Ampara	17%	18%	18%	17%	18%	17%	18%	15%	14%
Trincomalee	22%	20%	21%	20%	20%	18%	18%	24%	25%
Kurunegala	24%	19%	21%	21%	22%	19%	21%	19%	22%
Puttalam	27%	22%	20%	19%	21%	22%	21%	22%	21%
Anuradhapura	20%	22%	19%	21%	21%	20%	21%	21%	21%
Polonnaruwa	17%	10%	12%	15%	13%	13%	15%	17%	17%
Badulla	31%	29%	30%	29%	28%	28%	28%	29%	28%
Monaragala	19%	17%	19%	19%	21%	16%	18%	15%	19%
Ratnapura	29%	22%	24%	22%	20%	21%	22%	24%	19%
Kegalle	30%	31%	30%	30%	32%	31%	30%	31%	31%
All Island	**31%**	**27%**	**28%**	**28%**	**28%**	**27%**	**28%**	**28%**	**28%**

Source: Annual School Census Databases of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

Female Educational Managers: In 2009 there were 282 serving as SLEAS officers in management positions. Out of that 156 or 53 per cent were female managers. When compare this percentage with year 2001 this percentage was only 37 per cent. Gradually, year after year the female percentage increased from 37 per cent to current level of 53 per cent indicating in general feminisation happened in educational management services as well, yet when compared with the 74 per cent females amongst the teachers, in the managerial positions the rate has increased at a slower speed than that of the teachers. Figures 9.2a, 9.2b, 9.2c and 9.2d illustrate the rates and trends in the SLEAS Officers over the year 2001 to 2009 of the National level, the Western, the Central and the Eastern provinces. Figures 9.3a and 9.3b look proportions of female principles between 2001–2009.

Trends in female education managers

Figure 9.2a Trend in the percentage of female educational administrators (SLEAS) in Sri Lanka, 2001–2009

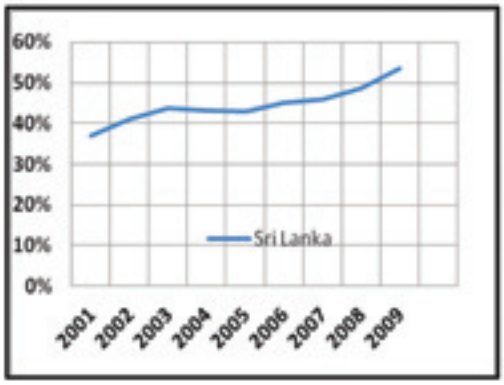


Figure 9.2b Percentage of female educational administrators in the districts of the Western Province, 2001–2009

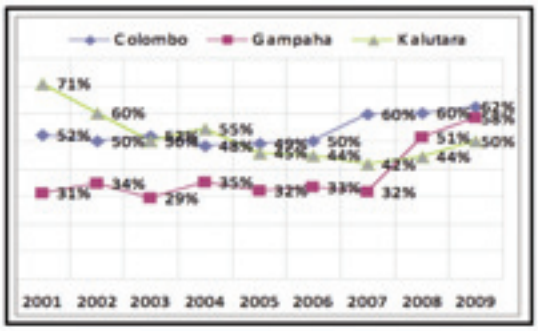


Figure 9.2c Trends in the percentage of female educational administrators in the districts of the Central Province, 2001–2009

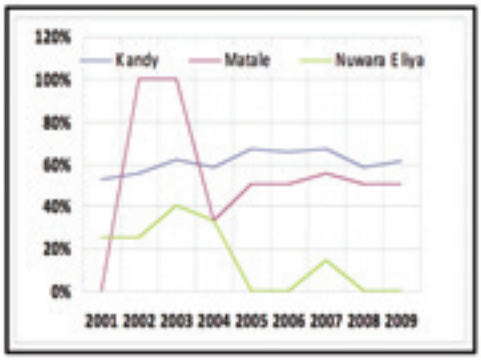
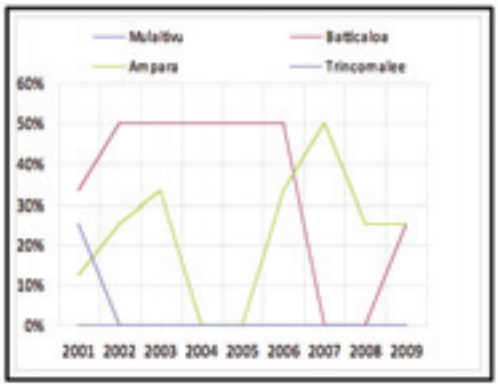


Figure 9.2d Percentage of female educational administrators in the districts of the Eastern Province, 2001–2009



Trends in female school principals

Figure 9.3a Percentage of female school principals at the national level, 2001–2009

Figure 9.3b District-wide disparity in the percentage of female school principals in a few selected districts, 2001–2009

