A matter of right and reason
Gender equality in educational planning and management

Edited by
Lyndsay Bird

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Lyndsay Bird
with
Anna Obura, Natalia Gherardi, Tina Wallace, and Helen Baños-Smith

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Acknowledgements

About the authors

Helen Baños-Smith is an independent consultant and researcher focusing on improving the quality of development and humanitarian programmes. She has a background in academia and has worked for local, national, and international NGOs, as well as bi-lateral and multi-lateral organizations.

Lyndsay Bird is a Programme Specialist at IIEP with over 20 years' experience of working in education in development and emergency settings. Her doctorate from the Institute of Education, London University is in the field of education and conflict. She works within IIEP's capacity development team to support ministries of education to strengthen education systems to better promote safety, resilience and social cohesion. She has also worked on IIEP's strategic thematic issues related to gender equality and planning education with and for youth.

Natalia Gherardi trained as a lawyer (University of Buenos Aires, 1994) and received her LLM from London School of Economics and Political Science in 2000. Since 2007, she has been Executive Director of ELA – EquipoLatinoamericano de Justicia y Género (Latin American Group for Gender and Justice), a human rights organization based in Argentina, working to promote gender equality and human rights of women through the use of law and public policies. She is the author of several books and articles on violence against women, women's political and social participation, work and care policies.

Anna Obura is an independent education consultant with experience across the African region. She has authored books on gender in education and on education development in Rwanda and Burundi. She is a former UNICEF Regional Education Adviser for Eastern and Southern Africa, and former Chair of the Department of Educational Communication & Technology at Kenyatta University (Nairobi), having worked several years in curriculum development, educational planning, and teaching in schools. She is a founder member of Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK), a leading research organization in equity in education in Kenya.

Tina Wallace is an honorary Senior Research Fellow at International Gender Studies, Oxford University, and a freelance consultant working in international development. She has taught at universities in Uganda and

Nigeria, as well as the UK; she helped establish the Gender and Strategic Planning Units in Oxfam and in recent years has worked with a wide range of agencies, including NGOs, UN, and DFID. She is widely published, most recently on North–South relations within the aid chain, gender, and the challenges of working with the new development paradigms

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List of abbreviations

AOCM	adequate overall childcare manager
AOHM	adequate overall household manager
CBFC	Constituency Bursary Fund Committee (Kenya)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIC	Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution (Kenya)
CNM	Consejo Nacional de las Mujeres (Argentine National Council of Women)
CTERA	Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación de la República Argentina (Confederation of Education Workers of the Republic of Argentina)
ELA	Equipo Latinoamericano de Justicia y Género
EMIS	educational management information systems
FGD	focus group discussion
GER	gross enrolment ratio
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GPI	Gender Parity Index
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labour Organization
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoHEST	Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology
NGO	non-governmental organization
POC	perception, organization structures, and culture
PRIOM	Programa Nacional de Promoción de la Igualdad de Oportunidades para la Mujer (Argentine Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women in Education)
PSC	Public Service Commission (Kenya)
SACMEQ	Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
SAGA	semi-autonomous government agency
TSC	Teachers' Service Commission (Kenya)
TVET	technical and vocational education and training
YIKE	Youth Initiatives Kenya (NGO)

Executive summary

This publication brings together global literature and case study findings from two countries (Argentina and Kenya). It highlights the fact that despite the increased feminization of the teaching profession, the most high-ranking positions in educational leadership and management in these countries (as in most countries) remain occupied by men. There is a dearth of evidence available to support an analysis of the reasons behind such persistent inequalities. This lack was commented upon during the IIEP Policy Forum of 2011 *Gender equality in education: Looking beyond parity*, the conclusions of which contributed to the development of this research. This publication aims to address the concern raised at the Policy Forum that most of the currently available research on gender in education focuses on equality only in relation to access to primary and secondary education.

The global literature reviewed in this publication draws attention to the fact that no country in the world has fully achieved gender equality. Even in countries that rank high on gender equality indices, the gender gap is still significant in areas such as economic outcomes and political empowerment. The literature also points to the array of barriers that prevent gender equality from being achieved in all spheres of life. It suggests that, in most countries, the causes behind persistent gender inequalities in educational leadership relate less to the 'pipeline' or availability/non-availability of qualified women, than to the 'labyrinthine' obstacles that women have to overcome in order to succeed as senior leaders in educational management.

And yet, as the literature demonstrates, within the private sector in industrialized countries greater diversity at senior levels of management has led to companies making 33–50 per cent higher profits. Unfortunately, this finding has yet to be taken into consideration in the public sector, a fact that is borne out by the findings of this research in both Argentina and Kenya.

The research analyses the gender bias generated from preferred management practices, which are often incompatible with traditional female-assigned responsibilities at the household and family level. It analyses the participation of women in leadership roles in ministries of education in Argentina and Kenya, providing lessons from these two different regions of the world. It does this through the following categories:

- **Representation.** This component of the analysis provides an overview of gender equality in terms of access and representation of girls and women at different levels of the education system. It includes a review of the representation of women in the political arena and what such representation might mean for other levels of management.
- **Political commitment and legislative frameworks.** This aspect of the research analyses the political and legislative factors that actively promote women's access to decision-making positions at national and sometimes decentralized levels. It includes a review of policies affecting women and the promotion of gender equality at the national level, on gender equality and women's and girls' rights to access employment, and on equal pay, maternity leave, and quotas.
- **Organizational culture and structures.** This element explores how existing organizational structures and policies promote or discourage women from aspiring to leadership positions. It includes an examination of the types of structural issue that shape the way organizations are run as well as informal processes of promotion, decision-making and ways of working. The researchers examined the formal qualifications required to access senior management positions, the training, certification, and years of experience expected, and whether women have equal access to these.
- **Social and cultural perceptions.** This component analyses perceptions of women and men in management positions, as well as societal and cultural expectations of women professionals and the perceptions that women have of themselves. Women's confidence, high/low self-esteem, their aspirations, and the support they get from home are all factors that contribute to their motivation and success in leadership. The research looked at some of the prevailing attitudes in each country towards 'working women'; how women manage the expectations of their husbands, their extended family, and the wider society's views of what it means to be a 'good woman', a 'good wife', and a 'good mother'; and how they are able to reconcile society's expectations with their professional ambitions.

Both the Argentina and Kenya case studies highlighted a number of obstacles and barriers to professional advancement by women, despite the very different levels of development in these two countries. The findings show that gender equality in educational management cannot be achieved unless organizational work cultures and practices change.

The research indicates that the *pipeline* problem is not the main cause of low representation of women in educational management. This conclusion was reached by comparing findings from two countries facing different challenges in terms of gender equality in education. Kenya is a country with comparatively low scores for the participation of women in both the economic and education sectors. Argentina, on the other hand, has achieved gender equality in education, but not in employment opportunities. The fact that findings from both countries were similar illustrates how pathways to women's advancement are blocked more by the labyrinthine challenges described in the research than by a lack of sufficiently qualified women for educational management.

What female leaders have most to face and overcome is the complex set of obstacles related to political and organizational structures and cultural stereotypes. Similarly the findings point to the need for societal debates about women taking on all or most of the responsibility for domestic and family/childcare work. A major barrier to women's advancement in both countries lies in traditional stereotypes (held in many cases both by women and men) of gendered professional roles. The research suggests that many individuals believe it is their personal responsibility to overcome these barriers. Meanwhile, organizations, institutions, and governments are not being held to account.

The findings indicate that political connections and networks matter for both recruitment and promotion. Yet women are systematically excluded from influential lobbying networks which are dominated by men. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen both formal and informal mentoring opportunities and provide greater access to political connections for women.

In general, the education institutions, the public service, and ministries of education presented in the research adopt practices that do not take into account the domestic roles of women. Organizational and cultural stereotypes prevail, significantly impeding women from holding positions perceived to be better suited to men. This includes the fact that women still have limited recognition from society or from the extended and immediate family regarding their multiple workloads. Neither society nor government has found an effective way of sharing the burden of women's unpaid work.

The publication suggests some key strategies that ministries could adapt to their own context, including the following:

- Improve representation of women at the most senior levels through enforcement of political and legislative frameworks throughout the public service.
    – Institute a quota system of a 50 per cent gender balance where appropriate.
    – Establish specific 'watchdog' institutions, such as gender advisory boards, within and external to the ministry of education.
    – Work at inter-ministerial level.
    – Lobby for governmental provision to finance greater domestic support.
- Improve organizational structures and culture.
    – Ensure standardized, transparent, and accountable recruitment and promotion procedures.
    – Pay attention to gender balance in education and training, skills acquisition, and management opportunities at all levels.
    – Initiate change of practices in the workplace to reflect women's life needs.
    – Formalize support to existing women leaders in ministries through ministry of education-supported gender units.
    – Establish common frameworks and indicators in order to provide and disseminate transparent data and monitor implementation.
- Influence social and cultural perceptions.
    – Support potential change agents.
    – Document and share personal, professional, and organizational strategies.
    – Promote family-sensitive work environments.
    – Raise awareness about the benefits of gender equality and work–life balance within society at large.

This publication is organized into three parts. *Part I* is a synthesis of two case studies, a global literature review, and a regional overview, all of which have contributed to the overall findings of the research. *Part II* and *Part III* present the research from each of the two case study countries.

The first chapter of *Part I* outlines the status of gender equality. It notes that even where there are high numbers of women in professional occupations, they remain under-represented at the highest levels. This chapter highlights the importance of gender equality not only as a right for both women and men, but also because of its vital economic and developmental contributions.

The second chapter presents an overview of the global literature and highlights a range of international issues that continue to affect the achievement of universal gender equality. It indicates that, for the most part, the supply or 'pipeline' problem – of a lack of qualified women available for senior positions – no longer applies in most countries. Of more significance are the numerous and intangible social, political, and cultural obstacles or the 'labyrinth' that most women have to navigate.

The third chapter summarizes the methodology used in each case study. Both studies took a qualitative approach based on a similar analytical framework and set of research questions. The research teams interpreted the questions differently and presented their findings in somewhat different formats, hence the need to synthesize the findings using a comparative framework.

The fourth chapter of *Part I* provides an overview of the findings from the research, which are presented in terms of representation, political commitment, and legislative frameworks, organizational culture and structures, and social and cultural perceptions.

The final chapter offers some targeted strategies to improve gender equality in educational management. Ministries of education could review and adapt these where appropriate.

Part II and *Part III* comprise the two case studies from Argentina and Kenya.

Part I

Navigating the labyrinth: Overcoming obstacles facing women leaders in education

1. The state of gender equality in education and in educational management

Millennium Development Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women.

Target 3.A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015.

Introduction

This publication addresses the concern raised by the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) that much of the currently available research on gender in education has limited its focus on gender equality to access to primary and secondary education. The research for this publication addresses the challenges faced by women in recruitment and advancement in ministries of education in Argentina and Kenya. The research was conducted in 2011, and investigates the different obstacles blocking women on the path to senior leadership positions, as well as strategies for overcoming them. The findings of this research are presented in this publication (see *Part II* and *Part III* for the full case studies).

A global literature review was carried out on current trends in gender equality in the education sector, followed by a regional review of issues as a basis for conducting the case studies on Argentina and Kenya. In-depth research on two very different continents is compared in this document, which reviews the similarities and differences among the numerous factors influencing the recruitment and promotion of women, and their conditions of work in ministries of education in the two countries.

As part of the research, and to address the theme of gender equality in the education system – both at the leadership level and in terms of learning achievement – IIEP organized a Policy Forum on Gender Equality in Education on 3–4 October 2011.[1] The forum brought together experts in education and gender equality to share their knowledge and experiences in this field. Participants at the forum considered aspects of gender equality

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1. This chapter includes contributions by Anna Obura, Tina Wallace, and Helen Baños-Smith. For more information, see:

   www.iiep.unesco.org/research/challenges-and-emerging-trends/post-2015/gender-equality.html

that related to both learning achievement and educational management and leadership.

Findings from the forum also highlighted the need for further qualitative research to address gender equality from a multidimensional perspective. To this end, IIEP engaged in qualitative research related to learning achievement in 2012–2013, which will be presented in 'Stories Behind Gender Differences in Student Achievements' (Saito, forthcoming). This research investigates factors affecting boys' and girls' achievement in school, and teachers' attitudes and behaviours, which are sometimes gender differentiated. To ensure consistency with the research on gender equality in educational leadership, Kenya was strategically selected so that policy and planning issues at different levels could be examined systemically.

Nowhere in the world has gender equality been fully achieved. Even in countries that rank highest in the world on globally accepted gender equality indices, the gender gap in areas such as economic outcomes and political empowerment remains significant. This is compounded by the increasing invisibility of barriers that prevent gender equality from being achieved in all spheres of life. Gender equality in the workplace means that women and men have equal opportunities for advancement, for realizing their full human rights and for contributing to, and benefiting from, economic, social, cultural, and political development.

Despite increased feminization of the teaching profession at lower levels of education in much of the world, the higher levels of senior management and leadership positions in education remain occupied by men. There is a dearth of evidence regarding this persistent inequality and about the complex factors underlying the 'labyrinth' of obstacles to be circumnavigated by women as they move up the career ladder within ministries of education.

More research and evidence are available in the corporate sector related to gender equality. Unequal pay and discrimination over maternity leave are among the many documented practices highlighted as barriers to the promotion of women to senior-level corporate or public sector positions (OECD, 2011; WEF, 2013). At the same time, there is increasing evidence in the private sector that greater diversity at senior levels of management can lead to profits 33–50 per cent higher for companies in industrialized countries. For that reason alone, current discriminatory practices need to be overcome (Catalyst, 2013*a*; Obura, 2011*b*; OECD, 2012). However,

this knowledge has yet to be institutionalized in the public sector, a fact that is borne out by the findings of this research in both Argentina and Kenya.

Considering the role ministries play in defining education policies, further comparative study of these obstacles and their impact on women's advancement in multiple contexts could provide a range of policy options for ministries of education. This publication aims to provide some strategies for ministries of education in this regard. The findings indicate, for example, that the issues in many instances relate less to the 'pipeline' or availability/non-availability of qualified women, and more to the 'labyrinthine' obstacles that women have to overcome in order to succeed as senior leaders in educational management. Policy options therefore need to address pipeline issues where they exist, as well as identify the specific hurdles that hinder the advancement of women in a given context.

Gender equality: A matter of right ...

Gender equality is a right that is enshrined in a number of international conventions and declarations. Perhaps the best-known instrument, often described as an international bill of rights for women, is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). It was adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly. Almost all countries (187 out of 193) have ratified the Convention, which obliges them to abide by the articles and to report on progress on gender equality in their countries every four years[2].

In 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action reaffirmed the rights of women as an integral part of human rights and addressed the specific need for the inclusion of women in senior educational management. The Beijing Declaration urged all parties to adopt positive measures to ensure female 'participation in the decision-making process and access to power' in the sector as a means for achieving social justice (UN, 1995).

Since then a number of regional conventions and declarations have provided context-specific definitions of the rights of women. In Africa, for example, member states of the African Union ratified the AU Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa in 2003, as well as the Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa.

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2. Only six countries globally have not ratified CEDAW: Iran, Somalia, Sudan, the United States, and the small Pacific Island nations of Palau and Tonga.

These initiatives reaffirmed many previous regional and international commitments. They also recognized factors such as conflict, poverty, violence against women, the effect of HIV and AIDS on women, women's exclusion from politics and decision-making, and illiteracy as barriers to the advancement of women in Africa. In Latin America, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence (*Convención de Belém do Pará 1994*) has been widely ratified, and is the first regional instrument to specifically address the issue of violence against women.

Such legal instruments are powerful tools in the fight for gender equality at all levels. They also provide support for all citizens, regardless of their sex, to exercise their right to participate equally in their societies.

... and of reason

Gender equality equates to smart economics for two reasons: (i) gender equality and greater diversity in leadership result in economic gains through improved management practice, processes, and outcomes; and (ii) greater development gains are made by ensuring that girls and boys and women and men are educated equally well.

In the education sector, increased representation of women in sector planning is likely to improve representation across the sector, particularly in leadership positions. It may also ensure that the education system serves the best interests of both female and male learners.

Failure to educate and to tap into the enormous national pool of the female population is to squander talent and to waste a nation's human resources. It is also expensive in terms of lost earnings. According to Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2002), 'primary education increases girls' earnings by 5 to 15 per cent over their lifetimes, while boys experience a rate of return between 4 and 8 per cent'. Evidence cited by the World Bank also suggests that there are significant development gains achieved through the education of girls, when they state that '[R]eturns to female secondary education are 15 to 25 per cent higher for women than men in Thailand, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire' (Schultz, 2002 in World Bank, 2011: 2).

The research findings in this publication also contribute to the business case for greater gender diversity in senior management positions in both the public and the private sectors. For example, the United Kingdom (UK) government review report, 'Women on board', suggests that 'the business

case for gender diversity on boards has four key dimensions: improving performance; accessing the widest talent pool; being more responsive to the market; and achieving better corporate governance.' Yet, according to the *Financial Times* and the London Stock Exchange Index (FTSE 100), out of the top 100 companies in the UK, 87.5 per cent of leaders in industry and business are men, and only 12.5 per cent are women (BIS, 2011).

Another significant body of research highlights the cost-efficiency and productivity benefits of upholding flexible working policies and practices. This would also perhaps have the added benefit of improving the gender balance in leadership positions (Bevan *et al.*, 1999; Dex, Smith, and Winter, 2001; OECD, 2011) since it would lessen the stress of professional women who are solely or mainly responsible for house management and childcare. As demonstrated in the chapter *Summarizing the case study findings*, a significant obstacle to women's advancement in educational management in both Argentina and Kenya is the organizational working culture and structures that conflict with family life. However, the research also underlines the importance for men of achieving a better work–life balance. The education sector has an opportunity to learn from the experience of corporations and many for-profit and non-profit organizations, which have realized the benefits of guaranteeing family, and life-friendly working practices.

A study by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) over a number of years in several OECD countries concludes that 'having a family-friendly workplace can motivate current staff, reduce staff turnover and sickness absenteeism, help attract new staff, reduce workplace stress and generally enhance worker satisfaction and productivity. The 'business case' for creating family-friendly workplaces is strongest for workers who are difficult to replace, and for flexible workplace arrangements that least affect the production process' (OECD, 2011: 13).

Another lesson that education policy-makers can learn from the corporate sector is presented in a number of Catalyst[3] studies and summarized in a report on 'Why diversity matters' (Catalyst, 2013*a*). These studies demonstrate that improving the diversity of senior management results in enhanced financial and organizational results.

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3. Catalyst is a non-profit organization that promotes greater gender equality and diversity in businesses around the world through its research and activities. For more information, see: www.catalyst.org.

Their analysis suggests that 'companies with sustained high representation of women – three or more women board directors in at least four of five years – significantly outperformed those with no women board directors.' The Catalyst studies also underscore the important fact that 'women board directors appeared to have a greater effect on increasing the percentage of line positions held by women' (Catalyst, 2013*b*: 2).

It is essential to bear in mind these lessons from the corporate sector while reviewing the evidence in the following chapters related to the factors preventing women in education from becoming leaders in the education sector. In the case of both public and private sectors it is evident that the issues relate less to the 'pipeline' or availability/non-availability of qualified women, than to the 'labyrinthine' obstacles linked to both organizational and societal cultures that prevent women from achieving the highest levels of leadership, whether in the boardroom or the ministry of education. As the following evidence shows, there are still significant gender inequalities in many parts of the world, particularly when disparities are broken down by wealth, geographical location, and economic status.

Gender inequality in education worldwide: Girls are still seriously disadvantaged

Thirty-four million adolescent girls are still out of school and almost 500 million (approximately two-thirds) of the world's illiterate adults are women. The situation is critical.

Even at the primary level, where substantial gains have been made, 'there are still 68 countries that have not achieved gender parity, and girls are disadvantaged in 60 of them' (UNESCO, 2012*a*: 6). Examples include Niger and Yemen, with a gender parity index[4] (GPI) for primary gross enrolment ratios at 0.80; countries emerging from conflict (Chad, 0.41, and Somalia, 0.55); and countries with chronically unbalanced gender access to schools. There are also 28 countries without data, for example, Gabon, Haiti, Nepal, and Turkmenistan. Yet there are also some positive examples: Mali, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, and Uganda are at or

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4. The gender parity index (GPI) is the ratio of female-to-male values of a given indicator. A GPI of 1.0 indicates parity between sexes. A GPI above or below 1 indicates a disparity in favour of one sex over the other. A non-technical interpretation of a GPI of 0.80 means that there are, for instance, eight females for every 10 males in a class or an education system.

near gender parity for primary level completion, and the same is true in the last three countries for lower secondary education (UNESCO, 2011: 36).

The 2012 UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Report indicates that the picture is worse at secondary level, and is particularly damaging for poor rural girls who are doubly disadvantaged (UNESCO, 2012*a*). In 100 out of the 201 countries for which there are data, girls are disadvantaged at secondary level (UIS, 2012). Although global statistics indicate that more young women than men are likely to access tertiary education, this masks the disparities between countries and continents, as well as within countries in terms of urban and rural disparities (UNESCO, 2012*a*). For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, on average only six girls, compared with 10 boys, reach tertiary level.

Disadvantage for girls is most stark in low- and lower-middle-income countries, whereas disadvantage for boys is more common in upper middle and high-income countries that have achieved higher levels of education overall (UNESCO, 2012*b*: 106–107). Sub-Saharan Africa fares worse than other regions in terms of access to education, with children receiving an average of just over eight years of schooling, compared with almost 14 years in Latin America.

In nearly all regions, enrolment of girls has increased the most at primary and secondary levels, but often from a very low base. In Europe and North America, female enrolment has been outnumbering male enrolment since the mid-1980s. The same trend appeared in Latin America and the Caribbean in the mid-1990s, and more recently in Central Asia. In sub-Saharan Africa, gender disparity still exists at all levels, but especially at the tertiary level where men have the advantage (UNESCO, 2012*a*; UIS, 2012).

From education to leadership: Increased access to education does not lead to increased access to leadership positions

Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, gender inequality in the education sector is evident in girls' and boys' access, participation, and achievement in education. However, it is particularly apparent in unequal gender roles and participation in educational decision-making, planning, and management. The improvement in parity of access has not been accompanied by a parallel improvement in gender equality in leadership positions (Byamugisha, 2011; Gherardi, 2011; Hungi, 2011; Obura, 2011*a*, 2011*b*; Saito, 2011;

Wallace and Baños-Smith, 2011). *Figure 1.1* highlights differences that remain in many countries between the number of female teachers and the number of women in school management positions. These differences remain despite the existence of international and national legal frameworks to protect and promote citizens' rights to gender equality at all levels.

Figure 1.1   Percentage of female teachers and female management personnel in primary and secondary education in selected countries, 2012
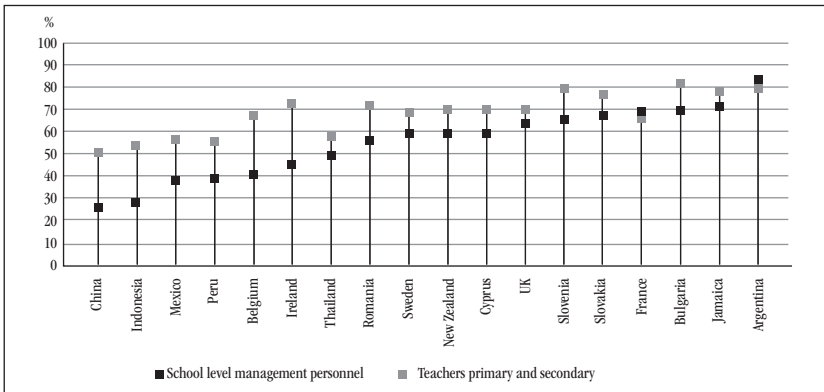
Data from the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Measuring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) highlight the considerable bias in the allocation of school managerial positions in favour of men for 12 SACMEQ school systems in the region, as indicated in *Figure 1.2*, which shows that in most SACMEQ school systems, the percentage of female teachers greatly exceeds the percentage of female school heads (Hungi, 2011: 2).

The disparities in Kenya, Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, and Zanzibar are striking and particularly unexpected in southern African countries that have a high percentage of women teachers. Just as higher numbers of female teachers have failed to translate into increases in the number of female managers, the increase in women accessing tertiary education has not translated into proportional representation in either the labour market or top leadership and decision-making positions in education (OECD, 2010; UNDP, 2009).

Figure 1.2   Percentage of female school heads and female teachers by country, SACMEQ III

In most SACMEQ school systems, the percentage of female teachers greatly exceeded the percentage of female school heads.
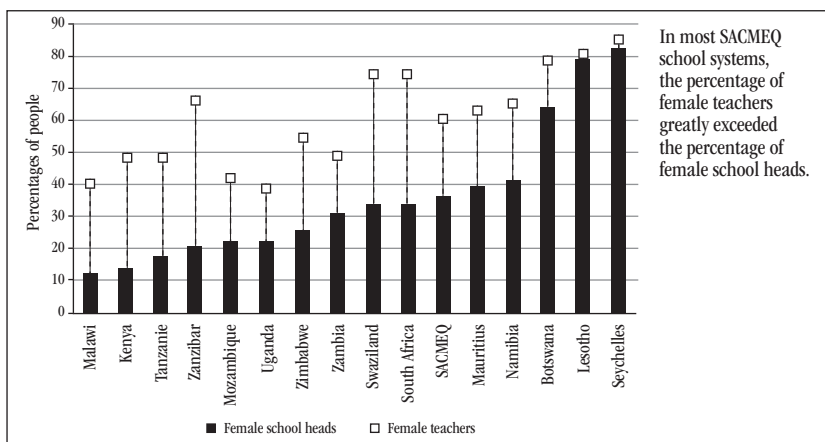
Source: SACMEQ in Hungi, 2011.

Until recently, and with the publication of these research findings, the vast majority of evidence related to gender equality at the highest levels concerned primarily the corporate boardroom and not ministries of education, which publish limited data in this area. It is therefore useful to examine data from the corporate sector in Europe for the insights this information may offer for education policy-makers regarding common challenges in ensuring gender equality in senior leadership positions.

Table 1.1, for example, indicates that even in countries where women are well educated, excellently trained and prepared, have high aspirations, and are motivated to get senior jobs, they are seriously under-represented at the most senior level in corporations. This situation has barely changed over the last decade as indicated by the findings of this research (Carter and Bagati, 2010, in Obura, 2011*b*).

Table 1.1   Men and women presidents/chairpersons of large companies, EU, 2003–2012

%	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Men	98.4	97.4	96.9	96.3	97.1	97.2	97.0	97.6	97.3	96.8
Women	1.6	2.6	3.1	3.7	2.9	2.8	3.0	3.4	2.7	3.2

Source: EU, 2012.

As of March 2012, women made up only 3.2 per cent of presidents and chairpersons, and held 13.7 per cent of board seats in a selection of major companies in 11 European countries (Catalyst, 2013*b*). The evidence suggests that there are numerous dynamics limiting women's career prospects. The factors that determine the advancement of women seem to be independent of their qualifications.

The following chapter explores how the global literature perceives the issues related to gender equality in educational management. It examines the processes and challenges that women must navigate in order to reach senior leadership positions.

2. Global views on women's advancement in educational management

Over the last decade the metaphors used to discuss gender and pathways to leadership have changed as understanding has deepened. These metaphors can apply equally to the management in education and corporate sectors. The image of the 'glass ceiling' as an unbreakable barrier preventing women from attaining the upper rungs of leadership positions has been replaced by images of the glass house, glass walls, the glass cliff, and the labyrinth.

The glass ceiling metaphor was considered inadequate because it focused only on the topmost positions, implying that there was a single invisible barrier and a conspiracy to stop women from reaching the very highest levels of management. It failed to take account of the challenges women often face at entry and mid-management levels (Santovec, 2010). In reality the situation was found to be far more complex. The rare examples of women chairs, vice chancellors, permanent secretaries, chief executives, and even presidents or prime ministers of countries were proof that there is no absolute barrier to women's advancement. Problems do not start near the apex of a woman's career as sometimes assumed. Rather, findings indicate that problems are already evident at recruitment level, and continue through mid-career. They are proximate, visible, and varied rather than distant or definitive as the glass ceiling metaphor might suggest.

Realizing this, Eagly and Carli (2007) argued for a change of metaphor that would more accurately reflect the multiple issues involved. The labyrinth is one such metaphor where multiple small barriers have a cumulative negative impact on the advancement of women. This metaphor appears to be the most appropriate for the findings outlined in this publication, and this chapter explores some of the numerous obstacles that a range of authors have identified as contributing to the lack of progress in gender equality at senior management levels.

Rodrigues suggests that gender equality will not happen until women become politically empowered, and that only then will women attain leadership in education (Rodrigues, 2004). This observation is borne out by the findings in the chapter *Summarizing the case study findings*, which highlights the importance of political networks for both women and

men to achieve promotion. As many women are excluded from powerful professional and political networks, this can be a major barrier to their advancement.

Alternatively, in its 2010 report *Women in Labour Markets*, the International Labour Organization (ILO) suggests that, in order to fully appreciate the reality of gender issues in the workplace and to level the playing field, the information base on workplace experience needs to be broadened. Inspired by the input of Mukhopadhyay and Singh (2007), the ILO report affirms that gender justice 'cannot be achieved when biases remain embedded in economic and social institutions and development processes.' The report suggests that monitoring exercises of gender equality in the workplace should examine the gender-differentiated experience of working and showcase the advantages and disadvantages accruing to both women and men. It further argues against trying to fit women better into the male-dominated workplace; 'the aim must not be to force women to fit into a labour market construct that is inherently male, but rather to adapt the labour market construct to incorporate the unique values and constraints of women' (ILO, 2010: xiii).

Global experience suggests that the rate of increase in the proportion of women leaders both in the public and private sector in the majority of countries is slow, sporadic, subject to reversal, and requires a stimulus to boost equality. For example, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (UNWomen) cites that in 2013, just 20.9 per cent of national parliamentarians were female. Globally, there are 37 countries in which women account for less than 10 per cent of parliamentarians in single or lower houses, with only eight women serving as head of state and 13 as head of government (UNWomen, 2013). The many statistics available on this subject are not covered here, but the following section examines some of the reasons behind these challenges to women's advancement in general.

Pathways to women's advancement

As noted earlier, the literature identifies two types of obstacle to women's advancement in ministries of education: first, the pipeline problem, which is in essence one of supply; and second, the navigation of the labyrinth, consisting of multiple small barriers that have a cumulative negative and stunting effect on female careers. The first arises from a lack of sufficiently qualified and skilled women for leadership in education, largely due to the

exclusion – for many reasons – of significant numbers of girls and women from education. The second represents the multiple circumstances and hurdles that women in every country of the world face as they enter the workplace and try to advance; these persist even in the Nordic countries, which are near to closing the gender gap (WEF, 2013).

The pipeline: Ensuring a steady supply of qualified women

In order to understand where and why there are blockages, it is useful to examine the different supply lines of qualified women entering management positions at all levels. For example, are there enough girls at each level within primary and secondary schools to fill each successive stage leading to higher education? Are these numbers sufficient to ensure enough qualified candidates for recruitment into management positions in ministries of education? The picture is mixed.

Supply of female pupils

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are still many countries where gender parity has not been achieved even at primary level. There are also countries that report gender parity enrolment ratios at national level, but with whole provinces or disparate pockets of serious gender disparity. For example, for 2007, Kenya's education statistics indicate a 21 per cent primary gross enrolment ratio for girls in one province, compared with 89 per cent nationally in the same year (Ministry of Education, Kenya, 2008).

At secondary level, gender disparity is more pronounced than at primary level (see *Figure 1.3*). Many countries experience a pipeline problem at this level and find it extremely difficult to produce sufficient numbers of qualified women for entry to university and subsequent application to work in ministries of education. These countries also face the additional challenge of ensuring that qualified women are fully represented at provincial levels.

Figure 1.3   Gender Parity Index by level of education, 2009

Note: -1 refer to 2008 data.
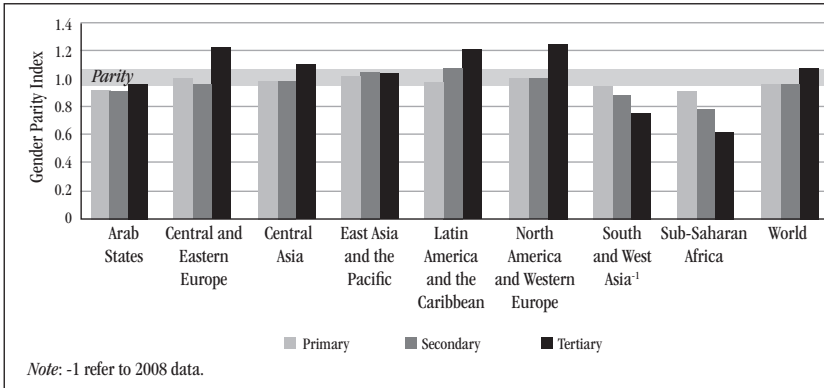
Supply of women teachers and principals

Policy-makers in most ministries of education typically originate from the teaching force and many are selected from the school principal level. It is therefore pertinent to examine female representation among all head teachers. In Burundi, 53 per cent of primary teachers are female and 53 per cent of qualified teachers in the country are female, as compared with only 21 per cent of female school principals (Obura, 2009). In Argentina, there is no pipeline problem for women per se. Although there are more women teachers than men at the lower levels, this numerical advantage does not result in more recruitment of women to the highest levels of university teaching, where only 38.8 per cent of women compared with 61.2 per cent of men are heads of universities (Gherardi, 2011). Therefore the problem is not the pipeline, but other more subtle factors that are explored in greater depth in the chapter *Summarizing the case study findings*.

Education systems can benefit greatly from interaction with the universities' research community. At the same time, the universities provide the advanced qualifications necessary for career advancement in the ministries. *Figure 1.4* shows that as of 2009 most regions have overcome serious pipeline problems, however sub-Saharan Africa still has serious gender parity issues (UIS, 2012).

Figure 1.4   Global trends in gender disparity at tertiary level, 1970–2009

Note: GPI is adjusted.
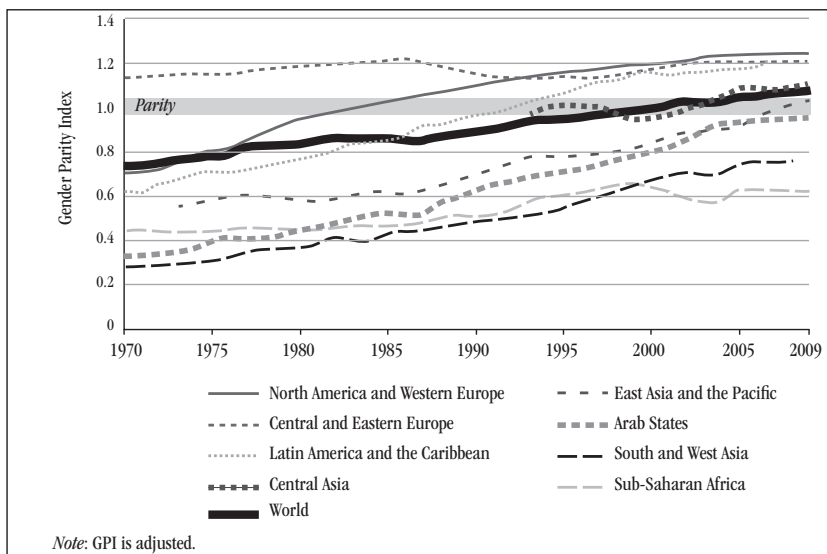
Nonetheless, representation of women at senior research and management levels of academia remains significantly lower than that of men in most countries, despite a pool of qualified women and potential female recruits. Kark and Eagly suggest that this is due partly to the labyrinth, the obstacle course of small but cumulative institutional and societal barriers that women encounter throughout their careers (Kark and Eagly, 2010). These are explored in more depth in the following section.

Navigating the labyrinth and overcoming obstacles to advancement

Institutional barriers

The literature reviewed for this IIEP publication indicates the presence of a number of institutional barriers that affect women's career advancement. These can be categorized as follows:

- the effects of male-dominated institutions;
- exclusion from the acquisition and display of management skills;
- exclusion from powerful networks and mentoring opportunities;
- comparatively low expectations of female leadership;

- non-masculine, non-traditional, and therefore atypical female leadership style and skills;
- differences in 'benefits' and 'entitlements'.

Effects of male-dominated institutions:
Fewer opportunities and a culture of exclusion

Institutional reality has long been shaped and viewed from a male perspective. One result is that there is very little evidence to suggest that ministries of education have modified working conditions along the lines of ILO's recommendation to adapt the labour market to women's unique needs. As mentioned earlier, gender-disaggregated statistical data on the proportion of women in leadership positions in ministries of education are limited. In many countries, recruitment into ministries of education clearly favours male applicants. Even at the middle-management levels, women are often in short supply. The literature cautions that a critical mass, that is, one-third of any minority group, is necessary in order to have sufficient influence and to initiate change in an institution (Del Campo, 2005). Yet Davies and Gunawardena (1992) note that in a number of ministries of education, women start out as a minority and continue as a dwindling minority right through to the top. Examples include Botswana, Gambia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Uganda, and Zambia. Osumbah (2011) reports similar findings for Kenya. Such male-dominated institutions can produce a work environment alien to women:

> A culture which does not formally exclude women but which makes very few concessions to the existence of any different set of values and patterns of behaviour. It is a culture where few women feel at ease and where most find difficulty in expressing their views (Davidson, 1998: 37, reporting Cunnison and Stageman, 1993: 114).

Exclusion from the acquisition and display of management skills

Women have proportionately fewer opportunities than male peers for participating in on-the-job study tours, professional development seminars, workshops and conferences, special university programmes, and follow-up activities. They have fewer opportunities to continue their studies at home and abroad (Bista and Carney, 2004: 324; Smulders, 1998). Interviews with respondents in the Kenya case study (see *Part III*) suggest that women also have fewer chances to present their own papers and therefore have fewer

opportunities to display and receive recognition for their professional skills (Obura, 2011*b*).

The management skills women already possess are often less visible than those of men. Women are not often given the chance to act or deputize for their male superiors, to practise management skills, or to display their potential for leadership (Miranda, Cassol, and Silveira, 2006, on Brazil). Catalyst, for example, advises that to gain greater visibility and demonstrate their potential for leadership, women managers need to work more to promote and display/showcase their skills and achievements (Catalyst, 2007).

Lack of training and visibility is one reason why fewer women than men proportionately apply for promotions. Many women feel that they will be judged by far higher standards than male colleagues in a managerial post, and often prefer to withdraw rather than compete for advancement under such stressful and unequal circumstances. Alternatively, they may be concerned that their networking contacts are inadequate to secure the promotion.

Exclusion from networking and mentoring opportunities

In countries where political affiliation, ethnicity, cronyism, or nepotism play a role in visibility, the nature of social interaction generally results in men being more visible to and more numerous around male powerbrokers. In Francophone Africa, some women increase their visibility by becoming political party activists – a strategy that can accelerate their rise to leadership positions in the civil service (Obura, 2011*a*). Women also face difficulties networking among peers or between junior and senior members of staff because these opportunities often occur after office hours or on the weekends, when women are busy with family responsibilities. A Tanzanian study has shown that despite the hope of new women graduates that they would benefit from informal networking and mentoring in their careers, this expectation was not borne out once they were employed (Akuamoah-Boateng *et al.*, 2003).

Networking plays a key role in recruitment and promotion in Argentina where, until the law changed in 2007, many lower-level public administration appointments were made as a result of informal information exchange and networking. Appointments at senior levels of the education ministry are usually made directly by the Minister of Education. In these

cases, the candidate's degree of social and/or professional visibility and ability to furnish references from well-connected individuals and informal networking also play a fundamental role (Gherardi, 2011). However, since 2007, changes in public education policy require that promotion at primary and secondary levels be based on a combination of qualifications, experience, and seniority. This move has helped to overcome some of the most severe cases of political nepotism.

Research on the positive effects of mentoring is mixed. There is a difference between formal and informal support mechanisms and between empowered and disempowered support. While the literature also speaks of informal mentoring systems among women and initiatives by individual women to promote this, there seems to be no organized mentoring of younger women in ministries of education. Research in Tanzania, for example, has documented positive expectations of support from female managers for junior women. In Ghana, the opposite was true. However, in both countries there was a male perception that female managers would be unsupportive of junior women, even though the evidence pointed to the contrary (Akuamoah-Boateng *et al.*, 2003).

Women near the apex of their career have also realized that it is not only the support of (relatively disempowered) women in ministries of education that is needed to boost their own drive for advancement, but that of men. Some have efficiently and successfully lobbied their male superiors for promotion.

Gender-differentiated expectations of leadership style and skills

Not only are there institutional barriers to female advancement, a number of stereotypes that influence the structures and cultures of organizations derive from a set of societal pressures and intangible forces that are in play even when institutional barriers have been legislated against.

The literature shows that some men and women believe that women do not possess the skills or behavioural characteristics required to perform competently in managerial and leadership roles (Catalyst, 2007; Lumby, 2011; Obura, 2011*b*; Sperandio and Kagoda, 2008; Wallace and Baños-Smith, 2011). This view is conditioned by gender stereotypes that paint women as inherently indecisive, passive, lacking in confidence, incompetent, and needing direction.

Thakathi (2002) has identified the reputedly female behavioural traits that both men and women deem unsuitable in leaders, such as relatively low volume of voice, compliant tone, and unobtrusive manner of interaction at meetings. Traditionally, women in most societies have been socialized to conform to a feminine stereotype, to be warm, kind, selfless, quiet, unassuming, compliant, and obedient. At the same time they are often reputed to be emotional, irrational, and overly concerned with trivia and detail. Such characteristics are in sharp contrast with those perceived in male leaders, often described as forceful, rational, competitive, decisive, strong, self-confident, independent, and sometimes aggressive, people with vision. Yukongdi and Benson (2005) confirm these stereotypes in their studies of China, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Singapore, Republic of Korea, and Taiwan.

Benefits and entitlements: Evidence of a double standard

In many countries and particularly in the developing world, women professionals have often been considered as secondary wage earners, still dependent to some extent on their husbands' pay and status. From this perspective, being promoted or earning the same wage as a breadwinner is not an entitlement. Neither is being accorded the same retirement benefits as men. In Latin America, the earlier retirement age for women has had negative repercussions on women's chances for promotion in their last 10 years of work (Gherardi, 2011).

Time and pay accorded for maternity leave – one of the key factors that enable women with children to remain employed – vary across countries. But women who opt to take maternity leave are often viewed as failing to show the same commitment to their work as male colleagues. The United States is one of the few industrialized countries that does not provide paid maternity leave. In contrast, Nordic countries generally encourage new fathers to take paternity leave and this appears in turn to increase the acceptability of maternity leave (WEF, 2012).

Societal barriers

The subject of societal and cultural obstacles to women's leadership as expressed in stereotypical prejudices has been extensively researched, and is therefore covered only briefly here. The literature suggests that ministries of education are no different from other places of work in this regard (Sikdar and Mitra, 2009; Onsongo, 2011; WEF, 2012). Women still face

the burden of tradition which assigns them to subordinate, invisible roles in society and to low expectations of their contribution to public life.

