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, midday 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 Enrolm	ent Ratio is	n Primary I	Education (ion (%)								
		1999				2	007								
	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*	1.031							
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			oss Enrolm	ent Ratio i	n Seconda			
	1999					- 7	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

		Primar	ry Educat	ion		
Country	3,000,00	Teach	ing Staff	ng Staff		teacher
	1999	7, 24, 25	2007	77.55	1999	2007
	Total (000)	961	Total (000)	%!		
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

		Secor	dary E	ducation	1		Ter	rtiary	Educat	ion
Country			ng Staff condar			eacher ratio Secondary)	1	each	ning Stat	Ħ
	199	9	20	07	1999	2007	199	9	20	07
	Total (000)	%!	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 2

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 longheld 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.

Gender of Teaching Profession as % of Total 1994-2010 (Primary & Secondary)

2010

2025

704

2008

636

674

2006

693

1955

694

2004

220

2002

2002

2009

713

1009

2000

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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).

Proportion of female teachers
1950-51 to 2000-01

100
80
60
40
20
+ 15.3 + 19.7 + 23.9 + 27.1 + 31 + 35.3
1950-51 1960-61 1970-71 1980-81 1990-91 2000-01

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 postindependence 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 -: Proportion of Female Teachers Kerala -Rajasthan - All India 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 2007-08 2008-09 2003-04 2004-05 2005-06 2006-07

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

Source: DISE, State Report Cards, various years.

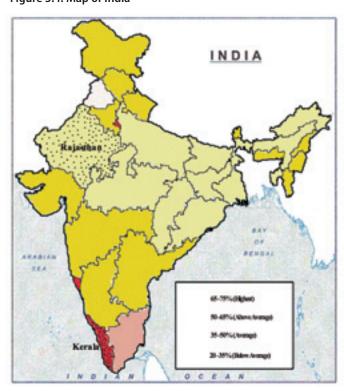


Figure 3.4: Map of India

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

		Post	primary				Primary	
District	Males		Female	es	Males		Female	s
	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

Province	Districts	Male	Female	% Female
	Colombo Total	2922	12860	81%
	Gampaha Total	3122	11969	79%
	Kalutara Total	2091	7841	79%
Western Total	100/2003/00/2003	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%
8 69,000	Vavunia Total	821	1768	68%
North Total		3566	7917	69%

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	100000	1993		100	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

	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.

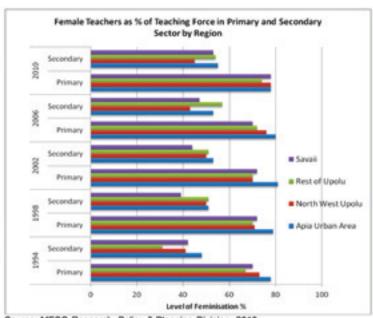


Figure 3.5 Samoa – female teachers as a percentage of teaching force in each sector by region, 1994–2010

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 Sengu 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 period⁶. 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 2007⁷. 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:

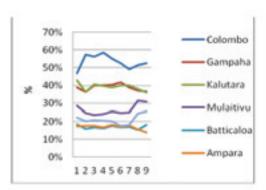
⁷ As officially recognized untrained teachers within the system, the Sri Lankan Government has enrolled these numbers under three year weekend in-service teacher training schemes at Sri Lanka's 18 Colleges of Education.

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

	Sec	condary	y School	ol Prin	cipals	Prima	ry sch	lool		
	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

CSP4, 12 DOM 1900/5720	Kera	ıla	Rajas	than	
% 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	22.5	North			South			West		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2003/04	(29%)	10 (71%)	14	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	18	5 (31%)	11 (69%)	16	(25%)	12 (75%)	16
2004/05	(29%)	10 (71%)	14	(22%)	14 (78%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	(24%)	13 (76%)	17
2005/06	-					-		**		-		
2006/07	(29%)	10 (71%)	14	6 (33%)	12 (67%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	2 (12%)	15 (88%)	17
2007/08	(29%)	10 (71%)	14	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	18	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	14	(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.

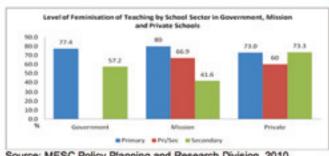
Table 3.23 Samoa – gender of teachers by controlling authority, 2010

	Males	Females	Total
Primary	262	762	1024
Primary/Secondary	0	0	0
Secondary	211	285	496
TOTAL	(31%) 473	(69%) 1047	1520
Mission Schools			20
	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

	G	overnmer	ıt	Gover	nment-As	sisted	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	(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

	G	overnmen	ıt	Gover	nment-Ass	sisted		Private	
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2011	3 (43%	4 (57%)	7	1 (24%)	6 (86%)	7	0	(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	1		2009*	
Province	FEMALE S	TOTAL	FEMAL E	FEMALE S	TOTAL	FEMALE	FEMALE S	TOTAL	FEMALE	FEMALE S	TOTAL	FEMALE	FEMALE S	TOTAL	FEMALE
Western	288 5	361	80	306 6	38 45	80%	316	39 36	80%	318	40 15	79%	327	406	81%
Central	436	535	81	435	52	82%	474	60	78%	482	59	81%	529	636	83%
Southern	220	265	83	241	29 3	82%	211	27	77%	208	26	80%	286	355	81%
Northern	185	319	58	187	32	58%	178	31	56%	156	28 7	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	899
North Central	10	17	59	10	17	59%	11	19	58%	12	20	60%	13	22	591
Uva	81	149	54	78	14	55%	75	13	58%	84	15	54%	87	157	55%
Sabarag	15	21	71	20	28	71%	20	28	71%	19	27	70%	19	27	70%
Sri Lanka	389	500	78	411	52 66	78%	422 6	54	78%	422 8	54 54	78%	449	570	799

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 Kera

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

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

1920	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.

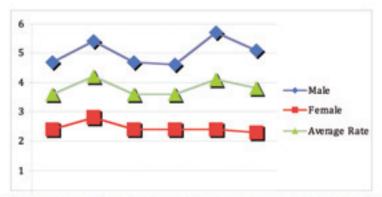
Education outcomes

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:

1.6
1.4
1.2
1
0.8
0.6
0.4
0.2

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.

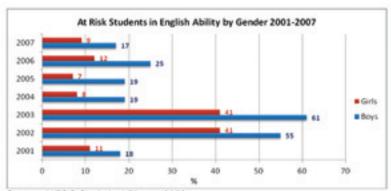


Figure 3.11 Samoa – t-risk students in English (results from spell one test) as % of student gender 2001–2007

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

Transit	s from sta	ndard 7 to F	form A	Transiti	on 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.

25
20
15
——Male
——Female
10
——Average Rate

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:

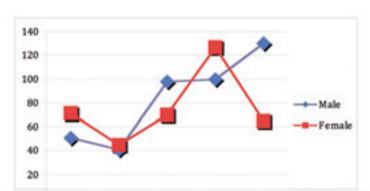


Figure 3.13 Dominica – secondary schools drop-out numbers by gender, 2002/03–07

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 subnational 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 nonexistent. 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. Dropout 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 subnational literature (India) to look at these areas.