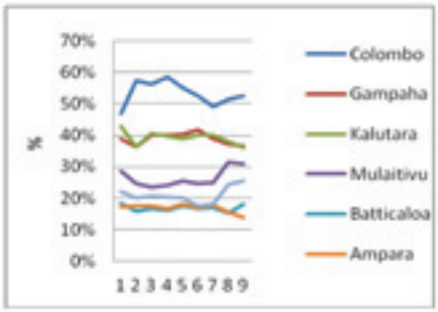


Figure 9.3c Percentage of female educational administrators in the districts of Wayamba Province, 2001–2009

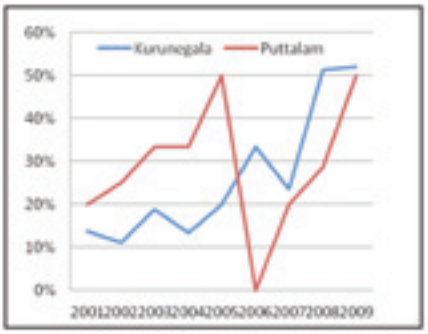


Figure 9.2a and 9.3a show two different trends. The number and percentage of female educational administrators has a steady increase in Sri Lanka at national level. However, the trend in the female school Principals shows a decrease from 31 per cent to 28 per cent over the same period. Where as the percentage of female managers (SLEAS) from 37 per cent in 2001 to 53 per cent in 2009.

Figures 9.2b, 9.2c and 9.2d show that there is no such increasing trend in the Western, Central and the Eastern Provinces. Figure 9.3b and 9.3c illustrate the trends in

five selected districts and that too shows no one trend, rather different patterns.

This indicates that feminisation is greater in the teaching profession yet when it comes to selected administrative grades, which are mostly office jobs, there is no one pattern and districts wise the trends vary. However, in general there has been an increase, but with drastic difference in the trends across the districts and provinces. In the more remote rural Eastern Province which is also war affected, Table 9.5 shows that the SLEAS officers in Mulative district of the Eastern province has only 0 per cent of female managers. Batticallo and Amparai districts of the Eastern province fluctuated between 0 per cent to 50 per cent with no consistent pattern. A similar pattern exists in the Central Province where the Nuwara Eliya district, comparatively the most remote district reports 0 per cent female managers in the last three years, whereas the Kandy district has a steadily increasing percentage of female managers. In the year 2009, out of the 25 districts, the Anuradhapura district has 100 per cent female managers while seven other districts have 0 per cent females – Monaragala, Trincomalee, Mulative, Vavuniya, Mannar, Kilinochchi, Jaffna and Nuwara Eliya.

Female School Principals: There are over 700 school principals in the country. The principals are selected largely from amongst the Senior Teachers and also some come from the SLEAS. The study examined the representation or the share of the females at national, provincial and district levels. Table 9.6 shows that amongst school principals over 2,000 or 28 per cent are females at national level. The year 2009 data is incomplete as there are two districts with no data and the year 2008 data is very much valid in this context and out of 7,553 school principals 2,115 (28 per cent) were females. Figure 9.3a illustrates the trend over the 2001–2009 of the percentage of female school principals in the school system at national level. The percentage of 31 per cent in 2001 has dropped to 28 per cent by 2009. However, it is important to realise that there were certain new service cadres were created in year 2002 and some of the serving school principals were absorbed to the new cadre. This was the main reason for the change, and in actual numbers has not decreased, although this does indicate that male principles must constitute a significant number of the new intake. One must also realise that from year 1998 to year 2008 the Principal posts were not filled simply due to political issues and it is only in 2009 these positions were formerly filled. Many of those who were serving as acting school principals were males appointed by the political leaderships in the provinces.

The provincial and district level percentages show that the actual percentage difference is between 15 per cent and 52 per cent. The highest percentage is in the years 2008 and 2009 in the District of Colombo in the Western Province, with the lowest being in the District of Batticalo in the Eastern Province. The Monaragal, Batticalo, Amparai, Polonnaruwa, and Jaffna districts records much lower percentages of female teacher headed schools. Most of these districts were badly affected by the thirty years of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

It is evident that the percentage of females in school management is significantly less than the number of female teachers in school. It also can be deducted that though the majority of the academic staff of schools is female, often over 70 per cent, yet the head of the school is a male. Figure 9.3b illustrates the district-wise disparity between the districts of the Western Province and the Eastern Province. The districts in Colombo are more urbanised whereas the Eastern Province is more rural, with more remote villages and moreover was war-affected. These are the two extreme situations have contributed very much to the disparity in the share of females in the school manager cadre. Further, there is a cultural belief that men are better managers and for co-educational schools a male is better as school principal. The leading girls' schools have only female principals similarly all boys schools have male principals only. The co-educational schools continue to prefer to have a male principal.

c. Differing levels between government, private and community/NGO schools

Sri Lanka's school system is largely a public education system. There are 9662 public schools well spread over the country. As a result of the schools takeover by the government in 1960 almost all private schools became public schools however there was room for a private school to exist as a registered private school and today there are 90 such private schools in Sri Lanka. However, there is a new development in South Asia of the rapid development of English medium schools, mostly called 'international schools', preparing students to sit for British examinations. These schools do not come under the Ministry of Education. The situation is the same in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan (Sedere, 2009). In Sri Lanka even in the registered private schools as well as the international schools the majority of the teachers are females. The Ministry of Education maintains data of the registered private schools and no data is available about the international schools.