Society has traditionally assigned women the role of home worker, assistant, and supporter of the husband, and primary nurturer of children. And in some cultures, as Charrad (2007) notes on the Middle East and North Africa, women are also beholden to and governed by the precepts of the extended family or kin. The same is true of sub-Saharan Africa and many regions of Asia. Despite some increase in the hours contributed by male partners to unpaid domestic work in industrialized countries, women are still the world's major workers in the home. Literature from all countries confirms this finding (ILO, 2010). In developing countries, where affordable paid help in the home and for childcare is available, but where convenience strategies and home appliances remain largely unavailable, women are generally the sole household managers. While women are accorded more options in terms of public and professional roles in industrialized countries, developing countries provide relatively few opportunities for and less acceptance of female role development. The situation is not static, but change has proved slow in the industrialized world and very slow in the developing world.

While family and workplace environments differ from place to place, it is clear that professional women are disadvantaged across these varying contexts, and that women in ministries of education face continuing challenges arising from socially imposed norms. Some of the principal features of these challenges are listed in *Table 1.2*. They differ in degree and kind according to location but appear to be critical, according to the global literature, in preventing or creating enabling contexts for women to advance to senior management. As already noted, none of these features are specific to ministries of education, but all are of immediate and direct relevance to women who work in ministries of education.

There appears to be a trade-off between the options open to professional women in the industrialized and developing worlds. In the former, women remain the primary home workers but the workplace offers them more advancement opportunity. In the latter, women can be liberated from working in the home (although they continue to be the sole home managers) but the professional context is more difficult to navigate.

Table 1.2   Comparative features of disadvantage of working professional women in industrialized and developing countries, 2011

Industrialized countries	Developing countries
Housework and childcare with uneven partner contribution	Sole female management, planning, and involvement in housework and childcare
High technology inputs (appliances/delivery services) cut domestic work time	Low technology and lack of delivery services require extensive domestic labour/time and time on/management of staff supervision
Unavailability of affordable house/childcare help	Availability of affordable house/childcare help
Uneven availability/affordability of decent day-care centres for infants	Unavailability of decent day-care centres for infants
Diminishing societal restrictions on female professional roles	Continuing severe societal restrictions on female professional roles
Declining male-dominated cultures in ministries of education	Continuing male-dominated cultures in ministries of education

Source: Obura, 2011*a*.

Conclusion

Women are still under-represented in leadership 75 years after the UN Charter declared equal rights for women and men. This situation persists despite the existence of numerous legal mechanisms and increasing evidence on the economic benefits of diversity. It also persists despite the fact that many countries have achieved gender parity and rendered irrelevant the 'pipeline' problem of lack of available qualified women for leadership positions. The research in Argentina and Kenya that underpins this publication outlines what some authors term the labyrinth of intangible institutional and social barriers to the achievement of gender equality, and affirms the increasing invisibility of gender-related hurdles in the workplace. The following chapters present the methodology for the research and its findings.

3. Framing the research

The previous two chapters outlined the global situation regarding gender equality in education, in terms of both the available data in different countries, and some of the suggested reasons behind the obstacles facing women's advancement to leadership positions. This chapter focuses on the methodology for the two case studies on Argentina and Kenya that form the primary basis for the research underpinning this publication.

The research outlined here builds on Smulders' study of women in the education sector in Nepal (1998). It highlights the gender bias generated from preferred management practices that are often incompatible with female-assigned responsibilities at the household and family level. It advocates greater participation of women in leadership roles in education, arguing that this would ensure more effective educational planning and management, and lead in turn to improved institutional practices that accommodate both male and female work/life roles and obligations. It analyses the participation of women in leadership roles in ministries of education in Argentina and Kenya, providing lessons from two different regions of the world.

In keeping with IIEP's mandate, the research focuses primarily on central ministries of education. As an international institute supporting directorates of planning, IIEP has consistently recognized the under-representation of female leaders in the majority of these ministries, along with the limitations of available data. This study attempts to go beyond Smulders' 1998 research and look into the reasons why so few women rise to become leaders in ministries of education.

Methodology

IIEP adopted a qualitative approach to the research using country case studies. Qualitative research necessarily uses an approach where the focus is on interpretation of meaning and generalization is not the aim. This research is more concerned with the investigation of the 'unique instances' of the populations of the two countries. Through detailed narratives from individuals and groups, this research has provided an opportunity to hear the voices of women and men in relation to their perceptions of access, promotion, and performance in leadership positions in ministries of

education. It also identified many of the factors that influenced their career choices.

In order to inform the development of the case studies a global literature review (Obura, 2011*a*) was undertaken along with an analysis of the two regions – Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa (Wallace and Baños-Smith, 2011). The findings from these are reflected in *Part I* of this publication.

The two case studies analysed educational leadership patterns and revealed some common themes and experiences for women who may aspire to become, or have become, educational leaders. The countries selected were low- to middle-income countries from different continents, which had high and low rankings in the gender gap indices. While this research does not offer a comparative analysis per se, both studies identified similar obstacles that many women have to navigate in order to reach senior leadership positions. These may or may not be generalizable in other contexts.

Respondents were drawn from a range of leadership positions. Lead researchers had the discretion to adapt the draft analytic framework developed by the research team as necessary to fit the context within which they were working (see *Annex 1*). This led to differences in approaches and selection of interviewees. For example, the political situation in Argentina at the time the research was conducted (both presidential and congressional elections were being held) meant that it was more difficult to conduct widespread interviews with senior education leaders (many of whom are politically appointed).

Table 1.3 provides an overview of the number and type of interviews conducted for each case study.

Table 1.3   Key informants interviewed during the research, 2011

Country	Key informant interviews	Focus group discussions
Argentina	Female senior ministry officials (6)	Female and male junior professionals (6 women and 2 men)
	Male senior ministry officials (2)	
	Key informant women from outside MoE (2)	
Kenya	Female senior ministry officials, including retired or resigned (16)	Two held for current and past middle-level managers (women)
	Female middle-ranking officials, including retired or resigned (14)	
	Female key informants outside MoE but within the education sector (3)	
	Key informant men from inside and outside MoE (11)	

Argentina

More detailed information about the methodology of the various approaches used can be found in *Part II*: 'Women's leadership in education: Case study from Argentina'.

The lead researcher for the Argentina case study was the Executive Director of ELA (Equipo Latinoamericano de Justicia y Género), an interdisciplinary team of research specialists with experience in the government, universities, and research centres, international organizations, legal practice, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The research for this publication built on findings from ELA research into female participation in leadership positions in Argentinian society. In particular, the large-scale research study *Sex and Power: Who runs Argentina?*, conducted in 2010, informed the choices for interviews and the findings for this publication. The ELA study reviewed over 10,000 leadership positions (in political, economic, and social spheres) to determine the level of participation of women in these positions. It also included qualitative research on women's participation at the sub-national level, including the legislative and executive branches of government. In addition, it identified some of the good practices that foster female participation in political life. The ELA study constituted a good framework for the IIEP research, as the review was not specifically on education but examined top leadership positions across political, social, and economic spheres. Some of the statistical data and graphs relating to leadership positions outside of the

ministries of education, as detailed in the present publication, came from this review.

The literature review for the Argentinian case study included national and regional documents on gender in education; international indices reports; literature from the related fields of women in politics, the economy, and the workplace in Argentina, as well as the data from ELA mentioned above.

Quantitative data were also collected on past and current numbers of officers in decision-making positions in the Ministry and (technical) professional Ministry staff at all levels disaggregated by gender, both at national and provincial levels.

Due to the presidential and congressional elections, many officials originally selected for interview were not available, so after careful selection a limited number of interviews were conducted with senior officials at the National Ministry of Education. Those selected were not identified because of any particular knowledge on gender equality issues. In fact, except for one person of mid-rank, it was revealed that none of those interviewed had considered gender equality issues in terms of their position. In addition, two former Ministry officers and reputable experts were interviewed, and a group interview was conducted with junior professional staff currently working in different areas within the Ministry of Education.

The interviews were all at the national level, because the time frame and the interference of the elections in the process prevented interviews being conducted in the provinces. However, valuable insights were provided into provincial experiences of gender equality, through the evidence from the ELA research mentioned above, and the experiences of senior interviewees who had formerly held positions of power in the provinces. Likewise, junior professionals also had experience of travelling to the provinces as part of their work, so provincial-level findings were also reflected through these experiences. The interviewees reflected a mixture of gender in the national ministry (both men and women were interviewed), rank (which equated approximately with age at 50+ for top rank, 30–45 for middle rank, and 26–32 for junior), and experience in the provinces.

Individual interviews included six women and two men, who were senior members of the National Ministry of Education, all bearing responsibilities in public policy design, management, and implementation

within their respective areas of work. These persons included the Vice Minister of Education, and men and women in charge of secretaries, under-secretaries, national directorates, and institutes under the authority of the Vice Minister. A group interview was conducted with eight young professionals (six women and two men, all between 26 and 32 years of age). It is not common practice for higher-rank officials to take part in group interviews. The interviews lasted from 40 minutes to 2 hours and were recorded, with notes taken for analysis.

The findings for the case study were based on these interviews, plus additional research conducted as a result of the ELA study, as noted above.

Kenya

As with the Argentina case study, more detailed information about the methodology of the various approaches used for this study and the persons involved can be found in *Part III*: 'Women's leadership in education: Case study from Kenya'. A brief overview of the different steps is provided here.

A Kenya Advisory Group was formed to guide the study, supported by the UNESCO Offices in Kenya, the Kenya National Commission for UNESCO, and the UNESCO Regional Office.

A review of the literature was undertaken, including regional and national policy documents on gender and on gender in education; international indices reports on the same; literature from the related fields of women in politics in Kenya, in the economy and the workplace, and the changing social context; and the Kenya 2010 Constitution.

A search for quantitative data was made on past and current numbers of officers in decision-making posts in the Ministry of Education and professional Ministry staff at all levels, disaggregated by gender. The Ministry provided current available data, which were then analysed and produced in tabular and graphic form.

Interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted, including 38 in-depth and unstructured one-on-one interviews, and two FGDs for current and past middle-level managers, which totalled 44 informants in all. Interviews and FGDs typically lasted about 2 hours. Political appointees, such as ministers and assistant ministers, were deliberately excluded from the Kenya study.

Meetings were also held with technical informants on quantitative data in the human resource management departments of the ministries, and several visits were made to collect data.

Extensive inter-researcher discussion and analysis was ongoing throughout the research process. All researchers involved in the study kept in constant contact permitting ongoing review during the data collection. Notes or recorded interviews were typed into verbatim or near-verbatim transcripts, topics were numbered, and interviewers' and readers' comments on the transcripts were collected.

A sample of 11 key male informants was selected. More men could have been added to the total sample, but in this case the sample was weighted in favour of women, resulting in 33 women (75 per cent) and 11 men (25 per cent).

Data analysis

Detailed questions were provided in the research guide, but the researchers organized their approaches somewhat differently. In order to provide a comparative element, the analysis was structured around four key issues that emerged consistently throughout both case studies:

- representation,
- political commitment and legislative frameworks,
- organizational culture and structures,
- social and cultural perceptions.

Representation

Research on this aspect provided an overview of gender equality in terms of access and representation of girls and women at different levels of the education system. It also included a review of the representation of women in the political arena and what such representation might mean for other levels of management.

Political commitment and legislative frameworks

The researchers were asked to analyse some of the political and legislative factors that actively promoted women's access to decision-making positions at national and sometimes decentralized levels. This included a review of policies affecting women and the promotion of gender equality at the

national level; policies on gender equality and women's and girls' rights to access employment; and policies on equal pay, maternity leave, and quotas.

Organizational culture and structures

This component of the research explored how existing organizational structures and policies promote or discourage women. It included an examination of the type of structural issues that shape the way organizations are run and informal processes of promotion, decision-making, and ways of working. In other words, what does the labyrinth within the Ministry of Education look like in each research context? The researchers examined the formal qualifications required to access senior management positions and ascertained the level of training, certification, and years of experience expected and whether women have equal access to these.

Social and cultural perceptions

This research component looked at organizational perceptions of women in management positions, as well as societal and cultural expectations of women professionals and the perceptions that women have of themselves. Women's confidence, high/low self-esteem, their aspirations, and the support they get from home are all factors that contribute to their motivation and success in leadership. The research examined some of the prevailing attitudes in the country towards 'working women'; how women manage the expectations of their husbands, their extended family and the wider society's views of what it means to be a 'good woman', a 'good wife', and a 'good mother'; and how they are able to reconcile society's expectations with their professional ambitions.

Another obstacle identified as often preventing women from securing good senior posts is rooted in negative male (and female) attitudes towards women as managers, and negative attitudes towards what are deemed to be female management styles. In terms of women's personal characteristics, the research looked at whether women chose to accept poorly paid or low-status jobs because they lacked ambition or confidence, or whether they positioned themselves in jobs that can lead to promotion. It also explored how the women interviewed managed and confronted sexual stereotyping that might hold them back.

Researchers were also asked to look at some of the existing strategies that have (or might) overcome factors affecting the full participation of

women in educational planning and management at senior levels. These included policy level and legislative strategies as well as personal strategies that women might have for coping with their multiple responsibilities. In addition, they explored institutional factors that may either promote or impede women's advancement in the Ministry of Education. The research examined whether or not women belong to powerful political or social networks, which are considered important in accessing senior posts. It also explored sources of psychological and practical support; access to mentors, sponsors, patronage, or support networks; mechanisms for coping with stress; and sources of mutual support or positive female role models that women use to build their confidence and create a sense of solidarity.

Such strategies, which are defined by some senior women as essential for getting into and coping with often difficult, demanding, and even hostile work environments, are summarized in the last chapter of *Part I.*

4.   Summarizing the case study findings

This research contributes to the increasing evidence that active promotion of gender equality should form an integral part of approaches taken by ministries of education to educational management. Although the conclusions of the Argentina and Kenya case studies cannot be generalized, the findings about leadership in ministries of education seem to mirror those of the private sector, which are not fully explored here (Catalyst, 2007; OECD, 2007, 2010).

Gender equality in educational management cannot be achieved unless organizational work cultures and practices change. One major barrier affecting gender equality in employment relates to institutional and domestic practices, which do not enable women to sufficiently balance their multiple domestic roles with the heavy demands and socio-cultural context of the workplace. At the same time, there needs to be an open debate about women taking on all or most of the responsibility for domestic and family/ childcare work. The second principal type of workplace barriers has its genesis in traditional, conservative stereotypes (held in many cases by both women and men) of gendered professional roles. The research suggests that many individuals believe that it is their personal responsibility to overcome these barriers. Meanwhile, organizations, institutions, and governments are not being held to account.

In order to provide a form of comparative analysis, this chapter presents a summary of the main research findings from the two case studies in terms of representation, political commitment and legislative frameworks, organizational culture and structures, and social and cultural perceptions. Strategies and recommendations for overcoming some of the barriers highlighted in the research are discussed in the following chapter.

Argentina

Representation

Argentina appears to have taken positive measures towards achieving gender equality. It has enacted quota legislation for all legislative positions at national and provincial levels of government. Moreover, there are significant numbers of women in public life. The current President is

female as are two members of the Federal Supreme Court of Justice. However, the research findings demonstrate that significant disparities still exist at the most senior levels and within certain professions. *Figure 1.5* and *Figure 1.6* indicate the gap between the numbers of female teachers in education at primary, secondary, and university levels, and the number of women in senior political and management positions in public office in the education sector. The persistent level of inequity, particularly at provincial levels, demonstrates that despite affirmative action legislation and high education levels of women, entrenched values in relation to the roles of men and women in the workplace still persist. Many highly talented women are prevented from either aspiring to, or taking up the most senior management positions, even in an education system which is highly feminized. *Figure 1.5* shows that at the most senior university level (last five columns of the graph), the number of women decreases as the seniority of position rises. Only 38.8 per cent of women occupy the most senior positions in universities.

Figure 1.5   Teaching and management positions by education level and sex, 2011
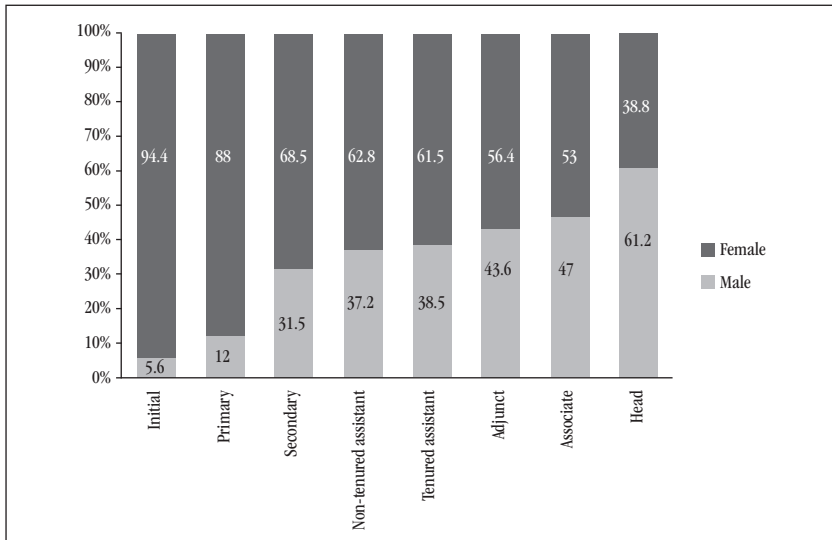
Source: Adapted from Gherardi, 2011.

Figure 1.5 confirms that despite the significantly larger numbers of women than men at lower levels of the education and teaching system, this advantage fails to translate into gender equality at the level of university head. Similarly, even in such a highly feminized occupation as teaching, the leading positions in teachers' unions are still not considered female domains. Despite the approval of Law 25.674 in 2002, which states that women should occupy at least 30 per cent of elective positions in all trade unions, the evidence shows that this is not generally complied with, even in the education sector. As of 2010, women held less than 5 per cent of senior positions in trade unions (ELA, 2011). In the education sector, the analysis produced for Confederación de Educadores Argentinos tells a similar story (2010). The Argentina case study confirms that there are certain professions and 'levels' that are still traditionally perceived as a male preserve. Whenever legislation establishing certain quotas for women does not exist or is not adhered to, there remain significant gender disparities.

The data from the Ministry of Education reveal that there are substantial disparities also in the feminization of the teaching profession (Gherardi, 2011). This imbalance is not necessarily a positive trend as: (i) it has no effect on the proportion of women in leadership or management positions in the education sector or in government ministries; and (ii) it does a disservice to both female and male learners, who are deprived of male role models in schools.

Few women in Argentina have been promoted to the position of National Minister of Education despite there being a relatively high proportion of well-educated women within the profession to draw upon. Only two out of the 16 national ministers of education in office during the past 30 years have been women. The situation is different at the provincial level. According to information as of 2011, out of the 24 provincial ministers of education, 13 were male and 11 were female.[5] This means that over 45 per cent of the provincial heads of education were women, significantly higher than the average level (14 per cent) for all provincial ministers across the provinces.

5. According to information published by the Ministry of Education on its website: http://portal.educacion.gov.ar/consejo/autoridades/ (last accessed 31 August 2011).

Figure 1.6   Percentage of women in senior political positions at national, provincial, and municipal levels, 2010
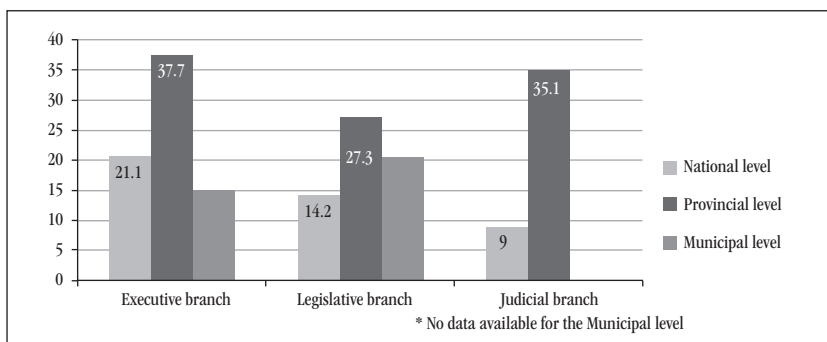
Source: Adapted from ELA, 2011.

In senior political positions, the national average of women who are heads of ministries is higher (18 per cent) than the average in provincial ministries for women heads (14 per cent). There is only one province where women hold the majority of top ministerial positions: the province of San Luis (54 per cent), followed by Tierra del Fuego (38 per cent). In contrast, four provinces have no women in charge of ministries: Corrientes, Entre Ríos, Mendoza, and La Rioja.[6] These differences between provinces could be explained by the rarity of political decisions at provincial level to make gender equality a declared goal, despite the quota system adopted in the early 1990s for the legislature.

The findings below highlight some of the personal and professional reasons (as articulated by respondents and confirmed by the literature) behind the low representation of women in the most senior positions in political life, as well as in national and provincial ministries of education.

Political commitment and legislative frameworks

Argentina is renowned for gender parity in many spheres. It was the first country in Latin America in 1991 to adopt a quota of no less than 30 per cent for women's participation in Congress. The legal provisions are in place, there is a female President, and women are more than equal to men in terms of their educational attainment at all levels. Argentina has also been positively appraised by the United Nations Committee for the

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6.   All data valid as of 2010, as reviewed in ELA (2011).

Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW Committee), which periodically reviews the situation of all State Parties that have ratified CEDAW. The Committee noted the relevance of the measures taken and progress made towards the incorporation of women in public office in Argentina. In its final recommendations approved in July 2010 the Committee expressed its satisfaction in the following terms:

> The Committee commends the State Party for its measures to increase the participation of women in public life and for taking positive action to ensure them equality of opportunity and treatment. It particularly welcomes the fact that, for the first time, a woman has been elected President, two women judges have been appointed to the Federal Supreme Court of Justice and that, as of December 2007, 38.5 per cent of the executive positions within the national Government were held by women (CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/6).[7]

As a consequence of the quota legislation, Argentina also leads the Latin American region regarding women's political participation. In 2010, women occupied 37.7 per cent of the seats in the National Congress and, on average, 27.3 per cent of the positions available in provincial legislatures.[8] While these positive gains reflect an upward trend, given the significant drive that Argentina has made towards gender equality, the quota legislation is evidently not working sufficiently to reach and sustain equality.

Beyond the progress made in legislative positions, women remain significantly under-represented in senior leadership positions in executive and judicial branches. Women head only 9 per cent of local governments and 14.6 per cent of provincial governments. In the judiciary, women account for 15 per cent of judges sitting on the national and provincial supreme courts of justice, despite making up the majority of law graduates for the past 20 years (ELA, 2011). Women also remain significantly under-represented in senior leadership positions in some parts of the private sector – that is, in the specific sectors where there are no laws establishing a quota for female participation. For example, women run only 4.4 per cent of Argentina's top 1,000 companies. This demonstrates that although there is

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7. Available on the webpage of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, at:
   http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N10/485/33/PDF/N1048533.pdf?OpenElement (last accessed on 31 August 2011.

8. See ELA, 2011.

clearly no pipeline problem in Argentina, there are significant 'labyrinthine' issues affecting female promotion at the highest levels, both in the public and private sectors. The fact that increase in female participation is driven mainly by legislative action (which is perhaps less adhered to in the private sector) has resulted in significant under-representation of women at the highest levels of leadership and management, both inside and outside the education sector.

The research indicates that the clear majority of women present in the education system decreases in the highest ranks of the ministries of education. One reason identified is the absence of a formal procedure for political appointments, where previous political experience, participation in party politics, and informal connections to political networks are typical mechanisms that help to secure appointments at ministerial level. Women's participation in political parties is thus thwarted by various intangible barriers which are not fully overcome through quota legislation (which applies only to the drafting of candidates' lists for electoral contests).

Organizational structures and culture

The Argentina case study findings have singled out two principal organizational obstacles for women striving to attain leadership positions: (i) lack of or limited contractual arrangements and unclear procedures for career advancement; and (ii) the prevailing office or organizational culture and perceptions of both women and men in regard to leadership. The latter appeared to be of less concern for many of the respondents, except junior professionals who believed that the lack of procedures impacted negatively on their career prospects. Senior female professionals were more concerned about the level of sacrifice that they personally had to make in order to attain their current positions.

Organizational structures

A consistent finding of the research was that irregular contractual arrangements and lack of established procedures for appointments within ministries particularly affected junior professionals. Young people were unable to identify career paths or appropriate strategies that might lead to senior management. Lack of established procedures for appointment to senior positions within ministries has meant that political appointments have been made by the President or provincial governors based on personal contacts and political connections. Once ministers are appointed (at

national and/or provincial levels of government), their main collaborators are also politically appointed without resort to any established procedure. This adversely affects the appointment of more women who are not active in informal political networks comprised mainly of men.

The lack of standardized contractual procedures has also meant that workers hired under contract and who are not on the official payroll are liable to discrimination. Ministry staff, for example, can be either administrative or technical (professional) staff. As a result, they often work under different employment conditions: some members of staff are on the Ministry's payroll with access to all labour protection regulations pertaining to public employment. The rest are hired under different contracts which, under the law, do not entail the same legal protection. When confronted with the need to hire both administrative and professional employees, most governmental offices have used these different contracts in parallel. These different contractual arrangements have resulted in a lack of clear procedures and obstruct opportunities for career progression within the formal structure of the Ministry of Education.

For example, leave of absence and special permission (along with maternity leave and vacation) are available as a matter of law only for persons on the Ministry's payroll. This implies that staff on contract need to individually negotiate terms and conditions with immediate superiors. Similar issues arise in the absence of any general policy concerning family responsibilities, which are also negotiated individually. The lack of written rules and procedures may have at least two potentially adverse effects. First, problems with transparency and accountability may arise between departments and sectors within the same Ministry. Second, provision of satisfactory contracts will depend on the individual staff's negotiating skills and the superior officer's attitude to the individual applicant and his or her requests.

In the absence of a common and formal procedure governing political appointments, personal and political contacts constitute the principal mechanism for entering and operating in male-dominated informal networks. The interviewees made it clear, however, that the expertise of these colleagues was not in doubt. They respected the knowledge and professional paths of such colleagues, which were built on a lifetime career dedicated to teaching and education, and simply acknowledged that, in some cases, this professional and technical expertise was accompanied by

useful political affiliations and participation in social movements. These connections count.

In the opinion of one of the male respondents, selection for the highest decision-making positions of the Ministry of Education depends on the quality of individual visibility and the personal connections applicants may have in the political world, rather than on gender bias:

> the position of Minister of Education is more generally reserved for men. But this is not too important. The difference is not gender-related. This difference is explained by personal political interventions. Women who have been appointed as provincial ministers of education, for instance, have an active participation in the politics of their provinces of origin. The reason for the diminished presence of women is less related to gender than to political connections. (Senior officer, man)

What is not considered, however, is the gendered nature of how these 'political connections' are acquired, and the fact that women find it hard to break into the political networks which are much more accessible to men.

Organizational culture

A major issue emerging from Argentina's case study is that women have to overcome multiple barriers in order to access top-level management positions. In the words of a senior woman officer:

> It is not possible to develop a professional career and join the select group of women in decision-making positions, whether in education or in other field, if you are not willing to make a significant amount of personal sacrifices.

While all respondents, regardless of gender, proclaimed their commitment to diversity and embraced equality, the women spoke with a tangible sense of the personal sacrifices encountered in order to attain leadership levels.

> But family [sacrifices] are made exclusively by women. Men go back home and there is someone there who has guaranteed that everything works well. And there is no guilt. In everyday life you hear women in public office saying '... my daughter would need ... I should ...' but you never hear a man saying that they would have liked to join their daughters going somewhere and regretting that they could not make it. (Senior officer, woman)

There is a tacit cultural consensus that women should make these sacrifices, and that any problems with juggling the multiple roles of career and family life should be kept hidden. The onus is on the women to cope, even to the extent of hiding any difficulties as though it were a disadvantage to have a family life. There is no sense that it should be the organization that should support women to ensure that they are able to advance regardless of their home or family life.

> Because women never take those difficulties to the workplace, these problems are not made visible. ... If a person with a disability joins in, everybody will make arrangements so that meetings are held in boardrooms which are accessible. ... But for women it's different. It is women themselves who want to cover for any difficulties they may have, make them invisible because they do not want it to appear as a women's problem. (Senior officer, woman)

Long working hours and working away from home are considered the norm and accepted components of the organizational culture. If women want to succeed they have to fit that pattern: 'if you are appointed to serve [in a senior position], extended working hours are part of the job. ... If a woman has difficulties, she manages successfully to hide them' (Senior officer, man).

Another point made by women is their need to over-perform in order to continuously prove that they are suitable for the job.

> As women, we make a double effort to daily reaffirm the position we have reached. Whether it's because we actually are required to or because we work under the hypothesis that we are constantly being evaluated as professionals, the fact is that we make a bigger effort than men do, in order to honour the position we have. There is a persistent evaluation of women's capacities. (Senior officer, woman)

The views of junior female professionals with no domestic workload bring to light differences with older female professionals who do have such responsibilities. It appears that junior professionals (both male and female) share the perception that middle-ranked female employees 'take advantage' of younger female staff members, overworking them in unfair ways. In their eyes, younger professionals without caring responsibilities are expected to 'carry' older female staff who have caring obligations, by working longer hours and taking on additional tasks. This perception may, on the one hand, point in the direction of poor internal communication among working

teams. On the other hand, this is evidence of the sense of unfairness that usually derives from one-to-one arrangements for family responsibilities in the absence of a general policy that should be equally applicable to all staff. Finally, this issue calls attention to the prevailing attitude that care issues are viewed as an individual problem that has to be accommodated in the workplace, rather than as a social problem that should be addressed by the organization and its members.

Moreover, the need to pay attention to domestic responsibilities is not recognized as part of the public agenda: not only are there no explicit policies to ensure gender parity throughout different ministerial positions, but there are no specific care-related general policies such as extended maternity/paternity leave, special leaves of absence for domestic-related causes, flexi-time, part-time work, or home-working arrangements that might lighten the load for women. In the private sector, however, these arrangements are increasingly available. When such accommodations are in fact available in the public sector, they are a result of personal negotiations between individual parties rather than organizational provision to support those with caring responsibilities.

Social and cultural perceptions

Many of the perceptions and attitudes reflected in the workplace are symptomatic of similar societal and cultural stereotypes. The findings from Argentina's case study confirm that when women aspire to, and accept, senior positions, they need to confront their own and society's stereotyped expectations regarding domestic roles and women as leaders.

Some respondents acknowledged the existence of gender stereotypes which promote the idea that women are less fit for certain positions. This view was perceived to be more common in smaller communities and more traditional provinces than in bigger urban areas.

> There are opinions considering that there are issues of personality and gender that make women unfit for certain decision-making positions or capable for management but not for the administration of a budget .... This view shows that there are cultural stereotypes and enormous ignorance of women's capacities to occupy public office. (Senior officer, woman)

The perception that there are certain 'male' professions or that women are only 'fit' for certain professions (usually those not linked to finance) is

also borne out by the statistics in *Figure 1.5* and *Figure 1.6*. These figures and the text that accompanies them show that some of the key institutions, such as universities and teacher unions, are more often headed by men, even where the teaching force at both primary and secondary levels is predominantly made up of women.

Economics and management of finance in the Ministry of Education were perceived by respondents as another professional area that is often considered to be more 'suited' to men.

> Women may be considered capable of the implementation of education policy, but not of financial management. There are governors who may appoint a woman as head of the Ministry of Education, but they simultaneously appoint a man as the Ministry's chief executive officer to manage the Ministry's funds. (Senior officer, woman)

Respondents could not recall a woman having been in resources management at the National Ministry of Education for at least the last 10 years.

> The head of finance is always a man. And it is the allocation of resources that limits educational policies, so the political power exerted by the person in charge [of finance] is enormous. (Junior staff, man)

Summary

Gender parity has been achieved in Argentina in terms of enrolment at primary and secondary levels, yet the teaching profession is highly feminized at these levels, with only 12 per cent of men teaching at primary level and 31.5 per cent at secondary level. This creates a gender imbalance which is not good for young girls or boys, who also require male role models. However, the feminization of education does not go beyond secondary level to reach higher education, where less than 40 per cent of university heads are women. Neither does it translate into senior management positions in government, with only 2 out of the 16 national ministers of education being women in the past 30 years.

The quota legislation introduced in 1991 which requires no less than 30 per cent of women in the Argentine Congress has contributed to an upward trend towards gender equality. However, it applies only to the legislative branch of government and not to other spheres. There is no

apparent desire by government to bring gender equality to other domains of public service.

The lack of standardized contractual procedures for public service appointments and promotions has frequently resulted in personal contacts and political connections determining promotion. In addition, the organizational culture of long working hours, and working away from home, leads to a high level of personal sacrifice suffered particularly by women with domestic responsibilities.

Despite the general commitment of the government and the President to gender equality, gender stereotypes still exist, particularly in more traditional provinces. These reflect prevailing opinions (held by both men and women) that women are only 'fit' for certain types of work and positions.

Kenya

Representation

Kenya's education system is characterized by massive enrolment increases over the last five decades, since independence in 1963. The country has achieved national gender parity at primary level, but with wide in-country disparity in enrolments between high-potential agricultural areas and arid lands, and between urban and more remote rural areas (UNESCO, 2011). There are still fewer girls than boys taking the primary leaving examination. At secondary level, girls' gross enrolment ratio (GER) stood at 46 per cent compared with 51 per cent for boys in 2010. Women represented 37 per cent of university students in 2009/2010, 36 per cent at public universities (including full-time and self-sponsored students), and 41 per cent at private universities. Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) enrolments have achieved parity, but female students remain under-represented in the traditionally male disciplines of science and technology. National averages mask pockets of gender disparity that disadvantage girls in rural and remote areas, including in arid lands, and the first signs of gender disadvantage for boys in urbanized and well-developed rural areas. *Table 1.4* highlights Kenya's placement in terms of a range of non-education gender indicators, according to the 2011 Gender Inequality Index (WEF, 2011).

Table 1.4   Summary of gender inequality indicators contributing to Kenya's ranking on the Gender Inequality Index, 2011

Women in the Kenya Parliament	The proportion of parliamentary seats held by women was a mere 9.8 per cent (until 2013, when it rose to 19 per cent). *While Botswana (7.9 per cent) and Ghana (8.3 per cent) rates are also low, rates in Tanzania (36 per cent), Uganda (37.2 per cent), and South Africa (42.7 per cent) are some of the best in the world. Argentina's rate is 37.8 per cent.*
Kenya women's education capital	One-fifth (20.1 per cent) of adult women (25 years and older) have attained secondary education, compared with double that rate for men. *Recently increased female enrolment at school level has yet to be reflected in the educational profile of the adult population.*
Maternal mortality in Kenya	For every 100,000 live births, 530 women die from pregnancy-related causes. *This is a higher rate than all countries surveyed here except for Rwanda (540) and Tanzania (790). Botswana's rate is 190. Korea, which in the 1960s was at the same development level as Kenya today, has a present rate of 18.*
Adolescent fertility rate in Kenya	The rate is 10 per cent, at 100.2 births per 1,000 live births. *This high rate is only exceeded in Tanzania (130.4) and Uganda (149.9). The progressive African country rates are in the 50s.*
Total fertility rate in Kenya	Kenya, like other eastern African countries, has a high fertility rate of 4.6 children per woman. *This is higher than Ghana (4.0) and more than double the rate for most Asian and Latin American countries discussed here (1.4 to 2.6). South Africa has succeeded in reducing its fertility rate to 2.4 children.*
Labour market participation in Kenya	Female participation in the labour market is 76.4 per cent compared with 88 per cent for men (ELA, 2011). *The indicator says nothing about the quality of female participation in the sector, which is known from other studies to be concentrated in low paying and informal sector jobs. It also says nothing about the desirability of women's participation in the workplace other than acting as a very indirect proxy measure for women's economic empowerment.*

Source: Adapted from the UNDP Gender Inequality Index, 2011.

The representation of women in political life in Kenya does not reflect the achievement of gender parity in the education system. Out of the 22 women members of the 10th Parliament (2008–2013), 16 were elected and 6 were nominated members. The 22 women represent less than 10 per cent of the 224 members of Parliament. Seven of the 16 elected female members came from only one of Kenya's provinces, the Rift Valley Province.

Gender parity in terms of access to school is best reflected at primary level, but not at higher levels. In 2010, 46 per cent of Kenya's primary school teachers were women (184,873). However, only 37 per cent of the total number of secondary teachers were women (53,047) (ELA, 2011: 20). According to Teachers' Service Commission records, female primary school head teachers represented 13 per cent of head teachers overall in 2010. Female heads of secondary schools totalled 27 per cent, no doubt due to the commensurate number of girls' secondary schools required to have a female principal (TSC, personal communications, 6–7/12/2011). As was indicated in the case of Argentina, the higher the level of education, the poorer the gender equity ranking.

The issue of recruitment into the Ministry of Education in Kenya has yet to be resolved, as shown in *Table 1.5*. There are too few women (just 17 per cent) recruited at the lower levels, providing an inadequate pool of junior Ministry officers with potential for reaching the most senior levels. The education officer position is the point of first recruitment, where women in 2011 represented only one-sixth of the staff. The highest representation of women is in the middle levels of the Ministry, where female staff represented 27 per cent to 38 per cent. Not surprisingly, the levels where women are very poorly represented are the most senior levels, below the Minister. To redress this problem, the Ministry needs to recruit a larger pool of female officers at lower levels (e.g. 50 per cent) from which to promote women into higher posts. Surprisingly, women represent only 21 per cent of the total number of professional education officers in the Ministry of Education.

Political commitment and legislative frameworks

Kenya has ratified the various international charters, such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and CEDAW, and the Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women (2003) is regularly quoted by Kenyan constitutional scholars as an inspiration for legal reform. Commenting on the Protocol, which has been dubbed 'the African CEDAW', Banda (2008) notes that:

> The right to equality is very important. It means that citizens should expect to be treated fairly and justly within the legal system and be assured of equal treatment before the law and equal enjoyment of the rights available to other citizens. The right to equality is important for

a second reason. Equality or lack of it, affects the capacity of one to enjoy many other rights (Banda, 2008: 29–30).

Table 1.5   MoE professional staff by sex, 2011

Job group*	Title	M	F	F (%)	Total	Cumulative female (%)
U	Permanent Secretary	1	0	0	1	0
T	Education Secretary	1	0	0	1	0
S	Director of Directorates	5	1	17	6	13
R	Senior Deputy Director of Education	5	3	38	8	25
Q	Deputy Director of Education	24	5	17	29	25
P	Senior Assistant Deputy Director of Education	42	17	29	59	25
N	Assistant Deputy Director of Education	149	56	27	205	27
M	Senior Education Officer	684	168	20	852	22
L	Education Officer	205	41	17	246	21
Total		1,116	291	21	1,407	21

Note: (*) Job groups: P and above indicate senior management. Job Group O does not exist.
Source: Adapted from Obura, 2011*b*.

Leading up to the enactment of a new Constitution, various attempts were made to support gender equality through the establishment of numerous bodies. For example, the Government established the National Commission on Gender and Development in November 2004 and elevated the Women's Bureau in the Ministry of Social Services to a Department of Gender one month later.

Sessional Paper No. 5 on 'Gender Equality and Development' (2005) states that it will be important to institutionalize 'mechanisms to promote the appointment of women to high level decision-making positions with a view to achieving gender balance in various government bodies and committees and the Judiciary, among others, and adopt 50 per cent of women/men each' (MoGSCSS, 2005: 17).

As a partial response, the Ministry of Education produced the Gender Policy in Education in 2007. It aimed to address gender issues in education across the board and 'the financing, governance and management of education at all levels'. This included structural and institutional processes and practices of the Ministry of Education with regard to gender. The document reported that: 'there are few women in technical professions and

key governance and management positions, both in the wider society and in the education sector in particular'.

Tellingly, the gender policy document also noted that despite many efforts to address gender disparities in education at all levels, '[t]he impact, however, has not been as strong as desired'. This was confirmed by the failure of political parties to enforce the law, even when the law required them to include 'one-third of either gender, before a party [could] qualify for registration. [However] political parties [were] allowed to register without conforming to this provision. The parties pledged to institute quotas for women in the run-up to the 2007 election, but none of them lived up to this pledge, and there was no legal mechanism for requiring them to do so' (Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, 2010: 8–9).

In 2011, it was hoped that, by holding more of these bodies to account through the new Constitution, some of the legal mechanisms that had been enacted would be put into action, or if not, would lead to punitive measures for those who did not comply with the law. The articles passed under the new Constitution in 2010 had the support of civil society, civil organizations, individual legal experts and, increasingly, politicians who collaborated to drive political reform. However, there remains a long way to go in terms of enactment of the various bills passed since 2010. Women are still under-represented in the topmost echelons of decision-making positions in the governance of the nation. According to the 2009 census (KNBS, 2010: 5), women represented 50.3 per cent of the total population, and in 2010 constituted 48.8 per cent of voters (KNBS, 2011: 7). The Sessional Paper on Gender Equality and Development stated that women 'are still dismally under-represented in strategic decision-making institutions such as Parliament, central government, local authorities, trade unions, cooperative societies, professional bodies and grassroots-based institutions such as land boards' (MoGSCSS, 2005: 17).

Women in Kenya face significant hurdles to entering politics and participating in party politics at local and national level. There may also be a relationship between their absence from political decision-making bodies and their full participation in the modern economy. But like many of the 'labyrinthine' intersections affecting gender equality, it is difficult to know which came first in the early decades after Independence – barriers erected by the parties or women's reluctance to participate in party politics.

Organizational structures and culture

Organizational structures

There is no evidence of any structural mechanism in Kenya that might facilitate the rise of women within the system, but there is reference in the interviews to specific individual male powerbrokers in the Ministry of Education playing fair as regards gender. These men recognized the technical capacity of certain women and even sought to promote more women.

As Ministry appointments reflect male preference, and as men dominate the Ministry (constituting all or the majority of Public Service Commission appointment committee members), they determine the shortlisting mechanisms; they are the bosses whose recommendation is required for a candidate to get onto the shortlist, and they are the ones who report on the competence level of applicants.

This male dominance of recruitment processes was in the past compounded by irregular practices:

> Our applications would not even be passed on to the Public Service Commission by our male bosses. I have seen it many times. (Interview with female official)

The official explanation, however, is that there are fewer qualified women than men to employ and to promote in ministries. As one official maintains:

> The application process is open and public, run by the Public Service Commission. All applicants for senior positions go through very competitive interviews. And, since last year we have had the 'one-third' principle to adhere to. (A senior Ministry official)

The one-third principle refers to the ruling in the Constitution that not more than two-thirds of either gender should be represented in elected and appointive positions.

Many other respondents, however, confirmed the 'unofficial' line concerning recruitment and promotion practices, which suggested that the Ministry of Education has suffered from weak promotion mechanisms. A middle manager stated that 'Officers from the SAGAs (semi-autonomous government agencies), who are promoted faster are in a better position to apply for and secure a posting in higher job groups in the MoE in spite of

the fact that they may not have the skills or experience of MoE officers in lower job groups who have been stagnating.'

Appointment panels tend to ask about immediate availability for transfer posting rather than detailed questions on family background. The family situations that fathers and mothers find themselves in should require a gender-differentiated answer to such questions, but rarely do so. This lack of attention to the different roles of men and women in society, which affect promotion patterns, and the increasing invisibility of constraints faced by women as primary house managers, perpetuate the problem.