Table 9.7 presents the province teacher numbers and ercentages in the registered private schools. This does not include the newly burgeoning international schools established under the Bureau of Investment and not registered under the Ministry of Education. The reported data of the registered private/community schools come from the Ministry of Education.

Table 9.7 Number and percentage of female teachers serving in the registered private schools in 2005 through 2009

Province	2005			2006			2007			2008			2009*		
	Female	Total	% Female	Female	Total	% Female	Female	Total	% female	Female	Total	% Female	Female	Total	% Female
Western	2885	3613	80%	3066	3845	80%	3167	3936	80%	3181	4015	79%	3272	4061	81%
Central	436	535	81%	435	529	82%	474	607	78%	482	592	81%	529	636	83%
Southern	220	265	83%	241	293	82%	211	273	77%	208	261	80%	286	355	81%
Northern	185	319	58%	187	321	58%	178	317	56%	156	287	54%	191	338	57%
Eastern	6	7	86%	6	7	86%	6	7	86%	6	7	86%	6	7	86%
North Western	60	74	81%	73	85	86%	84	97	87%	80	88	91%	87	98	89%
North Central	10	17	59%	10	17	59%	11	19	58%	12	20	60%	13	22	59%
Uva	81	149	54%	78	141	55%	75	130	58%	84	157	54%	87	157	55%
Sabaraga muwa	15	21	71%	20	28	71%	20	28	71%	19	27	70%	19	27	70%
Sri Lanka	**3898**	**5000**	**78%**	**4116**	**5266**	**78%**	**4226**	**5414**	**78%**	**4228**	**5454**	**78%**	**4490**	**5701**	**79%**

Source: Annual School Census Year 2005 through 2009, Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

Note: There are no Private schools in Kilinochchi, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullativu, Ampara, Trincomalee and Polonnaruwa districts

The data shows that from 2005 to 2009 the approximate number serving in the registered private schools has increased from around 5,000 to 5,700 teachers and the female percentage has increased from 78 per cent in 2005 to 79 per cent by 2009 confirming the same trend as it is in the public schools of Sri Lanka. However, the largest concentration of registered private schools is in the Western Province (Colombo, Kalutara and Gampaha Districts) and the percentage of female teachers is as high as 80 per cent in the province. The lowest percentage of female teachers serving the registered private schools is in the Uva Province (54 per cent in 2005 55 per cent in 2009) and followed by the North (58 per cent in 2005 and 57 per cent in 2009) and North Central Provinces (59 per cent in year 2005 and 2009).

d. Differences between low, middle and high income regions

Sri Lanka identifies five economic zones. As per Groves' (1996) classifications the Colombo urban area was the zone that had the highest income levels, lowest unemployment and the lowest mortality rates etc., which continue to be the most

developed district amongst the 25 districts. The lowest income zone consists of Badulla, Batticalo and Nuwara Eliya Districts. If a comparison is made of these districts with the more developed Colombo districts one could see that the percentage of female teachers in the Colombo district is 81 per cent when compared with Badulla (68 per cent), Batticalo (61 per cent) and Nuwara Eliya (67 per cent), there seems a significant difference in the percentage of female teachers. However, it is important to note that the lowest rate of female teachers is in the district of Trincomalee (55 per cent). When Trincomalee district is compared with Colombo district, Trincomalee has 31 per cent less female teachers than in Colombo district. This is statistically a significant difference. Though this clearly indicates that female teacher concentration is more in the urban districts and urban centres of any given district, yet there are many other socio-economic factors affecting deployment. Politically and socially more affluent teachers manage to stay closer to home, closer to their families and avoid difficult areas. The less affluent teachers end up in more remote areas. Trincomalee is not economically much handicapped as there is a sea port, large flour mill, Airforce base, tourist beaches etc. However, during the 30-year war period it was a battlefield. Similarly almost all of the districts with a lower percentage were war-affected areas. Now after achieving peace, even in those locations, the percentage of female teachers are increasing. It is important to note that in all districts the female teacher percentage is well over 50 per cent, which when compared with many other countries clearly indicates that Sri Lanka's teacher population is dominated by females.

e. Correlation between access, retention or attainment of students and feminisation of the teaching profession

By 2010, Sri Lanka enrolled 98.5 per cent of the primary cohort and 96 per cent complete the five years of primary schooling. 89 per cent complete nine years of schooling. Sri Lanka passed the 90 per cent enrolment rate in the year 1994 (Central Bank 1998). In the year 1988/89, 51 per cent were of the total enrolment of the University of Colombo were women. The percentage of females was higher than males in the faculties of Liberal Arts & Law, and commerce (Department of Census and Statistics 1995). Although there is an initial inference from having 79 per cent female teachers in primary schools and 74 per cent in secondary schools – that large numbers of women entering the profession have possibly been instrumental in ensuring the education is system is well resourced enough to provide increased access for both male and female students – it is difficult to draw any definitive gender specific impacts on either sex. However, unlike many regional neighbours who are still struggling with girls educational equality, in Sri Lanka there is a slightly higher percentage of female students progressing through Grade one to Grade 13 than the boy but only nominally so: In 2010 the School Census showed that by Grade 11, 143719 boys and 146977 girls (51 per cent females) were still in school. (Ministry of Education 2000 – 2010). It still remains difficult to account this directly to the higher percentage of female teachers because the population has a slightly higher percentage of females than males overall. However, girls are more likely to continue schooling than the boys, and the role of women in academic roles such as teaching cannot be completely discounted.

Responses from the focus groups

The author had one focus group discussion with a group of primary school parents including the fathers of the children, who indicated that they prefer to have a female teacher undoubtedly in Grades 1 and 2. In general all parents preferred to have female teachers in the primary grades due to the perception of motherly care that a female teacher extends to a primary aged child.

However, in secondary schools some parents did consider that having too many female teachers in sports activities and co-curricular activities has slowed down Sri Lankan schools over the years. The male teachers particularly indicated that when sports activities take place away from the school particularly in a different city, the female teachers tend to avoid taking students to such sports meets. However, female teachers within the groups did not agree to this comment. This needs further investigation as currently there is no conclusive evidence to support such an argument.

f. Significant correlations between gender and specialist subject areas (e.g. maths and sciences) and differing levels – where evident – between specialist/ categorised schools, e.g. 'technical', 'normal', etc.

In Sri Lanka the teacher recruitment policy as well as the teacher training policy supports specialisation. The main or the most regular recruitment of teachers happens through the pre-service teacher training colleges that are known as National Colleges of Education (NCOEs). Sri Lanka has 18 NCOEs and offers three-year residential training leading to a Diploma. The training programs are specialised as primary education, maths and science education, first language (Sinhala and Tamil), social science education, home economics, English, aesthetics, second language, other languages such as French; agriculture and technical/ vocational subjects; commerce etc. University graduates are recruited to teach in the higher classes GCE OL and AL. The recruitment targets school subjects and the medium of instruction as Sinhala, Tamil and English. There is no special policy supporting females or any other communal or ethnic considerations. By 2015, Sri Lanka intends to convert all National Colleges of Education to B.Ed Degree-granting institutions.

Re-analysing the Annual School Census data of the Ministry of Education, Tables 9.8, 9.9, 9.10 and 9.11 presents the numbers and the percentage of female teachers as per qualifications and specialisations.

Table 9.8 presents the number and percentage of graduate female teachers – teachers with university education with a Bachelors degree or above. The percentages range from 48 per cent to 95 per cent in year 2009 and 48 per cent to 100 in year 2007. The lowest percentage is for graduates with physical science and the highest is for graduates with home economics and dance graduates. There are obvious gender stereotypes in these figures. The number and percentage of females is less for physical sciences (48 per cent) and mathematics (52). However, the percentage stays below 50 per cent only for physical sciences, indicating the women have achieved gender balance in most subjects.

Table 9.9 presents the numbers and the percentages of trained female teachers and the percentages range from 08 per cent for technology to 100 per cent for home economics. The low percentage levels 08 per cent, 11 per cent and 14 per cent respectively are for the three technological subjects (mechanical, civil and electrical) and the higher percentages for home economics (95 per cent) and dance and art (92 per cent each) indicate gender stereotypes across the disciplines in the curriculum. There are certain subjects only women take and there are some subjects largely taken by male teachers. It is also obvious from the data that teaching religion is relatively less popular amongst the female teachers – only 38 per cent teach Buddhism. However, other than the technology subjects and Buddhism, in all other subjects the majority (over 50 per cent) are female teachers.

Table 9.8 Subject specialties wise female teacher percentages in public schools, 2007 and 2009

		2007			2009		
QUALIFICATION	Subject Specialty	Female	Total	%	Female	Total	Female %
GRADUATE TEACHERS	Bachelor of education	2336	3677	64%	2209	3345	66%
	Physical science	1498	3132	48%	1532	3188	48%
	Bio science g	2593	3478	75%	2608	3547	74%
	Special mathematics	333	660	50%	333	637	52%
	Arts graduates with mathematics	522	825	63%	562	904	62%
	Agriculture	557	807	69%	571	836	68%
	Home economics	67	67	100%	56	59	95%
	Commerce	4628	7535	61%	5208	8383	62%
	Social science	283	418	68%	323	461	70%
	Oriental music	1259	1491	84%	1273	1515	84%
	Art (aesthetics)	424	711	60%	424	733	58%
	Dance	1206	1327	91%	1329	1444	92%
	Art graduates	32462	47340	69%	35202	51298	69%
	English	582	828	70%	625	897	70%
	Foreign languages	62	78	79%	55	66	83%
	TOTAL GRADUATES	**48812**	**72374**	**67%**	**52310**	**77223**	**68%**

Source: Annual School Census Databases of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

Table 9.9 Subject specialties: female teacher percentages in public schools, 2007 and 2009