To the relief of public officers, the recruitment system for the Ministry of Education and the public sector in general was revised not long before the commencement of this research. Applications for recruitment and promotion are now made online and have become more transparent and procedurally fair. It is hoped that now that promotion criteria will be increasingly transparent and that movement up through the ranks will be regularized, while some of the corrupt practices of the past will be eliminated.

Organizational culture

The Ministry of Education in Kenya takes little or no account of women's household and childcare obligations, which burden them with a double or treble daily workload (generalized late working hours, regular field missions, etc.). Furthermore, the gender-differentiated socializing norms (men in bars and restaurants; women in the extended family, church, and women's informal self-help and microfinance groups) are transferred to the workplace. Women have little or no access either to professional male networks or lobbying groups, or to male lobbying instruments. A male middle manager explained the constraints that prevent women from lobbying their male superiors 'in public social places for fear of being seen as "too outgoing" by the public'. Women also pointed to the obstacles which prevented their engaging in the same political and social networking as men that everyone agrees is useful in lobbying for promotion or recruitment.

> For women it was and still is difficult to meet men [for professional networking]. If you are seen meeting them outside the office, people will talk. There will be malice. [A female middle manager]

Mobility is another problematic job requirement. It is more difficult for women than men to go on field trips and accept transfers, yet both are

essential to getting the job done and to projecting a positive and committed professional image. Professional requirements often clash with societal expectations of female roles and with home management responsibilities. Male officers will always relocate to comply with a new posting, leaving home immediately and leaving their wife and children at the home base (or bringing their wife and children to the new post). Female officers find it difficult to make fast transfers, to get their husbands to relocate with them, or to leave their husband and the children alone at the home base, since they depend entirely on the wife/mother for home management and childcare. 'Social, economic and cultural factors make claims on their [female officers'] time ... their multiple roles in reproduction, production and maintenance are extremely time consuming and exhausting. This affects the extent to which they can take advantage of new methods of production, information, knowledge and available skills' (MoGSCSS, 2005: 7).

Mobility challenges also affect women's opportunities to study abroad, attend conferences and workshops, and to present papers at conferences, which then affects their image and professional visibility both inside and beyond the workplace.

The invisibility of women's skills and contributions to the education sector and to the Ministry counts against them when appearing before promotion selection committees.[9] The difficulty is compounded because, reportedly, men also routinely use and present female officers' work as their own, without acknowledging their authorship. A veteran middle-level female manager gave this example:

> Once, the permanent secretary needed a technical paper to present at a meeting in Washington. At the last minute, my boss asked me to work on it. I remember sitting late at night with a paraffin lamp because I had no electricity at home. And yet I wrote the paper. It was only when the PS wanted to discuss the paper that I was called in and at that point the PS realised that I was the one who had written it.

Social and cultural perceptions

Attitudes in the workplace

There are widely differing perceptions among both women and men of the numbers of women holding senior positions in the Ministry of Education.

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9.   Performance contracts are now in common use and are expected to address this matter.

In one man's view, 'Now, women are doing better than the men' and 'women have the upper-hand as regards promotion'. Another said 'women at the top constitute only up to 10 per cent'. Women's views are equally varied, even suggesting that there are fewer women in senior management today than six or seven years ago: 'Before, we had women in top management but unfortunately that has gone'. No one quotes the Ministry of Gender 2010 gender estimate of senior management staff as 42 per cent female, 58 per cent male, or the Human Resource Development Sector Report of 2011, either because of lack of familiarity with these documents or because they consider them unimportant.

Nevertheless, the women leader respondents interviewed during this research perceived themselves in a very positive light. They said that they are well qualified, often better qualified academically than men, more committed, more industrious, more meticulous, more interested in the quality of their work, more willing to spend overtime on work [now that their children had left home], more fair to their juniors, better listeners, better communicators, better team workers, and therefore confident.

Senior male officer and middle-level female respondents also had many positive things to say about women in senior management generally. In particular, they said that the few women managers they have worked under or with in the Ministry have been competent; that many of them encourage, promote, and mentor younger women; and that a significant number of these women have demonstrated perseverance in adversity in getting to senior management levels and performing well despite the male-dominated and often hostile workplace environment.

The mostly positive assessments were contradicted by several middle-level male managers, who felt that: 'Women bosses are more harsh than men, less confident, more vulnerable to criticism, less qualified than many men, and are appointed through cronyism, ethnicity, or due to their high social status, rather than on merit.'

Constraining female attitudes

In addition to stereotypical attitudes which stifle women's advancement, the Kenya case study revealed some things that Ministry women would need to change in themselves. It was felt that they needed to be better prepared for the job, undergo more training, and be more committed to working in difficult environments. Professional women need to learn to cope with the

physical discomfort that goes with certain jobs, remote travel, and senior responsibilities.

The attitude of a female middle manager highlights some of the attitudes that need to change:

> As for going for field activities in [the hot, desert lands of] North Eastern Province, when you are a woman it is quite challenging ... it's very harsh conditions for women ... long distances on rough roads and sometimes no water to shower with or even drink. I can tell you I have not gone beyond Garissa [the most developed town in the area]. I say I will only go when I have a very good deal [the guarantee of a minimum level of comfort and amenities].

The domestic role of women

Lack of recognition for onerous domestic work and responsibilities produces acute tension in women professionals. The traditional productive role of women (as food and resource providers) in addition to their many household and childcare responsibilities has not been well translated into manageable productive roles in the modern workplace. The mobility requirement exemplifies an obstacle that can hinder career advancement for women with marital and family obligations.

Some of the statements from both male and female respondents underline the fact that accepting a promotion can also present a marital (but not a maternal) risk for female officers. For example, a top male Ministry officer stated that: 'It's said that women in top positions break their families .... Men say women will "grow horns" if they get promoted too high in the system.'

A rising middle-level woman manager pointed out some of the difficulties she encountered in her marriage:

> When I joined the MoE, it was a total shift for my husband. It was hard for him to take in that I would be away for a week in the field or out of the country. He still panics when I travel. And when I come back, it's a huge issue.

Similarly, one male senior manager confirmed that: 'Husbands don't like to think of their wives being all day with male colleagues in the office or in the field'.

Summary[10]

Gender parity has been more or less achieved nationally, at least at primary level in Kenya. This however masks wide in-country disparities, particularly in rural areas and for certain socio-economic groups. Despite increased female enrolments in schools, the educational profile of the adult population has not changed significantly and gender disparities in leadership positions persist. No woman has yet made it to the position of Minister of Education and only one woman was appointed for a short time as permanent secretary, at the end of a long career. Women are also poorly represented in Parliament, with less than 10 per cent of seats occupied by women.

This remains the case despite Kenya's ratification of relevant international charters and institution of the Gender Policy in Education in 2007, which was an attempt by the Ministry of Education to address gender issues across the education system. It is widely recognized that the impact has been minimal, largely due to the failure of government to adhere to the law. Likewise, the new Constitution of 2010 asserts that not more than two-thirds of either gender should be represented in elected and appointive positions. However, enforcement is still an uphill struggle. The evidence also indicated that despite supportive legislation, there are still significant hurdles for women who wish to enter and participate in politics, and reach the higher echelons of the civil service or business. Women have little or no access to the male-dominated political and organizational networks that serve as powerful lobbying tools for promotion.

Thus, despite the positive intent of the government, the wide range of discriminatory organizational practices that affect recruitment and promotion in the Ministry of Education still persists. One of the key issues is related to the predominance of men in recruitment panels and promotion processes. The resulting and sometimes 'unofficial' recruitment practices often reflect certain stereotypical viewpoints which hinder women's promotion opportunities. They fail to take account of the gender-differentiated roles that women and men play in Kenyan society. Although the recruitment process has been regularized and put online since 2011, further analysis will be needed to determine whether this reform has had an effect on female promotion trends.

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10. Data from 2010.

The Ministry of Education currently takes little account of domestic responsibilities, which also inhibit women from progressing to middle management and senior positions. Staff are expected to work long and unsocial hours, undertake field trips, and comply regularly with frequent and unexpected transfers. Recruitment and promotion favour those in a position to adhere to these adverse working conditions. It is difficult for women to undertake study abroad, which would increase their professional image and visibility, both important considerations when seeking advancement.

There are varying and sometimes conflicting perceptions concerning women leaders in the workplace, on the part of both men and women. Many of these implicit attitudes are as constraining as the overt organizational practices mentioned above. Perceptions vary from views of women as competent managers and positive mentors, to views of women leaders as harsh and competitive (the latter accusations rarely being levelled at men). Women are also sometimes perceived as self-limiting in their attitudes and potentially benefiting from being more professionally curious, outgoing, and adaptable. The persistent traditional view of women's role in society creates ongoing tensions for women trying to juggle their professional and personal lives, in particular when the domestic role of women is not fully recognized.

Conclusion

Both the Argentina and Kenya case studies highlight a number of obstacles and barriers to professional advancement for women, despite the very different levels of development in these two countries. This is particularly interesting, as it implies that the pipeline problem is not the main obstacle for countries to achieve and maintain gender equality. Rather, it suggests that there are more significant obstacles arising from political and institutional commitments and structures, and from cultural stereotypes, that influence both perception and the role of women in the home and the workplace.

The two case studies indicate a number of similar issues affecting the advancement of women in educational planning and management. They show that even where gender parity has been achieved at different levels of the education system, the senior positions in ministries of education and universities are most frequently occupied by men.

The findings indicate that political connections and networks matter for both recruitment and promotion. Yet women are systematically excluded from influential lobbying networks which are dominated by men. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen both formal and informal mentoring opportunities and to provide greater access to political connections for women.

Navigating the political networks is only one of the challenges facing the majority of women as they try to advance up the education system. In general, the education institutions, public service, and ministries of education presented in the research adopt practices that do not take into account the domestic roles of women. Organizational and cultural stereotypes prevail, significantly impeding women from holding positions perceived to be better suited to men. This includes the fact that women still have limited recognition from society or from the extended and immediate family regarding their multiple workloads. Neither society nor government has found an effective way of sharing the burden of women's unpaid work.

Rather than placing the responsibility on the institution to address issues related to any domestic burden, the onus is placed on the individual to accept these practices or jeopardize their chances of advancement. There are in effect a number of personal and professional trade-offs that women – but rarely men – have to weigh due to organizational structures and cultures, and to societal expectations.

5. Strategies to improve gender equality in educational management

The findings from this research have highlighted some of the complex reasons behind persistent failures of governments, institutions, and organizations to overcome the barriers that limit gender equality. They indicate that ensuring access to education at all levels, support from family, favourable home conditions (including management of personal finances), organizational and network support, and broad societal arrangements for sharing women's domestic and family workload are all essential for empowering women and increasing their confidence to access leadership positions in the education sector.

The strategies for professional advancement need to form part of a comprehensive national framework for promoting gender equality in all spheres of life. Some strategies are proposed below, but these would need to be contextualized for each country, where a thorough gender analysis of the Ministry of Education and recruitment processes should be conducted.

Core strategies

The core strategies include the following:

Improve representation of women at the most senior levels through enforcement of political and legislative frameworks throughout the public service

Institute and take advantage of a quota system of a 50 per cent gender balance where appropriate

Governments must enforce appropriate and progressive quotas at every level and in all branches of the education system. This includes countering the feminization of the teaching profession and raising the status of the profession – particularly of primary education – to attract and retain a workforce of which 50 per cent are male teachers; and putting in place targets and timelines, as well as sanctions, for non-compliance.

Women and men (e.g. in the case of the teaching profession in Argentina) should take advantage of such quotas, and acknowledge and

overcome the myriad factors that prevent them from taking up leadership positions where these are available. This also relates to the organizational culture and practice of organizations as mentioned below.

Establish specific 'watchdog' institutions, such as gender advisory boards, within and external to the ministry of education

Such gender boards would provide guidance, tools, training, and technical support to encourage and motivate ministries to adopt strategies that promote gender equality. These boards should be led by outstanding, high-status senior educationists, thoroughly versed and qualified in change and gender theories. The boards should also support the ministry in collecting, analysing, and disseminating gender-disaggregated data (and any other relevant information) on recruitment and promotion at all levels and across ministries.

Ministries should pay more attention to promoting gender balance at all levels of the education sector, including top ministerial posts, and to creating working environments that promote and celebrate diversity in general as regards staffing, giving attention to all under-represented social groups in the country.

Work at inter-ministerial level

To ensure compliance with national and international gender-equality norms and standards, an entity outside the Ministry of Education should constitute the ultimate monitoring agency of compliance with gender-related policies. This could be a national gender commission, for example, as is the case in Kenya.

Ministries of education and their gender units should work systematically with ministries of gender or commissions assigned to carry out the inter-ministerial functions necessary to ensure that data from different ministries are collected, analysed, and disseminated. Conversely, the overseeing commission or gender ministry should work with sectoral ministries to ensure that evidence-based recommendations are implemented.

Lobby for governmental provision to finance greater domestic support

Governments should be encouraged to discuss the provision of a home/ child manager allowance to reduce the burden on women who remain

the sole house and childcare manager and/or principal worker. Few countries are prepared to increase taxes sufficiently to cover fully the expense of household support required for working individuals or couples on a comprehensive basis. Those that are tend to be the Nordic countries, France, and to some extent Quebec.

Improve organizational structures and culture

Ensure standardized, transparent, and accountable recruitment and promotion procedures

Ministries should institute (where they do not already exist) clear, standardized rules and procedures of service for both permanent and contractual staff, freeing up recruitment and promotion from political connections and cronyism. These rules and procedures should be transparent and accountable, preferably online and open to tracking processes. This also applies to equality of working terms and conditions, and pay scales.

When recruiting for posts at junior, middle, and senior management levels, ministries should pay attention to gender balance. This implies ensuring that short-listing and appointment committees are gender balanced and gender trained, are monitored, and subject to sanctions if standardized rules and procedures are not implemented. It also implies that appointment guidelines include appropriate gender, minority, and under-represented group quotas. The gender composition of selection committees should also be reviewed in connection with appointment procedures.

Furthermore, a reform of public service schemes and conditions of work should be initiated to provide clear guidelines on promotion criteria (specific skills and/or well-defined prior professional experience, minimum years of prior experience, requisite qualifications), which would help to eliminate gender bias from interviewing procedures.

Pay attention to gender balance in education and training, skills acquisition, and management opportunities at all levels

Temporary affirmative action measures should be used wherever appropriate, for example, by giving preference to women for sponsored further study and training programmes at home and abroad. In addition,

women who take time out from their careers for family reasons should not be discriminated against. If they already had multiple credentials and the necessary qualifications before they left, they should be paid appropriately later when returning to work.

An enabling context for women's career advancement should be provided in the public service and throughout the labour force through legislation, self-analysis, and action. This includes tailor-made capacity building for women professionals to encourage greater confidence in and practice of managerial skills, deputizing for bosses, and running projects.

Initiate change of practices in the workplace to reflect women's life needs

The Argentina and Kenya case study findings identify the tension created by the work/organizational culture and environment as one of the biggest obstacles to gender equality at every level in ministries of education and at senior leadership levels in general. Long working hours, out-of-hours networking, and work-related travel compete for women's time and attention with the family and the home. Therefore, ministries will have to consciously employ family and gender-responsive working strategies that enable home managers to balance professional work and life needs. This implies reviewing the workday experience from a gender perspective and undertaking qualitative analysis to tackle entrenched traditional attitudes at the top level of ministries.

It also implies adopting a motivational rather than punitive type of reward system – one that promotes diversity, prepares women and men for responsible leadership, and that institutionalizes training and mentoring schemes and peer networks. It should provide opportunities for practice and display of managerial skills, so as to support women as they aspire to and accept leadership positions.

Formalize support to existing women leaders in ministries through Ministry of Education-supported gender units

Gender units should strengthen women's individual professional profiles and competencies, helping them to advance their career, fulfil their potential, and make satisfactory career choices. They can be assisted by establishing formal and informal women's groups for the purpose of networking, lobbying, and mentoring. This also involves paying attention to the informal networks and meetings that take place in and

around ministries that exclude certain officers (frequently women) of the management team. Establishing such groups can help women to advance by providing them with professional and personal support, information exchange, encouragement, and opportunities to establish effective links with other informal and formal ministry structures. Informal networking can also be facilitated through staff meetings or establishing staff canteens/cafeterias.

Establish common frameworks and indicators in order to provide and disseminate transparent data and monitor implementation

More and better analyses and monitoring of gender equality in leadership in education are needed. Reporting and disseminating mechanisms for this analysis should be enhanced, specifically on gender equality in educational leadership where there is a dearth of consistent data. These data could be included in international reporting mechanisms, such as the EFA Global Monitoring Report, CEDAW and others, so that national as well as international progress on gender equality in educational leadership positions can be tracked over time.

Gender-disaggregated data related to ministry and public service positions at all levels should be produced and published, including all kinds of contract arrangement. In addition, ministry staffing trends should be mapped over a decade or so from a gender perspective. Mechanisms could include online databases, national education databases such as educational management information systems (EMIS), and data collection through the use of new technologies, including smartphones and other interactive devices. Additional incentives may be necessary in order to collect information on the most marginalized and socially excluded groups when these data are particularly hard to obtain.

The data should be shared and opportunities for discussion promoted, alongside information on the relevance of gender balance and diverse working environments, in particular in educational management. Providing follow-up opportunities for discussion of the collated and analysed data is important. The gender units and gender ministries/commissions mentioned above, for example, could play a leading role in promoting such debate on the relevance of gender balance and diversity in the workplace, and on the effects of gender equality in educational management in particular.

Ministries should be requested to produce annual data on the representation of women in each job group and designated post, disaggregated by central ministry, provincial, and district level. External monitoring bodies could verify accuracy on a periodic basis and reports should be publicly available. Identified trends could form the basis for recommendations to ministries on mechanisms for achieving a determined gender ratio through appropriate temporary affirmative action strategies.

Influence social and cultural perceptions.

Support potential change agents

Gender aware and inspirational leaders of both sexes should develop and support the above-mentioned gender units in education ministries and gender boards, and initiate innovative mechanisms to maximize their reach. This implies involving all professionals in personal and organizational transformation. It requires a whole ministry approach with the major involvement of planning departments to ensure that required changes are planned for, implemented, and monitored at all levels of the education system. Female leaders in all government ministries should be approached to support momentum for change in the ministry of education, particularly ministries of gender, if they exist, or other gender-oriented government organs or commissions. Leading women's rights organizations in civil society should also be lobbied. Mobilizing such support will ultimately lessen the burden on individual women leaders in education.

Potential and existing leaders (both women and men) who are willing to bring about change need to develop a clear vision of the type of change envisaged, and be willing to consistently push for gender equality in their ministry. Such people need to also empower others to become 'change agents' in order to build a culture of leadership and learning founded on mutual respect and trust. This implies promoting mentoring opportunities for women at different levels of educational management.

A good leader is not someone who micromanages but someone who has the power to influence through the formation of positive relationships with staff, empowering others to lead, and looking to improve things for the organization as a whole. Such leaders can be mobilized collectively to support change within an organization or institution.

Document and share personal, professional, and organizational strategies

Documenting and sharing some of the most successful interview-preparation strategies would be relevant to the mentoring approaches described above, and could also be incorporated into more formalized qualitative research. In most cases, women who succeed in rising through the ranks work extremely hard and have developed a strategy for achieving a senior appointment. They are characterized by their focus, their ability to define clear professional goals, and the well-thought-out strategies they have pursued to achieve them. These include informing themselves carefully about the post sought, and the application and interview process; reading relevant reports and undertaking research in preparation for appointment interviews; networking and lobbying among peers and senior colleagues; in some cases using a common strategy for a group-facilitating application process including their own promotion; preparing to present themselves with firmness and confidence at the interview; and finally performing well at the interview.

Promote family-sensitive work environments

The rare informal arrangements that exist to allow employees, including managers, to accommodate family needs should be institutionalized, ensuring more transparency and accountability at all levels. This could involve, for example, establishing clear regulations to accommodate family responsibilities, promoting work meetings at times and places convenient for people with caring responsibilities, setting up childcare facilities, planning subsidized/shared school transportation for employees' children and for the public in general, organizing food delivery services, pooling information on domestic staff and other arrangements, and so on.

Raise awareness about the benefits of gender equality and work–life balance within society at large

Raising awareness about the benefits of diversity at all levels means working together with organizations, ministries, and the public at large to highlight the economic, social, and educational benefits of having educational and employment systems that are diverse and provide equal life chances for both sexes. These should take into account possible adult roles as home managers. Men must also be involved as positive male role models of work–life and work–home balance, and awareness-building activities should target men and boys, as well as women and girls.

Conclusion

> *There are times when my gender has denied me access to some of the responsibilities to which my management position entitles me.*
>
> Jane Onsongo, Associate Professor of Education, Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Kenya (Onsongo, 2011)

In both the private and the public sectors, considerable effort still has to be made to close the gender gap. The research underpinning this publication demonstrates that despite the gains made in gender parity in schools in the past decade, limited progress has been made in terms of gender equality in educational management. The findings from the Argentina and Kenya case studies confirm that the obstacles women leaders face in the public sector are similar to those they face in the private sector. Women have difficulties being recognized on merit, and have fewer opportunities than male colleagues to practise management skills, to network, and to gain visibility. Work practices, such as long hours and travelling, may conflict with the domestic obligations that women have, and they may lack confidence in themselves. The net result is that they are under-represented in positions of power and leadership in senior management.

More than a decade after Smulders' (1998) analysis, it is of great concern to IIEP that within educational management structures the intangible barriers women face as they move up the career ladder remain unchanged. When the findings of Smulders' research were published, the former director of IIEP, Jacques Hallak, noted in the preface that the responses of female informants were particularly revealing about 'the weak position of women in the working place: they are actually given less information (formal and informal), fewer opportunities for training, less follow-up after a training, and so on' (Smulders, 1998: vii). When asked about their perceptions of access, promotion, and performance in the education sector, key respondents in this research from both Argentina and Kenya indicated that women still have fewer opportunities than men in the ministries of education in their countries.

The research indicates that the 'pipeline' problem is not the main contributory factor to low representation of women in educational management. This conclusion was reached by comparing findings from two countries facing different challenges in terms of gender equality in education. Kenya is a country with comparatively low scores for the participation of women in both the economic and education sectors.

Argentina, on the other hand, has achieved gender equality in education, but not in employment opportunities. The fact that findings from both countries were similar proves that the real block is the complex set of obstacles related to political and organizational structures and cultural stereotypes that female leaders have to face and overcome.

In the light of these findings, IIEP encourages ministries of education to take action and put in place some of the targeted strategies identified in this chapter to improve gender equality in educational management. This research has helped to identify some of the critical areas where ministries of education need to act, and IIEP urges them to do so.

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Part II

Women's leadership in education:
Case study from Argentina

Natalia Gherardi

1. Introduction

Enforcement of the right to education allows for the strengthening and exercise of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. Certainly, the effective implementation of the right to education is a prerequisite for democracy and for the full participation of citizens in all spheres of life.

Given education's potential for transformation, the promotion of greater equality of opportunity between men and women in this area should be one of the pillars for action towards the advancement of gender equality in society. In this sense, international human rights instruments incorporating specific features in relation to gender have recognized the importance of education as a necessary condition for a redefinition of gender relations in contemporary society.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), widely ratified by Latin American countries, calls on State Parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure equal rights with men in the field of education. According to CEDAW, states should take all measures to achieve greater equality in access to all levels of education and educational paths; all gender stereotypes related to social roles for men and women should be eliminated; and issues related to health and family welfare, including information and advice on family planning, should be introduced (Art. 10).

A gender perspective demands the inclusion of the issue of equal opportunities in the analysis. The state plays a key role in guaranteeing access to formal education and ensuring quality education for all children. At the same time, education must include among its curricula a gender and rights-based approach to eliminating stereotypes about 'feminine' and 'masculine' roles that hinder the achievement of substantive equality and equal opportunities between the sexes. It must also help expand opportunities for women to develop in society, and strengthen the concrete exercise of other fundamental human rights.

In line with these international standards, the Argentine National Constitution establishes the state's obligation and the right of citizens

to access basic education through provision of free education based on equality, non-discrimination, respect for identities, and cultural pluralism.

While access to education is a valuable tool to strengthen the role of women, gender equality also requires actual opportunities to use the skills acquired through full participation in various fields: economic, political, and in autonomy for decision-making. As discussed elsewhere (ELA, 2009), women in Argentina have joined the formal education system at levels similar to (or even higher than) those of men. However, this achievement has not resulted in equal income, better opportunities in the labour market, or greater participation in decision-making positions (Giacometti, 2005).

This study attempts to make a contribution towards a gender analysis of education in Argentina, particularly regarding the presence of women in top decision-making positions in the National Ministry of Education, and the progress, if any, that has been made in achieving a more gender-sensitive education system. At least two distinctive views need to be taken into account: on the one hand, the view that women in educational management are important for women's political participation more generally, particularly in the context of a country that passed quota legislation for the legislative branch of government more than two decades ago; and, on the other hand, the view that it is natural for women to occupy educational management positions particularly as the teaching profession is so highly feminized in Argentina. The study is also concerned with the impact that leading female managers can have on the education system. As an initial effort, it aims to lay the groundwork for future research that will examine the different relevant areas more closely. Its purpose is to contribute to larger efforts to understand the connections, if any, between the presence of women in educational management and the impact of this on gender considerations in the education system.

This analysis of the role of women in the education system should not, however, be misconstrued as in any way suggesting that there exists some essence of 'womanhood', a system of values and beliefs shared by women as opposed to those shared by men. Both men and women are shaped by a number of factors, with gender considered jointly alongside class, age, ethnicity, and living conditions in rural or urban contexts. There is no homogenous group of 'women' any more than there is a homogenous group of 'men'. But even with a non-essentialist approach towards gender and education, the repetition of practices by individuals

to satisfy third-party expectations regarding their work may contribute to reinforcing the structures of sex segregation and gender subordination (Morgade, 2010).

After a short explanatory section on the methodology used in the research, the study commences with an overview of the presence of women in national and provincial governments more generally. It aims to identify whether the presence of women in education follows the pattern of political participation in other areas of government, or whether there are any peculiarities pertaining to the education sector. The role of women in education is then analysed, considering the emergence and evolution of teaching as a female occupation in Argentina, and the challenges this has posed to diversity in a democratic society.

The next section reviews the opinions and perceptions revealed by persons interviewed for this research. Through individual and group interviews, the research sought the opinions of men and women at different stages of their careers in the educational management sector in connection with two main areas of inquiry: (i) Are there any obstacles to the incorporation of women into senior positions in educational management and planning? (ii) Does the presence of women in such senior positions help to promote a gender-sensitive education environment? This exploratory case study of the National Ministry of Education of Argentina provides some insights into these questions.

Finally, the closing section addresses areas where further research is needed to reach a better understanding of strategies that could promote a more diverse educational system, and provide an analysis of the impact this could eventually have on educational planning.

2.   A note on methodology

The author of this study is the Executive Director of ELA (Equipo Latinoamericano de Justicia y Género), an interdisciplinary team of research specialists with experience in government, universities and research centres, international organizations, legal practice, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The study builds on findings from ELA's research into female participation in leadership positions in Argentinian society. In particular, the large-scale 2010 research study *Sex and Power. Who runs Argentina?* (ELA, 2010) informed the choices for interviews and the findings of this publication. The ELA study reviewed over 10,000 leadership positions (in political, economic, and social spheres) to determine the level of participation of women in these positions. It also included qualitative research on women's participation at the sub-national level, including the legislative and executive branches of government. In addition, it identified a number of good practices that foster female participation in political life. The ELA study examined top leadership positions across political, social, and economic spheres, rather than focusing specifically on education, making it an ideal basis for the IIEP research. The ELA study also considered Argentine society as a whole, placing women's leadership positions in ministries of education in a broader context. Some of the statistical data and graphs relating to leadership positions outside of the ministries of education, as detailed in this publication, are drawn from this study.

The literature review conducted for this case study is intended to situate the issues of gender, education, and management within the larger context of debates concerning women, representation, and political participation, which have progressed in Argentina since the restoration of democracy in 1983. These issues are addressed mainly in the third section of the study, but the central issues are evident in the analysis of the interviews.

Based on the personal and group interviews conducted with current and past professionals holding different positions at the National Ministry of Education, the fourth section provides an overview of their perceptions and opinions regarding the situation of men and women, and their roles and contributions to educational management.

The study was undertaken during a period of presidential and congressional elections, which affected the availability of persons for

interviews. Many officials originally selected for interview were not available, so after careful selection a limited number of interviews were conducted with senior officials at the National Ministry of Education. However, many of the interviewees had prior work experience at ministries of education at provincial levels. As a result of the elections, some officials originally selected for interviews were later appointed to other positions.

Those selected were not identified because of any specialist knowledge on gender equality issues. In fact, except for one person of mid-rank, it was revealed that none of those interviewed had considered gender equality issues in terms of their position. In addition, two former Ministry officers and reputable experts were interviewed, and a group interview was conducted with junior professional staff currently working in different areas within the Ministry of Education.

Individual interviews included six women and two men, and were conducted between July and December 2011. The group interview with eight young professionals (six women, two men, all of them between 26 and 32 years of age) was held on December 2011. All interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 2 hours and were recorded, with notes taken for analysis.[11] It is not common practice for middle- to senior-ranking officials to participate in group interviews.

The following criteria were followed in the selection of persons to be interviewed for the research. Individual interviews were arranged with senior members of the National Ministry of Education, all of whom bear responsibilities related to public policy design, management, and implementation within their respective areas of work. The subjects included the Vice-Minister of Education, and men and women in charge of secretaries, under secretaries, national directions, and institutes under the authority of the Vice-Minister. While there is clearly a hierarchical organization within the Ministry and its offices, for purposes of this exploratory study all the persons interviewed are considered to be senior officials, who are ultimately appointed by the Minister of Education. As is the case in other ministries, such executive positions are not reached through procedures involving an open competition with other candidates.

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11. Interviews followed the research guide shared with other research teams. The same guide was used for the Kenya case study (*Part III*). See *Annex 2* for the list of research questions.

The situation of younger professionals is different. Ministry staff can be either administrative or technical (professional). They may work under different employment conditions: for example, some staff members on the Ministry's payroll have access to labour protection regulations pertaining to public employment, whereas the rest of the staff are hired under different contracts that do not entail, as a matter of law, the same legal protection. These different but co-existing employment systems are a consequence of a decades-long period during which there were officially no openings for public employment due to strict expenditure restrictions imposed on all ministries. However, the need to hire both administrative and professional employees led to the establishment of different contracts, which are still widely used in most governmental offices. For many years, this resulted in a lack of clear procedures and obstructed opportunities for career progression within the formal structure of the Ministry of Education, as in all other offices.

In many cases, Ministry appointments were obtained through informal channels and networks. This had an impact on interview possibilities. As of 2007, the Employment Office at the Chief Cabinet of Ministries conducted a number of public contests to fill positions within different governmental offices and ministries. In this context, a number of openings were announced within the Ministry of Education for which staff already hired under different contracts (and in some cases also people currently working in the private sector) could compete for a public employment contract, both in administrative and professional positions.[1]

The significance of the different employment situations for professional and administrative staff lies in the importance of networks and individual forms of negotiation, and also in the views young professionals have regarding their possible career developments within the Ministry.

The findings for this case study are therefore based on interviews with public employees who have been through the different forms of negotiation for current and past employment opportunities. The findings also include evidence from the research conducted for the ELA report.

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1. For more information, see:
    www.sgp.gov.ar/contenidos/onep/concursos/concursos.html (last accessed 20 December 2011).

3. Women's presence in the public sphere: Laws, theory, and practice

Quota legislation in Argentina

Significant progress has been made in the consolidation of Argentine democratic institutions since the restoration of Argentina's democracy in 1983. Noticeable among the main accomplishments is the increased and sustained participation of women in all areas of public office. Specific legislation passed for this purpose has played a key role in this development.

Women have participated in the main political parties of Argentina since their emergence, but only began to take a more significant role in party politics in the 1980s. While they earned the right to vote and to stand for election in 1949, women were systematically excluded from the real spheres of public power, posing a crucial challenge to Argentina's democracy. During the democratic transition of the 1980s, organized groups of activists undertook a struggle against gender discrimination in the context of rebuilding democracy. Finally, in 1991, the National Congress passed an amendment to the National Electoral Code requiring that 30 per cent of elected positions be reserved for women (the reform was approved by Law 24,012). The majority of provinces in the years following have passed similar legislation requiring female participation ranging from 30 per cent to 50 per cent of women candidates for all provincial elections, for both provincial congress and legislative institutions in municipalities (ELA, 2009).[2]

In 1994, the constitutional reform was adopted by a Constitutional Convention whose delegates were elected under the quota legislation. It cleared any remaining doubts about the law's constitutionality, as it expressly included its underlying principles in the language of the Constitution.

Article 37 of the National Constitution provides that real equality of opportunity between men and women, and the right to gain access to

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2. Argentina has a federal form of government. The country is divided into 24 provincial jurisdictions (23 provinces and the autonomous city of Buenos Aires). In turn, each province is divided into municipalities (the smallest political jurisdictions), where a major and a local legislature are voted for by the local population. There are over 9,000 municipalities in Argentina.

elective and political party posts, shall be guaranteed by affirmative action in regulations pertaining to political parties and the electoral regime. In addition, Article 75 gives Congress powers to adopt and promote affirmative action measures that guarantee real equality of opportunity and equal treatment. The article also guarantees full enjoyment and exercise of the rights recognized by this Constitution and the International Human Rights Treaties in force, in particular with respect to women (Article 75, Section 23), according constitutional status to CEDAW, among other human rights treaties (Article 75, Section 22).

Finally, the constitutional reform included a provisory clause that provides that the affirmative action referred to in Article 37 may not amount to less than the provisions in force at the time the Constitution was adopted (that is, the 30 per cent quota established by Law 24,012).

Some of the decisive factors contributing to the passing of such legislation include the evolution of women political figures and their relationship with the women's movement; the coming together of women from the different political parties with the shared objective of increasing women's political participation; their knowledge and analysis of comparative experiences and legislation; and the massive mobilization of women, especially through feminist gatherings and the annual national women's meetings.

Argentina was the first country in Latin America to adopt a quota for women's participation in Congress. In 2010, Argentina was among the top-ranked countries in the world in terms of representation of women in the national legislature. Notwithstanding this, the challenges that Argentine women face are still huge, although their numbers and active participation in politics have expanded well beyond the area of the legislatures, including the election of the first woman president in 2007, later re-elected in 2011. However, beyond progress made by women in legislative positions, they remain significantly under-represented in senior leadership positions in

the executive and judicial branches (where there are no laws establishing a quota for female participation), at both national and provincial level.[3]

Why is women's participation in politics and education so important?

Women in politics

Argentina has a solid constitutional and legal framework guaranteeing equal rights free from discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, religion, or ethnicity. The country lies at the forefront of Latin America in many areas of non-discrimination and equal rights. Why, therefore, should the presence of women or men be of any particular relevance? Essentialist approaches to gender theories emphasize that women share a common point of view, experiences, and interests, and therefore expect much from the *results* that follow from women attaining decision-making positions in a representative democracy.[4] This approach can be problematic since it not only assumes that women as a group share common interests, but also establishes a link between women's participation in politics, representation of such interests, and achievement of better living conditions for women.[5]

Some authors underline women's presence in political institutions as a prerequisite for a more robust democracy. Yet, it is not that women *ought* to represent women; indeed, they cannot even attempt to do it.[6] Improving the conditions enabling women's full participation is a matter of

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3. A very interesting exception is that of the Constitution of the City of Buenos Aires, passed in 1996. Section 36 not only reaffirms the principle of non-discrimination, indicating that both sexes should be present in all candidate lists for the legislature in a proportion of not less than 30–70 per cent, but goes beyond to establish that for all positions requiring approval of the legislature, at least 30 per cent should be filled with members of each sex. Therefore, the process of appointing judges to the Supreme Court of Justice of the City of Buenos Aires (which requires the final approval by the local legislature) has ensured that there are always at least two women out of a total of five members.

4. For instance, Jane Mansbridge and the concept of surrogate representation (2003).

5. The Beijing Platform for Action provides an example of this approach (Chapter IV, section 181, September 1995).

6. The Italian author Alessandra Bocchetti (1996) asks: 'How is it even possible to think that someone could speak in the name of all women?' Women are different from one another, they cannot be grouped into a category or a class and there is therefore no delegation possible: 'A female body is not a guarantee of a woman's mind ... and even many women cannot guarantee women's minds. Women may well disappear in perfect visibility' (own translation).

rights and a prerequisite for democratic legitimacy. Therefore, no particular expectations should be placed on the presence of women in politics and political institutions generally. The important point is that women are present, in order to improve diversity in the voices that can and should be heard during democratic processes. The politics of presence is relevant *because* women's participation in the democratic process is relevant, not necessarily guided by the results that could follow from such participation (Phillips, 1995). As Fraser (2002) suggests, parity in participation is a principle not to be simplified as a quantitative issue, but rather it should be understood as a qualitative condition, based on the possibility of participating as peers, with equal standing and opportunities to be heard.

However, non-endorsement of essentialist approaches linking the presence of women with a direct representation of their interests does not mean a complete denial of such a potential link. Some research suggests that women in legislative bodies feel the responsibility of representing women and their interests (Ballington, 2008; Sawer, 2000). While this view was not uniformly shared by all women interviewed for research conducted among congresswomen in Argentina (Borner, Caminotti, and Marx, 2007), many female legislators support it. In any case, it is indisputable that many of the laws that are crucial for women's well-being and respect of their human rights were only discussed and approved after the massive incorporation of women into the National Congress through the implementation of quota legislation[7] (due probably to a combination of favourable political context and stronger democratic institutions, coupled with a very significant presence of women in the Argentine national legislature).

The question of what can be done to deepen and improve democracy is very much on the agenda. However, the potential effects of such undertakings are less certain. The following section examines this issue in connection with the area of education.

Studies on women in management positions in Argentina are mostly concerned either with the effectiveness of quota laws applicable

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7. For example, the law on sexual and reproductive rights, the law on sexual education, the law on the elimination of all forms of violence against women, and the law approving the Optional Protocol of CEDAW.

to the legislatures[8] or with female leadership more generally.[9] There is some emerging interest in women in the judiciary as evidenced in some academic research[10] and more recently by the creation of a Women's Office within the National Supreme Court of Justice, among other indications.[11] However, there is little research dedicated to women in senior management specifically in the education sector, a sector that is otherwise dominated by women.[12]

Women as 'natural' teachers: Women in the teaching profession

The massive incorporation of women into the teaching profession in Argentina was accomplished between the last decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

According to Pinkasz and Tiramonti (2006), women entered the profession through two different conduits, and were encouraged to do so because of a conception of women at the time as being especially suited to the teaching profession, as 'second mothers', because of their maternal role. As from 1870, following the creation of Normal Schools, young women were trained as primary-level teachers. Later, in 1895, women entered the Faculty of Arts, which trained both male and female teachers for the secondary level.

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8. See, for example, Archenti and Tula (2008); Borner *et al.* (2009), Borner, Caminotti, and Marx (2007), and ELA (2009). The 20th anniversary (3 December 2011) of Law 24,012, which established quota legislation for the National Congress, has triggered some new initiatives to reflect on women and political participation.

9. Di Marco (2009); Heller (1996, 2009); and Ponsowy and Niebieskikwiat (2009).

10. Bergallo (2006) has analysed the judiciary's appointment mechanisms in the city of Buenos Aires and has argued that improved transparency during the last decade does not seem to have had a clear effect on the gender composition of the judiciary. Procedures are still gender blind, rewarding the accumulation of credentials and career paths more compatible with a person with no family responsibilities. Kohen's research (2007) reviewed possible gender implications in decision-making by the Family Courts of the city of Buenos Aires.

11. The Women's Office is under the authority of one of the female judges (there are five men and two women judges). With a vigilant eye on the gender composition of the judiciary, the Office has elaborated a gender map of the country's judiciary, an unprecedented research initiative in Argentina. As of 2010, the Office has launched a comprehensive training programme aimed at eliminating gender stereotypes in the judiciary.

12. A gender analysis of teaching as a profession has received more attention, as in Fioretti, Tejero Coni, and Diaz (2004) and Morgade (1992, 2010). These are discussed later in this case study.

Primary education rapidly appeared as a 'natural' occupation for women, in line with the project of building a civilized modern society, which aimed to include immigrants within a system of shared values. The creation of Normal Schools as secondary education available for girls promoted their entry into the teaching profession.

Women were already educators at home and it was only natural that they would continue such tasks at schools. Furthermore, for the first half of the 20th century, women were not only deprived of most of the rights of citizenship (they had no voting rights, limited civil capacity to manage their assets, were under the authority of their fathers and husbands, and had no legal authority over their children), they were also economically dependent with limited opportunities to enter the labour market. Therefore, salaries offered by the education system were attractive to women, and the state's investment in normal schools to educate women for teaching would pay off. The opportunity of receiving secondary education through normal schools, which also provided young women with a potential occupation, satisfied the ideals of desired social mobility for different groups of women and their families (Morgade, 1992).

In her review of the incorporation of women into the teaching profession, Morgade highlights the prevailing idea of women as natural teachers by citing the closing speech given by Mr Wilde at the Pedagogy Congress held in the City of Buenos Aires in 1882: 'No one has turned mothers into pedagogy teachers and yet, let alone a complete subversion of the rules of Nature all mothers are the best teachers for their children. Nature, thus, has claimed: "women, teach the child"' (in Morgade, 1992).

This 'feminization' of the teaching profession has been interpreted from different approaches. Some authors have argued that it leads to the construct of a type of 'quasi-profession' which is socially subordinated, especially when compared with traditional professions such as law, engineering, and medicine, which enjoy more social prestige (Tenti Fanfani and Steinberg, 2007).

Birgin and Dussel (2000) consider that teaching was born 'with a gender stamp' because the state itself promoted an education system which, since its inception, encouraged the teaching of young children by women, leading to an understanding of teaching as an extension of the maternal role. Hence, the feminine qualities for the job were emphasized, with stress on the inculcation of habits in the transmission of values and

affection. Especially during the early years, the role of teachers appears to be closely linked to a widespread conception of education as an extension of care, which is mostly provided by women. In any case, these authors point out that at the beginning of the education system, the development of this profession had a positive component: it was presented as one of the few opportunities women had to participate in an intellectual field and, above all, as a departure from their purely private and domestic role to the public sphere (Birgin and Dussel, 2000).

However, if teaching appeared as a natural extension of motherhood, positions of more power within the education system would not prove to be so accessible for women. By the end of the 20th century, while women were unarguably a fundamental part of the teaching profession, at the same time there was the idea that 'teaching is not managing': women were appointed as head teachers in so far as there was no male teacher available at school, but were seldom admitted to the intermediate control system (school supervisors), which appeared to be more related to political connections (Morgade, 2010).

Gender policies in education

While women have seldom reached the head of the National Ministry of Education, their participation in senior management positions in the last decades has been far from negligible. As in the case of women in the legislature, there is not always a link between the presence of women in leading decision-making positions and the advancement of girls' and women's rights. It is a shared objective for both men and women.

However, most probably due to a combination of reasons, in recent years there have been some regulatory changes that have led to the review of the school curricula and teaching practices. Achieving gender equality requires multiple coexisting strategies in education and, at the same time, overcoming social divisions that overlap with other forms of inequality. Therefore, an education system with equal rights, including training for the full exercise of rights and freedoms, requires the promotion of strategies to eliminate the presence and persistence of gender stereotypes, as well as modifying the contexts that perpetuate discrimination.

There may be several strategies to implement goals of gender equality in education. These are not mutually exclusive and can be differentiated analytically. According to Pinkasz and Tiramonti (2006), some involve a

specific analysis for interventions in the school system designed to promote changes in the conceptions of subjects of education. Others, however, have a more lateral approach and seek to introduce certain fundamental subjects in school education, such as prevention of violence against women, and sexual and reproductive health education.

Even though special attention has been paid to the incorporation of a gender perspective and a human rights approach into the school curricula, the issue requires specific studies to investigate the extent to which situations of inequality and discrimination are still present in everyday teaching practices, teachers' training courses, and educational texts. Studies conducted in Argentina have shown how, despite progress made during the 20th century in overcoming some of the traditional views and stereotypes regarding men and women, reading books used at primary level still reproduce stereotyped roles portraying men in 'productive' roles and women in purely 'reproductive' ones (Wainerman, 1996). Finally, specific research has pointed out that in order to achieve substantial equality of opportunity in education, particular attention needs to be paid to the 'hidden' school curricula, including the manners in which knowledge is shared at classroom level, the gendered use of spaces, and the unquestioned use of the generic masculine to name both boys and girls (Palermo, 1996 and Scharagrodsky, 1999; quoted in Pinkasz and Tiramonti, 2006).

Some of these concerns for gender and education have reached the ministerial level in Argentina. During the 1991–1995 period, the National Council of Women (CNM) (Consejo Nacional de las Mujeres) created a Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women in Education (PRIOM) (Programa Nacional de Promoción de la Igualdad de Oportunidades para la Mujer). According to Morgade (1996), the Ministry of Education expressed a willingness to act upon the objectives of the CNM in the discussion of public policies with a gender perspective. The PRIOM intended to intervene in the formulation of education policy and teachers' training programmes. The main objective of the programme was to include content, approaches, and values promoting gender equality in the whole educational process. PRIOM launched a strategy that simultaneously included a review of the curricula, the creation of didactic materials, and the promotion of equal opportunities in educational awareness activities. However, after almost five years, PRIOM ceased its work in 1995 due to strong pressure from more conservative sectors of government and clear opposition from sectors within the Catholic Church (Fioretti, Tejero Coni,

and Díaz, 2004). Among other issues, these sectors opposed the inclusion of the concept of 'gender' in education, which might lead to more modern theories on sexuality, stereotypes, and gender roles.

Thereafter, Pinkasz and Tiramonti (2006) argue that specific areas received particular attention in absence of a more comprehensive approach towards equality of opportunity for women. It was then that sexual and reproductive rights, sexual education, and domestic violence entered the agenda and important pieces of legislation were approved. In 2002, the National Law on Sexual and Reproductive Rights was passed by the National Congress. Even if the law included provisions for sexual education, more specific legislation was needed to move forward the necessary changes in school curricula and teaching practices. In 2006, the legislature of the city of Buenos Aires approved Law 2,110/06 on Sexual Education applicable to its jurisdiction, and similar legislation was passed soon after with the approval of Law 26,150 by the National Congress.

Some key actors in the Ministry of Education (both in the city of Buenos Aires and at national level) played a fundamental role in this process. Not only was key legislation passed by the legislative bodies, but didactic materials were produced, printed, and distributed to institutions of education at various levels.[13] Progress made towards the incorporation of these issues is certainly a major breakthrough even if much remains to be done, including comprehensive monitoring and evaluation of actual use of these materials by educational institutions.

The key questions are: To what extent were women leaders in particular responsible for this breakthrough in the education agenda? How important was their influence in the general political context? The insights shared by one of the interviewees suggest that it was probably due to a combination of both – personal commitment in a favourable political context.

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13. However, as described in Wainerman, Di Virgilio, and Chami (2008), educational institutions in different jurisdictions, such as the cities of Buenos Aires, Mendoza, Rosario, and the province of Buenos Aires, provided sexual education even before the passing of specific legislation. This proves that while a legal framework is helpful and may establish minimum uniform standards, it is not a necessary requisite for the implementation of public policies.

Women in decision-making positions

An overview

Argentina has advanced faster than other countries in relation to the presence of women in senior positions of government, particularly in the Legislative Branch of government, as a consequence of the application of quota legislation from 1991.[14] However, this level of participation does not imply that gender stereotypes and prejudices about women in power have been overcome, or that Argentine society is not gender biased in many relevant ways.

The United Nations Committee for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW Committee), which periodically reviews the situation of all State Parties, has positively noted the relevance of the measures taken and progress made towards the incorporation of women into public office in Argentina. In its final recommendations to Argentina, approved in July 2010, the CEDAW Committee expressed its satisfaction in the following terms:

> The Committee commends the State party for its measures to increase the participation of women in public life and for taking positive action to ensure them equality of opportunity and treatment. It particularly welcomes the fact that, for the first time, a woman has been elected President, two women judges have been appointed to the Federal Supreme Court of Justice and that, as of December 2007, 38.5 per cent of the executive positions within the national Government were held by women (CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/6).[15]

However, the Committee expressed concern regarding the disparity among provinces in the level of political participation, even where quota legislation existed. The absence of women in senior positions in the executive branches of government (at national, provincial, and municipal levels) was also noted:

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14. For Latin America and the Caribbean, see the information gathered by the Gender Observatory of ECLAC (www.cepal.org/oig/adecisiones/). More generally, see information available at the Interparliamentary Union (www.ipu.org).

15. Available on the webpage of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N10/485/33/PDF/N1048533.pdf?OpenElement (last accessed 31 August 2011).

The Committee urges the State party to address the significant disparity among the provinces in the level of political participation and representation of women, including by investing in educational and awareness-raising campaigns aimed at eliminating the prevailing social obstacles and dispelling the sexist attitudes and stereotypes that remain prevalent in some regions (CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/6).

These recent Committee observations are relevant in at least two aspects. First, they represent the authorized interpretation of the CEDAW provisions, as applicable to Argentina. Since the constitutional reforms of 1994, Argentina has not only ratified all of the main international human rights treaties, but has also included them as internal legislation with constitutional rank.[16] Second, these observations point at the core of persistent obstacles related to stereotyped visions of women, their capacities, and roles in society, which are certainly not overcome by implementation of the law alone.

A broad understanding of democracy calls for women's full participation in many other areas besides the legislature. The executive and judicial branches of government are crucial spheres which make policy decisions and take responsibility for full observance of the law and enforcement of rights. The participation of women in civil society is also central to expanding the framework of local political representative institutions. Women in leading roles in other social and political institutions could have a more significant influence in the public agenda, giving voice to important sectors of disadvantaged groups – among which women (as heterogeneous a group as they may be) constitute a compelling majority.

A recent national study explored the presence of women in top positions in a number of areas of social and political life: in politics, the judiciary, corporations, the media, education institutions, trade unions, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).[17] Evidence shows that

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16. A number of human rights treaties are included in this constitutional provision besides CEDAW: the Convention for Civil and Political Rights; the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the American Convention on Human Rights, among others. Following the constitutional reforms, all provisions contained in the international human rights treaties mentioned in Section 75 Paragraph 22 of the National Constitution are to be observed as constitutional law, directly applicable at all levels of government.

17. The study was inspired by the 'Sex & Power in Great Britain' reports prepared by the Equal Opportunities Commission up to 2008. In Argentina, the study was conducted in 2010 by the NGO ELA (2011).

the presence of women in the legislatures due to quota legislation is not indicative of the presence of women at the highest positions in many other areas, where no such legislation applies. Women run only 4.4 per cent of Argentina's 1,000 top companies, 9 per cent of local governments, and 14.6 per cent of provincial governments. In the judiciary, women account for only 15 per cent of judges sitting on the national and provincial supreme courts of justice, but have comprised the majority of law graduates for over 20 years. It seems that the 30 per cent quota established for legislative elections (repeatedly given as the main explanation for a critical mass of women in Congress) is not indicative of a generalized social consensus on the idea that women *ought* to participate in public life in that proportion (at the very least), even if not specifically required by law. The picture that the report offers of Argentine society indicates that natural mechanisms of promotion based on merit and equality of opportunities do not appear to be working for women in other areas of social and political public life, in absence of a clear gender policy to promote women's leadership.

Presence of women in public office

As a consequence of the quota legislation in force for the last 20 years, Argentina leads the region regarding women's political participation. In 2010, women occupied 37.7 per cent of the benches in the National Congress and, on average, 27.3 per cent of the positions available in provincial legislatures.[18]

The increasing participation of women in politics since the restoration of democracy and particularly since the approval of quota legislation is noticeable. Only 4.3 per cent of the benches in the Chamber of Deputies and 6.5 per cent of those in the Senate were occupied by women in 1983. There is no doubt that the increase of female legislators to over 30 per cent is due to the enforcement of quota legislation.

However, national quantitative data do not provide real insights into the actual importance of Congress, its initiatives and decisions in national political life. Likewise, they do not indicate the influence congresswomen have within the structures of political representation (Borner, Caminotti, and Marx, 2007). National quantitative studies tend to overlook the importance of advancing women's long-term presence at local levels, which

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18. See ELA, 2011.

has particular relevance in a federalist country where the distribution of power among jurisdictions dictates that decision-making powers in areas such as education, health, and justice are delegated to provincial authorities (ELA, 2009).

There are substantive regional differences among the provinces of Argentina and this has sometimes resulted in non-compliance with international treaties. Despite the existence of quotas for women's participation in all provincial jurisdictions, in many cases the integration of women into sub-national legislatures has been hindered in practice by the rules surrounding electoral systems, which are defined locally (*Table 2.1*).

Table 2.1   **Percentage of women in senior political positions at national, provincial, and municipal levels, 2010**

	Executive branch	Legislative branch	Judicial branch	Overall
National level	21.1	37.7	15.0	35.6
Provincial level	14.2	27.3	20.5	23.8
Municipal level	9.0	35.1	–	12.3

Source: ELA, 2011.

Among national authorities, women comprise the heads of 18 per cent of ministries. The number in provincial ministries is lower: women head only 14 per cent. There is only one province where women hold the majority of top ministerial positions: the province of San Luis (54 per cent) followed by Tierra del Fuego (38 per cent). In contrast, there are four provinces where no women are in charge of ministries: Corrientes, Entre Ríos, La Rioja, and Mendoza.[19]

Women in the education sector

In the area of education, the case of Argentina is not unique in the Latin American context. Comparative research conducted by Tenti Fanfani (2007) regarding the teaching profession in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay shows a significant participation of women in all countries (*Table 2.2*).[20] The evidence shows that Argentina has the most feminized teaching workforce (85.7 per cent) and Peru presents the highest

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19. All data valid as of 2010, as reviewed in ELA (2011).
20. Data correspond to the research conducted by IIEP UNESCO-Buenos Aires between 2000 and 2002 in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay.

proportion of male teachers (37.5 per cent) even if women's participation continues to prevail. Except in the case of Peru, 90 per cent of primary-level teachers are women. However, in secondary education, female teachers represent at most 70 per cent of the total and are practically even with male teachers in Peru.

Table 2.2   Teachers in urban areas by education level and sex, in percentages

	Argentina		Brazil		Peru		Uruguay	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Male	4.9	28.3	10.5	33.4	25.6	48.8	4.2	30.8
Female	95.1	71.7	89.5	66.6	74.4	51.2	95.8	69.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: IIPE-UNESCO Buenos Aires in Tenti Fanfani, 2007.

The following paragraphs analyse data regarding the participation of men and women in different areas of the education system in Argentina.

Educators: Teachers, heads, and supervisors

As discussed, the foundations of the modern education system are inextricably linked to considerations of women's educational role. According to the 1914 National Population Census, the proportion of female teachers nearly quintupled after 1895 following the creation of Normal Schools (Wainerman, 1996). This trend continued throughout the 20th century and increased in recent years. The data from the Teachers' Census of 2004 conducted by the National Ministry of Education show a strong female presence in all teaching positions, especially at the initial and primary levels.[21] However, as the educational level rises, the proportion of women decreases (*Table 2.3*).

According to the 2004 Teaching Census, 8 out of 10 teachers are female. The largest proportion of women can be found at the initial level of

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21. The Teaching Census conducted in 2004 was the second such census (the first Teaching Census took place in 1994). At the time of the Teaching Census, there was significant disparity among the provinces in the application of the Federal Education Law, evidenced by the organization of the education system, particularly at the secondary level of education. See http://diniece.me.gov.ar. (last accessed 31 August 2011).

education (94 per cent), and the smallest proportion is found at secondary level (70 per cent). This is the case both at public and private schools.

Table 2.3   **Classroom teachers by education level and sex, 2004**

	Initial level		Primary level		Secondary level	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Women	59,191	94	196,892	88	165,845	68
Men	3,506	6	26,880	12	76,350	32
Total	62,697	100	223,772	100	242 195	100

Source: DiNIECE, 2004.

Compared with the results of the Teaching Census conducted in the previous decade (1994), the 2004 Census shows a small decrease in the number of female teachers in initial and primary education, and a small increase of the proportion of women in secondary education, particularly in public schools. These variations occur in the age range of teachers of up to 29 years of age (DiNIECE, 2007) (*Figure 2.1*).

Figure 2.1   **Teaching positions by education level and sex, 2004, in percentages**
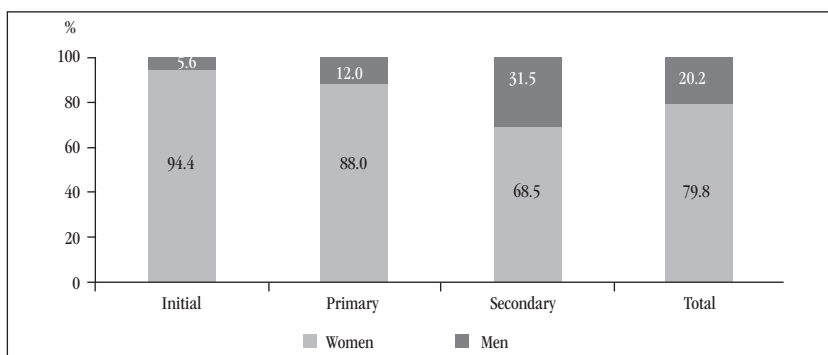
Source: ELA (2009) as per information in DiNIECE, 2007.

It is interesting to note that most male teachers are to be found at university level, following the trend starting at primary and secondary levels. The higher the rank in the teaching hierarchy, the greater the number of men present. While access to and progress in academic careers at national universities follow different rules from those applicable at lower stages of the education system, it is nonetheless significant that within the university

the same logic persists. While 62.8 per cent of lower-ranking professors are women, 61.2 per cent of highest-ranking professors are men. Analysis of the difference in distribution of men and women in teaching positions for national universities, both for full and part-time teachers, shows a smaller concentration of women (*Figure 2.2)*.

Figure 2.2   Full-time teaching positions at national universities by sex, 2006, in percentages
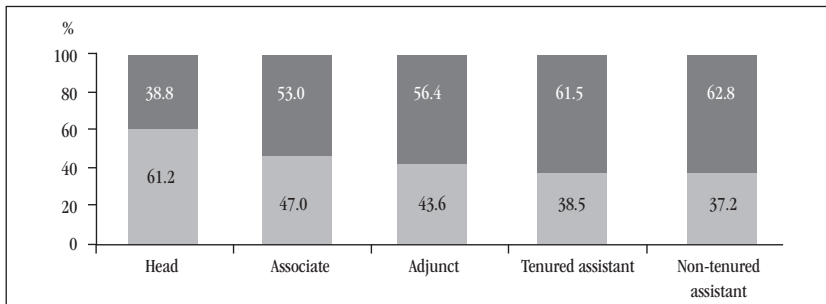
Source: ELA (2009) based on Annals of University Statistics, Ministry of Education, 2006.

Once again, *Figure 2.2* and *Figure 2.3* show that the number of female teachers at university is inversely proportional to the position level, so that their participation decreases as they rise up the academic levels.

Figure 2.3   Part-time teaching positions at national universities by sex, 2006, in percentages
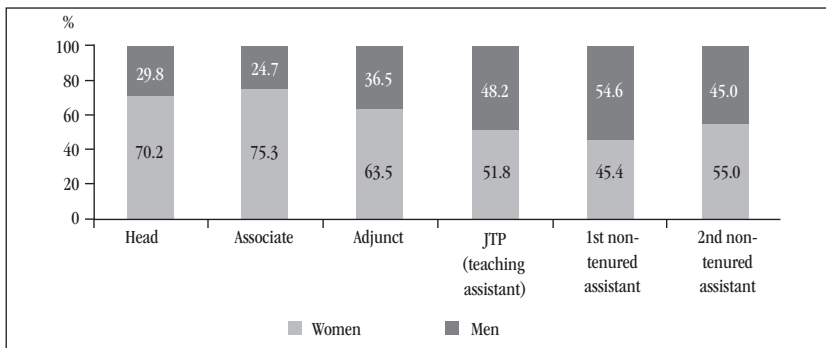
Source: ELA (2009) based on Annals of University Statistics, Ministry of Education, 2006.

When considering initial through tertiary education levels, men's participation becomes more noticeable at the level of head teacher. Most

initial, primary, and secondary schools are run by female head teachers. However, the number of women in leadership positions decreases at higher levels of education. While 99 per cent of heads at initial level are women, only 62 per cent of secondary schools have female head teachers (DiNIECE, 2008*a*) (*Table 2.4*).

In public institutions, promotion of teachers to vice-head or head of school is based on a combination of career merits and seniority.[22] In most private institutions, promotion depends on pre-appointment training, competition for the vacancy, or qualifications obtained. Although seniority, teaching experience, and qualifications are important, networking is also an important criterion. According to the analysis of the last National Teaching Census, at secondary level there is a slightly superior participation of men as head teachers, in comparison with their participation as teachers. In addition, men appear to be appointed as head teachers at an earlier age than women (DiNIECE, 2008*b*).

Table 2.4   Head teachers by teaching level and sex, 2004, in percentages

Sex	Education level						
	Total	Initial	Primary level	Lower secondary level (*)	Upper secondary level (*)	Tertiary level	More than one level at same institution
Men	17.4	0.9	12.0	24.5	37.8	35.8	15.2
Women	86.2	99.1	88.0	75.5	62.2	64.2	84.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: (*) According to the reform of the education system, at the time of the Teaching Census 2004 in some jurisdictions secondary education was divided into different stages called EGB and Polimodal. The education system has recently changed again with the National Education Law.
Source: National Teaching Census, 2004.

School supervisors exert an intermediate level of authority within the education system. This is the highest possible position that can be reached within the education system, and requires a combination of seniority, merit, and passing of specific tests. In 2004, there were 269 supervisors working in the public education system in the City of Buenos Aires. According to DiNIECE (2008*b*), a little over 70 per cent of these positions were held by women. However, in the provinces of Córdoba, Formosa, Jujuy, and

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22. Specific regulations apply according to level of education and in each provincial jurisdiction due to the federal form of government.

Misiones the proportion of men and women school supervisors was the same.

Morgade's interesting account of management styles by men and women working as head teachers and as supervisors of primary education in the city of Buenos Aires aims to show that gender stereotypes play a significant role when it comes to building relationships, and exercising power and legitimacy (Morgade, 2010). Moreover, the author argues that while her case studies were limited to management and supervision of primary education institutions, some of her conclusions are also applicable to women in senior positions of education management at ministry levels, where she herself served at different times.[23] For that reason, some of the findings of Morgade's research are referred to later in this study.

Trade unions

Even in a highly female occupation such as teaching, leading positions in workers' unions are not typically female domains, which is not surprising considering the data analysed on leading positions in the education system generally. Despite the approval of Law 25,674 in 2002, which provides that women should occupy at least 30 per cent of elective positions in trade unions, the evidence shows that this is not generally complied with, even in the education sector.[24] However, in the recent past very important women leaders have emerged from education trade unions and were later elected to the National Congress.[25]

The Confederation of Education Workers of the Republic of Argentina (CTERA) (Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación de la República Argentina) is a workers' association that brings together a large number of local trade unions from all provincial jurisdictions, with affiliates

23. Graciela Morgade served as operative coordinator of the Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women at the National Ministry of Education (1991–1994) and as Director of the Research Department and later as General Director of Higher Education, both at the Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires (2000–2006).

24. As of 2010, women occupy less than 5 per cent of senior positions in trade unions generally (ELA, 2011). For the education sector, see the analysis made in Confederación de Educadores Argentinos (2010).

25. This was the case of Mary Sanchez, Secretary General of the Confederation of Education Workers of the Republic of Argentina (CTERA), who was later elected to the legislature (1995–1999) among other relevant political appointments. Marta Maffei was also head of the CTERA for four terms, and later became a political activist and was elected to the National Congress.

from all education levels and from both public and private institutions. It is the largest education workers' union and one of the largest unions in the country, generally. Ms Stella Maldonado has led CTERA since 2010 in a context where the number of women leaders in education unions seems to be increasing compared with other workers' unions.

Table 2.5   Women in top management positions in education workers' unions, 2011

Workers' union	Female head	Management body		
		Total members	Number of women	% of women
CTERA (Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación)	Yes	13	5	38
FEB (Federación Educadores Bonaerenses)	Yes	6	4	67
SUTEBA	No	15	9	60
UTE (Unión de Trabajadores de Educación)	No	13	8	61
UEPC (Unión de Educadores de la Provincia de Córdoba)	No	26	12	46
UNTER (Unión de trabajadores de educación de Río Negro)	No	15	8	53
AGMER (Asociación Gremial del Magisterio de Entre Ríos)	No	11	8	73
SUTE (Sindicato Unido de Trabajadores de la Educación)	No	11	5	45
SUTEF (Sindicato Unificado de los Trabajadores de la Educación Fueguina)	Yes	9	6	67
AMSAFE (Asociación de Magisterio de Santa Fe)	Yes	17	10	59
UDPM (Unión de Docentes de la Provincia de Misiones)	Yes	8	2	25
ATECh (Asociación de Trabajadores de la Educación del Chubut)	Yes	12	8	67
AMP (Asociación de Maestros y Profesores de La Rioja)	No	9	6	67
ATEN (Asociación de Trabajadores de la Educación de Neuquén)	No	10	2	20
ADOSAC (Asociación Docente de Santa Cruz)	No	7	2	29
ATEP Tucumán	No	10	5	50
UDAP (Unión Docentes Agremiados Provinciales San Juan)	Yes	*	*	*
SUTECo (Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de la Educación de Corrientes)	No	*	*	*
UTELPA (Unión de Trabajadores de la Educación de La Pampa)	Yes	*	*	*
ADP (Asociación Docente Provincial Salta)	No	*	*	*

Note: (*) No information available.
Source: Prepared on the basis of information available at the official websites of each union.

CTERA is a member of Education International, the world's largest federation of unions and teachers' organizations. Among its main objectives, Education International advocates equity in society, combats racism and xenophobia, and challenges discrimination on the grounds of gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and racial or ethnic origin or characteristics. The affiliation of CTERA with Education International and its active participation in the Latin American chapter probably contributes to the inclusion of a gender perspective in national initiatives. For example, following the first Education International World Women's Conference held in January 2011, a Latin American Seminar was organized in the city of Buenos Aires to address the inclusion of a gender perspective in collective bargaining and public policies.[26]

Trade unions play a very important role in the education sector and good relations with union leaders is an asset for any man or woman in a senior position within ministries of education, both at local and national levels of government. This topic is discussed further in connection with the views and perceptions put forward by interviewees in the following chapter.

Men and women in educational management: Ministries of education in provincial and national government

Taking into account that teaching at primary and secondary level is an occupation involving mostly women, men appear to be over-represented in ministries of education, both at provincial and at national levels, compared with their presence in the classroom.

The National Ministry of Education sets educational policies and monitors their compliance throughout the country in order to achieve a national education system with consistent standards. The Federal Council of Education is headed by the National Minister and includes the minister of education of each province, along with three representatives of the University Council.[27] The provinces control most educational expenditure as well as curricula, staff management, and infrastructure. The ministries of education of the different provinces and the provincial governments together define policy strategies.

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26. The seminar was held on 1–2 November 2011 with the participation of several organizations.
27. For more information see the Ministry of Education's website: www.me.gov.ar (last accessed on 31 August 2011).

Since the restoration of democracy in 1983, there have been 16 national ministers of education, of which only two were women. The first woman appointed to the National Ministry of Education served from April 1996 to May 1999. The second was appointed in January 2002 and served until May 2003. It is interesting to note that since 1983 only on one occasion has the Minister of Education been in office for the whole presidential term.[28] The current National Minister of Education, Mr Alberto Sileoni, has been in office since 23 July 2009. Following the re-election of President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, Mr Sileoni was reappointed to the Ministry. His second mandate started on 10 December 2011.

Out of the 24 provincial ministries of education, there are 13 male and 11 female ministers.[29] This means that over 45 per cent of the provincial heads of education are women, a much higher rate than that for all ministers across the provinces (14 per cent, when considering all provincial ministries). Some former female provincial ministers of education have also reached senior management positions, not only in the National Ministry of Education, but also in other national ministries and in the National Congress.[30]

Figure 2.4 marks in bold all positions held by men and in italics all positions held by women. Clearly, during Mr Sileoni's first term in office at the National Ministry of Education, there was substantial participation of women among the most relevant departments of educational management and planning.

All decision-making positions within the National Ministry of Education are filled by appointment. While technical expertise is required, these positions are held by highly qualified professionals directly appointed by the Minister of Education, where personal knowledge, references, and networking play a fundamental role. The power of politics in the

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28. This was the case of Mr Daniel Filmus, under the presidency of Mr Kirchner (2003–2007).

29. According to information published by the Ministry of Education on its website: http://portal.educacion.gov.ar/consejo/autoridades/ (last accessed on 31 August 2011).

30. The former Vice-Minister of Education, Ms María Inés Vollmer, for instance, has served as Minister of Education in her province and has also been appointed to senior positions both at the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Development. Following her second appointment as Minister of Education for her province, after 10 December 2011, the former Chief of the Minister's Cabinet, Mr Jaime Perczyk, was named Vice-Minister of Education.

appointment of senior positions at ministerial level is discussed in further detail in the interviews analysed in the following section of this study.

Figure 2.4   Organizational chart for senior positions in the National Ministry of Education, 2011
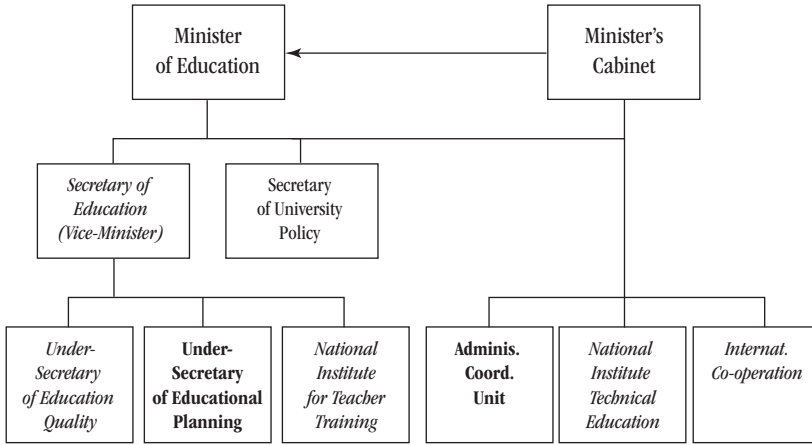
Source: National Ministry of Education website.

4. Perceptions and opinions of the situation of men and women, their roles, and their contributions to educational management

This section reviews the perceptions and opinions advanced by senior officers of the National Ministry of Education in connection with strategies used (if any) that may enable women to reach positions of leadership in educational management. It also examines the effects that women in educational management may have on the education system generally, according to these opinions. Where relevant, the opinions of the interviewees are contrasted with the views of junior professional staff, also indicating any gender differences among the persons who generously accepted to participate in this study.

The opinions and perceptions of the interviewees are organized around six issues. In the first section, men and women express their views on whether it should be relevant that men or women manage the education system. The second section examines the career paths of persons in senior management through the interviews, and women identify the sacrifices they have made and strategies deployed to reach senior positions. In the third section, the interviewees reflect on whether men and women in fact demonstrate different leadership styles while occupying decision-making positions. The fourth section explores whether the presence of women in senior management has or should have, in the opinion of the interviewees, any effect in terms of results. The fifth section examines the opinions and perceptions of trade unions, in particular their relevance in terms of appointment to more senior positions in educational management and the stereotypes regarding the gender of senior officers conducting such negotiations. Finally, in the sixth section men and women reflect on the male-dominated area of economic resources management in ministries of education.

Women in educational management: Why women?

Leaders in educational management should be experts in their field

All persons interviewed agreed that leading positions in education require a particular expertise. While all senior positions are staffed by appointment and are therefore political positions by nature (i.e. there is no open call to participate in a selection process and little job stability as continuity is dependent on the sustained confidence of the minister), both men and women occupying these positions are expected to be experts in their fields.

The interviewees shared a sense of respect for the knowledge and professional paths of their colleagues, built on a lifetime career dedicated to teaching and education, through different jurisdictions and positions. In some cases, this professional expertise was accompanied by political affiliations and participation in social movements, but this was never disconnected from a clear recognition of technical expertise.

> From the Minister of Education on down, appointment is based on confidence and capacity – confidence in technical capabilities (not based on personal relations) – and in that sense, men and women are the same. Gender balance in leading positions is related to trust. In 30 years of professional experience, the most important aspect to take into account has been technical expertise. (Senior officer, woman)

> Appointments are the exclusive purview of the Minister of Education. If he asks for an opinion, I give it. All my opinions have always been based on the candidate's professional qualifications, human relations, and leadership qualities. (Senior officer, man)

Since these appointments are political in nature, confidence in the appointee is crucial:

> Finally, it all boils down to confidence in the person appointed .... So when it comes to making a decision, confidence and personal knowledge, and collective experience of past work together are crucial. This enables you to save time normally required to get to know each other. Appointing people you have worked with for years save time, and this helps. (Senior officer, man)

In the absence of a formal procedure for political appointments, this personal knowledge can become a mechanism for consolidating informal networks, which predominantly include men. This is particularly the case when the person making the final decision is also a man.

It was generally acknowledged that there is a clear majority of women in the education system, which decreases in the highest ranks of the ministries of education. In the opinion of one of the men interviewed, appointment to the highest decision-making positions of the Ministry depends on the level of personal political intervention rather than gender stereotypes.

> In the education system there is a very large percentage of women as head teachers and supervisors, but within the ministerial structure, the position of ministers of education is more generally reserved for men. But this is not too significant – the difference is not gender-related. This difference is explained by personal political interventions. Women who have been appointed as provincial ministers of education, for instance, participate actively in the politics of their provinces of origin. The reason for the smaller female presence is related less to gender than to political expertise. (Senior officer, man)

This opinion raises an interesting point: if participation in high decision-making positions (even in the predominantly female occupation of education) depends on political territorial interventions, then it should be important to inquire why there seems to be less political involvement by women. This opens another area for research: women's participation in political parties more generally.

Men and women interviewed for this study did not consider affirmative action measures to be important or useful for promoting more women in educational management because womanhood *per se* is not perceived as a particularly important determinant of promotion.

> Being female does not guarantee access to decision-making positions, nor is access facilitated by simply being a woman. (Senior officer, woman)

Stereotyped ideas of capabilities and women's need to over-perform

If there is a consensus that capabilities and technical expertise are the most important requirements for reaching decision-making positions in educational management, then why is it so important to have gender equality in leadership roles?

> It is not a question of making a claim on account of past discrimination, but rather of proactively acting for the future. Public office requires women, but not to remedy historical debts on account of past

exclusion. This view is not productive. Public administration requires everybody, and should not include women because of their condition as women but as people with certain professional qualifications. Many women wrongly pursue a fight for past compensation. The field of educational planning and management needs the best persons for the job, because public policy requires the best talents in general, whether they are men or women. Talents and expertise should not be wasted. Some very talented women have not reached the highest positions because they step aside, viewing some areas as pre-established masculine domains. (Senior officer, woman)

But it is not only women who exclude themselves from areas where they feel they do not belong. Some of the persons interviewed have acknowledged the existence of gender stereotypes considering women as less fit for certain positions. This view was perceived to be more common in smaller communities and more traditional provinces, rather than in big urban areas.

There are opinions that issues of personality and gender make women unfit for certain decision-making positions or incapable for management, but not for administration of a budget .... This view shows that there are cultural stereotypes and enormous ignorance of women's capacities to occupy public office. (Senior officer, woman)

There are a number of indicators – such as use of contraceptives and respect for sexual diversity – to support the view that gender stereotypes are more common in traditional provinces and smaller communities. To name a few examples, programmes on sexual and reproductive rights were highly resisted in some of the provinces (e.g. San Juan and Salta), as was recognition of sexual diversity and same sex marriage, which gained strength through the courts of the city of Buenos Aires before the National Congress finally changed the Civil Code in 2010 (ELA, 2009).

Another point generally made by women is their need to over-perform in order to continuously prove that they are fully suitable for the job.

As women, we make a double effort to daily reaffirm our right to the position we have reached. Whether because we actually are required to or because we work under the hypothesis that we are constantly being evaluated as professionals, the fact is that we make a bigger effort than men do, in order to honour the position we have. There is a persistent evaluation of women's capacities. (Senior officer, woman)

> Personal qualifications are relevant [for appointment to public office], but women must demonstrate them four times before they are taken into account. While women's comments at a meeting are equally valued as those of men, women do have fewer opportunities to show what they can do. (Senior officer, woman)

The perception that women often need to work harder in order to be noticed is also advanced by another of the interviewees:

> Women are appointed to positions with a heavier workload, which is obvious. In general terms ... a woman needs to work hard, extremely hard to achieve something and get recognition. I would say that women make three times the effort any man makes, especially in the education sector. Being a man in the education sector already indicates that the person will go far.

> A man working in the education sector is seen as a candidate to coordinate something, to be appointed to office. In public office generally, there is an over-appreciation of men, which reflects the high appreciation of men in society. This has changed [with this Administration]. Cristina [the President] and Garré [Ministry of Defense and later Ministry for Security Measures] are examples that things have started to change; there is more respect for women leaders. But in education, men are always spoiled by the system ... If you take a look at schools (at least primary education ...) who is often absent from classes? Gym teachers, who are mostly men. And female directors cover for them, smiling .... When they finally show up, all the women teachers groan .... (Senior officer, woman)

In the opinion of this woman leader, the fact that there are few men creates high expectations and increases the positive attention towards them. Since diversity is valued, some concessions are made so that men will continue to consider the work attractive. This is not the situation of women, who need to make an extraordinary effort to be noticed. The example given by the interviewee in connection with her past experience as teacher at primary level may seems difficult to apply to educational management at senior level. But the point being made is that women aiming at higher management positions cannot avoid making extraordinary efforts in their jobs. And the perception of these women is that men do not need to make the same effort.

The views of junior members of staff

Interestingly, these opinions are only in part challenged by younger professionals. Junior members of staff agreed that in their daily experience men and women worked alike, and that there was no particular need for women to show the merits of their work any more than men. However, they did mention that the lack of men in the education sector generally might make it more difficult for women to stand out. In order to illustrate this argument, female junior members of staff referred to their experiences as university students: since there were few male classmates it was easier for their male colleagues to catch the professors' attention, becoming more noticeable. In the workplace, however, they could not refer to situations where they believed women were expected to work harder than men. In their view, hard work was expected from all junior staff, generally. The fact that they were all under 32 years of age and had no family responsibilities likely had an effect on their perceptions. According to their accounts, they all work long hours, and are all equally available to travel to the provinces to perform their work, and this does not require them to make any particular family arrangements.

Getting there: Sacrifices and strategies

Personal strategies to advance to senior management

All senior female officers interviewed for the study mentioned the different personal strategies that they had to develop during their lives to accommodate work and family responsibilities. One of the women even referred to it as 'sacrifices' made in personal life and family relations.

> It is not possible to develop a professional career and be a part of a selected group of women in decision-making positions, whether in education or in another field, if you are not willing to make a significant number of personal sacrifices. (Senior officer, woman)

> We all pay personal costs because the job demands long hours. Senior public officers work like beasts. But family costs are paid exclusively by women. Men go back home and there is someone there guaranteeing that everything runs smoothly. And there is no guilt. In everyday life you hear women in public office saying '... my daughter would need .... I should ...' but you never hear a man saying that they would have liked to accompany their daughters somewhere and expressing regret that they could not go. The only time that men and women alike want to be

present is at the beginning and end of the academic year for the school ceremony ... but not in the middle of the year. (Senior officer, woman)

When it comes to evaluating the merits and career paths of men and women holding leading positions, equality is highly valued. However, the women interviewees seem to have a clearer sense of the difficulties they have encountered in attaining such equality.

There is a different perception of the meaning of equality. What women have is a personal experience of building equality. Women with career paths leading to senior management positions have experience of making greater efforts, of increased complexity in arranging family responsibilities, and of the help they needed to get ahead in their professional careers. When building this equality, women have to accomplish two things. First, they need to demonstrate their capacity – through daily reaffirmation of their capacities. Second, women make greater personal efforts because their job is not the only role they have. Raising our children is also our role. (Senior officer, woman)

This was less evident to men, who acknowledged that there were probably particular problems faced by women in senior positions, but to the best of their knowledge these difficulties had never hindered their participation at meetings or other activities required by the job. These opinions clearly overlook the fact that maybe women were not comfortable highlighting family-related difficulties.

Women probably need to take care of more issues to participate in a Saturday meeting, but they have it covered and it doesn't show, they participate just the same. Men may also need to take care of other personal issues. Family responsibilities are not an issue .... For instance, there is a young woman working in my department who has a baby. There is a nursery at the Ministry and the baby goes there. During holidays when the nursery is closed, she comes to work with the baby and co-workers contribute to its care. It is a fact that ... if you are appointed to serve [in a senior position], extended working hours are part of the job. Full availability is a prerequisite – no-one should be surprised by this. It is a requirement and I have not noticed any differences between men and women in complying with it. If some women have experienced difficulties, they have managed successfully to disguise them. (Senior officer, man)

Many of the women in senior leading positions made reference to the private one-to-one negotiations they usually established with members of staff working under their authority (both administrative and professional) for purposes of accommodating the staff's work and family responsibilities. However, one of the interviewees noted that many women in top management positions are probably reluctant to make their own difficulties evident because that would mean admitting to some form of handicap:

> Women willing to work in leading positions bear an additional burden, which weighs on their body and their psyche. They bear this burden alone, and ... these problems are never visible in the workplace. However, if a person with a physical disability joins the workplace, everybody will make arrangements so that meetings are held in boardrooms accessible to the person. But the same is not the case for women. Moreover, women themselves hide any difficulties they may have, making them invisible, because they do not want be identified as having women's problems. (Senior officer, woman)

Generational differences in strategies and challenges

Some of the senior women interviewed mentioned that, presumably, some of the difficulties they had encountered were not as present in younger couples. Having reached leading roles in the National Ministry of Education, all these women were in their 50s or 60s. When examining their own careers, they can clearly recall difficulties they experienced that could be overcome due to personal strategies developed with family help (grandmothers, husbands involved in children's care) and paid assistance (domestic workers). In their view, changing gender roles in the last decades have probably made balancing family responsibilities easier for younger women.

> Being a woman, having a position with the government, being a worker – all this had an impact on my generation of women. We had to fight against the suspicion that we were abandoning our children, because our passion for our job was viewed to be too strong. It was difficult to have such a great passion for two spheres of life simultaneously: the job and the family. Nowadays, nobody tells women that they are lousy mothers because they take their children to day-care. You could only manage back then if you had a non-chauvinist husband. The real daily battle was on that front. This has changed, I don't think this is the current experience of younger women. (Senior officer, woman)

However, this view was not endorsed by the junior members of staff interviewed, most likely because few of them had caring responsibilities for dependent members of their families, and therefore most had not yet experienced the situations so vividly described by senior management.

In any event, junior staff expressed concern regarding the steps necessary to move up the ladder in ministerial positions, in terms of the problems most faced with their contractual situations. Not being on the payroll, poorly paid, and not certain of their future employment, they usually worked on multiple jobs and did not devote their full-time efforts to the Ministry. The uncertainty and multiple jobs made it difficult for them to think in terms of strategies to reach senior positions.

Public policies for care responsibilities are not on the agenda

None of the persons interviewed spontaneously mentioned the need for public policies to provide or enable strategies to help overcome obstacles and difficulties posed by family responsibilities.

Concern for caring responsibilities and the creation of a system for care are clearly not on the public agenda. As such, it is not surprising that men and women have given little thought to this issue. During the interviews, men and especially women repeatedly made reference to gender roles, to the sexual division of work in the home, and to the distribution of childcare responsibilities, implying that there was a private negotiation to be undertaken between partners (and eventually other family members) which could on some occasions include outside assistance (whether paid or family work).

When the question of public policies was prompted during the course of the interview, one senior female officer said:

> Public policies in the area of care and family–work balance have progressed, although not enough. Some material conditions have improved although not sufficiently to speak of a welfare state guaranteeing full exercise of social rights, solving problems not only in terms of subsistence but also in quality of life. Care facilities for early childhood certainly require more work in order to improve not only in terms of coverage, but also diversity. There should be more services, not only educational services but also recreational and health-related services. (Senior officer, woman)

Shifting the discussion to the need for public policies in the field of care makes it possible to move the focus away from private negotiations between partners and families. A demand for public policies brings the state and the market into the picture, whether as service providers or through legislation required to impose certain obligations on employers (ILO and UNDP, 2009).

Work styles and leadership in a gendered form

Men and women have different leadership styles: Is it gender or personality?

There seems to be a shared idea that men and women have different leadership styles. In the opinion of the women interviewed, this difference reveals itself mostly in the way in which women and men use their authority. Men are usually seen as developing one-to-one relationships, in a bilateral fashion, while women are seen as promoters of a wider consensus.

The work by Heller in Argentina (1996, 2009) illustrates a wider-reaching attempt undertaken in different cultures and contexts to identify whether there are differences in administrative styles between men and women.[31] These studies indicate that men and women do have different ways of managing organizations and tend to conclude that women are more likely than men to use interpersonally oriented and democratic leadership styles. While male leaders are described as more practically oriented than women, female leaders are generally viewed as being more principled, while at the same time devoting important time and resources to overcoming difficulties within teams. In the identification of certain predominantly 'masculine' and 'feminine' styles, reference is often made to the work of Carol Gilligan on moral development theory, who described the 'ethics of care' more often developed by women as opposed to the 'ethics of justice', more often present in men (Gilligan, 1982). Fraser (2002) and others focus on gender not only as a distinctive category shaping personal characteristics and affecting peoples' choices, but also as one among many other categories, such as race, ethnicity, living conditions, sexual orientation, and disability.

This argument is put forward by Lumby (2009, 2011) with regard to the field of education leaders, challenging the focus on gender as a

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31. This is also present in the literature reviewed in Obura (2011), including authors that make reference to increased productivity and efficiency deriving from diverse work environments.

distinctive characteristic. Lumby argues that the concept of intersectionality has emerged within the social sciences as a theoretical framework assuming that identities, including gender, 'are multiple, fluid, in part self-constructed and in part socially and organizationally constructed' (Lumby, 2009: 29).