	Subject Specialisation	2007			2009		
TRAINED TEACHERS	English trained	15120	20000	76%	15319	20084	76%
	Mathematics	5821	10150	57%	5579	9664	58%
	Science trained	7493	11386	66%	7172	10820	66%
	Science / Mathematics trained	2040	2815	72%	1897	2664	71%
	Social studies trained	1494	2392	62%	1445	2257	64%
	Commerce trained	1114	1959	57%	996	1758	57%
	Home economics trained	5543	5544	100%	5373	5378	100%
	Technology (Building construction) trained	31	486	6%	56	491	11%
	Technology (Mechanism) trained	27	309	9%	26	322	8%
	Technology (Electrical & Electronic) trained	34	187	18%	30	184	16%
	Art work trained	443	476	93%	408	438	93%
	Agriculture trained	1845	3758	49%	1787	3558	50%
	Oriental music trained	1831	2172	84%	1912	2250	85%
	Western music trained	103	112	92%	118	131	90%
	Art trained	1168	1743	67%	1187	1819	65%
	Dance trained	1758	1969	89%	1824	2037	90%
	Physical education trained	1867	3420	55%	2064	3748	55%
	Buddhism trained	715	1801	40%	678	1767	38%
	Hinduism trained	541	810	67%	499	760	66%
	Islam trained	404	802	50%	420	810	52%
	Roman catholic trained	649	775	84%	695	793	88%
	Christianity (non Roman catholic) trained	86	97	89%	91	106	86%
	Special education trained	332	626	53%	399	708	56%
	Sinhala trained	1088	1800	60%	1030	1637	63%
	Tamil trained	966	1390	41%	939	1335	70%
	Arabic trained	43	104	79%	49	96	51%
	Primary / general trained	41056	51958	79%	40303	51028	79%
	Library science & Information technology trained	287	421	68%	300	410	73%
	Drama & theatre trained	64	78	82%	145	192	76%
	Other trained	269	424	63%	365	567	64%
TOTAL TRAINED		**94232**	**129964**	**73%**	**93106**	**127812**	**73%**

Source: Annual School Census Databases of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

Table 9.10 provides the numbers and the percentages of untrained female teachers who are currently under three-year weekend in-service training schemes to become teachers. Table 9.11 presents the female teacher trainee percentage now receiving pre-service training at the 18 colleges of education.

Among trained teachers the highest number of females serve as primary teachers. Even amongst untrained teachers 78 per cent of the primary teachers are female, whereas at the secondary level the average percentage of female teachers is 68 per cent.

Table 9.10 Subject specialties wise untrained female teacher percentages in public schools, 2007 and 2009

		2007			2009		
	Subject Specialty	Female	Total	Female %	Female	Total	Female %
UNTRAINED	Science Untrained / diploma	239	398	60%	232	370	63%
	Science / mathematics Untrained / diploma	41	87	47%	44	102	43%
	English Untrained / diploma	884	1321	67%	1121	1623	69%
	Primary Untrained / diploma	1237	1777	70%	1051	1460	72%
	Religion Untrained / diploma	122	181	67%	133	194	69%
	Social studies Untrained / diploma	130	192	68%	123	168	73%
	Commerce Untrained				58	97	60%
	Technology Untrained / diploma	67	122	55%	20	45	44%
	Home economics Untrained / diploma	21	38	55%	186	187	99%
	Agriculture Untrained / diploma	267	267	100%	36	81	44%
	Sinhala Untrained / diploma	43	112	38%	54	70	77%
	Tamil Untrained / diploma	46	71	65%	119	172	69%
	Oriental music Untrained / diploma	124	177	70%	200	226	88%
	Western music Untrained / diploma	117	145	81%	7	8	88%
	Dance Untrained / diploma	6	8	75%	182	198	92%
	Art Untrained / diploma	77	88	88%	133	197	68%
	Foreign languages Untrained / diploma	125	183	68%	3	4	75%
	Maulavi Untrained / diploma	1	7	14%	4	12	33%
	Other Untrained / diploma	5	16	31%	512	753	68%
	TOTAL UNTRAINED	3552	5190	68%	4218	5967	71%

Source: Annual School Census Databases of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

Table 9.11 Subject specialties wise trainee female teacher percentages in colleges of education, 2007 and 2009

		2007			2009		
	Subject Specialty	Female	Total	Female %	Female	Total	Female %
TRAINEES	Science / Mathematics teacher trainees	6	10	60%	61	121	50.4%
	English teacher trainees	63	98	64%	99	157	63%
	Primary teacher trainees	142	191	74%	986	1133	87%
	Religion teacher trainees	4	8	50%	47	67	70%
	Social studies teacher trainees	4	5	80%	57	96	59%
	Commerce teacher trainees	2	6	33%	4	12	33%
	Technology teacher trainees	3	5	60%	11	16	69%
	Home economics teacher trainees	8	8	100%	37	37	100%
	Agriculture teacher trainees	1	4	25%	9	20	45%
	Sinhala teacher trainees	6	8	75%	46	52	88%
	Tamil teacher trainees	8	10	80%	63	77	82%
	Oriental music teacher trainees	8	11	73%	44	59	75%
	Western music teacher trainees	7	7	100%	3	3	100%
	Dance teacher trainees	5	10	50%	89	96	93%
	Art teacher trainees	0	1	0%	33	55	60%
	Moulavi teacher trainees	26	48	54%	0	2	0%
	Other Trainees				98	1134	83%
	TOTAL TRAINEES	320	492	54%	2548	3137	81.2%

Source: Annual School Census Databases of the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.