While this complexity was acknowledged by many interviewees, certain characteristics of masculine and feminine leadership styles were also advanced, albeit with some degree of generalization.

One of the women interviewed put it in terms of building authority and legitimacy in a daily fashion, through a more horizontal management style concerned with creating consensus for decisions taken.

> I have not abandoned my feminine condition to exert leadership, I have not adopted a masculine leadership style, and I have been able to go forward, although not without some difficulties. Women tend to create bonds and relations for group work, and this implies support for decision-making positions. Women such as myself have a leadership style that contributes to the stability of the work to be done. A masculine model of authority tends to be more hierarchical, based on the organizational structure and task delegation. Men tend to get involved in a radial leadership process, based on delegation and one-to-one relationships. (Senior officer, woman)

The men interviewed were more inclined to identify these differences in management with differences in personality, rather than explaining them in terms of gender.

> I think there is a different way to go about authority; there is a masculine and a feminine leadership style, although it may be difficult to draw the line. I would rather speak in terms of gradations ... maybe it is related to the way in which authority is put into practice, the way men and women relate to other people. This is not necessarily a gender attribute, but an attribute of personality. It may be 80 per cent personality and 20 per cent gender. (Senior officer, man)

The question of different social expectations was also advanced, based on the view that gendered views of men and women in society shape the individual expectations placed on men and women. This raises the question of what expectations are placed on women and men as leaders.

> Women in management are expected to be more caring, considerate, understanding, and this is probably expressed in the different

demands placed on women. But such a management style is not only to be found in women: Sileoni [the current Minister of Education] also has this style and I mean this as a compliment to him. (Senior officer, woman)

Interestingly, a senior female officer who occupied leading roles not only in the education sector of two different jurisdictions, but also in other areas of government, claimed that it is usually women who are at the forefront of in-depth discussions, particularly regarding education and education policies:

> When we occupy decision-making positions, I think women are more confrontational and men resent it .... That is the way it is. Confrontations at the Ministry (and in other positions I have held in the past), substantive discussions and not mere political arguments, were put forward by women. Men are concerned with politicking and political networks, while conceptual political issues are discussed by women. I have rarely seen a man making a strong argument for a conceptual issue. Women argue because they feel that the educational planning of secondary school is wrong, not men. ... And men cannot deal with such confrontations on conceptual issues. (Senior officer, woman)

The point being made is that men dislike this practice of moral positioning used by women, and find it disturbing. It is notable that this female leader claimed to have been asked by female colleagues to voice a certain argument on their behalf. In her account, this was explained in terms of different personalities – the request for support was due to recognition of the need for a stronger personality to voice an argument. In any case, the interviewee did not identify these requests with some form of gender solidarity: in her view solidarity is a personal characteristic, which does not depend on the gender of the person receiving such requests. That is, solidarity should be expressed towards men and women alike.

The views of young professionals: Experience and diversity

In the view of young professionals, there is little relationship between gender and the ways in which senior officers exert their authority. Most (but not all) the junior staff interviewed work under a female superior. While they would not describe different leadership styles on the basis of gender, they did voice certain disagreements in the way in which certain senior members of staff exerted and used their authority. In their experience, leadership is

more clearly recognized and followed when officials have a career path that is not exclusively within the Ministry of Education.

> There are differences with which women themselves build their authority, and this is related to their professional careers. A person coming from the Ministry of Education is different from someone who has had field experience. A person with more diverse work experience feels more confident ... and can therefore establish more horizontal relationships and enable their staff to work in this way. (Junior staff, woman)

> A superior may establish his or her authority in different ways that are unrelated to gender, but rather to personalities, experiences, and expertise. If you have only worked in the Ministry you do not have the same experiences as those who have worked in the field, which gives you more legitimacy, more tools to work with. (Junior staff, woman)

In the view of younger professional staff, it seems that having a professional career outside of the Ministry is an asset when it comes to building positions of authority. Junior staff value and appreciate the work experiences of people 'who have worked in the field' and not only in educational planning and management within ministerial organizations.

In any event, there is a clear appreciation among junior professionals for diversity in the workplace:

> Gender is not the most important feature of a superior, but it is not irrelevant. Working with a man or a woman is not the same. There is a certain basic empathy or rivalry, depending on how the relationship is built. (Junior staff, man)

> I agree, it is not the same. I used to work at another government office in the jurisdiction of the city of Buenos Aires as part of a team of men and women, and there are important differences in terms of relationships. When I came to work at the Ministry of Education it was a shock for me to find myself in an almost all female environment. We women establish more complex relationships, which are less relaxed than those established by men. (Junior staff, woman)

> It is good to have both men and women in a team. For me, diversity is important. (Junior staff, woman)

This view is shared by senior members of staff who pointed out that relationships flourish in diverse working environments, and benefit work outcomes. There were no spontaneous references, however, to different

strategies that could be used in order to promote such diversity, since this is not expressly addressed as a concern for any public office.

Women's bodies, women's issues

Female senior officers as the continuation of 'natural' teachers

Does the presence of women in top leading roles make a difference to educational management and planning? Are particular concerns raised by women? Is there any impact on gender equality in education? A deeper analysis of these issues would require other methodologies and approaches. However, the perceptions and opinions expressed in these interviews provide interesting insights for further analysis in future research.

Many of the senior female officers interviewed shared the idea that the nature of women, related to motherhood and their roles as caregivers, gives distinctive characteristics to their leadership styles, which are particularly important in educational management. Education is seen as a process where results are not readily seen and are sometimes difficult to measure in terms of quantitative data. Therefore, women's personal characteristics make them particularly suitable for the job.

> There is something different in the culture of women. While in office, women develop more loyalty in their subordinates compared to male bosses. (Senior officer, woman)

> There is no difference in terms of capacity (men and women are the same), but there is a different perspective due to womanhood, motherhood, closeness to children and adolescents, which we have acquired from being with our own children, being close to everyday life situations. Being a woman is more connected with being an educator. Women bring to education their personal experience in raising and caring for their families; this is an asset for women in education. There are also some men who have this. But there is something distinctive in women's understanding of the processes of raising and nurturing their children, which helps in the learning process. The key word here is process. Motherhood and womanhood make a distinctive contribution. (Senior officer, woman)

It is interesting to note the numerous references made to motherhood and its connection to the essence of womanhood and women's experience. While this view is clearly in line with the traditional idea of teaching as an extension of the maternal role in the public sphere, it falls short of

recognizing the great differences among women themselves, their lives, views, and characteristics.

This view was not uniformly endorsed, however. A senior interviewee pointed out that the two women who served as Minister of Education, Ms Susana Decibe (1996–1999) and Ms Graciela Giannettasio (2002–2003), did not have a management style that could be considered an extension of any maternal role. On the contrary, they had a more systemic approach to management, which could be considered more 'masculine'.

The junior professionals interviewed (men and women) unanimously contested the idea of women being more fit for education and educational management as a consequence of a certain extension of the maternal role. Consistent with their estimation of the value of diversity, they consider that men and women should be equally present at all levels of the education system – in the classroom, the administration, resources management, and planning. But the idea of a natural disposition among women for education seemed to provoke strong reactions:

> I think we should be careful with the idea that educational roles are natural for women. I think this is dangerous. The idea of teaching as a 'naturally' female occupation was imposed precisely when teachers' salaries were extremely low. (Junior staff, woman)

> If women in leading roles in educational management feel that their role is an extension of the maternal role, then it is no wonder they feel they have to work harder than men. (Junior staff, woman)

> This idea is compatible with the ideals put forward by Sarmiento – teachers assuming the role of second mothers. That is how they entered the education system. (Junior staff, woman)

> I find it highly problematic, particularly if it reflects the point of view of leaders working on the design of the educational system. (Junior staff, man)

Besides a possible generational difference between the views of senior officers and junior staff, it is also true that none of the junior staff participating in the group interview have family responsibilities or responsibilities as carers for dependent members of their families. When faced with this fact, one of the women who had recently won one of the public openings for a position on the Ministry payroll conceded that when planning for a future baby, childcare responsibilities would need to be negotiated with her partner.

Women's issues are better served by women in office

One idea advanced by many of the senior female officers participating in the interviews, and also present in Morgade's account of women as head teachers and supervisors of primary-level institutions (Morgade, 2010), is that female education leaders place issues related to women on the agenda. Not only do they have a very strong personal commitment to their work, they also see it as a space where power is disputed, with consequences for women generally. One of the senior female officers eloquently described her participation in the processes leading to the approval of legislation on sexual education, first in the city of Buenos Aires and then at national level.[32] The issue had been present on the agenda of different legislators and many activists for several years, but lack of sufficient political will and capacity to oppose the strong influence of more conservative groups had hindered enactment.

> When I was appointed to the Ministry of Education in the city of Buenos Aires, the Minister had previously acted as Vice-Minister at the National Ministry. Even if the sexual education law had not been a priority on his agenda, he rapidly came on board and worked to see the law through at the legislature. We managed to approve a law that had been dormant for six years, and in doing so brought many sectors together .... The commitment of the Minister, a man, was crucial because it was a man pushing the law forward and not some 'radical feminist wishing to destroy families' ... strategically it was a very good combination.
>
> At the end of the day, the consequences of a lack of sexual education impacts on women's bodies. So it is women who move these issues forward. (Senior officer, woman)

According to this account, the combination of women's commitment and men's full political support was the key to success in the approval of legislation on sexual education and implementation of teaching materials and a comprehensive policy on gender-sensitive sexual education.

> I think women provide a plus, passion, which is good for getting the job done. But men provide something different, which is also valuable

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32. Due to the federal organization of the Argentine state, some issues come under the regulation of both national and provincial legislation including, among others, those relating to health and education.

and enables better dynamics, a more equitable working environment. (Senior officer, woman)

Once again, diversity appears to be valued for its contribution to improved working environments, building on the capacities and skills of different men and women. The question remains, however, as to whether certain areas of power remain elusive for women.

Trade unions: Men and women leaders in an almost all-female profession

Several of the interviewees (both senior officials and junior staff) concurred on one point: power within the Ministry of Education remains elusive for women when it comes to dealing with trade unions and money.[33]

As noted earlier in this study, there are a significant number of female union leaders in the education sector, particularly when compared with employees' unions from other sectors of the economy. This does not imply, however, that negotiations with trade unions are easily entrusted to female officers in the Ministry of Education, who more often than not find themselves excluded from these meetings. A female senior officer stated that this was due to stereotyped visions of women, which denied their capacity to hold strong negotiations even in adverse contexts:

> There are two examples of women's capacities being understated, both of which are based on negative gender stereotypes. The first is management of economic resources, where there is greater confidence in 'masculine rationality'. The second example is confidence regarding the capacity to negotiate with trade unions, reach understandings and seal agreements. There is a belief that masculine capacities are more adequate for these purposes. (Senior officer, woman)

Trade unions are a very relevant actor within the education system. There are many different trade unions in each jurisdiction, some of them grouped into federations. Discussions involve not only salaries, but also working conditions more generally, with periodic discussions on educational policies with unions and their representatives. Being on good terms with trade unions is therefore an asset.

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33. This section is dedicated to trade unions. The following section analyses management of economic resources within the Ministry of Education.

Being on good terms with trade unions is not a prerequisite to be appointed to a senior position in the Ministry of Education, but if the Minister has to choose between someone on good terms with the unions and someone on bad terms, he will undoubtedly go for the first option. (Senior officer, woman)

There seem to be only a few cases, however, where men or women holding senior positions in trade unions were later appointed to decision-making positions in a ministry of education.[34] In that sense, there are more examples of union workers taking up legislative positions in national or provincial legislatures.

When asked what strategies could be used to increase the number of women in management positions in the education sector, one of the senior female officers highlighted workers' unions as an important actor that could promote change:

There should be a stronger commitment from the Union .... [In other trade unions] there are extraordinary young female union leaders who are products of international associations that have a modern agenda .... I do not know of any such examples in the education sector .... Some former female leaders in the education sector lacked a gender conscience. They could agree upon certain issues, such as child abuse, but had no agenda relating to gender issues. But then if one holds a conviction that the job is an extension of the maternal role, this is a problematic starting point for a wider gender agenda. (Senior officer, woman)

Economic resources in the hands of men

One of the interviewees observed that she could not recall a woman ever being in charge of resources management at the National Ministry of Education. Certainly not in the last 10 years.

A few days ago, for the first time, a woman was appointed as Minister of Economy in the Province of Buenos Aires. In my view, the key is to investigate why it is that there has never been a woman as head of administrative departments [in the Ministry of Education], where the money is. That would be the question. (Senior officer, woman)

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34. An example of one such case is Professor Walter Grahovac, former trade union leader and then Minister of Education of the Province of Córdoba.

> It is not surprising that there are women in senior positions in the Ministry of Education, since they have achieved higher levels of technical expertise .... But it is striking that this is not the case with positions in administrative management. I believe this is the result of a sexual division of labour. (Senior officer, woman)

Persistent stereotyped views of men and women contribute to this divide. Men seem to be more often trusted with management of economic resources, perhaps on the assumption that their alleged practical approach to management may ensure a more rational use of resources.

> Women may be considered capable for management of educational policy, but not for management of resources. Governors may appoint a woman as head of the Ministry of Education, but they simultaneously appoint a man as management director, so that he will manage the Ministry's funds. (Senior officer, woman)

Junior members of staff working in different ministerial areas agree with this perception. They also highlight the political importance of resource management, particularly in the context of an increasing educational budget:

> The ministerial structure reproduces this. The head of economic resources is always a man. And it is the allocation of resources that limits educational policies, so the political power exerted by the person in charge of the funds is enormous. (Junior staff, man)

> I believe that this could also be related to the fact that the Ministry of Education was not allotted much priority within the ministerial structure for many years. It is only during the last decade or so that the budget allocated to the Ministry of Education has been considerably increased. (Junior staff, man)

As in other areas of government, such as budget commissions in the legislatures and senior positions within the Ministry of Economy, women seem far from achieving equal opportunities in terms of assuming central management roles regarding economic resources.

5.   The way forward:
   Understanding gender in education

Main findings

The interviews with senior officers who served in the National Ministry of Education provide interesting insights for analysis. In general terms, women seem to be more aware than men of the practical problems they encountered throughout their careers, and also of the gender stereotypes that they have had to confront concerning motherhood and family responsibilities. Unlike their male counterparts, women are also more inclined to identify certain characteristics of female leadership that in their view make a particularly valuable contribution to educational planning. The group interview conducted with junior members of professional staff also provides useful data for analysis. What appear to be generational differences can be explained in part by the personal experiences of those interviewed (e.g. none of the interviewees have family responsibilities) and also by their limited access to decision-making spheres.

Even in this exploratory study, the evidence so far indicates that female participation in senior educational management follows the same logic as political participation generally. First, previous political experience and participation in party politics seem to be a prerequisite for future appointments at ministerial level. However, this needs to take into account a context of limited democratization within political parties, where women's participation encounters several difficulties that are not fully overcome through quota legislation, which applies only to the drafting of candidate lists for electoral contests. Second, the lack of established procedures for appointment to senior positions within ministries (including the Ministry of Education), which gives preference to qualified candidates with connections to informal political networks, may adversely affect the chances of qualified women who often do not have such connections.

Furthermore, this lack of established procedures for appointment in ministries affects more than just senior management positions. The irregular contractual situation of most professional staff within the Ministry of Education is also a problem for younger generations who cannot see a clear career path leading to senior management. This situation is beginning

to change, but this will be a long process in which public discussion of the gender implications of merits and valued career paths still need to be analysed.[35]

The findings show that female senior leaders are more aware of difficulties related to balancing family and work, whether in their own personal lives or in the lives of younger women working in their teams. In the experience of these women, it has become clear that leading positions necessitate confronting stereotyped expectations regarding motherhood. In all cases, however, both senior men and women seem to share the idea that long hours 'come with the job'. There seems to be little questioning of the effects this has on the work–life balance for both sexes.

The views of junior professionals with no caring responsibilities for dependent members of their families bring to light a generational divide where they share the perception that middle-ranked employees 'take advantage' of younger members of staff, overworking them in unfair ways. This perception may, on the one hand, point to poor internal communication among working teams. On the other hand, this constitutes evidence of the sense of unfairness that usually comes from personal one-to-one arrangements for family responsibilities in the absence of a general policy perceived as equally applicable to all staff. Again, this is also a consequence of different employment contract arrangements. Leave of absence and special permission (along with maternity leave and vacation) are available as a matter of law only to employees on the Ministry's payroll, but not to those working under different contractual arrangements (i.e. workers hired under contracts and not formally on the Ministry's payroll). Even if vacation and maternity leave are granted to workers under different contractual arrangements on the basis of a general informal understanding, these require some informal adjustments. In addition, there are other types of permission and leave of absence automatically available to men and women on the payroll, but which need to be informally negotiated with direct superiors by any employee not included on the payroll.

In all cases, in absence of a general policy, arrangements for family responsibilities are negotiated individually. This lack of written rules and

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35. It would be interesting to undertake a gendered analysis of candidates vis-à-vis appointments made for the different categories of openings, along with a review of the gender composition of qualification boards. The findings of such an analysis would certainly provide relevant information as an additional and important outcome of the entire process.

procedures may have at least two potentially adverse effects. First, problems with transparency and accountability may arise between departments and sectors within the same ministry. Second, this places the burden on workers since satisfactory arrangements will depend on individual negotiating capacity and the superior's sensitivity towards the issues raised.

An initial agenda for future research

A number of issues should be analysed in more depth, not only through interviews but also through other methodologies, with the aim of increasing understanding of the conditions that foster a more diverse overall team in educational management and planning.

First, a better understanding is needed of the relationship between the ideals of women as principal caregivers and the role of public policies (Pautassi, 2007). The persons interviewed share the understanding that long, unpredictable working hours 'come with the job' and there seemed to be little questioning of the effects that compliance with this 'requirement' have on men and women. Personal costs, in terms of dedication and organization of family life, seem to be paid by women only. Not only did the men interviewed not see the issue, but also women did not spontaneously question their role as mothers and primary caregivers. Public policies for caring arrangements have not been mentioned as an outstanding debt (at least in some areas of Argentina) that should be addressed by the public authorities in order to contribute to finding an equitable work–life balance, both for men and women.

Second, interviews with both senior officials and junior members of staff indicate that it would be useful to have more transparent rules and procedures. Work–life balance arrangements (mainly for the staff of the Ministry of Education) are usually negotiated directly between the person in charge and the employees. The lack of written rules not only affects accountability and transparency, but may also work against employees who are less capable of conducting this dialogue and negotiation with their superior.

Third, there seems to be an identification of women with motherhood, which does not sufficiently account for diversity among women and is apparently contested by younger members of staff. It would be interesting to undertake further research to understand to what extent this view is also present in other areas of the education system, not only in teaching

materials (which have largely been reviewed and updated) but rather in the common practices of teachers and head teachers.

There are still serious obstacles in the efforts to achieve real equal opportunity in access to nationwide quality education, inspired by respect for social and gender equality and efforts to rid both male and female citizens of sexist and discriminatory stereotypes. But much more research needs to be performed to understand the links, if any, between equal access to educational management and planning, and the effects this may have on the concrete lives and opportunities of boys and girls. Even though girls and women have long accessed the educational system at all levels, there are other underlying problems which it is imperative to address.

Suggested strategies and policy recommendations for moving forward

Progress towards gender equality in the education sector requires diverse and combined strategies, in particularly in educational management and planning. The following strategies and policy recommendations could prove useful for a ministry of education concerned with promoting full exercise of the right to education and equality of opportunity within the ministerial structure.

First and foremost, the ministry should increase gender awareness by establishing relevant monitoring mechanisms focusing on an overarching concern for gender balance and the impact of all policies and practices in terms of gender. The ministry could increase its concern for gender equity at all levels, including top ministerial levels, and promote more diverse working environments generally (this includes other under-represented groups). While not necessarily implying affirmative action initiatives (e.g. pre-existing quotas), gender awareness does require that the issue of gender be raised in connection with appointments and promotions.

Such a policy would require:

- producing and publishing gender-disaggregated data on ministerial staff, at all levels, including all kinds of contractual arrangements;
- promoting opportunities for sharing and discussing gender-disaggregated data, along with information on the relevance of gender balance and diverse working environments, and reflecting on the effects of gender in educational management in particular;

- involving all male professionals in personal and organizational transformation;
- reviewing the operation of informal networks and informal meetings that exclude certain members of management teams;
- paying attention to gender balance in different educational and management opportunities for men and women in junior, middle, and senior positions;
- promoting mentoring opportunities for women at different levels of educational management.

Another crucial step in the advancement of gender equality is the development of a family-sensitive work environment. Existing informal arrangements that currently allow employees and their managers to accommodate family needs should be institutionalized, allowing for greater transparency and accountability from all ministry workers and officers. This would involve:

- establishing clear regulations for strategies to accommodate family responsibilities, under specific circumstances and across different contractual arrangements;
- holding work meetings at times and places that do not represent an obstacle for persons with care responsibilities, to the extent possible.

Given the current staff composition of the Ministry of Education and, in particular, taking into account the concerns raised by junior professionals, it is important to continue efforts to improve the organization of different contractual arrangements. This would contribute to establishing clear rules and procedures and allowing younger men and women in the pipeline to identify the career path expected from them. In that sense, the strategies could include:

- reviewing the gendered composition of selection committees in connection with appointment procedures, when applicable;
- providing clear guidelines on promotion criteria (skills, experience, qualifications);
- eliminating any gender bias from interviewing procedures.

Finally, once the National Ministry of Education is convinced of the benefits of promoting more diverse and gender-sensitive work environments, it would be important to share the lessons learned through the implementation of the suggested strategies with other governmental offices, particularly with provincial ministries of education. Whether

through the organization of a specific seminar or using the opportunities provided by the periodic meetings of the Federal Education Council, the Minister of Education could lead an effort to share the experiences gained with colleagues in the provinces, thus promoting wider opportunities for change.

Appendix. Acknowlegements and list of persons interviewed

List of persons interviewed:

Abrile de Vollmer, María Inés
Amoroso, Ignacio
Aragundi, Eduardo
Brawer, Mara
Cases, Mercedes
Corella, Renata
Diana, Carolina
Díaz, Marisa del Carmen
Feijoó, María del Carmen
Fernández, Perla
Ibarra, Tomás
Lombardi, Graciela
Martinez, Milagros
Rubens, Pedro
Sartirana, Laura
Turco, Lucia

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Part III

Women's leadership in education: Case study from Kenya

Anna P. Obura

Map 3.1   Kenya

Source: Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, US Central Intelligence Agency.

Map 3.2   Kenya: The new 47 counties
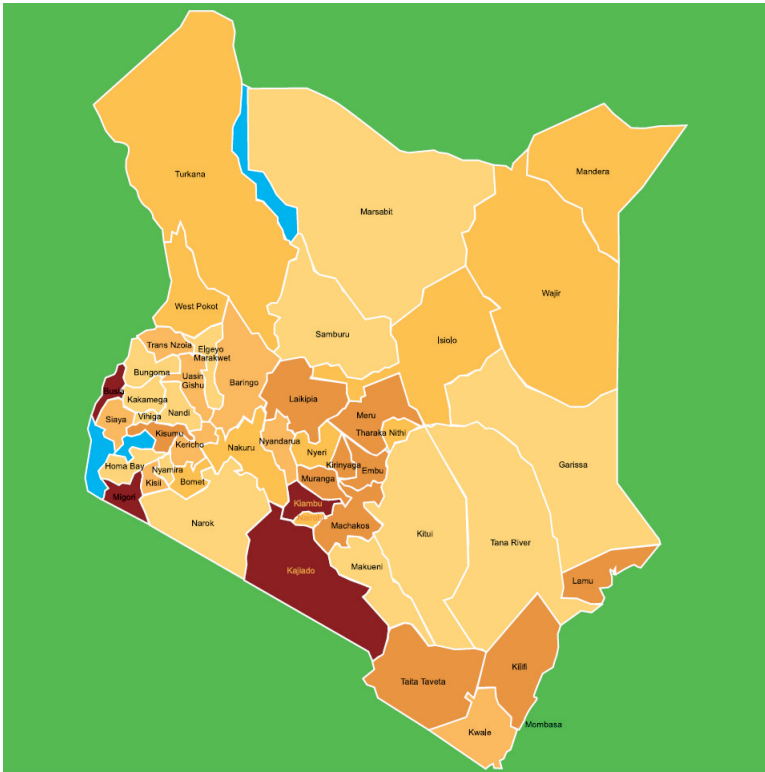
Source: Commission on Revenue Collection, Government of Kenya.
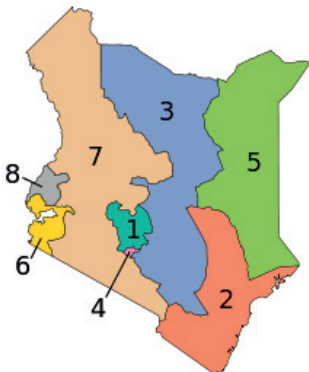
For reference, at left are the eight provinces of Kenya, 1963–2012, operational until the end of year 2012 elections:

1 – Central Province
2 – Coast Province
3 – Eastern Province
4 – Nairobi
5 – North Eastern Province
6 – Nyanza Province
7 – Rift Valley Province
8 – Western Province

1. Introduction and overview

Education systems are established to provide the best possible opportunities for girls and boys to learn, through a well-designed and relevant curriculum and whole-school experience. Schools need to function proactively in the best interests of boys and girls – who may have some gender-differentiated education needs – and of the nation. Research into gender and education in Africa has focused on access and participation, and to a lesser extent on pedagogy, curriculum, performance, and the whole-school experience. Furthermore, there is a lack of information on education system management at decision-making levels from a gender perspective. The present case study aims to provide evidence from Kenya on the gender dimensions of policy formulation and management in the education sector.

Objectives of the study

This study was undertaken to determine the proportion and status of women in decision-making posts in the ministries of education in Kenya, to investigate the causes of low representation, to propose strategies for increasing the number of women in education policy-making, and to enhance the quality and extent of women's participation in policy-making through modification of the work environment. The last two objectives were added by the Kenya research team, when it became evident that the study presented an opportunity to provide significant input into the nature of policy-making itself.

After more than two decades of attention to the issue of equity in the education system, the present study investigates whether girls continue to have less access to and benefit less from the education system than boys in Kenya. The publication of the *EFA End of the Decade Kenya Assessment* (2012) by the Ministry of Education seems to answer this question in the affirmative. This study further seeks to identify whether parity and equity would be achieved by higher female representation in decision-making at the Ministry of Education.

For most of Kenya's post-Independence history there has been a single Ministry of Education. At present, there is a Ministry of Education (MoE) and a Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology (MoHEST), responsible for post-secondary education. The ministries

were to merge in 2012 in accordance with the new framework set out by the 2010 Constitution to reduce the number of ministries.

Overview of education in Kenya from a gender perspective

Over the last five decades since Independence, Kenya's education system has experienced massive increases in enrolment. The country has achieved gender parity at primary level (MoE, 2012), but with wide in-country disparities between high-potential agricultural areas and arid lands. Fewer female candidates than male take the primary leaving examination. However, transition rates from primary to secondary school are beginning to favour girls. At secondary level, the gross enrolment ratio (GER) for girls stood at 46 per cent compared with 51 per cent for boys in 2010. Women accounted for 37 per cent of university students in 2009/2010, representing 36 per cent of students at the public universities (including full-time and self-sponsored students) and 41 per cent at private universities, according to data from the Commission on Higher Education (see *Appendix 1, Table A.2*). TVET enrolments have achieved parity but female students remain under-represented in the traditionally male disciplines of science and technology. National averages mask pockets of gender disparity that disadvantage girls in rural and remote areas and arid lands, and have begun to disadvantage boys in urbanized and well developed rural areas.

Female performance has consistently been lower than male performance overall, from primary through secondary levels, particularly in mathematics and science subjects, and there remains a significant gender gap (KNEC Reports; MoE, 2012; Saito, 2010). The performance of girls in language and religious studies, which are less prestigious subjects, has at times been higher than that of boys. (Detailed statistics on university enrolments are given in *Appendix 1*.) Female achievement at school and university does not translate into commensurate employment opportunities and pay, even in the case of the most highly qualified women. These outcomes are evidenced by research findings that indicate a continued lack of gender-responsive pedagogy in the classroom and failure to transform school culture.

FAWE (the Forum for African Women Educationalists) has undertaken considerable work to raise awareness of the need for gender-responsive pedagogy. Implementation of curriculum and pedagogy remains an area in need of close attention, as does teacher education. Where curriculum change has occurred, it remains piecemeal, and

textbooks require constant monitoring. In addition, sexual harassment and gender-based violence continue in schools and through the agency of schools. Lack of progress on these issues indicates a need for new approaches and mechanisms in the future, including the full representation of women at the apex of ministries of education. The present research sheds light on the culture and working environment of ministries of education from a gender perspective.

Literature review

The present study benefited from the *Global Literature Review on Gender Equality in Educational Planning and Management* produced for the 2011 IIEP programme on women in policy-making in education. Recent research on the advantages of diversity in decision-making teams, including adequate representation of minorities, indicates that full representation of women is not only a human rights issue, but beneficial in terms of efficient institutional governance. Also of relevance to Kenya are studies on social justice (Kozol, 1991) and equity in the education sector (Baker and LeTendre, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2008; Mama, 2001; Salmi, 2000); gender images in traditional culture in Kenya (Ndungo, 2006; Odaga, 1994); and on gender perceptions in African society (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994; Oyewumi, 1997) and within the education sector (Chege and Sifuna, 2006; Mulinge, 2001; Nnaemeka, 2003; Obura, 1991).

In addition to the above research on girls' and women's education, studies now abound in sub-Saharan Africa on continental and country trends in women's participation in politics, management, and the judiciary (BWA and Synovate, 2006; Munuo, 2006; Nzomo, 1995), in higher education (Bunyi, 2008, 2006; Ngethe *et al.*, 2005), and the non-traditional disciplines of science and technology (NCST, 2010). There have also been studies on links between higher education outcomes and occupational success, including the seminal study of Atieno and Teal (2006) indicating an inverse relationship between the highest qualifications and female occupation; on school headship and women head teachers in Kenya (Bush and Oduro, 2006; Herriot *et al.*, 2002; Kitavi and van der Westhuizen, 1997); and on gender in higher education management (Achola and Aseka, 2001; Bunyi, 2006; Gachukia, 2002; Kamau, 2001; Kanake, 1997; Lodiaga and Mbevi, 1995).

It is difficult, however, to locate studies focused on women in education policy-making or senior management in ministries of education.

A doctoral study linking female education with women's empowerment in Kenya, including reference to women in education policy-making, dates from the 1980s (Riria, 1986). Wanjama's doctoral thesis (2002) was the first to focus on the career patterns of women in the Ministry of Education in Kenya. 'Women can only go so far', said the male informants in her study, referring to the fourth step below director level in the ministry. These men were the 'gatekeepers' to promotion who, at the time, did not welcome women as fellow directors. 'They needed "office wives", that is, technical assistants to run their offices efficiently just like their wives did at home; and a committed labour force in their office, to be constantly at their call and command.' There was no sexual connotation to the term 'office wives'. It referred to the 'constant presence and unquestioning obedience' that was expected of female professional technical middle-management officers, but it graphically described the transference of societal expectations of women's domestic behaviour to expectations of female professional behaviour in the office. The researcher observed appointment interviews that were more pointedly gender-slanted than today. Women applicants would be asked how many children they had, the age of the youngest, whether the applicant felt she could cope with looking after small children and professional middle-level management work, and whether she was ready to move her residence immediately. Male applicants were asked only the last question. Wanjama also points out that questions on the childcare role mask, or are a euphemism for, the double role of childcare and husband support in the home. Moreover, in Kenya, as in many other countries, society and the extended family tend to disapprove of a woman working or relocating temporarily without her husband, and the husband rarely agrees to relocate to the wife's new workplace (Leah Wanjama, interviewed by author, 20 August 2011). The 'childcare' interview question is therefore the litmus test for a professional woman's suitability for promotion.

Kiluva-Ndunda's (2001) more general study of female education concludes that 'women in Kenya have been largely absent at the national level where educational policies are formulated. Policy-making has remained male dominated [with the result that] women's agency [is limited] to the private sphere. The formulation of policies from the male perspective has intensified the public and private dichotomy.' She links the under-representation of women in the Ministry of Education directly to the quality of national education policies and programmes.

Osumbah (2011) completed field work in 2005, carefully mapping the numbers and job ranks of women in the ministry, and interviewing and sending questionnaires to senior managers. She concluded that individual, socio-cultural, and particularly *organizational* barriers continued to stand in the way of women's advancement in the Ministry. These included long working hours, obstacles to women utilizing their full abilities in the workplace, constant pressure on women managers to manifest ability in contrast with male managers considered automatically as experts, informal promotion mechanisms favouring men, appointment committees dominated by men, established workplace networking mechanisms advantaging male applicants, and workplace-related male working teams and male socialization patterns creating an environment unwelcoming to women professionals. The multiple socio-cultural barriers included the burden of 'family care' and traditional perceptions of women's subordinate role in society, described as incapable of and unsuited to leadership, with the concomitant anxiety of dealing with the many issues that male leaders do not need to face. The present study builds on Osumbah's pioneering work.

Data analysis of women in the ministries of education in Kenya is included in the *Kenya Human Resource Development Sector Report* (2011) and the Ministry of Gender report *The Second Bi-Annual Report on the Implementation of the 30% Affirmative Action for Women in Recruitment and Promotion in the Public Service* (2011) monitoring gender-affirmative staffing outcomes across ministries.

Methodology of the study

This section provides an overview of the type of quantitative data sought and made available to the study. It lists the qualitative data collection methods used, describes the sample interviewed, the profiles of the interviewers and the interview method, and provides a concluding endnote.

Once authorization from the Kenya Ministry of Education was acquired, through consultation with IIEP-UNESCO, a Kenya Advisory Group was formed to guide the study and was readily supported with technical guidance by the UNESCO Offices in Kenya, the Kenya National Commission for UNESCO, and the UNESCO Regional Office. The study was also fortunate to benefit from the participation of the Ministry of Education itself, through the Directorate of Policy, Partnerships, and East African Community Affairs (DPP/EAC), in addition to data inputs from

the Human Resource Management departments of the two ministries of education, and the willingness of officers and others to take part in interviews.

Collection of quantitative data

The study started with a search for quantitative data on past and current numbers of officers in decision-making posts in the ministry and professional ministry staff at all levels by gender. Both MoE and MoHEST provided all available current data, which was then analysed by the study team and produced in tabular and graphic form. The findings were then discussed together with qualitative findings.

It proved difficult to find data on the past, when information by gender was not collected or recorded. The Osumbah (2011) study, noted above, was the sole reference for previous years. Therefore, in order to gain a perspective on trends, current reports were supplemented by information collected from interviews.

Methods of qualitative data collection and analysis

The major focus during the study was to discover the causes of low female representation and to examine existing facilitating mechanisms that promote women's advancement. The aim was, in conclusion, to propose possible strategies to achieve not only parity in numbers by gender, but a gender-responsive institutional culture. The chosen methods of data collection for these purposes were qualitative investigative techniques including a preliminary literature review, interview and focus group discussion (FGD), and extensive inter-researcher discussion and analysis.

A preliminary literature review

Literature consulted included the documents cited in the Global Literature Review of this programme, and the additional Kenya documents referenced at the end of this report. In addition, the study consulted regional and national policy documents on gender and on gender in education; international indices reports on the same; literature from the related fields of women in politics in Kenya, in the economy and the workplace, and on the changing social context; the Constitution of Kenya (2010); and Kenya's gender and gender-in-education policies.

Interview and focus group discussion (FGD)

In-depth and unstructured one-on-one interviews (38) were conducted and two FGDs were held for current and past middle-level managers, totalling 44 informants in all.[36] Meetings were also organized with technical informants on quantitative data in the Human Resource Management departments of the ministries, and several visits were made to collect data.

Extensive inter-researcher discussion and analysis

All the researchers involved in the study kept in constant contact, thus permitting ongoing review during the data collection. Notes or recordings of interviews were typed into verbatim or near-verbatim transcripts, topics were numbered, and interviewers' and readers' comments were collected on the scripts. Topics covered in the interviews were then classified according to the prime research questions and the areas of interest to informants that emerged from the interviews. The points were discussed among the researchers and reported accordingly.

The sample

The Advisory Group to the study recommended the inclusion of the following categories of informants. First, current senior MoE managers were to be interviewed to gain a contemporary perspective on management at the top of ministries. Given that there are few women at decision-making levels in these ministries, a high proportion of the women in such posts (estimated at 12), who were available in Kenya at the time of the study, were interviewed (8). Second, it was felt that women retired from senior positions would also be able to offer useful contributions concerning their career in the MoE and their perceptions on changes and trends. The eight women interviewed spanned a retirement period from the 1980s onwards. Next, six women currently at middle-management level were included in the study. These women face day-to-day challenges of achieving promotion, devising or not devising strategies to reach the top, and making decisions on whether to target senior management. Finally, eight women were

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36. One of the two planned female FGDs was conducted, but the second planned female FGD and the scheduled male FGD – both involving middle-level MoE managers – were converted into individual interviews due to time constraints, given the impossibility of getting participants together at one time.

interviewed who had retired or resigned from MoE middle-management over the last three decades.

Some of Kenya's keenest gender observers work outside the ministries of education in non-governmental organizations, on gender and human rights commissions, or in other ministries. They have backgrounds in education, microfinance, or research, or are known for their interest in education. The study team interviewed three women and three men in this category, for a total of six informants outside the ministries of education. Time and scope constraints limited the sample to only one corporate woman (with a background in education), but the value of such a perspective was acknowledged. Kenya has a constellation of highly accomplished, well-travelled, and experienced women in the private sector who could be tapped on a next round of investigation to provide insights on the topic of women in senior management and on the recommended role of government as regards the inclusion of a gender perspective in education policy management.

Finally, a sample of 11 key male informants was selected (including the three men noted above), including representatives from the ministries of education, specialists in education policy development, a historian of education, two informants from the non-government sector and three from the field of private consultancy, two informants in their 40s known for a younger generation approach to education issues, older men and a specialist in gender in education. The addition of more men to the total sample could have proved rewarding, but in this case the preference went to weighting in favour of women, resulting in 33 women (75 per cent) and 11 men (25 per cent).

Introductory, gatekeeping, and courtesy meetings at the start of the study were very useful for gauging the depth and scope of understanding of gender issues in the education sector. In addition, technical informants, the two (female) Human Resource Management directors of the ministries of education and of higher education, provided valuable qualitative inputs to the study, as well as email inputs from the Public Service Commission.

Table 3.1 shows the categories of interviewees included in the study, which was concluded at the end of 2011.

Table 3.1   **Informants in the Kenya case study**

Category	Informants	N
A	Women currently in MoE senior management	8
B	Women retired/resigned from MoE senior management	8
C	Women currently in MoE middle management	6
D	Women retired/resigned from MoE middle management	8
E	Key informant women from outside MoE	3
F	Key informant men from inside and outside MoE	11
	Total	44

Two refusals for interviews were received. Some potential interviewees approached had genuine time constraints over a period of several months. Kenyan culture is not yet comfortable with in-depth telephone or Skype interviews, whether on mobile or landline telephones. Nor is it considered respectful for the person seeking the favour, the time of the interviewee, to propose telephone communication since the interviewer is then not 'taking the trouble' to go and visit the interviewee. This mode of communication was therefore excluded.

The interviewers

Over the past two decades there has been a tradition among female education researchers in Kenya to include a mentoring element in research teamwork whenever possible. The IIEP/MoE-sponsored study was no exception. The six members of the Advisory Group were chosen to reflect the skills of the most senior specialists working in the field of gender in education – women researchers with particular insight into women's advancement in the field of education and in ministries of education. Four younger researchers were also chosen, three female and one male, in order to provide them with the opportunity to join a senior research team, and to gain valuable experience and hone their research skills.

The younger researchers were trained in a half-day session by a senior research trainer from the Advisory Group and the lead researcher of the study. The two research assistants were mentored during the research process by the Advisory Group. All researchers benefited from regular telephone contact for process discussion.

From the beginning, the Advisory Group demonstrated great enthusiasm and interest in the study. It emerged that some of them would be

available for interviewing and that two members were willing to mentor the younger researchers. In addition, one of the mentor-researchers expressed her interest in taking an active, more leading part in the whole research process, while a second became available for a similar role at a later stage of the study. The study therefore benefited from wider participation and more in-depth participation from the Advisory Group than originally planned.

The interview

Guided by the IIEP Global Literature Review, noted above, and the aims of the study, the Kenya Advisory Group developed guidelines for the in-depth unstructured interviews in terms of content and methodology, which would encourage informants to give their views and accounts of:

- the facilitating and/or obstructive mechanisms related to women's career advancement in the Ministry of Education;
- female and male perspectives on the performance of women in senior management;
- strategies recommended to ministries of education, to women, and to other entities, to enhance future female access to and performance in such positions.

Interviewers were encouraged to give informants the opportunity to talk about their own career patterns and experiences, using a life-cycle approach to the interview where appropriate, and to use the projective technique in getting them to reflect on the careers and performance of other women and men in ministries of education. The preferred location for the interview, as agreed by the Advisory Group, was outside ministry offices, over tea. In some cases, interviews were held in homes. The interview lasted a minimum of 90 minutes, except for those which had to be held in offices, which were necessarily reduced to one hour.

The effects of the research method on the study

The research process was dynamic. This was necessitated by the competing obligations of the Advisory Group – professional travel and unpredictable duties – but also by the growing enthusiasm and inputs of all the researchers into the research process itself. The administrative and consultative processes of the research proved as significant as the data collection activity. This could be attributed to the preference of women researchers

for open-ended qualitative data collection techniques, willingness to work in a flexible manner, and a predilection for team consultation.

As a result, the extension and enrichment of the objectives of the study came to include:

- the addition of a third objective: to provide significant input into the nature of policy-making through research into gender aspects of policy-shaping processes;
- the inclusion in the research team of a mentoring element provided by the senior researchers in the Advisory Group, weighted in favour of aspiring young women researchers who represented three-quarters (three of four) of the regular and research assistant team;
- unexpected group learning within and across the full team of 11 researchers in the project.

In order to take into account the full social context in which the present study is set, this introductory section will describe the developmental, human rights, and gender environment of Kenya and place the country in its sub-regional, regional, and global setting.

At the start, the all-important factor of Kenya's new 2010 Constitution is noted, together with the enactment of recent legislation. 'The historic journey that we began over 20 years ago is now coming to a happy end,' stated President Kibaki as he signed the new Constitution. The African Union termed it 'a momentous achievement'. US President Obama called the outcome of the referendum: 'a significant step forward for Kenya's democracy'. The international press was ecstatic: 'Some have billed [the new Constitution] as the most important political event in Kenya's history since it gained independence from Britain in 1963', enthused the BBC ('Kenya president ratifies new constitution', 2010) and the *New York Times* ('Kenyans approve new Constitution', 2010). Recent achievements are detailed below, using a chronological perspective.

The structure of the report

To give some context to the present study on women in leadership in education, the first chapter examines Kenya's human development status and track record, using a regional, continental, and global perspective. This is followed by a review of Kenya's progress on social equality and equity, and public integrity. Kenya's rating on the Gender Equality Index is then

discussed, followed by sections on women in politics and in the economy, and security issues.

The next chapter examines in detail the foundations and instruments leading to change in the status of women over past decades in Kenya, and in chronological order: the declarations of the Organization of African Unity/the African Union; Kenya's National Gender Policy (2004) and Gender Policy in Education (2007); the new Constitution (2010); and the Kenya Women's National Charter (2012). The review is pertinent since it highlights the potential for implementation of different types and levels of policy, legislative measures, and strategy formulations.

In the following chapter, the report turns to the specific field of education, presenting the findings of the present study on the extent of women's representation in the ministries of education in Kenya.

The next chapter explores the findings on the work experience of women professionals, applications for recruitment and promotion, perceived causes of success/lack of success as regards promotion, factors linked to successful promotion, the performance of women leaders in education, and the challenges facing women leaders.

The final chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations derived from the study.

2.   Context for equity reform

This chapter examines Kenya's current human development status and track record alongside those of its neighbours in eastern Africa, the Africa region, and as a member of the global community. This inter-country review provides a basis for comparison and appreciation of current levels of achievement in Kenya. The chapter then reviews progress on social equality and equity, and introduces the concept of 'developmental loss' as a measure not only of progress forgone, but of gain available for future exploitation, and as an implicit strategy for future developmental planning. The study probes deeper into the daily work environment encountered by women in the public sector and in ministries of education, and examines available measures on public integrity from a national and international standpoint, including the Gender Equality Index and other related indicators. It is now increasingly understood that factors such as security, full political representation, and participation in economic leadership are directly related to the status of women and their access to public sector leadership.

Human Development Indicators

In 2011, Kenya was ranked 143 out of 187 countries surveyed on the Human Development Index, with an HDI of 0.509 (UNDP, 2011*a*). These numbers mean little in isolation but become meaningful through examination of trends across years and inter-country data. The following section provides cross-country comparisons.

In early 2008, Kenya reached a crossroads. A sudden eruption of violence resulting from a disputed election result threatened the very stability of the state. After two months the violence was quelled leaving more than 1,000 dead and approximately 500,000 people displaced, adding to the 350,000 displaced persons resulting from earlier election-related incidents, unresolved land grievances, poor governance, and socio-economic insecurity (OCHA, 2009). In March 2008, a coalition government was formed to restore peace and stability. The African Union and the wider international community responded quickly with support for reconciliation efforts, and the International Criminal Court in The Hague charged four suspects with crimes against humanity, with trials due to commence in 2012.

The HDI is a measure for assessing long-term progress on human development according to three basic dimensions: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge, and a decent standard of living. These factors are measured, respectively, through life expectancy, a combination of schooling acquired by adults over 24 years old, and the expected number of school years that a child of school entrance age can expect to receive, and the gross national income per capita expressed in constant purchasing power parity in US dollars. *Figure 3.1* shows the contribution of each component indicator to Kenya's HDI status since 1980.

Figure 3.1   Trends in Kenya's HDI component indices, 1980–2011
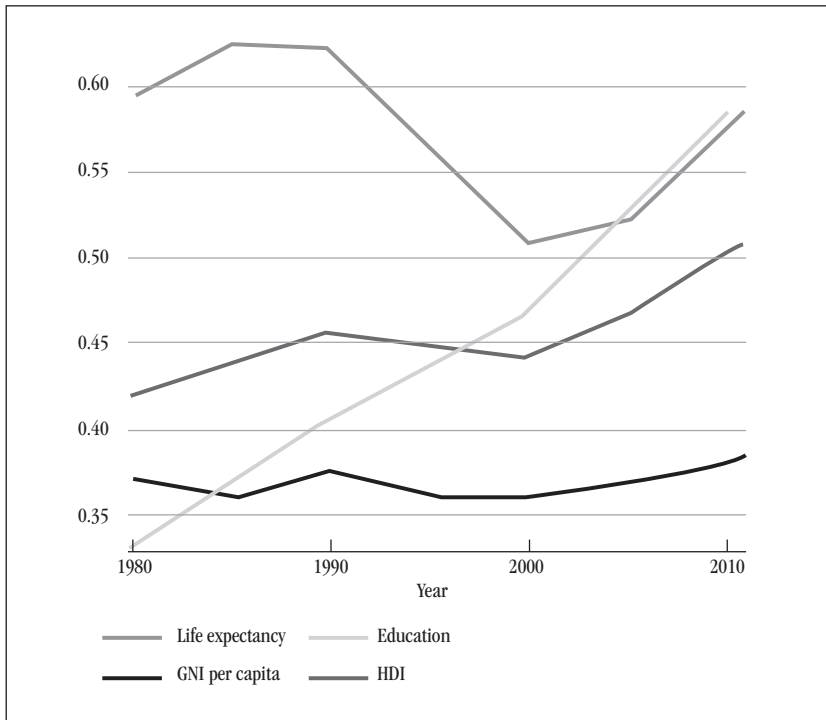
Source: UNDP, 2011*b*.

The constant rise in the education indicator is attributable to Kenya's commitment to widening education opportunity, exemplified by the Free Primary Education programme introduced in 2003. This constituted

Kenya's third attempt to provide free primary schooling since the 1970s. Subsidized secondary provision was introduced in 2008.

Incomes have not improved appreciably over the last 30 years. The economy stagnated in the 1980s and 1990s after a spurt at Independence in the 1960s and 1970s. The year 2003 witnessed a new increase in economic activity which was severely compromised by the 2007/2008 violence. Sporadic economic development impacts on life expectancy and education. Life expectancy dropped rapidly in the 1990s due to the spread of the AIDS pandemic, but has been mitigated by the provision of anti-retroviral treatment (ARV) in recent years, although it is unclear whether the level of ARV support is sustainable. In summary, Kenya's progress in education has not been matched by economic gains for the general populace and HIV/AIDS has seriously impacted the health status of the nation. Current indicators show positive signs, but economic development is arguably the most urgent need and would serve as a boost for almost all other sectors of development.

Kenya's development plans, published in the roadmap document *Vision 2030*, are ambitious. Reports published in Kenya have a tendency to compare the country solely with less developed countries in the region. While such comparisons make sense, as Kenya shares many features in common with its neighbours with whom it must necessarily live and cooperate, it is also instructive to compare Kenya with countries at a similar stage of development and with the most progressive nations in Africa, such as Botswana, Ghana, and South Africa, and with countries outside Africa. The following comparisons reflect this outlook and provide interesting points for discussion.

As *Figure 3.2* shows, the development trend for Kenya is not as steep as for other countries, and one could argue that progress in education is inevitably being constrained by the sluggish pace of other development indicators.

Figure 3.2   Trends in HDI in selected countries, 1980–2010
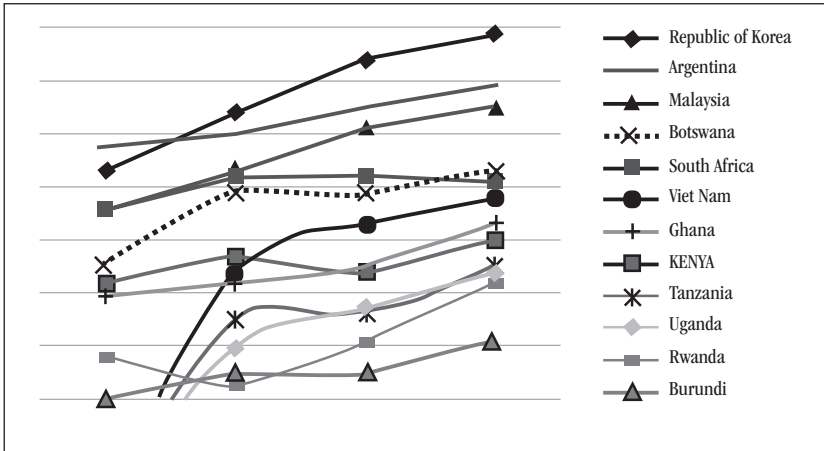
Source: Data from UNDP, 2011*a*: Statistical Table 2.

Social equality

To understand development trends in Kenya it is useful to explore other perspectives. One dimension that has a bearing on gender issues is social equality. A key measurement tool in this regard is the Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI). It takes into account disparities within national borders (i.e. inequitable provision of social services and inequitable economic development). The IHDI measures the 'loss' in potential development due to inequality and points to a development dimension of concern for the present study, namely equity. *Figure 3.3* presents the national status on inequality for eight of the countries compared in *Figure 3.2* for which data are available.

The percentages on the left indicate the difference between the potential development of a country measured by HDI and the actual human development, indicated by the IHDI, or the percentage of loss resulting from inequality in the society (UNDP, 2011*b*: 3). There is a significant difference in these figures between Argentina, Korea, Viet Nam, and the countries of Africa. Social disparity within nations is higher in Africa. Consequently, the need and opportunity for addressing inequality are greater. The thesis of the present study, which argues for equity, is well supported by *Figure 3.3*. The *Human Development Report* (UNDP, 2011*a*) places Kenya at one of the lowest levels of IHDI, with a 34 per cent loss of

opportunity. As this study shows, one of the social groups most affected by this loss is women.

Figure 3.3   Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI) in selected countries, 2011
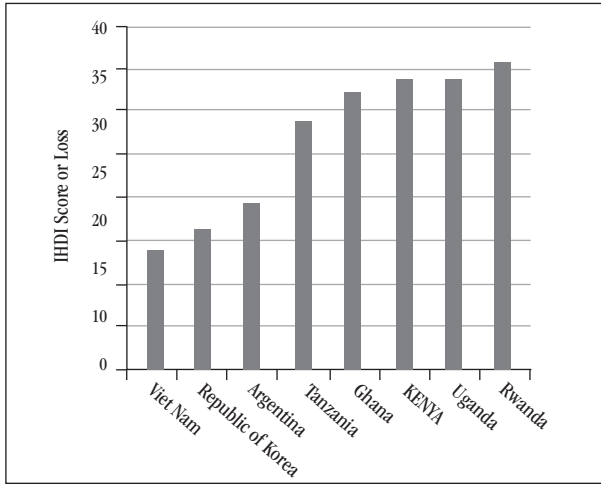
Source: UNDP, 2011*a*: Statistical Table 2.

Integrity indices

Transparency International assesses another factor contributing to the well-being and quality of society (*Figure 3.4*). The NGO notes that 'Public outcry at corruption, impunity and economic instability sent shockwaves around the world in 2011 ... the message is the same: more transparency and accountability from our leaders is needed .... No region or country in the world is immune to the damages of public-sector corruption' (Transparency International, 2011).

Transparency International has developed an instrument, the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), for ranking countries according to 'their perceived levels of public-sector corruption'. Their recent report goes on to explain that perceptions are used because corruption – whether this concerns frequency or amount – is to a great extent a hidden activity that is difficult to measure. 'Over time, perceptions have proved to be a reliable estimate of corruption' (Transparency International, 2011).

Figure 3.4   Integrity ranking, 2011
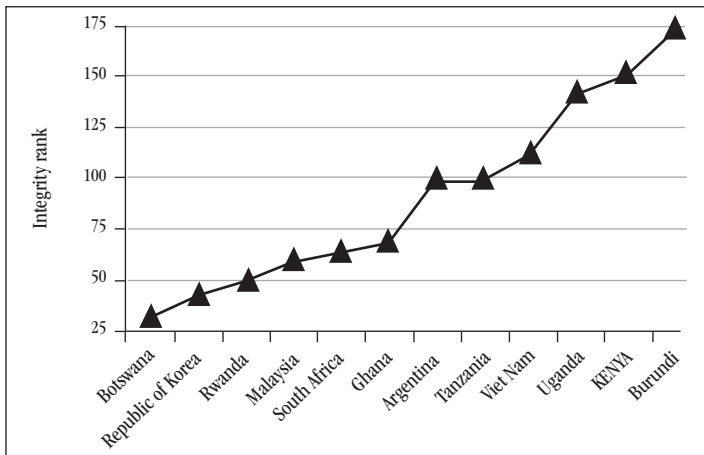
Source: Data from Transparency International, 2011: 3.

It is well documented that the most vulnerable members of society, the majority of whom are women, suffer particularly from inequity as a result of corruption. This perspective therefore provides valuable insights into the context in which women live, operate, and have to negotiate for their rights.

In 2011, the CPI surveyed and ranked 183 countries according to perceived levels of public sector corruption of which 60 (33 per cent) were estimated to be 'very corrupt' (*Table 3.2*). Some countries that performed well on the HDI measure did not do equally well on the CPI, notably Argentina, Kenya, and Viet Nam. It seems that women in these countries have special obstacles to negotiate in the public sector.

The regional HDI ranking is turned on its head in the CPI score (*Table 3.2*). Four African countries (Botswana, Rwanda and to a lesser extent South Africa and Ghana) perform relatively well. Botswana is placed 32nd place in the global ranking, well ahead of the Republic of Korea, which lies in 43rd place. Rwanda, among the top 50 countries, outperforms Malaysia in 60th position. South Africa and Ghana lie well ahead of Argentina and Viet Nam. Kenya does not score well. This indicates that vulnerable members of society are at a distinct disadvantage when seeking promotion, that the rules which govern social mobility lack transparency, and that access to leadership is not solely determined by merit.

Table 3.2 **Rank and scores on the Corruption Perception Index in selected countries, 2011**

	Integrity Rank	Integrity Score	HDI ranking
Botswana	32	6.1	118
Republic of Korea	43	5.4	15
Rwanda	49	5.0	163
Malaysia	60	4.3	61
South Africa	64	4.1	123
Ghana	69	3.9	135
Argentina	100	3.0	45
Tanzania	100	3.0	152
Viet Nam	112	2.6	128
Uganda	143	2.4	161
KENYA	151	2.2	143
Burundi	172	1.9	185

Source: Data from Transparency International, 2011: 3.

In 2006, Transparency International-Kenya carried out a study on Kenya's Teachers' Service Commission (TSC), at the institution's invitation. At the time, the TSC employed about 235,000 teachers spread over 22,000 public learning institutions, making it, according to the TSC, the single largest employer south of the Sahara. The TSC is an organization separate from the Ministry of Education, established in 1967,[1] and charged with the responsibility of hiring and managing the teaching force in all public learning institutions (except the universities). The Commissioners are appointed by the Minister of Education. In 2006, the TSC had 'Units in all of Kenya's 70+ education districts where it either has its own agents, or has delegated its duties to Provincial Directors of Education, District Education Officers, Municipal Education Officers, Boards of Governors and Parent Teacher Associations' (Transparency International–Kenya, 2006: 5).

Since 2002, the TSC has appeared on Transparency International-Kenya's annual Kenya Bribery Index (KBI). In 2005, it featured prominently alongside four other national education sector institutions: the Ministry of Education, public universities, public colleges, and public schools. The

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1. Consolidated by the Teachers' Service Act (1968).

TSC was placed in second position, after the police force. As Transparency International-Kenya noted, 'Corruption within [TSC] ranks therefore has national implications.' The report of the survey noted that the TSC Staffing Division was the most implicated in malpractice and various forms of favouritism, according to widespread perceptions, including those of TSC personnel themselves, and despite the existence of an Integrity Division within the TSC. It also noted that after a massive and flawed teacher recruitment exercise in 2004, new measures had already been put in place by 2005 to make recruitment criteria more objective and more transparent. Since 2006, computerization of the TSC has been implemented, according to the recommendations of the report.

The above challenges in a major organ of the education sector, the TSC, affect staff recruitment and promotion at grassroots levels and at senior levels. Appreciation of this context prepares the ground for understanding the situation of a critical workplace, the core of the Ministry of Education itself, where staff are recruited and employed by the Public Service Commission but often drawn from the pool of experienced TSC personnel. In conclusion, anomalies in recruitment, promotion, and other procedures within the education sector had been officially noted by the middle of the decade, and measures had been taken to increase the integrity of staffing procedures. These are covered in detail later in this report as they relate to the ministries of education and to the promotion of women in the sector.

The Gender Inequality Index

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects gender-based inequalities in three dimensions: reproductive health, education and empowerment, and economic activity. Reproductive health for the GII is measured in terms of maternal mortality, total fertility, and adolescent fertility rates[2] in addition to contraceptive prevalence. Empowerment is measured through the share of parliamentary seats by gender and attainment of secondary education by gender. Economic activity is measured in terms of labour market participation rate by gender. The GII also indicates the loss in human development rates due to inequality between female and male achievements in the three GII dimensions (UNDP, 2011*b*: 4).

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2.   The adolescent fertility rate is measured by the number of births per 1,000 women aged 15–19.

Kenya has a GII value of 0.627, ranking 130th out of 146 countries on the 2011 index. However, these figures are difficult to interpret unless related to progress in other countries. Data indicating Kenya's relative position in the Gender Inequality Index and on each of the GII components are detailed in *Table 3.3*. The unique characteristics of Kenya's gender status are then discussed at the end of this section.

Table 3.3   **Details of GII components for selected countries, 2009–2010**

	GII	GII Val	FSP%	MMR	CP	AF	TF	EdF	EdM	LF	LM
Korea, Rep. of	11	0.111	14.7	18	80	2.3	1.4	79.4	91.7	50.1	72.0
Malaysia	43	0.286	14.0	31	55	14.2	2.6	66.0	72.8	44.4	79.2
Viet Nam	48	0.305	25.8	56	80	26.8	1.8	24.7	28.0	68.0	76.0
Argentina	67	0.372	37.8	70	78	56.1	2.2	57.0	54.9	52.4	78.4
Brazil	80	0.449	9.6	58	81	75.6	1.8	48.8	46.3	60.1	81.9
Rwanda	82	0.453	50.9	540	36	38.7	5.3	7.4	8.0	86.7	85.1
South Africa	94	0.490	42.7	410	60	59.2	2.4	66.3	68.0	47.0	63.4
Botswana	102	0.507	7.9	190	53	52.1	2.6	73.6	77.5	72.3	80.9
Uganda	116	0.577	37.2	430	24	149.9	5.9	9.1	20.8	78.3	90.6
Tanzania	119	0.590	36.0	790	26	130.4	5.5	5.6	9.2	86.3	90.6
Ghana	122	0.598	8.3	350	24	71.1	4.0	33.9	83.1	73.8	75.2
Kenya	130	0.627	9.8	530	46	100.2	4.6	20.1	38.6	76.4	88.1

GII = Gender Inequality Index; GII Val = GII Value – a value of 0.0 would indicate perfect equality; FSP% = Food Security Programme; MM = Maternal Mortality Ratio; CP = Contraceptive prevalence; AF = Adolescent Fertility Rate – the adolescent fertility rate measures average number of births per 1,000 women ages 15–19; TF = Total Fertility Rate; EdF/M = Secondary education attainment by females/males 25 years and older; LF/M = Female/male labour force participation.
Source: UNDP, 2011*a*.

Kenya's status relative to other countries

The countries selected for GII comparison in this section are the same as before, with the addition of Brazil. Countries of interest have been selected from Africa, Asia and Latin America to allow for meaningful comparison and to learn more about Kenya's dynamics. Kenya is rated in comparison with neighbouring eastern Africa states; to progressive African countries such as Botswana, Ghana and South Africa; countries of particular interest to this study (e.g. Argentina); countries with a similar historical chronology in Asia (Malaysia and South Korea); and with Brazil, one of the emerging BRIC countries. *Figure 3.5* presents the data from the first two columns

of *Table 3.3* in graphic form to provide a clearer understanding of Kenya's gender status.

Figure 3.5   **Gender Inequality Index ranking in selected countries, 2011**
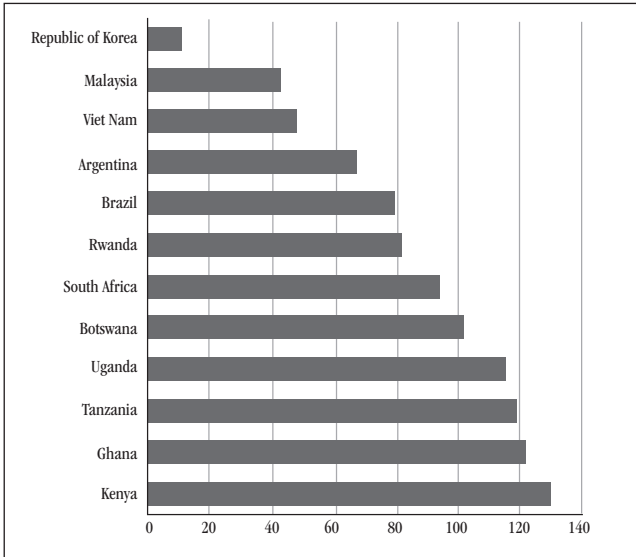
Source: Based on UNDP, 2011*a*.

The Republic of Korea (South Korea) has the best GII value of the selected countries (0.111), indicating very little gender inequality, and is ranked globally at 11th position. The three Asian countries lead in *Figure 3.5,* followed by the two Latin American countries, then the African countries. Despite Kenya's rating on GDP and development, infrastructure, and many other development indicators, its gender status is lower than its close neighbours, Uganda and Tanzania, and noticeably below that of the more progressive African countries.

Figure 3.6 shows the ranking by country relative to the education component of the GII. The figure does not reflect current school enrolment rates, education attainment in absolute terms, or the number of school years attained. *Figure 3.6* illustrates the *gender gap* in what could be termed acquired education capital, measuring the gender differential in the proportion of adults, 25 years and older, who have attained secondary school level. To appreciate the absolute levels of education attained, reference should be made to *Table 3.3*.

Figure 3.6   Gender Parity Index of adults with secondary education, 25 years and older, in selected countries, 2010
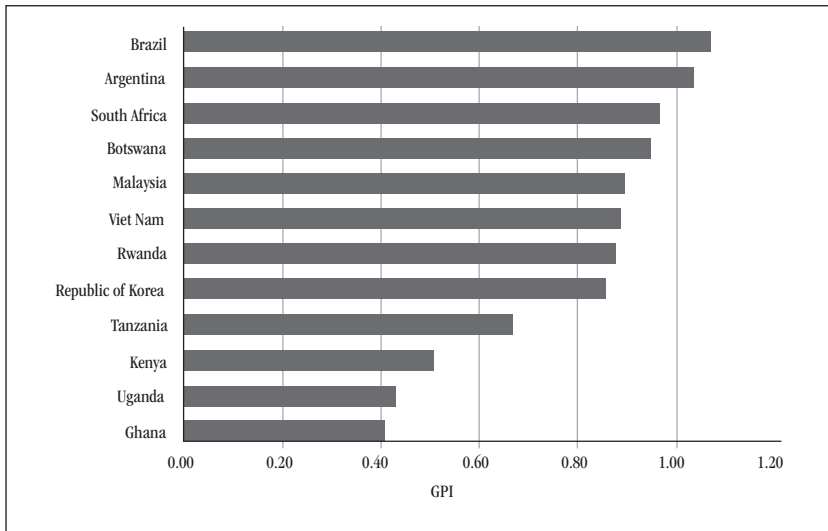
Source: Author, based on UNDP, 2011*a*.

In the two Latin American countries, women are slightly more educated than men in the general population (*Figure 3.6*). Two southern African countries (South Africa and Botswana) outrank three Asian countries (Republic of Korea, Malaysia, and Viet Nam) on female education capital in gender-relative terms. Southern Africa has a particular labour context and therefore an education profile atypical of the rest of Africa, due to the attraction of mining for young men and boys which lures them out of school early and which leaves girls and young women behind in their home areas, available for schooling. East Africa and Ghana have the widest gender gap (a gender parity index of 0.67 to 0.41) among adults of the countries surveyed.

Korea's high ranking at 11th position of the GII (*Table 3.3* and *Figure 3.5*) is mainly attributable to high education indicators, high contraceptive prevalence, and very low maternal mortality ratios. However, only 14.7 per cent of parliamentary seats are taken by women. **Malaysia's** status, at 43rd position, mirrors Korea, but to a lesser extent. The gender differential in both countries on education and labour participation is noticeable, particularly in the case of women in the workplace in Malaysia, a gap of almost 40 percentage points. Only Botswana, Kenya, Ghana

and Brazil have fewer women in Parliament than Malaysia. **Viet Nam**, at 48th position, has a markedly higher proportion of women in Parliament (25.8 per cent) than the two other Asian countries. Contraceptive prevalence is as high as that of Korea (80 per cent), but adolescent fertility rates are almost double those of Malaysia and 13 times higher than Korea's rates. Viet Nam (at approximately 27 per cent) has not yet acquired the education capital of its Asian neighbours (approximately 86 and 70 per cent, respectively), no doubt due to the war years, and the gender gap remains higher than in Korea and Malaysia.

Argentina's ranking at position 67 in the second quartile of the countries listed globally (*Table* 3.3 and *Figure* 3.5), may be attributed, in part, to a poor track record on the maternal mortality indicator (70) as compared with industrialized countries, and more than double that of, for example, Malaysia (31). The country has a significantly higher adolescent fertility rate (56.1) than the Asian countries surveyed (Korea, 2.3, Malaysia, 14.2, and Viet Nam, 26.8). Furthermore, overall education capital is reported as relatively low, at approximately 56 per cent, compared with two of the Asian countries surveyed (approximately 86 per cent for Korea and 70 per cent for Malaysia) (*Table* 3.3), but there are more educated women than men in the adult population (*Figure* 3.6). There is also a significant gender differential in labour participation (women 52 per cent and men 78 per cent). The indicator that has contributed most to raising the gender status of Argentina is the 38 per cent presence of women in Parliament.

Brazil, Rwanda, South Africa, and Botswana form a cluster ranging from a GII value of 0.449 to 0.507 (*Table* 3.3). Each of the four countries has unique gender characteristics which, amalgamated, give them a higher rating than the other four African countries surveyed, including Kenya. Rwanda is ranked relatively high, at 82nd position, the highest of all the continental African ratings. Rwanda and South Africa are distinguished by high representation of women in political leadership, with 51 per cent and 43 per cent of parliamentary seats in 2011. In Rwanda the proportion has recently risen to 56 per cent, giving it the highest global rate. Brazil has a high contraceptive prevalence rate (76 per cent). The adolescent fertility rate in Rwanda is better than many African countries, at 39 per 1,000 births (as compared with 52 in Botswana, 59 in South Africa, and 76 in Brazil). Brazil's total fertility rate is much lower and therefore better than the African countries, Rwanda recording a high of 5.3 live births per woman. The general characteristic of these countries is the erratic nature of gender

gains. Countries do very well on one or two indicators and very poorly on others, unlike the Asian countries which demonstrate gender gains across several dimensions of social progress.

A note is added here on **Rwanda**'s status, Kenya's close neighbour in the East African Community. Rwanda's relatively high ranking globally (*Figure 3.5*) is due mainly to the high proportion of women in Parliament (*Table 3.3*), as noted above. The country's health and education indicators are reportedly low. However, very recent high enrolment rates at primary school are expected to soon increase secondary enrolment, which will then be reflected in adult education attainment. Reform of the health sector is also expected to produce better health indicators in the near future. As *Figure 3.6* indicates, Rwanda's score on gender parity in education is already satisfactory.

Breakdown of Kenya's gender equality status

Table 3.4 presents the indicators on **Kenya** in some detail. The components explaining Kenya's rating (as detailed in *Table 3.3* and *Table 3.4*) include lack of women in political leadership (Parliament); the high maternal mortality ratio; the high adolescent fertility rate; a high total fertility rate; and one factor not often taken into consideration – the comparatively low proportion of adult women who have attained secondary education. The latter proportion is low in an absolute sense – only one-fifth of adult women over 24 years old (*Table 3.3*) – and low as compared with men (20 per cent women compared with nearly 40 per cent men) (*Figure 3.6*). Current increasing enrolment rates of girls in secondary school will in time be reflected in the characteristics of the adult population and will change Kenya's ratings on the education indicator.

In terms of inter-country comparisons (*Table 3.3*), Kenya's rating for the maternal mortality ratio (590) is below that of Uganda (430), considerably lower than Ghana (350), and indicates an even greater gap with Botswana (190), despite the high rate of HIV/AIDS prevalence in that country. The indications are that improving the survival rate of mothers would require special attention to regional disparity, in particular to regions with notably poor indicators. *Figure 3.5* provides a dramatic and seldom-viewed picture of the magnitude of work to be undertaken in Kenya to permit progress in gender equality in the coming years, and to raise Kenya's ranking on both the GII and HDI indicators.

Table 3.4   **Summary of gender inequality indicators contributing to Kenya's ranking on the Gender Inequality Index, 2011**

Women in the Kenya Parliament	The proportion of parliamentary seats held by women is 9.8 per cent.
	While rates in Botswana (7.9 per cent) and Ghana (8.3 per cent) are low, the rates in Tanzania (36 per cent), Uganda (37.2 per cent) and South Africa (42.7 per cent) are among the best in the world. The rates for Viet Nam and Argentina are 25.8 per cent and 37.8 per cent, respectively.
Kenya women's education capital	One-fifth (20.1 per cent) of adult women (25 years and older) have attained secondary education. The rate is double for men.
	Recent increases in female enrolment at school level have yet to be reflected in the educational profile of the adult population.
Maternal mortality in Kenya	For every 100,000 live births, 530 women die from pregnancy-related causes.
	This rate is higher than for all countries surveyed, except Rwanda (540) and Tanzania (790). The rate for Botswana is 190. The Republic of Korea, on a developmental par with Kenya in the 1960s, had a rate of 18.
Adolescent fertility rate in Kenya	The rate is 10 per cent, at 100.2 births per 1,000 live births.
	The rate is only exceeded by Tanzania (130.4) and Uganda (149.9). The progressive African country rates are in the 50s.
Total fertility rate in Kenya	Kenya, like other eastern African countries, has a high fertility rate at 4.6 children per woman.
	This is higher than Ghana (4.0) and more than double that of most Asian and Latin American countries cited here (1.4 to 2.6). South Africa has succeeded in reducing the rate to 2.4 children.
Labour market participation in Kenya	Female participation in the labour market is 76.4 per cent, compared with 88.1 per cent for men (UNDP, 2011*b*: 4).
	This indicator reveals nothing about the quality of female participation in the sector, which is known from other studies to be concentrated in low-paying and informal-sector jobs. It also reveals nothing about the desirability of women's participation in the workplace other than acting as a very indirect proxy measure for women's economic empowerment.

Source: Table 3.3.

The conclusion to draw from the findings is that Kenya needs to focus discretely on each of the gender indicators, while ensuring a unified approach to gender-responsive social development. The country should also keep firmly in mind the goal of enhancing cross-country gender equity and balance opportunity on a national scale. Kenya has lost time compared with countries at a similar stage of development in the 1960s, namely the Republic of Korea and Malaysia. The mechanisms and political choices made by the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, and Viet Nam in the quest for social equity are pertinent to the options Kenya may wish to use in the future in order to speed up developmental processes and reach the goals

set by Kenya's *Vision 2030*. The 2010 Constitution is a relevant tool for the achievement of these objectives. However, new legislation to support the Constitution and the alignment of policy, daily practices and procedures in ministries with the Constitution, are necessary corollaries to ensure focus.

Box 3.1 The 'missing agenda'*

'The struggle for gender equity in Kenya since Independence has been an elusive subject by all successive governments. Very few laws have paid attention to the women's agenda. Policies have been half-heartedly formulated to address [it]. But, even then, these policies are ignored or partially implemented by concerned parties, including the Government itself.'

CMD-Kenya (2009: 1).
*Phrase coined by Professor Ali Mazrui in reference to gender in development.

Women in politics

It has been said repeatedly that rooting out corruption requires strong leadership (see also *Appendix* 5 on Cronyism). This report does not examine the daunting challenges of creating democratic societies and institutions, but reiterates the point that in Kenya the processes which over 20 years led to the promulgation of the new Constitution (2010) were well-grounded in civil society and civil organizations, supported by individual legal experts and, increasingly, by politicians who collaborated to drive political reform. Kenya has now achieved the critical first step for establishing democratic and equitable social policies. The period 2011–2013 has seen a record number of bills passed into law and the start of institutional reform affecting the judiciary, the police, political parties, land tenure, and other sectors. There is a long way to go in terms of enactment. Women are still under-represented in politics, that is, in the topmost echelons of decision-making positions in the governance of the nation. According to the 2009 census (KNBS, 2010: 5), women represented 50.3 per cent of the total population, and in 2010 constituted 48.8 per cent of voters (KNBS, 2011: 7). The *Sessional Paper on Gender Equality and Development* stated that women 'are still dismally under-represented in strategic decision-making institutions such as Parliament, central government, local authorities, trade unions, cooperative societies, professional bodies and grassroots-based institutions such as land boards' (MoGSCSS, 2005: 17).

Women in Parliament

Kamau notes that from the start the Kenya political arena was slow to admit women (2010: iii). The first Parliament at Independence included not a single woman (*Table 3.5*). Kenya has lagged behind neighbouring countries in eastern Africa, after Rwanda, Uganda, and Tanzania, who currently lead in global statistics on female representation in elective politics (56.3 per cent, 31 per cent, and 30 per cent, respectively). Sound representation of women in Parliament is thus not a Western phenomenon. On the contrary, Africa is a world leader in this progressive movement and it is Kenya's turn to catch up with the continent.

Concerns over women's access to politics have been voiced over the years by women's civil society caucuses and women parliamentarians, and these concerns are echoed in the Kenya Women's National Charter. The following sections chart recent efforts to increase women's access to political leadership.

In 2004, Professor Wangari Maathai, the first African woman Nobel Prize winner, held aloft her Nobel Peace Prize and declared in her acceptance speech that: 'I hope it will encourage [women] to raise their voices and take more space for leadership' (Boddy-Evans, 2011).

Table 3.5   Women's representation in Parliament since Independence, 1963–2012

Parliament	Period	Total no. of constituencies	No. of women elected	Available slots for nomination	No. of women nominated
1st parliament	1963–1969	158	0	12	0
2nd parliament	1969–1974	158	1	12	1
3rd parliament	1974–1979	158	4	12	2
4th parliament	1979–1983	158	5	12	1
5th parliament	1983–1988	158	2	12	1
6th parliament	1988–1992	188	2	12	0
7th parliament	1992–1997	188	6	12	1
8th parliament	1997–2002	210	4	12	5
9th parliament	2002–2007	210	10	12	8
10th parliament	2008–2012	210	16	12	6
			50		25

Sources: Kamau, 2010 and Kihoro, 2007.

By the last quarter of 2011, in anticipation of the 2012 general elections, Kenya's massive national women's grassroots organization, *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* (Progress of Women), had embarked on sensitization campaigns urging women to seek elective office, in addition to the appointive posts distributed to women following the elections. In the 10th Parliament in 2011, out of 22 women members of Parliament, 16 were elected and six were nominated members. The 22 women represent just under 10 per cent of the 224 members of Parliament. Seven of the 16 elected members come from one of Kenya's provinces, the Rift Valley Province. *Figure 3.7* illustrates the provincial breakdown.

Figure 3.7   Number of elected women parliamentarians, 10th Parliament, 2007–2012
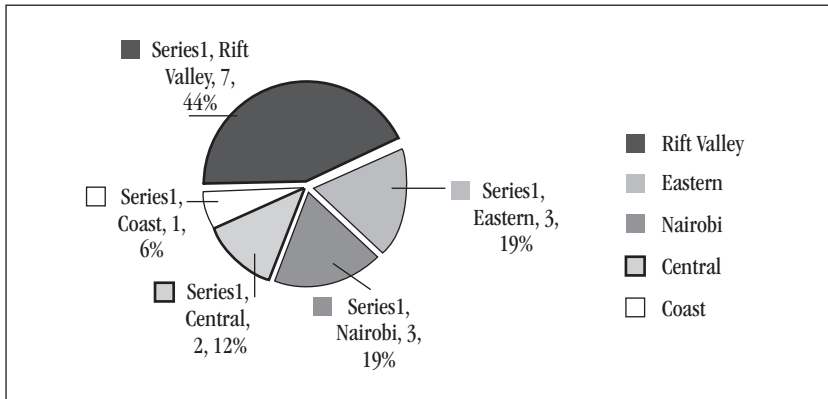
It was evident to *Maendeleo* that the North Eastern, Western, and Nyanza provinces would be particular targets of the sensitization campaign, since they did not have a single elected woman MP in the 10th Parliament. Several women had run for election in the latter two provinces in 2007, but none had been successful. The last time a woman – a previously nominated woman MP – had competed for election in the North Eastern Province was 1997. She lost. 'Focus should be on provinces where culture and negative attitudes are holding back women's attempts to seek elective positions', noted the Moi University scholar Reginalda Wanyonyi. It was acknowledged that disparity in academic qualifications was no longer an inhibiting factor. 'Women have been empowered ... academically', noted R. Wanyonyi (2011), reporting on a Kitale Workshop in *The Standard*.

In October 2011, the Kenya Women's Parliamentary Association Chair, the Hon. Linah Kilimo, stated that women parliamentarians were working with Parliament to find a formula, as per the 2010 Constitution, to ensure that the next Parliament would be comprised of a minimum of one-third women. The Association had developed a mentoring programme for aspiring women members of Parliament and had planned two mentoring workshops. They had funding, the human resources required for the exercise, and support from the offices of the Speaker and the Clerk of Parliament.

A National Dialogue and Reconciliation Conference was held on 5–6 December 2011, presided over by Kofi Annan, the Chair of the African Union Panel of Eminent African Personalities, which was overseeing the process of national reconstruction. The aim was to review Kenya's progress in healing the wounds of the 2007/2008 post-election violence and establishing more robust democratic institutions as a strategy for preventing violence in the future. The former South African First Lady, Graça Machel, a Member of the Panel, called for the inclusion of women in public affairs if Kenya was to achieve a cohesive society:

> Women must be given space to fully participate in public affairs and economic activities .... The 30% representation that women are demanding is too little. It is half of the demands women want and should be met without any difficulty. Women should not relent in their [quest] for more balanced gender representation. You should use the Constitution as a tool to demand your rights.[3]

The Chair of the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC) pointed out to women leaders that:

> The Constitution in Article 27 is very clear. It is about equality, parity and inclusion of all as the guiding rule in the governance of our nation. ... [T]he recognition of socio-economic rights and the subjection of culture and customs to the Constitution and human rights standards [has] been boldly expressed. This will remove the historical and classic excuses that have been used for decades [to exclude women from Parliament]. Article 2(4) has reversed the roles of women and made it an obligation of the Government to ensure social security for all citizens .... The aim is to implement the human

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3.   As quoted in *The Standard* and *The Nation*, 6 December 2011.

rights principle of equality and tolerance ... affirmative action being only a temporary step towards equality.[4]

It was reported in the same press release that the CIC Chair was 'outraged' that erroneous thinking, as he put it, imagined that the ultimate goal to be achieved in gender representation was merely the numerical two-thirds gender rule, rather than the more-long term and long-sighted goals noted above. This point, that the prescribed baseline gender representation of one-third is merely a minimal requirement and insufficient for attaining gender equality, is taken up later in this report in relation to women's leadership in ministries of education.

The Executive Director of the Centre for Multiparty Democracy, Njeri Kabeberi, also called for recognition of women, saying that Parliament had frustrated efforts to establish a formula that would ensure effective representation of women in public office. She was referring to the seemingly intractable discussion ongoing since around August 2011 on the finer details of implementing the two-thirds gender rule to elective posts. Priscilla Nyokabi, the director of Kituo Cha Sheria (Centre for Legal Empowerment), urged civil society activists to be vigilant and to make sure that the government followed the Constitution (Nyokabi, 2012).

Aside from culture and negative attitudes, violence also worked against women in the 2007 elections. One candidate was sexually molested during the campaign. As one of the male interviewees noted during the present study: 'If we are able to stem violence during the next elections, we shall have more women participating'.

Women in political parties

'Kenya is a patriarchal society ... and women who speak out are often seen as social misfits', commented a male Kenyan journalist, Protus Onyango, at the start of 2012. As an example, he cited the experience of Africa's first woman Nobel Prize winner, the late Professor Wangari Maathai, who had experienced a variety of problems during her scientific and political career. When, as a civil rights activist, she opposed the construction of a 60-storey building in one of Nairobi's inner city parks, senior male political leaders had called her a 'crazy woman' and decried the emerging political and

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4. Dinner hosted by the CIC for women, Nairobi, 4 December 2011, reported in *The Standard*, 5 December 2011.

activist role of educated women. Had she been a man she might have been called a leading social reformer. As a woman, Wangari described herself as outside the norms for women in the 1980s: 'too educated, too strong, too successful, too stubborn and too hard to control'. The press commented wryly that it was a reputation she did nothing to dispel (*Telegraph*, 2011). It led to the most severe form of ostracization by the state, to imprisonment. But it culminated in local and globally acknowledged leadership and in the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Figure 3.8   Gender distribution of leadership in seven parties, 2011
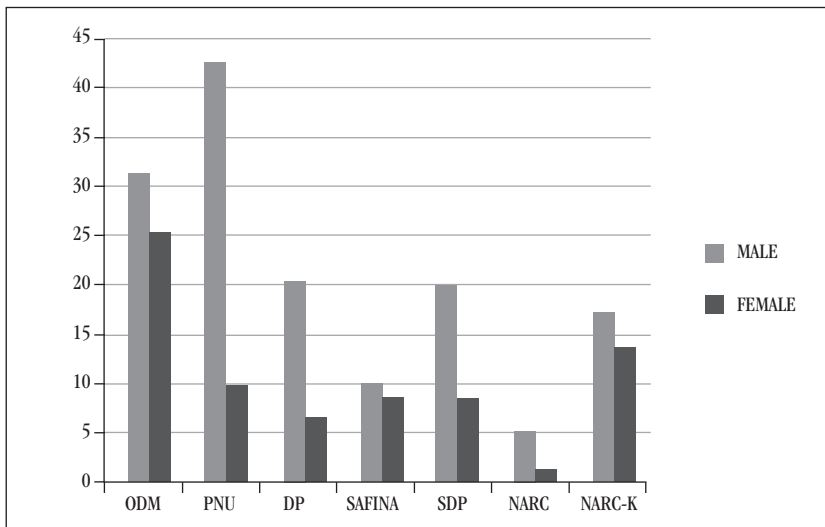
Source: CMD, 2012: 12.

One of the most significant hurdles for women entering politics in Kenya is the problem of participating in party politics, from local to national level. Again, the metaphor of the labyrinth rather than the glass ceiling, which is referred to frequently in this report, is pertinent to the situation. It is difficult to know which came first: barriers erected by the parties or women's reluctance to participate in party politics. A situation arose at the end of 2011 where none of the 47 registered political parties in the country had complied with the rule requiring that one-third of their members be women. The Registrar of Political Parties warned at the end of December that the parties risked being barred from participating in the coming general election if they did not meet the new gender requirements included in the

new Political Parties Act. She noted that parties were attempting to comply with the law but had only 180 days left.

In late January 2012 the Registrar was able to report that the major parties had complied. Such is the force of the new Constitution and its attendant legislation: enforcement is now taken seriously. The recent experience of private citizens going directly to the courts to complain about non-compliance with constitutional principles or specific articles, particularly those enshrined in the Bill of Rights, which can only be amended through a referendum, has had the effect of increasing compliance by public offices and entities.