Table 9.12 presents the number and the percentage of female teachers at universities in Sri Lanka in 2010. On average there is 43 per cent of female academic staff in the universities. When compared with 78 per cent at primary school and 68 per cent at secondary school, the 43 per cent in the universities shows that as education advances to higher levels the percentage of females decreases. There are 54 per cent females in the lower academic grades, 47 per cent as Lecturers, 36 per cent as Senior Lecturers, 35 per cent as Associate Professors and 23 per cent as Professors.

However, currently there are more females than males occupying higher academic staff positions at university level and there is a trend showing an increase of female academics. The recruitment to university academic positions is very transparent and is based on academic merit. The relatively smaller percentage of female teachers in university faculties indicates that among females, though higher in numbers at all universities except in some faculties such as engineering, the level of academic achievement in females maybe slightly lower than the males in the long-term. However, there is a trend of a gradual increase in female staff at universities as well, and this will likely bring changes in the coming decade towards gender parity within the profession at the tertiary level.

Table 9.12 Percentage of female academic staff of the state universities, 2009

Category	Total	Female	% Female
Professors	388	90	23%
Associate Professors	75	26	35%
Senior Lecturers	2028	724	36%
Lecturer	2235	1051	47%
Other Academic	1524	819	54%
TOTAL	**6262**	**2712**	**43%**

Source: University Grants Commission Sri Lanka: University Statistics 2009.

Table 9.13a presents the distribution of female teachers by age and Table 9.13b presents the distribution of teachers by years of service or experience. It is evident that there were 71 per cent teachers in the over 55 year old group and the percentage has increased to 72 per cent with the younger age group between 18 – 29 years. Similarly, the percentage among those with over 30 years of teaching experience was 68 per cent and the percentage for the less than 5 years of experience has increased to 75 per cent indicating a significant increase of female teachers in recent times. Both of these tables also confirm the increasing trend of female teachers in the school system.

Table 9.13a Age-wise distribution of teachers, 2009

Age	No of teachers			
	Male	Female	Total	% Females
18 –29	4153	12235	16388	72%
30 –39	18136	45544	63680	72%
40 –49	23027	58777	81804	69%
50 –55	10680	23618	34298	67%
> 55	5959	12178	18137	71%
All Island	**61955**	**152352**	**214307**	**71%**

Table 9.13b Years of experience wise distribution of teachers, 2009

Years of Experience (Recruitment Years)	No of teachers			
	Male	Female	Total	% Females
0 – 5 (2005 – 2010)	13106	38537	51643	75%
6 – 10 (2000 – 2004)	6164	11630	17794	65%
11 –15 (1995 –1999)	7168	15203	22371	68%
16 –20 (1990 – 1994)	17286	46355	63641	73%
21– 30 (1980 – 1989)	13441	30567	44008	69%
> 30 (Prior to 1980)	4790	10060	14850	68%
All Island	**61955**	**152352**	**214307**	**71%**

Table 9.13b actually presents an interesting observation in terms of the numbers from a historical perspective. Those with 6–15 years of experience are significantly fewer in numbers than 16–20 years of experience. This could suggest that there was an influx of teacher numbers entering the profession twenty years ago, and that this has decreased since then (unless of course the difference in numbers is actually down to people exiting the profession). The 16–20 group also has a higher female percentage (73). The data shows that all recruitments in general had significantly more female teachers than males. Generally, election pledges to address unemployment amongst university graduates increased the recruitments and often exceeded the real or actual requirement in numbers. One could perhaps argue that there were more females unemployed and were waiting to enter teaching profession than males. This could be one of the reasons for the higher number of women during these periods.

Factors for the transformation of teaching into 'women's work'

It is apparent that in Sri Lanka the teaching profession is feminised in terms of numbers. But is it only the teaching profession that is feminised or is there a more general trend? Today in university enrolment 56 per cent are females. In the performing arts 75 per cent are females, pharmaceutical studies 74 per cent are females. In social sciences and humanities 71 per cent are females. In indigenous medicine 70 per cent and in food science 65 per cent are females. Agriculture and veterinary science over 64 per cent females and physical and bio-sciences 60 per cent are females. In medicine and dentistry 56 per cent are females, in commerce and business studies and law over 52 per cent are females. In information technology 40 per cent and in engineering studies 26 per cent are female (UGC 2009). However, in general according to Labour Market Information (2010), 7.14 million people were employed in 2009 and of this number 65 per cent or 4.61 million were men, with the balance 2.53 million being female. It should be noted that as of 2009 data, the unemployment ratio for females was 8.2 per cent as opposed to 4.3 per cent for males.

In 2009, over 234,000 of the Sri Lankans employed overseas 54 per cent were female. However, there were mostly classified as housemaids: in the skilled or professional categories a significantly larger number were males. Meanwhile, the statistics among the self-employed present another story, with the majority being female. Disaggregated statistics on size and turnover of self-employed income is still needed however to provide greater clarity on what such a female prevalence in this area means in terms of economic empowerment. Overall however, among the unemployed there are more males in categories with less than secondary school qualifications such as GCE OL, while in the higher secondary qualification of GCE A/L, the number of females remaining unemployed is much higher than the males (Tertiary and Vocational Education Commission 2010). This indicates that overall, women's increasing academic achievements have yet to proportionally translate into the world of work, despite women's statistical dominance.

Focus group responses

The researcher carried out several focus group discussions informally with 27 (16 females and 11 males) teacher educators of the national colleges of education; about 60 (42 females and 18 males) practising teachers who were following the two year Diploma in Education course at the National Institute of Education, about 40 trainee teachers (40 females and 10 males) at one of the national colleges of education, and a casual sample of parents to explore what factors are transforming the teaching profession to women's work.. There was 100 per cent agreement between both men and women in the focus groups that primary teachers, particularly in the first three

grade levels have to be a female. This is an expectation of parents, mirrored by the teachers. The reasons given are because it was felt that the female teacher is a 'substitute mother' and is more likely to have a caring attitude towards children. This value opinion is reflected in the current academic year with 87 per cent females in primary teacher training programs. The trend is clear that the present 79 per cent female teachers in primary schools may further increase in the near future. This is largely a social expectation that has translated into a professional expectation.

In terms of reasons why teachers go to the profession, the trainee teachers in the groups indicated that their parents wanted them to become teachers and they consider teaching to be a family-friendly type of employment. In the teacher trainee group of 20, there were five female trainees who have had other more lucrative jobs yet resigned from those more lucrative jobs to join teaching. Two were working for commercial banks, one was employed in the State Sector Corporation, and two others were working for private commercial firms. The parents influence is mostly centred around marriage and wanting a family life for their daughter. In further discussions it was indicated that teaching allows them to get back home early, most of the times when their children returning from schools teachers who are mothers too can get back home. Also, female teachers and parents seem to believe that teaching has 'more morality' as a profession for women, and that this makes the family more stable. One female trainee said that those who work in banks and other professions often work long hours and get home late, which leads to neglect of the family. It was felt that there are more divorces in those professions while divorce is much less amongst the teachers. Parents also confirmed this view. Many parents also indicated dissatisfaction for their daughters working in banks and commercial organisations such as the garment industry. There is a strong belief that teaching is a well-respected and culturally more acceptable job for an educated girl.

The focus group discussion indicated that women were expected to align their traditional gender roles with suitable jobs and teaching happened to be the most common and widely opened field of employment for them. The 'family friendly' nature of the teaching profession encourages female candidates to join. On the other hand, most males opt to work for commercial organisations and industries as opposed to teaching, often getting into teaching as a last resort if no other more lucrative work is available. This clearly indicates that the profession has become gender stereotyped, particularly at the primary levels.

Another major factor for women choosing the profession that came out of the discussion is that, by being a teacher, they can guide their children better to be successful in their studies. When the mother is a teacher they are better aware of the school curriculum, the expectations, learning outcomes and the demands that come up at school and as such they are able for them to support their own children better. Indeed this is a fact because in general it is rare that a teacher's child fails an examination. The ability to get home after school, have the weekends free and with more school vacations female teachers are better able to lead a family and also facilitate their own children's learning.

A few of the teachers also indicated that admitting a child to a more popular school is so difficult and competitive and when you are teacher the chances of your getting a popular school for your child is much higher. This they consider is a privilege and perk of the job.

Except for several male administrators no one directly expressed views opposing the high numbers of women in the profession. The administrator who expressed otherwise indicated that most of the school principals do demand a male teacher in schools because the female teachers are not the best to carry out some of the school functions such as sports activities, after school activities and field trips etc. However,

the majority said that having more females in schools has not impeded any of those functions. The majority also indicated that there is a belief in female teachers being more committed than a male teachers and taking teaching more seriously overall than their male counterparts.

One male did make a point regarding the efficient and effective deployment of teachers, which he argued has failed due to having more female teachers in the school system. Many female teachers seek transfers as soon as they take up duties in school in the rural or remote areas. The government has now introduced a policy of selecting 50 per cent of the trainee teachers to the national colleges of education on a geographical basis and the balance of 50 per cent on a merit basis to ensure that the teachers selected on a geographical basis will go back to the same education zones that they came from. They can seek transfers only after serving the stated number of years at that school. The officer also felt that the present maternity leave provision by the government of granting 84 days of leave with full-pay and another 84 days with half-pay has made it difficult for schools to operate. However, the importance of the benefits within the profession has been a real draw, keeping it well resourced, and as an incentive cannot be underestimated. Overall however, the legislation has caused a backlash against female recruitment (ADB 2008), particularly in the lower-paid jobs. On the other hand the same legislature has attracted women to higher-level jobs, particularly teaching.