As regards leadership in political parties, it was reported by the Centre for Multiparty Democracy in February 2012, that most of the 47 parties had few women in leadership positions (*Figure 3.7* and *Table 3.6*). Kenya's ruling party from the 1960s until 2002, the Kenya African National Unity party (KANU), was not among those selected for the survey, due to lack of reference to gender in their policies. Of the seven parties which had committed to a gender agenda, the lowest record in female leadership was held by the PNU (Party of National Unity), the party of the President and one of the two current coalition parties, with 82 per cent male and 18 per cent female leaders. ODM (the Orange Democratic Movement), the second party in the coalition, had 55 per cent male and 45 per cent female representation at leadership level. Two of the seven parties surveyed were led by women.

Table 3.6   Breakdown of party leadership by sex, 2012

Parties	Female leaders	Male leaders	Observations
ODM	45	55	The former opposition party (a large party)
Safina	44	56	
NARC-K	43	57	Led by a female presidential candidate
DP	36	74	
SDP	30	70	
PNU	18	82	A large party, the President's party
NARC	17	83	A large party

Note: DP = Democratic Party; NARC = National Rainbow Coalition; ODM = Orange Democratic Party; PNU = Party of National Unity; SDP = Social Democratic Party.
Source: Data from CMD, 2012.

The report concluded that 'some parties are not connected to their policy positions, others are totally lost, confused or totally unaware of the role of a party vis-à-vis legislation at the national or local level'. The report continued:

> The President, a member of PNU ... has taken a stronger position on gender equality and empowerment than any other past president in this country. Yet the [PNU] party's internal performance is the worst considering they are a big party and a coalition partner .... [Further,] despite strong party positions on gender equality and empowerment, politicians still operate in their traditional way where culture supersedes policy intention, law and even the Constitution. There is a lot of inconsistency in what members of Parliament say and what their parties stand for (CMD, 2012: 35).

Among other recommendations, it was proposed that in the future the performance of party legislators be monitored against their party policy documents; that women party members, jointly with gender-sensitive men, should be vigilant and alert in exposing party implementation weaknesses vis-à-vis the positions in the policy framework, especially at the legislation level; and that women party members should insist on taking senior party positions and not be relegated to 'women only' positions. Finally, women were urged to hold their parties to account over lack of commitment to party policies. Two ministers present at the launch of the survey decried the lack of women in the higher echelons of the parties. It was acknowledged that this would require more civic and party political education (CMD, 2012: 37–39).

The fate of female-oriented policy

In the absence of adequate women's representation in the highest echelons of politics, gender-oriented policy is continually at risk. An example is given here from the education sector, of how 'culture and negative attitudes' commonly colour not only social mores, but current and supposedly well-designed – and at least officially partly gender responsive – government programmes. It is an illustration of how rhetoric on girls' education – using a specific proportion (5 per cent) of the state bursary fund for boosting girls' education – is easily diluted into non-action as regards a stated intention on affirmative action. Inaction in this case leads to more than sustaining the status quo. It has resulted in widening gender

gaps, contributing to an effect contrary to the initially intended objective.[5] It should be pointed out that the report produced by the NGO Youth Initiatives Kenya (YIKE) on the functioning of one of the mechanisms established by the MoE is a rare, frank, and exceptionally clear statement on policy gone awry. It is quoted at some length here to illustrate one way in which supposedly gender-oriented programmes are implemented and can continue without adequate monitoring for up to 20 years after inception. Moreover, it points to the critical pipeline issue of ensuring that sufficient numbers of girls go through the secondary education system in preparation for roles in leadership as adults, which is also addressed later in the present report. An additional reason for quoting the YIKE report is to demonstrate how diversity in management and policy-making, in this case by the youth of Kenya (Youth Initiatives Kenya), can make a valuable contribution to the policy debate on leadership.

Established in 1993/1994, the Secondary Schools Bursary Scheme or Secondary Education Bursary Fund (SEBF) was designed to target, in the first instance, both male and female low-income children and, in the second instance, was intended to target girls in particular, that is, to reach 'the most vulnerable and poor segments of children in the secondary age bracket especially girls ... to enable [them to] access and complete the secondary education cycle' (YIKE, 2011: iii, 1). Initially, it was disbursed directly to schools, reflecting student enrolment by school. Complaints in the first decade included the observation that many undeserving students were benefiting from the fund, insignificant amounts were being allocated, very few students were reached, and ghost students were filling up the allocation lists. To rectify these problems, funds were sent in 2003 directly to the constituencies, using constituency poverty indices to determine allocation by constituency, and were handled, using comprehensive guidelines from the MoE, by Constituency Bursary Fund Committees (CBFC), which broadened the participation of local stakeholders in the exercise. YIKE reports that there was no explicit mention of any mechanism for developing a gender-responsive process in budgeting or allocation at the inception of the programme, or in 2003.

Minimal gender-responsive budgeting instructions are currently included in the MoE guidelines: (i) On a scale of 1 to 45, one point is

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5.   The YIKE report covers issues such as performance, proportional representation, comparative disadvantage and national need which are not included in *Table 3.4*.

awarded to a female applicant; (ii) MoE officials stated that CBFCs are directed to set aside 5 per cent of total allocations for exclusive allocation to girls. There were, however, no indications from committees taking part in the study that the 5 per cent policy has ever been implemented.

One constituency which had sufficient data for analysis, Kasarani in Nairobi, reported that between 34.4 and 47.1 per cent of their bursaries went to girls between 2006/2007 and 2010/2011 (*Table 3.7*). YIKE concluded that due to non-compliance with guidelines and to 'distortion caused by political interference' in the constituencies surveyed, the fund has had no role in improving the access of poor girls to secondary school. Understanding of gender issues was the foremost deficiency area noted throughout the entire programme cycle, from the budgeting process at the Ministry level all the way down to budgeting at constituency level and allocations at school level. Committees also lacked members with a known background in gender issues in education and budgeting (YIKE, 2011: iii, 1).

Table 3.7 **Gender differentials in applications for and awards of secondary bursary in Kasarani Constituency, 2006/2007 – 2010/2011**

	2006/2007		2007/2008		2008/2009		2009/2010		2010/2011	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Total Bursary Allocated (KES)	3,305,689		5,510,552		4,464,000		3,171,168		3,770,000	
Applications	3,200	2,078	1,900	1,028	2,098	1,380	1,300	1,006	2,000	1,001
Beneficiaries	446	289	481	428	466	244	186	144	259	207
Beneficiaries as % of applicants	13.9	13.4	25.3	41.6	22.2	17.7	14.3	14.3	13.0	20.7
Applicants % by gender	60.6	39.4	64.9	35.1	60.3	39.7	56.4	43.6	66.6	33.4
Beneficiaries % by gender	61.2	39.6	52.9	47.1	65.6	34.4	56.4	43.6	55.6	44.4

Source: Kasarani CBFC records, reported in YIKE, 2011: 20.

Women's participation in the economy

The paradoxical situation of women's underrated participation in the economy coupled with their under-representation on corporate boards,

senior management, and government bodies involved in economic planning continues to limit women's activity in the economic sector. 'Few women are engaged in medium- and large-scale enterprises' (MoGSCSS, 2005: 17). Furthermore, women's participation in the modern economy is closely tied to their representation in politics at national and local levels. It is acknowledged these days that successful politicians require well-funded campaigns. As one male researcher interviewed for this study commented: 'Women do not have the same resources as men for electioneering.' The *Sessional Paper on Gender Equality and Development* pointed out that women's absence from decision-making bodies affecting their full participation in the modern economy was a significant barrier: 'Major decisions influencing their participation in the economy are made without their being consulted, considered or involved' (MoGSCSS, 2005: 17).

The effects of post-election violence in 2008 are reflected in the statistics on economic growth, which plunged from a healthy level in 2006 and 2007 – over 6 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively – to under 2 per cent in 2008, rising tenuously in 2009 to 2.6 per cent, then to 4 per cent two years after the conflict. As Kenya approached general elections once more, in 2012, observers keenly watched this index. The indicators are still far from the 10 per cent annual growth rates required for economic take-off, as envisaged by *Vision 2030*, Kenya's roadmap to economic prosperity. The unfortunate pattern has been growth a couple of years after elections and severe regression immediately after a new election and even in the year prior to elections.

Kenya's entry into the modern economy and women's place in that economy is best described in historical terms. In pre-colonial times labour was differentiated by gender. Gender work roles were complementary but not as exploitative as they became in colonial times. As Kamau (2010) points out, the colonial government introduced Western prejudicial attitudes against women which were distinctly Victorian in nature. The domestic and the agricultural subsistence sphere where women worked became private, was unremunerated, closed to the new cash economy, and was increasingly undervalued. The major contribution made by wives to cash crop cultivation on family land also went unrecorded and unaccounted for. Men worked outside the home for cash and were often forced to live and work far away from their families in plantations and urban centres. The colonies, Kenya included, were thus subjected to a particularly vicious

and outdated set of biases against women which, over the years, became entrenched.

Men tended to use their cash for individual property acquisition and, to some extent, for public or community purposes, contributing to local and national projects and to individual men in the community in a spirit of solidarity. Men gained social prestige by owning land, property, and monetary wealth. Women had little access to the cash economy despite the fact that they had become the backbone of the country's agricultural output, and became increasingly dependent on their husband's cash handouts. They turned to petty trade, selling surplus products from their subsistence farming efforts and, according to research findings, invested their meagre incomes in daily sustenance (food and clothing), in the immediate and extended family, and in school fees for their children. Although women made up the majority of farmers, the state's new agricultural extension services failed to address them or their needs, to address the technology and inputs needed in the subsistence farming economy run by women, and consequently neglected to address rural Africa's most pressing agricultural development patterns and requirements (Boserup, 1965; Obura, 1986). It is documented that investment in agriculture is diminishing over time and that women continue to have difficulty in accessing loans (Alila and Atieno, 2006).

At Independence in 1963, a new male indigenous elite took over the reins of political power and the management of the burgeoning cash economy (Kamau, 2010). Individual land titles and the ownership of group ranches and cooperatives were placed almost exclusively in the hands of men.

Women lost out on inheritance and found themselves suddenly without even user rights to their former husband's land if they did not remarry into his extended family or were unable to gain property ownership in the case of divorce.[6] Access to credit and loans was pegged to property ownership, thus doubly disadvantaging women. Women's pre-colonial access to land, property, and to economic resources dwindled fast, pauperizing women. The majority of women engaged in the cash economy worked in the informal sector and mixed farming, subsistence, and market farming.

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6. In a case regarding property division after divorce brought to the high court in 2006, Echaria vs. Echaria, the ruling went against the law on succession and stunned the nation. It was perhaps a ruling such as this that spurred gender equity reform in the new Constitution.

Between 2006 and 2009, women made up one-quarter (28 per cent) of the lowest wage earners (earning less than KES 4,000 per month or US$47).[7] During the same period, the proportion of women in the highest income bracket (more than KES 30,000 per month or US$351) declined slightly, from 27 per cent to 26 per cent (KNBS, 2010).

However, something else of significance is currently happening in Kenya. The enabling environment is changing in a fundamental manner. Even rural women are starting to exploit new economic opportunities, as *Box 3.2* illustrates, as a result of their understanding of the new Constitution. Changes have been monitored by the World Bank, which in a 2011 study pronounced Kenya as the country experiencing the most rapid progress, due to law reform emanating from the new Constitution. From June 2009 to March 2011, the Bank recorded 46 legal and regulatory changes occurring in 39 economies that affected women and business. Most of these changes were aimed at achieving greater gender parity and reducing legal differentiation between men and women. 'Kenya [led] the way with the highest number of changes in this positive direction' (World Bank, 2011: 1).

Box 3.2 The Constitution has emboldened women to seek legal redress

Rael Masimba, a divorced woman who lives on the streets of Nairobi, is planning to go home and sue her cousins for her father's land, which she had been denied when her parents died because she is a woman and was married at the time.
Source: Onyango, 2012.

Security

General security has a particular bearing on the well-being of women who are most likely to suffer from threat of insecurity, both local and national. The current sense of safety is best described by the KNDR (Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation) Commission:

> Fifty-two per cent feel safer than they did after the post-election violence [2008] while 34 per cent are feeling less safe and 14 per cent feel about the same. Whereas more Kenyans should be feeling safer, it is possible to attribute the low numbers to a number of factors. First, the high cost of living has increased petty crime and domestic violence ...

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7.   January 2012: US$1 = KES (Kenya Shilling) 85.40.

A senior government official in the Ministry of Internal Security stated in October 2011 that:

> Reported cases of ... domestic violence have increased dramatically. There are also different forms of inter-communal, resource-based conflicts in several parts of the country .... Finally, the sense of safety has further been impacted by Kenyans' fight against the Al Shabaab militia in Somalia from October 2011. Since the launch of the military operation, [there have been] retaliatory attacks and heightened insecurity in northern Kenya as well as security alerts in other parts of the country.

The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Commission had a broad mandate under the National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008 to re-establish peace and has succeeded, alongside many civil society partners, in reconciling several communities.

Endnote

It is the view of the present study that when a critical mass of women gain representation at the highest political levels, the public sector will have a different face and the pattern of gender representation in senior positions in ministries will change. As a corollary, it will be difficult to change the predominantly male presence in decision-making posts in ministries, including the ministries of education, unless political transformation has taken place.

A new threat to gender equity emerged towards the end of 2011, noted in a recent report on Kenya's progress towards recovery from the post-election violence. As several new constitutional bodies were set up according to strict selection and vetting procedures, including the ongoing judicial and police reform process, the following view was expressed:

> An important finding is that the ongoing composition of new bodies is resulting in leaders deepening [increasing] horse-trading and patronage approaches in appointments to key positions. Although initial efforts at recruitment emphasized transparency and merit, *there are new attempts to bring back old habits.* Leaders are protecting and defending applicants from their home regions under the guise of merit. The result is absence of balance between merit and ethnic or even *gender equity. Good candidates are missing out ... if they do not have*

ethnic power brokers to present their case (South Consulting, 2012: 67). [emphasis added]

It seems that there is no smooth path to the attainment of gender equity and that constant vigilance will be required to ensure that reform relating to gender equality remains on track, despite the finding that 'there is wide consensus (75 per cent) on the necessity to amend the provision on how to achieve gender balance' (South Consulting, 2012: 24–25).

The next chapter reviews some of the major policy tools that are supporting change in Kenya.

3.   Foundations for social reform

The previous chapter reviewed Kenya's status on a number of social indices. This chapter notes the major policies, regional and national, which will have a significant effect on the direction and enforcement of social policy in Kenya in years to come. They are expected to have a direct influence on the access and participation of women at the highest levels of the education sector. The first, 2003 *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, better known as the **Maputo Protocol**, is not a new document but, together with CEDAW (the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) (1979), has inspired the new Kenya Constitution on matters related to gender. Second, the Constitution (2010) itself will be examined and, third, the Kenya National Women's Charter (2012). The most significant departure from the past in the Constitution is the attention paid to the development of mechanisms to promote the enactment of the principles and values of the Constitution, and law enforcement. The Charter follows up on enactment issues and details strategies and procedures for monitoring and reporting on constitutional implementation.

The African Union and women's rights

The provisions in African Union charters and declarations as regards the importance of equality have been described as suitably robust. The 2003 Maputo Protocol is regularly quoted by Kenyan constitutional scholars as an inspiration for legal reform. Commenting on the Protocol, which has been dubbed 'the African CEDAW', Banda (2008) notes that:

> The right to equality is very important. It means that citizens should expect to be treated fairly and justly within the legal system and be assured of equal treatment before the law and equal enjoyment of the rights available to other citizens. The right to equality is important for a second reason. Equality or lack of it, affects the capacity of one to enjoy many other rights (Banda, 2008: 29–30).

The Maputo Protocol addresses civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, outlawing discrimination against women and stating that:

> 'Discrimination against women' means any distinction, exclusion or restriction or any differential treatment based on sex and whose

objectives or effects compromise or destroy the recognition, enjoyment or the exercise by women, regardless of their marital status, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all spheres of life (Maputo Protocol, Art. 1 (f)).

It calls for the implementation of appropriate legislative or regulatory measures for promoting the well-being of women, and notes that states are under an obligation to reform existing discriminatory laws and practices in order to promote and protect the rights of women. It acknowledges the need to tackle *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination and to challenge gender stereotyping. Banda points to the progressive nature of the Maputo Protocol, which is little understood: 'Unlike previous instruments, the African Protocol is clear that a woman has the right to control her own fertility and to decide on the number and spacing of children that she has' (Banda, 2008: 33).

Given ongoing heated discussion about what constitutes African tradition and how far it must apply to men and to women today, these rarely quoted texts from the Maputo Protocol are instructive:

[providing], for the first time in human rights law, for a limited right to abortion in cases of sexual assault, rape, incest and where the continuation of the pregnancy would endanger the health of the mother or the foetus (in reference to Art. 14 (2) (c). While abortion is clearly controversial the world over, it is important, on a continent where it is estimated that over 4 million illegal abortions are carried out a year, that African states have recognized that eliminating discrimination against women, may involve providing services needed only by women. Failure to do so may result in violations of the right to health and indeed life of women forced to carry on with unwanted pregnancies (Banda, 2008: 33).

The Maputo Protocol has also committed states to the promotion of equality of access to employment and to ensure transparency in recruitment and promotion of women in the workplace. States were advised to 'take the necessary measures to recognize the economic value of the work of women in the home', which can be interpreted as a requirement to review and take measures to transform the totality of the working life for women and men; and 'to guarantee adequate and paid, pre- and post-natal maternity leave in the private and public sectors' (Maputo Protocol, Art. 13 (a) (c) (h–i)).

As regards the political sphere, the Maputo Protocol goes beyond the exhortation to equal representation in the judiciary and law enforcement organs sectors' (Maputo Protocol, Art. 8(e)). This is the one instance where the Protocol refers to leadership since it uses the terms *participation* and *governance*, connoting action and necessarily implying leadership: 'States Parties shall take specific positive action to promote *participative governance* and the *equal participation of women in the political life of their countries* through *affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures*' (Maputo Protocol, Art. 9(1)). [emphasis added]

The main area on which Banda faulted the Maputo Protocol was inheritance, which deliberately provided for *equitable* rather than *equal* sharing and which, she advised, would lead to subjective decisions. She explained that this was not a slip in drafting, but the result of considerable debate.

In 2004, the African Union adopted a Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, which reinforced provisions found in the Maputo Protocol**.** States parties are required to report to the African Union on gender equality every four years. Only 8 out of 53 states met this requirement for the first report and Kenya was not among them. Banda notes that this makes constructive dialogue 'well-nigh impossible', seriously affecting follow-up. She raises the issue of the heavy burden of human rights reporting. It would make sense for the CEDAW and African Women's Protocol reporting requirements to be dovetailed in some practicable manner to encourage effective monitoring, reporting, discussion, and follow-up.

National gender policy

The Government established the National Commission on Gender and Development in November 2004 and elevated the Women's Bureau in the Ministry of Social Services to a Department of Gender one month later. The mandate of the former Bureau regarding the collection of gender-related data, monitoring, and evaluation, among other tasks, was to be transferred to the Department of Gender and to the new Commission.

The *Sessional Paper No. 5 of 2005 on Gender Equality and Development* was published in 2005, through the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture, and Social Services, aiming to empower women and to mainstream gender needs and concerns in all sectors of development. Policy prescriptions in the Paper were geared to 'raising economic growth, improving the quality

of life and enhancing equality between women and men' (MoGSCSS, 2005: 3). The policy included:

> *institutionalising mechanisms* to promote *the appointment of women to high-level decision-making positions* with a view to achieving gender balance in various government bodies and committees and the Judiciary, among others, and *adopt 50% of women/men each.* Deliberate *affirmative action* will be embraced as a stop-gap measure (MoGSCSS, 2005: 19). [emphasis added]

As the later chapter on *Findings* shows, there has been no follow-up in the ministries of education to set up mechanisms for attaining even one-third of women in high-level decision-making roles.

Gender policy in education

The Gender Policy in Education was produced in 2007 by the Ministry of Education. It aimed to address gender issues in education across the board and 'the financing, governance and management of education at all levels'. This included the structural and institutional processes and practices of the MoE with regard to gender. The document reported: 'there are few women in technical professions and key governance and management positions, both in the wider society and in the education sector in particular'. Gender balance of boards of governors, PTAs and headships of secondary schools was to be addressed (MoE, 2007: 17).

The Gender Policy document noted that despite many efforts to address gender disparities in education at all levels, '[t]he impact, however, has not been as strong as desired', which pointed to critical programme design or programme implementation failings; and the Gender Commission, the Ministerial Task Force on Girls' Education, and the Gender Desk in the Ministry of Education 'have not been very effective' (MoE, 2007: 3, 5, 9, 33).

Two whole sections were dedicated to Gender in Governance and Management, and Gender Institutional Capacity, requiring gender balance in recruitment and promotion in the Ministry and all education-related institutions, and 'the design of a framework for support of women's development and participation, particularly in leadership positions' (MoE, 2007: 30–34). Gender structures, such as gender task forces, advisory bodies, and gender units, were to be strengthened. The directorates of education were assigned the task of 'undertaking in-depth gender analysis

in their directorates or departments' (MoE, 2007: 57). It is not clear if they have done so as regards programme delivery, but analysis has not yet taken place of the Ministry directorates themselves, on their composition, workplace environment, or their working processes and procedures.[8]

Monitoring and evaluation was acknowledged as 'cardinal to the effective and efficient implementation of the policy' (MoE, 2007: 60). The Ministry organ designated as responsible for the task was to be the recommended Gender and Education Unit under the Directorate of Planning/Policy together with a Gender and Education Advisory Board. Detailed and wide-ranging terms of reference were listed for both bodies. However, no Unit was set up. A Gender Desk remains. The gender policy was also to be reviewed every five years.

As was the case with attempts at reform of the judiciary, economic management, and other sectors, without a critical mass of women legislators, change was piecemeal or simply did not occur. Policy was one thing but enactment became the greatest challenge. For this reason, gender reformers redirected their efforts at changing the Constitution.

The new Constitution

Kenya's greatest achievement in recent years has been the approval and promulgation of a new Constitution, in August 2010. Two-thirds of Kenyans voted for change in a national referendum approving the new Constitution. It is more than 50 years since Independence in 1963 and the Constitution marks a tremendous leap forward in laying the foundation for a just and equitable society, and in setting timelines for enacting the provisions of the Constitution. Significantly, for the current report, new constitutional provisions promote the fast-tracking of gender equity. The scope of rights and freedoms of the people have been expanded to include economic, social, and cultural rights in addition to civil and political rights. Fundamental and radical changes have been made to all three branches of Kenya's Government and to the country's overall political and economic system. New institutions have been created for the management of public affairs at both national and sub-national levels, endorsing an innovative devolved governance structure.

8.　MoE is not generally familiar with the 2005 study of Osumbah, an independent research study of MoE management.

The reaction of gender legislators to the final draft of the Constitution was summed up by the voices of Kenya women constitutional scholars within weeks of the promulgation:

> The Constitution of Kenya 2010 contains major gains towards gender equality and equity, and the protection of the human rights of all men and women in Kenya. It delivers on many points that have been at the heart of struggles for gender equality in Kenya from the 1980s (Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, 2010: 3).

> [T]he clear elaboration of crucial principles such as equality and non-discrimination, the supremacy of the Constitution, participation and accountability, provides a solid foundation upon which very specific struggles for gender equality may be based .... It is truly remarkable that in all of the 10 areas [reviewed in a previous] 2009 study, the Constitution of 2010 has enabled very significant progress in the realization of gender equality (Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, 2010: 42).

In the past, legislators had not made a point of consulting women. Their under-representation in Parliament meant that their interests were not well articulated in legislative debate on constitutional or legislative revision. The result was less than adequate legislation addressing women's interests:

> until 1997, Section 82 of the Kenyan Constitution dealing with the question of discrimination excluded 'sex' as an objectionable ground for discrimination. [T]he revision of the Constitution in 1997 included 'sex' as an objectionable ground for discrimination in Section 82(3) but did not include it in Section 82(4) which made the prohibition of discrimination inoperative in matters of adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, devolution of property on death or other matters of personal law and customary law. This left women open to discrimination in the very areas where they were most vulnerable (Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, 2010: 3).

As meticulously documented by Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, the prolonged two-decade constitutional review process was an uphill task for women, and a learning process. 'The Constitution review journey [1990–2010], including the setting up of the review bodies such as the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission and the Committee of Experts, entailed a struggle to ensure gender equality and equity' at every step (Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, 2010: 3).

The new Constitution addresses the shortcoming noted, namely the under-representation or absence of women from decision-making levels and policy-shaping committees, in Article 100 where it requires that Parliament enact legislation to promote the representation in Parliament of 'women ... ethnic and other minorities; and marginalized communities'. It is generally accepted that there is now 'constitutional under-pinning for affirmative measures to remedy historical under-representation of women in political and other public bodies' (Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, 2010: 9).

For the purposes of the present study, there are three domains of the Constitution of particular relevance:

- The principles of social justice, equality, and equity, and the unalienable rights of women; national values and principles of governance; and the enjoinment of anti-discriminatory principles and actions based on the 'the aspirations of all Kenyans for a government based on the essential values of human rights, equality, freedom, democracy, social justice and the rule of law' (Preamble, Point 6 and Arts. 2.4–6 on the supremacy of the Constitution; 10 on the national values and principles of governance; 19–59, the Bill of Rights, Chapter 4, and in particular 19.2 on social justice, 20.4.a–b on democracy, equity, and the spirit of the Bill of Rights, 21.2 on the duty of the state to uphold the Bill of Rights and to enact the relevant legislation, 21.3 on the state's duty to vulnerable groups, 27 on outlawing discrimination, 56 on addressing marginalized groups, and 59.1–2 on the establishment of a Kenya National Commission on Human Rights and Equality Commission, revised by the National Gender and Equality Commission Act 2011).
- The *conduct of the public service* as regards the principles and values of the Constitution (Arts. 10 on the national values and principles of governance, Chapter 6, Arts. 73-80 addressing public leadership and integrity, in particular 73.1.a.i–ii, 75.1.a–b, 234.c.d.f–h).
- The *necessary minimum representation of one third women in elective and appointive public bodies at national and local levels,* expressed as 'not more than two thirds [members] shall be of one gender' (Arts. 27.8, 81.b, 90.1 and 2.b, 97.1.b, 98.1.b, 10.a, 197.1).

Specific achievements of the new Constitution include[9] a *Bill of Rights* which has already been acclaimed as one of the world's best. It states that the purpose of recognizing and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms is to preserve the dignity of individuals and communities and *to promote social justice* and the realization of *the potential of all human beings* (Art. 19.2). This general proposition is significant and relevant to women's struggle for gender equality and gender equity.

The Constitution makes it incumbent upon *the State* and *all State organs to observe,* respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights and fundamental freedoms in the *Bill of Rights* (Art. 21.1).

The *general rules of international law* as well as *any treaty or convention ratified by* Kenya form part of the law of Kenya (Art. 2.5–6). Article 21.4 imposes on the state the obligation to enact and implement legislation to fulfil its international obligations in respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The *demise of the personal law exemption*[10] and *the supremacy of the Constitution over all existing laws are significant:* 'Any law, including customary law, that is inconsistent with this Constitution is void to the extent of the inconsistency' (Art. 2.4).

The United Nations agreed with the above assessments of the Constitution. The UNDP *2010 Annual Report* notes the substantive gender gains achieved, the approval of affirmative action for vulnerable groups, including women, and the acceptance of the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective and appointive public bodies should be of the same gender (UNDP-Kenya, 2010: 10).

For reference, some of the articles of the Constitution most relevant to gender equality and to the topic of the present study, that is, to the access and participation of women in education sector leadership, are quoted here:

The national values and principles of governance ...

a. patriotism, national unity, *sharing* and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and *participation of the people*;

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9. Some of these points have been quoted from Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, 2010.
10. There are however some vestiges of Section 82(4) of the old Constitution in the new Article 24(4) regarding 'persons who profess the Muslim religion, in matters relating to personal status, marriage, divorce and inheritance'.

b. human dignity, *equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality,* human rights, *non-discrimination* and protection of the marginalized;

c. good governance, integrity, *transparency* and accountability. (Art.10.2)

The Bill of Rights is an integral part of Kenya's democratic State and is the framework for social, economic and cultural policies ... (Art. 19.1) ... [and the Bill of Rights seeks] 'to promote *social justice*' (Art. 19.2). Authorities, courts and tribunals will promote 'the values that underlie an open and democratic society based on human dignity, *equality, equity* and freedom; [and] the spirit, purport and objects of the Bill of Rights' (Art.20.4.a–b).

All State organs and all public officers have the duty to *address the needs of vulnerable groups* within society, including *women* ... children ... (Art. 21.3).

Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal *opportunities* in political, economic, cultural and social spheres (Art. 27.3).

To give full effect to the realization of the rights guaranteed under this Article, the State shall take legislative and other measures, including *affirmative action programmes* and *policies designed to redress any disadvantage* suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination (Art. 27.6).

In addition ... the State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender (Art. 27.8). *[All emphasis added.]*

Several articles underline measures to be taken to specifically ensure women's participation in government, in the public sector, and all decision-making bodies, as noted above, and spell out the specific numbers or the minimum proportion of women that national and local governing bodies must necessarily include.

However, while Kenya enjoys the support of its new Constitution, the old challenges of the past remain, as constitutional lawyers and opinion writers remind the public daily. They include a habit of non-compliance with directives and pledges, non-enactment of constitutional principles, and non-implementation of the law. For example:

Non-compliance by the public service: although a presidential directive issued in 2007 required that at least *30% of all senior public service*

positions be held by women, the directive remained just that – a directive with *no mechanism for implementation*, and therefore no hook on which to hold government agencies to account for compliance.

The parties registration process failed to enforce the law: The Political Parties Act of 2007, the first legal framework for the specific *regulation of political parties*, [had] little to say on the issue of gender-balanced representation. The *only* instance in which the [2007] Act required gender balance is with respect to a *party's national leadership* [to] include *one third* of either gender, before a party [could] *qualify for registration* ... [but] political parties [were] allowed to register without conforming to this provision.

Non-observance of a pledge: [The] main political parties had pledged to institute quotas for women in their nomination processes in the run-up to the 2007 election, but none of them lived up to this pledge, and there was no legal mechanism for requiring them to do so (Musembi, Kameri-Mbote, and Kamau, 2010: 8–9).

In 2012, one new political party embarked on a gender count of membership merely months before the legal deadline. It is unclear if the other 46 parties are complying with the post-Constitution Act. The Registrar of Political Parties warned that parties risk being locked out of the next election if they do not meet the gender requirement of the new Political Parties Act 2011, that at least one-third of party members should be women. A women's seminar at the end of 2011 was informed by the Registrar that 'most women are not aware of the opportunities offered by the new Constitution and have not registered as party members'.

The Kenya Women's National Charter

Given the slow uptake on the part of most women as regards the new constitutional dispensations, this again puts the onus for driving the gender reform process forward on the shoulders of the few existing women leaders (still painfully few in Parliament), constitutional scholars, and civil society activists. It has to be emphasized that they are indeed a relatively small band of organized, informed activists. However, they can at times assemble a large number of the public and are now experienced in driving public agendas. Having witnessed the wrangles in 2011 over the constitutional enactment of the principle of a minimal one-third representation of women in elective and appointive posts, and in anticipation of the slackening pace of gender-related legislative reform, they recently designed a *Kenya*

Women's Charter and mustered about 2,000 women to launch and ratify it in Kenya's two major cities, in a blaze of media publicity.

The Charter addresses the gains in the Constitution and then focuses on the gaps and remaining needs in terms of future legislation. It lists clear demands for action on implementation strategies. Significantly, it emphasizes the importance of uniting the role of coordinator, monitor, and evaluator of constitutional provisions on gender into one organizing body, the newly constituted Kenya National Gender and Equality Commission.

With a view to stimulating legislation related to gender issues, the Charter calls for 'a comprehensive and substantive law that defines, criminalizes and provides guidelines and parameters for the enforcement of the constitutional provisions in respect to non-discrimination and upholding of women's human rights ... to be termed: *"The Human Rights and Equality Act"'* (Art. 2.1).

As for the education sector, Article 11 states that in order:

> to ensure that available education and training meets the economic, social, cultural and political needs of women in Kenya:[11] gender equality in ... education and training requires the equal participation of both women and men in ... policies and programmes [and] in the design and content determination of academic curricula .... This entails that women be represented at all levels of policy-making, management and administration of education and training (Art. 11.1).

And, relevant to the present study's focus on the challenges facing women aspiring to leadership in ministries of education, the Charter calls for employment-related reform in general:

> Domestic labour [is to] be a shared social responsibility that should not be borne by women alone. Consequently, there should be adequate provision of childcare facilities and reasonable working hours to accommodate shared family responsibilities (Art. 11.1).

> Effective affirmative action programmes [are to] be introduced to ensure gender equity and equality of access to all jobs, training, promotion (Art. 11.2).

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11. The design of education and training to meet the economic, social, cultural, and political needs of men also requires an adequate representation or input of women, the majority of the population.

> Ensuring transparency, non-discrimination and legal compliance in recruitment, promotion ...

> Guaranteeing women the freedom to choose their occupation ... mechanisms for [the elimination of] sexual harassment in the workplace, with a view to combating disempowerment of women through sexual exploitation and abuse at the workplace (Art. 9.3.b–d).

The Charter has an extensive section on The Effective Representation of Women in Leadership and Governance (Art. 7). It speaks of the necessity for 'creating gender-balanced space' and for equal opportunity for women to access 'leadership and decision-making positions at all institutional levels of governance'. It notes that 'leadership is not just about *presence* in decision-making bodies. It is about positive value addition and accountability, measured by performance and influence in a manner that delivers services, welfare and empowerment to the poor and the vulnerable social sectors, especially women' (Art. 11.1). The Charter highlights the need for 'quality leaders with a transformative agenda that places the empowerment and emancipation of women of Kenya at the core of their mission and vision during the entire cycle of decision-making', with the following attributes:

- Competence and possession of relevant experience;
- Proven record of integrity;
- Proven record of honesty;
- Proven record of reliability;
- Proven record of promotion of gender and women's rights and empowerment; and
- Proven record of citizen-oriented and responsive style of leadership, manifested in service delivery (Art. 11.2).

It is envisaged that in order to realize transformative leadership and governance, massive civic education will need to be provided by government and civil society. The goals and content of such a programme are detailed in the Charter (Art. 11.3).

Endnote

Despite the struggles and the battles that still need to be won, the first giant step has been taken in social reform in Kenya. The new Constitution with its in-built deadlines moves the nation inexorably and proactively forward

in the face of reluctant reformers who resist change because of a variety of vested interests. For example, the national press reported in 2012:

> If you need proof that the gender-balance requirement of the Constitution is being taken seriously, cast your eyes at the Kenya Sugar Board. A three-judge bench is to rule at the end [of February 2012] whether the directors have met the constitutional threshold for gender balance. Until then they remain barred from taking office, a [situation] that has prevailed since August 2011. Yes, the new laws are challenging the makeup of state organizations' boardrooms (*The Standard*, 2012).

It is expected that Kenya's ranking will improve significantly on all the indices of social development and will make substantial progress on women's participation in economic development over the next decade.

4. Representation of women in decision-making posts in ministries of education

As a result of the recent gender-affirmative policies noted in the previous chapter, the Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Development was mandated to monitor regularly the distribution of women in government ministries. The second Ministry of Gender Report, entitled *Second Bi-Annual Report (2010–2011 fiscal year) on Implementation of 30% Affirmative Action for Women in Recruitment and Promotion in the Public Service*, states that 42 per cent of the senior officers in the Ministry of Education are women; and 22 per cent in the Ministry of Higher Education (MoGCSD, 2011: 11 and 17). 'Senior management' or decision-makers are defined by the Ministry of Gender survey as officers in Job Group P and above. In the Ministry of Education this is equivalent, in generic terms, to the *third* step below a director of a directorate.

Gender representation in the Ministry of Education

Ministers and assistant ministers

The current study does not focus on the political posts in Kenya's two current ministries of education, a minister and the two assistant ministers per ministry. It could be noted, however, that Kenya has never had a woman minister of the substantive large 'mother' Ministry of Education, as it has been called. The first female Minister of Higher Education was appointed in 2008. A male minister took over for a year, after which a second female minister was appointed, in August 2011. Significantly, both women had doctorates in science and technology fields and were more qualified than average male ministers across ministries, one being a university professor.

School staffing by gender

The percentage of women in 2010 among primary teachers (184,873) was 46 per cent, and among total secondary teachers (53,047) was 37 per cent (MoGCSD, 2011: 11 and 17). Primary female head teachers were reported to represent 13 per cent (2,041) in 2010, out of a total of 15,969 head teachers, according to the Teachers' Service Commission records. Female

heads of secondary schools totalled 26.8 per cent (1,181) out of the total of 4,404 secondary heads (TSC, email communications, 6–7 December 2011). The data are not commonly published, which means that this information is not considered of interest or regularly requested. The 2007 SACMEQ nationally representative 6th grade pupil sample reported fewer than 15 per cent female primary head teachers in Kenya, which is consistent with the 2010 data. SACMEQ notes that 20 per cent of heads in urban primary schools are female and just over 10 per cent in rural schools (Hungi, 2010), which ranks Kenya at the lowest two levels, with Malawi, on gender equity in primary headship among the 15 SACMEQ eastern and southern African countries (*Figure 3.9*).

Ministry of Education officers by gender

The data reported in this sub-section are derived directly from the two ministries of education, as at the end of August 2011. The professional education officers in the substantive Ministry of Education numbered 1,407. The figure includes the officers in the central ministry from the permanent secretary to 'education officers' at the point of entry for professionals into central ministry posts, and specific field education officers: the provincial education directors of education and the district education officers. It does not include the personnel of semi-autonomous government agencies (SAGAs) attached to the Ministry of Education,[12] nor the principals of schools. Job Groups L to N data provided by the Ministry include central ministry personnel, provincial directors of education, the lead district education officers, and some additional officers in the field who have reached these job groups.

Designations or the names of posts change over time. Therefore the study regularly refers to the level of posts in the hierarchy of the ministry or a directorate in generic terms, as 'one or more steps below a director'. The director's position is at Job Group S. *Table 3.8* indicates the percentage of female officers at each job group level and, on the right, the total cumulative percentage of female officers at each level, from the top down.

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12. See *Appendix 1* for a list of the semi-autonomous government agencies attached to the Ministry of Education.

Figure 3.9   Percentage of female heads and female teachers, 2010, SACMEQ III
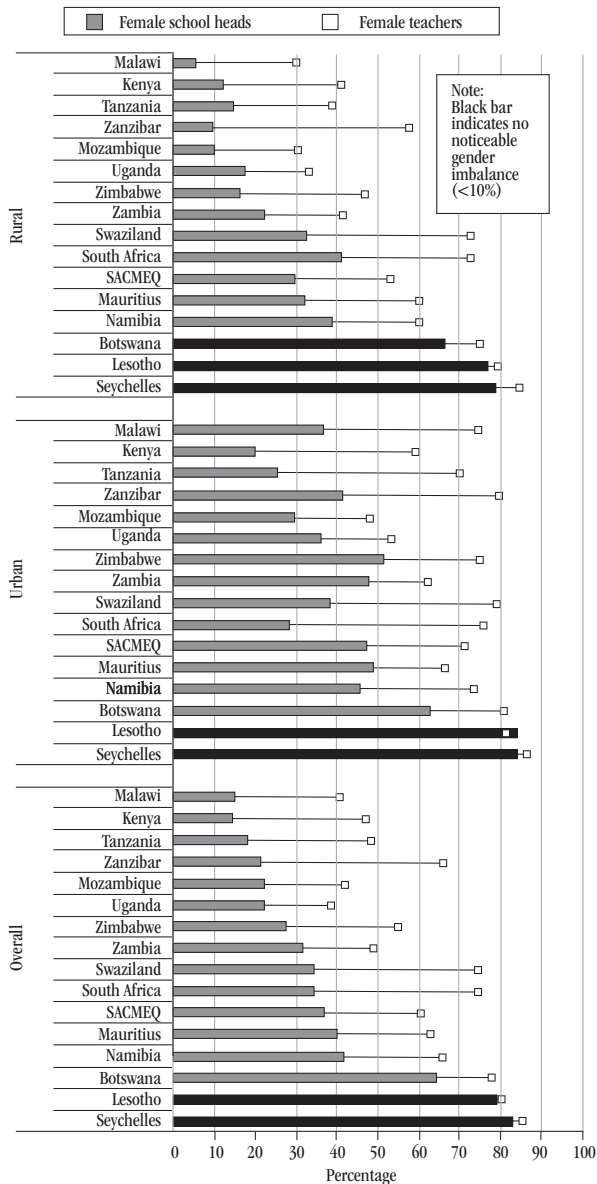
Source: Hungi, 2010: 2.

Table 3.8   MoE professional education staff by sex

Job group	Title	M	F	F %	Total	Cumulative F %
U	PS	1	0	0	1	0
T	ES	1	0	0	1	0
S	D	5	1	17	6	13
R	SDDE	5	3	38	8	25
Q	DDE	24	5	17	29	25
P	SADDE	42	17	29	59	25
N	ADDE	149	56	27	205	27
M	SEO	684	168	20	852	22
L	EO	205	41	17	246	21
Total	9	1,116	291	21	1,407	21

Title abbreviations: PS = permanent secretary; ES = education secretary; D = director of directorates; SDDE = senior deputy director of education; DDE = deputy director; SADDE = senior assistant deputy director; ADDE = assistant deputy director; SEO = senior education officer; EO= education officer.
Note: Job Groups at P and above indicate senior management. There is no Job Group O.
Source: MoE HRM, data at 29 August 2011.

Table 3.8 indicates that:

- *Women's overall representation* among the professional education cadres of the Ministry is 21 per cent, ranging between 0 and 38 per cent at each rank.
- Women represent 25 per cent of *decision-makers*, down to one step below the directors of directorates, Job Groups U to R.
- Women represent 25 per cent, cumulatively, of the *senior management* as designated by the Ministry of Gender Report, noted earlier (Job Groups U to P), *down to the third step below directors.*
- Women comprise, cumulatively, 27 per cent of those reportedly *involved in the totality of the policy decision-making, shaping and originating process,* as explained by officers of the Ministry (Job Groups U to N), *down to the fourth step below directors.*

The highest representation of women is in the middle rather than at the lowest levels, where female staff represent 20 per cent and 17 per cent, respectively (*Table 3.8*). Job Group L is the point of first recruitment, where women represent one-sixth of the staff. There needs to be a larger pool of female officers at lower levels from which to recruit women into higher posts.

The present study has been able to distinguish:

- *decision-makers* on policy at the top of senior management (one step below the directors, currently designated as 'senior deputy directors' of directorates or SDDEs, Job Group R and above);
- *policy-involved officers* who participate in *policy shaping* and, to quote the Ministry, '*policy origination*'. Technical or professional officers from Job Groups Q and P at the second and third steps below a director, currently designated as deputy directors (DDEs) and senior assistant deputy directors (SADDEs) – and sometimes Job Group N, at the fourth step below a director, designated as assistant deputy directors (ADDEs) – are regularly instructed to develop policy concepts and papers.