Discussion and conclusions: the feminisation of teaching and its relevance to gender dynamics in Sri Lankan society

Data that provide concrete information of the sexual and social class on feminisation of teaching is currently lacking. What can be seen however is the growing number and percentages of females across all areas of professional specialisation at the tertiary level, leading one to surmise that women are making strides in other areas within Sri Lanka. The educational performance of girls is no doubt a major contributory factor to that. Up to Grade 11 there is gender parity in school enrolment. However, Grade 12 and 13 enrolment is very much skewed in favour of girls. The enrolment in Grade one is 49.5 girls and 50.5 boys. These proportions continue on to grade nine, or the end of compulsory education phase. However, by Grade 13 GCE A/D classes the percentage becomes 57.5 per cent for girls and 44.5 per cent boys. Girl's dropout is less; absenteeism is less than the boys. Their level of academic achievement is higher than the boys. It is interesting to note that feminisation has happened regardless of social class because the trend of having a higher percentage of girls in schools is witnessed in the schools where the children of the socially affluent attend and equally in the remote rural schools where the children of the rural poor attend. The trend is rather a national trend with any immediately noticeable major social class differences. Of course female children of the more affluent undoubtedly get into better jobs because they acquire other skills such as fluency in English language and IT skills than a rural girl, but as a privilege of class this would also apply to male children. Such differences are common in any country and in all school systems, and not specific to the feminisation issue that is in discussion. Similarly, the female teachers who belong to the socially affluent classes naturally occupy the urban elite schools and the female teachers of the less affluent families end up in the rural schools. These are also common deployment issues, but further research is needed to understand the intersecting issues of class, wealth/poverty and gender that sometimes have an impact.

In Sri Lanka the salary structures do not officially discriminate between male and female, particularly in public sector roles. If discrimination exists at all it is in the private sector. At entry level a graduate teacher gets a salary comparable with the entry salaries of an engineer or a medical doctor. However, the differences do exist in the extra

allowances a doctor or a nurse earns with night time work, overtime work and attending specialised jobs etc. A teacher on the other hand gets a similar initial salary yet very few allowances, such as overtime or night duties and emergency call allowances. Many teachers offer tuition to earn extra incomes. Teaching is however a pensionable job and when compared with the private sector Sri Lankan women consider the pension as a high security incentive, offering a level of social protection for the future that is not available in all professions. Even with a little lower salary many people are likely to prefer a pensionable job. The parental generation believes this even more, and when coupled with the benefits teaching offers for women to spend time with their families, many women view teaching as an ideal role within Sri Lankan society.

An administrative assistant (Level 6, equivalent entry point of a trained teacher) in the government service earns a little less than a trained teacher at entry level to the job (UNOHRM, 2009). But whereas an administrative assistant may have many other opportunities to earn more with overtime work, weekend work etc., it is at the cost of family time. A female teacher on the other hand protects her family time and may even earn extra income by having a private tuition arrangement in her own home. These are the realistic comparable situations that encourage women into the profession. Even amongst other such gender stereotyped jobs, such as a bank teller, comparative salary advantage is assessed against family time. This is much valued in Sri Lankan culture as a mother is considered the 'Buddha at home'. Coming home early from work, being available at the weekend for their children and school vacations and holidays are valued more than a higher salary.

Educationally, Sri Lanka works well towards providing equal opportunity for girls and boys and the co-educational system has also enabled girls and boys to compete under the same school roof. Girls appear to be out-performing boys in academic as well as non-academic activities at school level. The school prize-giving ceremonies, a very popular school event in most of the upper social class schools co-educational schools, clearly demonstrate this.

Overall, Sri Lanka has had a comparatively positive history on gender parity within education and the role of women as facilitators of that education from the outset. Political actions since 1931 have paved the way for this. Sri Lanka continues to make strides towards combating some of the inequalities than other countries in the region and more broadly in the global South are dealing with: a girl child is valued and nurtured educationally and moves have been made towards combating inequality in facilities, opportunities and ownership for women. However, there are still inequalities at home and within the professions, employment and pay, presenting complexity when analysing many of the issues, indicating that educational equality for girls does not always translate comprehensively into other areas when they become women. The feminisation of the teaching profession is arguably a reflection of both the great leaps towards women's equality in Sri Lankan society, and the converse reality of gender stereotyping in employment. Teaching retains the status of a respectable and desirable job, but with a gendered caveat: one that reflects women's traditional role in particular, and provides them with a level of financial security not experienced everywhere. However, it is not necessarily the best paid job, and many men will look for other more lucrative work. Women's promotional mobility within the profession is also not reflective of their overall numbers. Overall, the samples used in this study provided initial insights into the perspectives of key groups related to the issues, including the teachers and teacher trainees themselves, as well as parents, principles and educational officers. Going forward, further research across several of the areas explored in this study is recommended in order to deepen our understanding of the issues.

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The debates on women and teaching have been wide ranging and, in some cases, contentious. They have included reviews of why the profession can become gender imbalanced in favour of women, the impacts of this on learning processes and student education, and the implications on women's overall empowerment within society and the economy.

Most of the research to date has concentrated on developed countries, such as the UK, Australia and Canada, where women have been a significant majority in the teaching workforce for decades. This study looks at how the teacher feminisation debate applies in developing countries. Drawing on the experiences of Dominica, Lesotho, Samoa, Sri Lanka and India, it provides a strong analytical understanding of the role of female teachers in the expansion of education systems, and the surrounding gender equality issues.

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