One of the senior deputy directors interviewed emphasized that the creative inputs of his staff at levels P and N, at the third and fourth steps below the director, were critical to policy development in his section.

Figure 3.10 gives the same information as *Table 3.8* in graphic form, highlighting the under-representation of women officers. To the left of the bold vertical line are the decision-makers, starting from officers one step below directors, in Job Groups U down to R. To the left of the dotted line are the 'senior management ranks' as described by the Ministry of Gender data set, Job Groups U down to P; and to the left of the pale line are the originators, shapers, and decision-makers, Job Groups U down to N.

Figure 3.10   MoE professional education staff by sex, August 2011
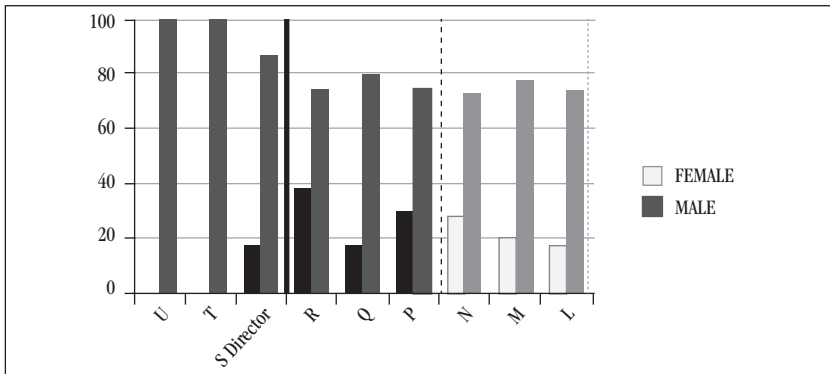
As of 2011, the highest ranking woman in the Ministry was the Director of Basic Education, the sole woman among six professional directors. Almost a decade ago, three of the five directors were women. There was a first and only woman permanent secretary in the 1990s for a short period, and a sole woman director of education, one step below the permanent secretary. The gender balance among policy-makers is not improving over time. The current status of women in the Ministry is lower than 10 years ago.

Gender representation in the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology

The dataset from the Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology (MoHEST) available to the study is not comparable with that of MoE, as explained in *Table A.1*, reflected in *Figure 3.11* here, which indicates that women represent 18 per cent of *decision-makers* (Job Groups U to R); 26 per cent of *senior management*, as described in the Ministry of Gender Report (Job Groups U to P); and 28 per cent of *policy shapers and originators* (Job Groups U to N). As in the case of the MoE, there are fewer women in the lowest professional ranks and at the entry point of MoHEST. The MoHEST dataset includes the staff of the National Council for Science and Technology, since the institution is not classified as a semi-autonomous entity.

Figure 3.11   MoHEST professional staff by sex, August 2011
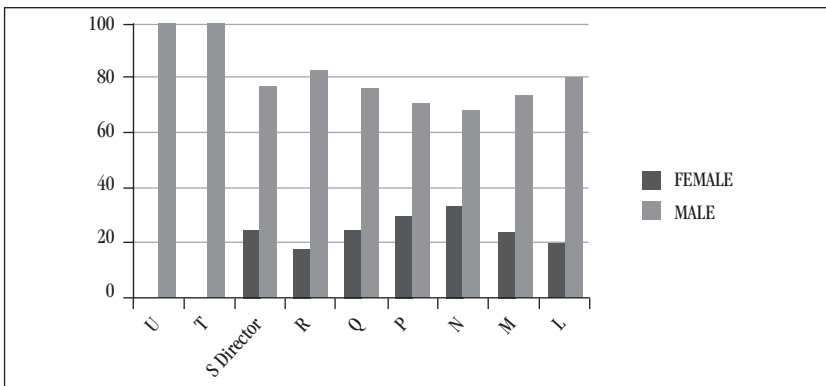
Source: MoHEST data, 30 August 2011 and *Table A.1*.

Endnote on datasets relating to gender

In conclusion, the two ministries of education (MoE and MoHEST) are presenting data in different ways and the Ministry of Gender may be reporting a third type of dataset. The three datasets are not currently comparable (*Table 3.9*). In summary:

- The MoE dataset includes officers from Job Groups U to L, which can be disaggregated by job group for further analysis and comparison across ministries. It does not include SAGA staff data.
- The MoHEST dataset includes officers from Job Groups U to L, which can be disaggregated by job group for further analysis and comparison across ministries. It includes NCST staff data which cannot be disaggregated from the overall data.
- The Ministry of Gender dataset on MoE includes SAGA staff, Job Groups U to P, which is not disaggregated by job group, nor disaggregated by SAGA data.
- The Ministry of Gender data set on MoHEST includes NCST staff, Job Groups U to P, which is not disaggregated by job group, nor disaggregated by NCST data

Table 3.9   **Datasets on representation of women in two ministries of education by data source**

Dataset sources	MoE	MoHEST	Observations
MoE dataset	25		Excluding SAGAs
MoHEST dataset		26	Including NCST
Ministry of Gender report	42	22	Including MoE SAGAs and NCST

It seems that the number of hierarchical ranks in the Ministry of Education has increased over the last two decades. An earlier climate of professional camaraderie may have been lost. At the same time, informants inside and outside the Ministry say it is currently a 'sharp' or 'lean' Ministry at the top, with very few senior managers compared with the large size of the Ministry, making it difficult for officers to rise to one of the relatively few senior positions, sharpening competition for promotion. Teachers are employed by the Teachers' Service Commission. The many education officers inside headquarters and in the field jostle for promotion and the rivalry or stress is accounted to be higher than in smaller ministries.

Many of the education officers interviewed welcomed the fact that the Scheme of Service, dating from 2002, was being revised as this study was being carried out and that a completed draft was expected by the end of October 2011. A senior education officer said that he knew of the existence of the Scheme of Service but had never seen it. The Ministry has been known in the past to frustrate officers with long, unexplained periods of stagnation. This lowered morale and led to attrition from the Ministry. Education officers applied for transfer to other ministries which had faster promotion rates; or resigned from government service. Others have left highly skilled positions at the MoE for positions at SAGAs in the Education Sector, before returning at senior levels to the MoE – effectively fast-tracking their promotion. The hope is now that promotion criteria will be increasingly transparent and that movement up through the ranks will be regularized. People welcome the fact that recruitment application and promotion application submissions are now conducted online, which has eliminated some corrupt practices of the past, which are widely cited, whereby applications for promotion could be held back by superior officers.

As noted, the Ministry of Education has had a reputation for difficult, slow, and stagnating promotion patterns over the decades. Changes in the human resource sections of many ministries, with their increasingly well-qualified and experienced staff, and more direct input from the Public Service Commission (PSC) in the Ministry of State for the Public Service, are also beginning to be visible in the Ministry of Education. Recently, the PSC has been clarifying a number of issues. The 2008 Circular on Succession, dealing with promotion patterns, is a case in point. While it may not have been implemented satisfactorily to date within the Ministry of Education, and depends in large part on the willingness of directors in each directorate to address staff development, mechanisms are emerging from within the public service and particularly in civil society, which are pressuring government in general to adhere to good governance practice.

These factors, together with the promulgation of the new Constitution in 2010, are raising morale in the Ministry and are expected to have a direct impact on the gender composition of the ministries of education in the future and particularly on the appointment of increasing numbers of women to decision-making posts.

Recommendation

Ministries should be requested to produce biannual data on the representation of women at each job group, in each designated post, disaggregated by central ministry/field staff, and by core ministry/SAGA or internal institution (such as NCST). Detailed data should be posted publicly in ministries and made regularly available to the public, for example, on ministry websites and in periodic reports. Trends need to be identified and recommendations made to the ministries and to the Public Service Commission on mechanisms for achieving a determined gender ratio through appropriate temporary affirmative action strategies.

5. Findings – women's experience of promotion and performance in the Ministry of Education

The issue of gender representation and promotion needs to be appreciated within the general patterns of public service employment and promotion. Larger ministries, such as ministries of education, have greater problems with stagnating personnel than smaller ones. The Schemes of Service relate to the total public service rather than specifically to individual ministries. What may be more pertinent is the manner in which each ministry interprets and implements the Scheme of Service; and the culture within each ministry regarding gender representation. Schemes of Service guidelines have stipulated that qualification through 4–6-week management and strategic leadership courses is a prerequisite for applying for various senior posts, but Ministry staff continue to ask for further clarification on promotion criteria.

> The Ministry has suffered for some time from weak promotion mechanisms. Officers from the SAGAs who are promoted faster are in a better position to apply for and secure a posting in higher job groups in the MoE in spite of the fact that they may not have the skills or experience of MoE officers in lower job groups who have been stagnating. (Mid-level manager, woman)

It emerges that many officers stagnate in job groups well beyond what could be considered a reasonable period, while women in the MoE feel that they are deprived of promotion to a much greater degree than men.

There are widely differing perceptions among both women and men of the numbers of women holding senior positions in the MoE. In one man's view, 'Now, women are doing better than the men' and 'women have the upper-hand as regards promotion'. Another said 'women at the top constitute only up to 10 per cent'. Women's views are equally varied, even suggesting that there are fewer women in senior management today than six or seven years ago: 'Before, we had women in top management but unfortunately that has gone'. No one quotes the Ministry of Gender 2010 gender estimate of senior management staff as 42 per cent female, 58 per cent male, or the Human Resource Development Sector Report

of 2011, or the MoE data analysis of 25 per cent quoted in the previous chapter.

The first finding, therefore, is that people inside and outside the Ministry of Education do not have data at their fingertips and are not basing their judgements on evidence. The existing gender data on Ministry staffing are evidently not generally available or are not being given much attention.

Facilitating mechanisms for promotion

The sole *supportive* mechanism for women, as compared with men, in the public service is three months paid maternity leave established by the Employment Act 2007. Linked to this is the provision for two weeks paid paternity leave, laid down by the same Act. The sole *promotion* facilitating factor, according to interviewees, has been the rare permanent secretary, concerned with the lack of women in senior management, and searching at times for a female candidate to fill a post.

Few women have reached the level of director or one step below over the years. These fall into three categories: the rising achievers, the exceptionally well qualified, and those identified for appointment. There is no evidence of any structural mechanism facilitating their rise, but there is reference in the interviews to specific individual male powerbrokers in the Ministry playing fair as regards gender, recognizing the quality of these women, or even seeking to promote more women.

The achievers

In most cases, women who succeed in rising through the ranks work extremely hard and have developed a strategy for achieving a senior appointment. They are characterized by their focus, their ability to define clear professional goals, and the well-thought-out strategies they have pursued to achieve them. These include informing themselves carefully about the post sought, and the application and interview process; reading relevant reports and undertaking research in preparation for appointment interviews; networking and lobbying among peers and senior colleagues; in some cases using a common strategy for a group-facilitating application process including their own promotion; preparing to present themselves with firmness and confidence at the interview; and finally performing well at the interview. It seems that these women employed such strategies when

reaching very senior positions but not at earlier stages of their careers, possibly because they were as yet unfamiliar with the strategies and type of interview preparation required. It has to be noted that despite using these strategies, few women manage to achieve promotion.

Even demonstrably capable women struggled for promotion. In one well-known case an officer was continually passed over until she protested in person to the permanent secretary, pointing out her substantial experience and skills. To general surprise she was promoted and remained in the post to become an exemplary and hardworking woman leader in the Ministry, providing a positive, courageous, and efficient role model, mentoring and inspiring younger women: 'She really shaped us', reminisced a retired mid-level manager.

The exceptionally well qualified

Exceptionally well-qualified women started further studies early in their careers, through fortuitous travel abroad with their husbands, or by taking advantage of available distance or extension education programmes – a 'liberating' experience, according to one informant. In some cases they managed to secure Ministry scholarships for doctoral study abroad. Some informants stated that it is difficult for the Ministry to ignore these highly qualified, exceptional women, and that they receive promotions, although often only as far as one step below directorship. Others had experience of returning to previous posts without hope of promotion in the near future, and leaving the Ministry in frustration. In one case, the sole officer with a Master's degree in adult education experienced a slow, gradual rise to the position of Director of Adult Education, her peers remarking that she would have been fast-tracked had she been a man. Other well-qualified women are promoted at the very end of their careers. With hindsight, women caution that female officers need to become qualified as early as possible in their careers since it is difficult to balance study, work, and family responsibilities, and late qualification means, at best, late promotion.

Fast-track promotions

As with men, women who are solid educationists in the field or the Ministry can be fast-tracked for promotion if they have ethnic or political connections, or personal connections due to the high social status of their own family or their husband's family.

Appointment of women to senior positions has been sporadic, and is often the result of spontaneous action by male powerbrokers or extraordinary effort on the part of women themselves coupled with unusual circumstances. The first and only female permanent secretary was appointed a few months before her retirement. Increased female visibility in senior positions reportedly raises the morale of female staff in a Ministry. Informants highlighted the year 2002 as one in which women perceived gender-affirmative action in the Ministry.[13] At the time, three out of five directors of education were women.

In summary, the following factors, mechanisms, and strategies have helped women to rise up the ranks in the Ministry of Education:

- (*) having better qualifications than male colleagues;
- developing a career plan early in one's professional life;
- making ambitions known;
- being well-informed of vacancies, expected performance, and skills required;
- strategizing individually and at times with colleagues for promotion;
- (*) exploiting the presence of women leaders in the Ministry to consolidate and regularize gains for women throughout the Ministry;
- preparing well for the interview;
- ethnic, political, or personal/family connections.

While the first and sixth strategies (*) are particular to women, the others are relevant to all applicants. Yet, according to the evidence, these have been less exploited by women than by men in the past.

Obstacles to promotion – structural and societal

The temporary high visibility of women in leadership in the Ministry did not lead to strategic action by women or anyone else to maintain positive change. Women informants identified a lack of gender affirmation at present in the Ministry.

Structural and institutional challenges

Men dominate the Ministry. They constitute all or the majority of Public Service Commission appointment committee members, and

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13. Interviews consistently explain this temporary phenomenon by the positive attitude of one single superior officer in the Ministry.

they determine the short-listing mechanisms. As bosses, it is their recommendations that promote candidate onto shortlists, and they alone know the competence levels of applicants. The following observations by both male and female informants in the Ministry illustrate these points.

The official perspective

> There are fewer qualified women than men to employ and to promote in ministries. The application process is open and public, run by the Public Service Commission. All applicants for senior positions go through very competitive interviews. And, since last year, we have had the 'one-third' principle to adhere to. (Senior Ministry official, man)

Irregular practices

Impediments to promotion included irregular practices in the past:

> Our applications would not even be passed on to the Public Service Commission by our male bosses. I have seen it many times.[14] (Official, woman)

Professional invisibility

Women officers work extremely hard. Yet the invisibility of women's skills and contributions plays against them when appearing before promotion selection committees:

> At the Ministry, what I noticed was that women wanted to deliver. Not so much for money or prestige. They worked hard. Meanwhile, men lobbied for recognition and promotion, using and presenting the work done by women officers. Once, the permanent secretary needed a technical paper to present at a meeting in Washington. At the last minute, my boss asked me to work on it. I remember sitting late at night with a paraffin lamp because I had no electricity at home. And yet I wrote the paper. It was only when the PS wanted to discuss the paper that I was called in and at that point the PS realized that I was the one who had written it. (Veteran middle-level officer, woman)

Reportedly, men routinely used and presented women officers' work as their own, without acknowledging the authorship: 'In the Ministry, work

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14. Currently, applications are submitted online, which has eliminated a significant source of corruption.

was not quantified.[15] Appraisal was done the way they wanted. Promotions were not consistent.' (Veteran middle-level officer, woman)

Gender-differentiated socializing norms

Gender-differentiated socializing norms (men in bars and meat-eating places; women in the extended family, church, and women's informal self-help and micro-finance groups) translate into the workplace. Women have no access to male networks or lobbying locations, or to male lobbying instruments. *'Women can't lobby their male superiors in public social places for fear of being seen as too "outgoing" by the public,'* explained a male middle manager.

> For women it was and still is difficult to meet men [for professional networking]. If you are seen meeting them outside the office, people will talk. There will be malice. In any case, it is really canvassing, a form of corruption. (Middle manager, woman)

Fewer opportunities for study

Women rarely secure Ministry sponsorship for further study abroad. In the past, MoE did not promote women with small children or sponsor them for further studies or training abroad. Some women may have real impediments at the household level and be unable to temporarily leave their household, husband, baby, or teenage children. Others succeed in making adequate domestic arrangements for field work, transfer or study abroad, but can be overruled by the Ministry.

> There's a time I was refused permission for training abroad because I had a baby. I told the MoE that the baby was mine and not theirs. I would know what to do with my baby. But they sent a man instead. Yet when it came to giving us work to do, staying at meetings until six or seven in the evening, they would not remember the babies. (Woman who brought up four children on her own, currently working at a top international agency)

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15. Performance contracts are now in common use and are expected to address this matter.

> ## Box 3.3 The straw that broke the camel's back
>
> At the Ministry, I remember putting in all my dedication and commitment, my all – giving more than in any other institution I've ever worked in. I found myself working very hard. I put in long hours. Jobs were advertised but I did not get promoted. It was frustrating. The goal posts kept on changing – the minimum requirement for years in a post would change from three to five or the minimum qualification would be raised to Master's level, which I didn't have then.
>
> Frankly speaking, for me, the time came when I hit the glass ceiling. I was working under a boss who knew the quality of my work but when it came to giving a recommendation, he did not support me or give me a chance for promotion. I thought I might reach the next level but it would end there. I'd never get any further. I felt that I had come to a dead end.
>
> The straw that broke the camel's back, I remember it well. I wanted to go abroad on an advanced planning course. It would have made me a better planner. The course was approved but they told me to wait for two years. After two years, they said the course was not relevant to the Ministry and there was no funding.
>
> *(Comments by a highly competent woman who stagnated too long in the middle ranks, watching male officers overtake her in promotions. She finally left the Ministry.)*

Women's solidarity

Women experienced life and death, hardship, and struggle in equal measure and devised coping strategies for dealing with the double challenge of professional and domestic responsibilities:

> We formed a support group. No, we didn't call it that, but it was a support group, an excellent one, about six of us. We would have gone mad without it. We'd arrange to pick up each others' children from school when any of us worked late. Or if a child was reported sick at school, and we couldn't get out of a meeting, then someone who was free would pick up the child and take her home. This group kept us sane.
>
> Once, one of us lost her baby. Her husband was out of work. We mobilized within a few hours. We bought food for her for a whole month and left her with money. She cried .... Our group was a survival mechanism of some kind for us. (Middle manager, woman)

Another female middle manager remarked: 'I have decided that I will take it on myself to guide young women coming into the MoE on what is expected of them, build their confidence, teach them to be firm, present themselves well, and acquire the right attitudes. Women socialize, mentor, and support each other in personal and professional ways but rarely in

an organized, focused, and strategic manner designed to promote career advancement.'

Senior male officers say that professional women focus on trivial matters when socializing at the workplace. As one said, 'They talk about funny things amongst themselves – not promotion and progressing [like men do].'

Rare strategizing among women

There was a time when women felt acutely that they were being passed over in the MoE for promotion, and that male peers with similar and sometimes lesser qualifications and experience were being promoted ahead of them. On two occasions a letter was written to the Permanent Secretary in protest, by a group of 10 women, signed by some male colleagues. It reportedly had no effect. Other times, women acted in isolation to protest their own individual case of being passed over. The result in one case was a sudden, still-remembered promotion of an individual who became the epitome of a courageous leader in education to many. To this day, there seem to be more younger men in leadership in MoE than young women. Future research needs to survey personnel by age.

Constraining societal attitudes and practices

Mobility

Mobility is an issue. Field trips and transfers are two major obstacles for women professionals as regards their gender image, their availability for routine ministry assignments, and promotion prospects. Professional requirements clash with societal expectations of female roles and with the home management responsibilities that society has assigned to women. As an official government report notes: 'Social, economic and cultural factors make claims on their time. For instance, their multiple roles in reproduction, production and maintenance are extremely time consuming and exhausting. This affects the extent to which they can take advantage of new methods of production, information, knowledge and available skills' (MoGSCSS, 2005: 7).

Challenging traditional marital relationships

Accepting a promotion can present a marital (but not a maternal) risk: 'It's said that women in top positions break their families .... Men say women will

"grow horns" if they get promoted too high in the system', said a top male Ministry officer. A senior female officer explained: 'Men do not support their wives applying for promotion since it comes back to "who is the head of the home"!' A rising mid-level woman manager remarked: 'When I joined the MoE, it was a total shift for my husband. It was hard for him to take in that I would be away for a week in the field or out of the country. He still panics when I travel. And when I come back, it's a huge issue.' A senior male manager added: 'Husbands don't like to think of their wives being all day with male colleagues.' His male colleague continued: 'On field trips, married women are not comfortable with staying in lodgings which are always associated with loose women, prostitution, and drinking. They are not sure they are safe in lodgings.'

Constraining female attitudes

In addition to male attitudes which stifle women's advancement, there are some attitudes that Ministry women need to change in themselves:

> As for going for field activities in [the hot, desert lands of] North Eastern Province, when you are a woman it is quite challenging ... it's very harsh conditions for women ... long distances on rough roads and sometimes no water to shower with or even drink. I can tell you I have not gone beyond Garissa [the most developed town in the area]. I say I will only go when I have a very good deal [the guarantee of minimal level of comfort and amenities]. (Middle manager, woman)

A senior woman officer complained that Ministry field vehicles were too high for women to get into and that no one paid any attention to her request for a different type of vehicle. But women officers also need to shape up to the job. They need to be more professionally curious about and committed to work in difficult education contexts, to be more adventurous and cope like national women researchers and NGO and UN women regularly do. They need to know how to prepare for difficult trips – to plan and provide themselves with suitable clothing and equipment to deal efficiently with such terrain, which is a necessary part of delivering education to the whole country. This also highlights the need for education to promote physical education and fitness for girls, so that as professional women they will be able to cope with the physical discomfort that goes with certain jobs, and many senior jobs.

Passivity – nature or nurture or imposition?

Expectations play their part. A male informant thinks that women would be reluctant to apply for promotion 'knowing that they might go into the Ministry but without getting far.' The following observations are also food for thought for women who would be change agents: 'Women are contented [they don't make an effort to move up]. The women in MoE don't read [around their subject], don't inform themselves', and 'they don't want to take risks'.

Overall analysis points to the difficult environment in which women have been working and to the fact that women have been deprived of promotion to a much greater degree than men in ministries of education.

Performance in post

Women in decision-making posts spoke well of their skills and accomplishments, as did most of the women in middle management when speaking of senior women. Senior women see themselves and are seen by other women to be 'good managers of money and resources, generally, ensuring there is no wastage, good at delegating, working three times as hard as men', more ready to spend overtime on work, well qualified, more industrious, meticulous, more interested in the quality of their work than male peers, principled, more committed, more fair to their juniors, better listeners, better communicators, better team workers, and confident. They are more principled than men and strict when it comes to following policies and procedures. Significantly, once at senior level, they strategized carefully to reach their ultimate post. The downside for women in leadership is that 'they are always in the spotlight' and 'they work three times as hard as men'. And 'if things go wrong, it is magnified'. Women are able to delegate well, particularly if they rise from within the ranks and know their institution. This gives them confidence, say other women. A rare woman from a minority, pastoralist ethnic group became a provincial director of education. She was considered to be extremely efficient, 'her province was miles ahead in project implementation', remarked a female observer.

Middle management women described senior women as good performers, as models of perseverance in getting to senior management levels, and said that many encourage and mentor younger women. This counters the view that women do not collaborate.

Senior male managers echoed this positive view of female peers:

Women managers tend to consult [with their colleagues] on critical issues and also strive to work in harmony with others. They are more consultative in approach than men.

They embrace change.

[Citing two women in very senior MoE management positions] They are performing just like men. There's no difference.

[The fact that there are few senior women managers in the MoE] is not a matter of lack of capability. They are able. As school heads women have been doing very well, particularly in boarding schools. No one should mislead you that women are not in positions because they cannot perform or they are inferior to men. I have worked with them and I know they have what it takes once they get the opportunity to do the work .... The few women in top positions in the MoE are making their presence felt.

However, *mid-level male managers* had mixed views. On the *positive* side:

For me, the few women [in high positions] I have interacted with, I find them working so well.

Those women who have been rightly promoted perform well ... they produce better results than men.

I do not think there is any meaningful difference [between men or women in leadership].

Women in top positions are very faithful and committed. Men are very uncommitted and carefree in the way they handle fellow workers and clients.

More women are committed to their work than their male counterparts. Actually, women like to work and I must say that they usually have an advantage as they can do many tasks at the same time.

While, on the *negative* side, some said that female bosses could be harsh, 'iron-fisted', poor listeners, lacking in confidence and thus vulnerable to criticism, less qualified than many men, and generally appointed through cronyism, high social status or ethnicity rather than on merit.

It was also said that the general public is not confident in women's leadership:

> There is a general feeling among people that it's a little more challenging for women in positions [at the top] to perform well.

> At times, women bosses don't take decisions when you expect them to. I mean, they take rather long to make a decision.

> Generally, women tend to be more strict and do not relate very well with people. Men DQASOs (advisors/inspectors) relate better to teachers than women. Women tend to be fault finders while men tend to be advisors. Women DQASOs are not very popular with teachers. I'd say female MoE officers have attitudinal challenges.

> Women rush to punish but men have a tendency to advise. I think such women bosses just act out of fear. They tend to think that the men under them despise them and that the best way to deal with the men is to strike hard.

> Women bosses ... will never listen to your side of the story. They want to finish you. Possibly they want to show you they have the power. In contrast, men in the same position and circumstances would call you [to their office], listen to you, advise and warn you.

Another said:

> [With a female boss] I will be careful not to touch the wrong button because they often strike hard.

> The women who have been promoted by informal [irregular] means exhibit a certain amount of inferiority complex, feel threatened, and end up becoming arrogant.

New horizons

Currently there are three new mechanisms in force that are expected to contribute in time to more equitable gender career patterns, and a binding constitutional policy:

- online applications;
- performance contracts;
- the 'no more than two-thirds' gender-representation principle, introduced under the Constitution of Kenya (2010).

Moreover, the Ministry is revising the current Ministry of Education Scheme of Service. A draft was expected to be ready for the end of October 2011.

New hope is expressed by mid-level management women: 'Anyway, for about four years now there has been new thinking about women in top management. We can say things these days and we are ready to take responsibility and to work anywhere.' There are also new male champions for the gender affirmative principle, one of whom said: 'We must do it. But we should go beyond one-third. We should not get stuck at the minimum level.'

There seems to be no plan by women or by anyone else in the Ministry to drive increased promotion of women. No doubt, as has been the common experience, women in relatively high positions at present, hoping to gain further promotion, could lose out in the near future and be stigmatized by being seen to drive the cause of increased representation of women. This is the underlying rationale for: (i) establishing a strong Gender Unit and Advisory Board on Gender in Education; (ii) getting the Ministry to recognize the need for and drive a gender equity plan; and (iii) supporting MoE women by urging a generalized thrust to increase the profile of women in the public service in general.

6.   Conclusions and recommendations

In conclusion, the findings of this study highlight the following societal and structural constraints to the advancement of women in ministries of education, and the resulting negative effects on female behaviour and attitudes; and evidence, nevertheless, of significant positive qualities in women leaders in the education sector. Points of particular relevance to Africa are flagged with an asterisk (*). Others are likely to echo circumstances in developing countries in general.

Conclusions

Societal obstacles

There remain strong and increasingly *invisible socio-cultural constraints to women's professional advancement*, outside and inside education institutions, including ministries of education. Wider society has attributed different public and private social roles to men and women and continues to have expectations of gender-specific personality traits.

- Socially distinct gender-differentiated roles (the decision-makers, the caregivers, the family managers, the outspoken, the public powerbrokers, the lower-order and unpaid domestic workforce) permeate the workplace.
- Persistent, widespread negative male attitudes towards women exist in the workplace.
- Internalized, invisible, often unconscious negative attitudes are found in male workers, which are difficult to change.
- Lack of recognition for onerous domestic work and responsibilities produces acute tension in women professionals.
- (*) The traditional productive role of women (as food and resource providers) in harmony with household and child caring has not translated into harmonious or manageable productive roles in the modern workplace, and clashes with women's role in the workplace (e.g. mobility requirement).
- (*) Gender-differentiated socializing norms (men in bars and meat-eating places, women in the extended family, church, and women's informal micro-finance groups) constrain women professionals in efficiently networking and lobbying.

Structural, institutional, and procedural obstacles

Men dominate the MoE, particularly senior positions and appointment panels, and determine the work habits and social norms of the Ministry. They represent MoE authority.

- Appointments reflect male preference.
- Appointments are often conditional on officer mobility.
- Fewer women are recruited at the MoE entry point.
- Proportionately fewer women than men are promoted at all levels and at a slower pace.
- Gender-differentiated socializing patterns are replicated in the workplace, preventing women officers from gaining access to power-broking male networks, and lobbying and mentoring mechanisms.
- There is less opportunity for women to study abroad, attend conferences and workshops, and to present papers at conferences, to increase their visibility.
- Required workplace mobility is difficult to reconcile with continuing constraints on women's mobility. There are no measures to lessen women's mobility constraints.
- Women without mobility constraints are undifferentiated from those with constraints, leading to generalized and inappropriate stigma.
- The Ministry takes little/no account of women's societal household and childcare obligations, burdening them with a double or treble daily workload (generalized late working hours, etc.).
- Three months paid maternity leave is insufficient for the well-being of infants, resulting in tension, stress, and guilt for working mothers.

   Changes in the last decade include:

- Rapid expansion of private and public universities and the Internet now provide opportunities for women to study in their hometown in the evenings and through distance courses.
- Applications for promotion are now managed online, which makes them more transparent and procedurally fair. This procedure promotes equality of application chances.
- As regards promotion criteria for selection, appointment panels tend to ask only about immediate availability for transfer posting rather than detailed questions on family background. However, the gender-differentiated situations that fathers and mothers find themselves in

usually dictate a gender-differentiated answer, which continues to hinder women's promotion chances.

The last point indicates more political correctness on the part of the appointing agency for the Ministry of Education, but continuing lack of attention to gender-differentiated roles in society still affects promotion patterns and the increasing invisibility of gender-differentiated constraints.

Resulting negative effects on women

As a result of the societal and structural problems noted above, women *in middle management* may:

- fail to apply for senior appointments;
- fail to deliberately develop 'appointable' profiles – fail to seek exposure to management experience and to deliberately develop management skills;
- fail to acquire sufficient exposure outside the MoE at meetings, conferences, etc.;
- fail to prepare adequately for appointment interviews, due to lack of exposure and lack of information;
- fail to network at all or fail to network efficiently for promotion;
- fail to seek for or find a mentor to assist with career advancement, since most superior officers are currently male;
- fail to perform well at interviews – fail to exhibit a confident, knowledgeable, skilled profile or potential for senior management at appointment interviews.

Informants say women in *middle management* may:

- become less focused on work than men, due to overwork/multiplicity of roles;
- become frustrated at lack of change, lack of promotion and, in time, despairing of change;
- become slow, reluctant or unwilling to demand change – despair and a feeling of hopelessness and disempowerment typical of minority status can lead to lack of demand for change;
- experience lowered self-esteem, due to constant undermining, lack of professional recognition, and workplace discrimination.

As a result of the societal and structural problems noted above, *women in senior management* may become:

- isolated in the workplace, without peers at senior levels or separated from previous peers at middle levels;
- self-conscious and ill at ease as a minority group or sole minority representative;
- more cautious than men and generally adverse to risk-taking (applying for new or higher posts in a new location or institution of the MoE).

The researchers in this study do not ascribe innate negative or positive personality attributes to either men or women, or different attributes. However, differentiated socialization or socio-cultural conditioning can have a major, differentiated effect on both men and women, encouraging gender-differentiated expectations and even producing pervasive gender-distinctive general personality traits and behavioural patterns over time.

Women's leadership qualities

Women leaders perceive themselves in a very positive light. They say they are well qualified, often better academically qualified than men, more committed, more industrious, more meticulous, more interested in the quality of their work, more ready to spend overtime on work, more fair to their juniors, better listeners, better communicators, better team workers, and therefore confident.

Women in general have many positive things to say about women in senior management. In particular, they say that the few women managers they have worked under in the Ministry have been competent; that many of them encourage, promote, and mentor younger women; and that a significant number of these women have demonstrated perseverance in adversity, in getting to senior management levels and performing well despite the male-dominated and often hostile workplace environment.

Some of the negative points made by very few women and by several middle-management men include the following: women bosses are more harsh than men, less confident, more vulnerable to criticism, less qualified than many men, and are appointed through cronyism, ethnicity or due to their high social status, rather than on merit.

Endnote

Women currently working in ministries of education say that they can look forward to a different environment in the future. The new tone of optimism

can only be attributed to the fact that the interviews for this study were conducted during a period of new-found confidence in Kenya. Visible gains are being implemented daily in the judiciary as a result of the 2010 Constitution. Exactly 50 per cent of the newly approved high-court judges are women as of August 2011. This is giving women confidence that the minimum one-third 'of either gender' principle will be implemented at the highest levels in ministries, including the Ministry of Education.

In contrast, the strong points made by women with decades of experience in the Ministry relate more keenly to the structural context of a public sector which has had little room for women in senior management, and still has not much. Women professionals consider that it is likely that male professionals will have difficulty in adjusting in conceptual and behavioural terms to a greater number of women leaders. Furthermore, the future women leaders in the Ministry, who are currently at middle management levels, have yet to articulate and campaign for the specific goals that they want the Ministry to attain in terms of institutional change and workplace practice, in addition to the quantifiable changes sought.

Recommendations

The strategies proposed, deriving from the present study, address not society as a whole but, first of all, specifically the Government as the responsible agent of change and, second, the Ministry of Education as the lead educating agency of the Government. They are also addressed to women officers in the Ministry of Education, and to women currently in senior management in the Ministry. Proposals for action dating from the present study need to be tied explicitly to specific articles of the 2010 Constitution in order to gain instant recognition and authority, so that immediate and short-term implementation can be achieved.

Recommendations addressed to Government (including the Ministry of Gender and institutions/agencies involved in gender-related action):

- *Strengthen regular in-depth gender situation analyses*, their scope and quality; and enhance reporting and dissemination mechanisms.
- Continue to identify constraints to gender attitude change, and constantly *seek innovative ways to accelerate change* at national and grassroots levels.

- *Transform gender roles in society*, in particular the gender distribution of labour.
- *Create positive male role models* through collaboration with government media services and others, targeting men and boys.
- In the interim, while women remain the sole house and childcare managers, provide a *home manager allowance*.
- Reform public service schemes and conditions of work.
- Strengthen and monitor implementation.
- Negotiate with AU and CEDAW reporting offices a mechanism for dovetailing periodic reporting requirements, so as to achieve monitoring goals and promote subsequent feedback, discussion, and follow-up.

Recommendations addressed to the Ministry of Education:

- As the lead educating agency of Government, *target 50* per cent *representation of women* at all levels of the Ministry.
- *Develop a set of gender-related targets with timelines,* such as flexible work hours, full recognition of diverse work performed (childcare, home maintenance, etc.).
- Use *temporary affirmative measures,* such as 65 per cent female recruitment at the entry point, fast-tracking senior female appointments, and giving preference to women for sponsored further studies abroad and in Kenya.
- Provide tailor-made *capacity building* in management skills for women officers, orientation for new women officers, and regular gender-related sensitization and training for all officers.
- Develop appropriate quantitative and qualitative *indicators of progress*, including gender-specific analyses of career patterns in the Ministry and daily workplace experience (age specific, number of years in central MoE, or other relevant experience).
- *Plan MoE staffing over time* with a gender perspective. Regularly collect data on gender representation at all levels of MoE, preparing mid-career women to fill the posts of officers retiring from senior positions.
- *Monitor and report effectively*, periodically using *external* assessors, and *disseminate findings* publicly and effectively.
- *Establish a high-profile Gender Unit*, as per the Gender Policy in Education (2007) for an interim period, suitably funded, to effect the above changes and others promoted by the Policy; to be led by

an outstanding, high-status senior woman educationist with a track record in action, thoroughly versed and qualified in change theory and gender theory.

- Establish the recommended *Gender and Education Advisory Board* as per the Gender in Education Policy.

Recommendations addressed to current female education officers:

- Require the immediate and proper establishment of the Gender Unit and the Gender and Education Advisory Board.
- In collaboration with the Permanent Secretary and the Gender Unit, establish *formal and informal women's groups* for the purpose of networking, lobbying, and mentoring to provide professional and personal support, information exchange, and encouragement for career advancement, and establish effective links with other informal and formal ministry structures. *Formalize support to existing women leaders in the Ministry* through the Gender Desk/Unit.
- *Use, drive, develop, and support the Gender Unit.* Develop innovative ways to maximize its potential.
- Use and exploit the above to *strengthen women's individual professional profiles and competencies,* in order to advance their career potential and help them to make satisfactory career choices.
- Lobby for an *in-depth review of Ministry career structures* to include a gender perspective, acceleration of Ministry promotion mechanisms to the advantage of women, change in daily workplace practices for the increased comfort of women officers, and drive public sector reform on the same.
- Continue to *improve home organizational skills* to reduce the daily workload, effect change in the home so as to increase the quality of life for all family members, and lobby for a home manager allowance.

Recommendations addressed to existing women leaders in education:

- *Take the lead in the above changes but require whole-Ministry involvement,* of both *male and female staff,* particularly for the proper establishment of the Gender Unit as envisaged, thus reducing the need for time-consuming input on wide-ranging gender matters to a manageable advisory role for women leaders in education.
- Use, drive, develop, and support the Gender Unit.

- *Continue the outstanding personal and professional service* already given to the Ministry and ensure its incorporation into Gender Unit routine tasks, to lessen the burden of individual women leaders in education.
- As exceptional individuals in senior management, *insist on more support* and encouragement *from the Ministry*, while calling on support from the Gender Unit and from all women in the Ministry, collectively and individually.
- *Link with other Ministry female leaders* in order to gain strength and momentum for change in the Ministry of Education, particularly with the Ministry of Gender, seeking advice from leading women's rights organizations.

Recommendations addressed to women professionals retired from MoE/MoHEST:

- Join the existing ministry planners, to provide insight, experience, and an outsider view on the type of change required.

Too often, society expects change from government, without investigating the context in which government operates and without analysing the manner in which government needs support from civil society. In this instance, the several organizations, research institutions, and researchers working on gender in education need to be called upon to address the need for systemic change within the Ministry of Education and to provide collaborative support for such change.

Appendix 1.   Education statistics

The case study drew on data from the MoHEST. However, these are not comparable with data from MoE because the MoHEST data includes staff from the National Council of Science and Technology (*Table A.1*).[16] It was not possible to separate NCST data from the central Ministry data and it is unclear whether the inclusion of data from NCST skewed the gender statistics in one way or another.

Table A.1   Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology, professional staff by sex

Job group	Title	M	F	F %	Total	Cumulative %
U	PS	1	0	0	1	0
T	ES	1	0	0	1	0
S	D	3	1	25	4	
R	SDDE	13	3	19	16	18
Q	DDE	13	4	24	17	
P	SADDE	27	12	31	39	26
N	ADDE	24	12	33	36	28
M	SEO	31	11	26	42	
L	EO	4	1	20	5	
Total	9	117	44	27	161	27

Note: PS = permanent secretary; ES = education secretary; D = director of directorates; SDDE = senior deputy director of education; DDE = deputy director; SADDE = senior assistant deputy director; ADDE = assistant deputy director; SEO = senior education officer; EO = education officer. Job groups at P and above indicate senior management. There is no job Group O.
Source: MoHEST HRM, data for 30 August 2011.

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16. NCST is not formally constituted as a SAGA, hence the inclusion of NSCT staff in the MoHEST list.

**Table A.2   Public and private university student enrolment by sex,
2005/2006 – 2009/2010**

INSTITUTION	2005/2006		2006/2007		2007/2008		2008/2009		2009/2010	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Public universities										
Nairobi	21,940	11,765	22,513	12,426	23,513	12,826	24,162	13,253	27,159	15,201
Full-time	10,800	5,425	10,858	5,536	11,340	5,714	11,624	5,857	14,527	7,800
Part-time	11,140	6,340	11,655	6,890	12,173	7,112	12,538	7,396	12,632	7,401
Kenyatta	**10,896**	**4,787**	**8,845**	**7,891**	**10,172**	**8,425**	**10,652**	**8,713**	**15,615**	**10,876**
Full-time	4,356	2,947	5,066	3,285	5,826	3,507	6,176	3,647	12,566	8,444
Part-time	6,540	1,840	3,779	4,606	4,346	4,918	4,476	5,065	3,049	2,432
Moi	6,831	5,314	8,604	6,059	8,674	6,158	8,982	6,379	13,600	6,699
Full-time	4,311	3,200	5,654	3,554	5,700	3,612	5,928	3,756	7,587	4,024
Part-time	2,520	2,114	2,950	2,505	2,974	2,546	3,054	2,622	6,013	2,675
Egerton	**6,262**	**2,236**	**8,163**	**4,006**	**8,262**	**4,205**	**8,667**	**4,415**	**9,036**	**4,451**
Full-time	5,322	1,890	7,319	3,383	7,408	3,551	7,778	3,729	7,920	3,521
Part-time	940	346	844	623	854	654	888	687	1,116	930
Jomo Kenyatta (JKUAT)	**4,207**	**1,673**	**4,460**	**1,845**	**5,450**	**2,512**	**5,723**	**2,594**	**6,510**	**3,206**
Full-time	2,240	1,016	2,176	524	2,659	713	2,792	742	3,557	1,274
Part-time	1,967	657	2,284	1,321	2,791	1,799	2,931	1,853	2,953	1,932
Maseno	**2,826**	**1,878**	**2,778**	**1,937**	**3,487**	**2,199**	**3,603**	**2,257**	**3,331**	**2,176**
Full-time	2,106	1,420	1,888	1,277	2,370	1,450	2,441	1,494	2,097	1,351
Special	720	458	890	660	1,117	749	1,162	764	1,234	825
Masinde Muliro	**775**	**287**	**1,154**	**656**	**946**	**278**	**965**	**284**	**4,119**	**2,584**
Full-time	420	182	620	422	508	179	518	183	2,596	1,741
Part-time	355	105	534	234	438	99	447	101	1,523	843
SUB-TOTAL	**53,737**	**27,940**	**56,517**	**34,820**	**60,504**	**36,603**	**62,753**	**37,896**	**79,370**	**45,193**
Private universities										
Private accredited	4,215	4,624	8,975	6,973	9,688	10,469	10,172	10,992	16,728	12,300
Private unaccredited	853	947	2,853	2,091	583	392	618	416	3,989	2,162
SUB-TOTAL	**5,068**	**5,571**	**11,828**	**9,064**	**10,271**	**10,861**	**10,790**	**11,408**	**20,717**	**14,462**
TOTAL	**58,805**	**33,511**	**68,345**	**43,884**	**70,775**	**47,464**	**73,543**	**49,304**	**100,087**	**59,655**
GRAND TOTAL	**92,316**		**112,229**		**118,239**		**122,847**		**159,742**	

Note: (*) Provisional data. (**) University enrolment inclusive of parallel or part-time degree programmes, but excludes enrolment for Polytechnic University colleges.
Source: Commission for Higher Education, Ministry of Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology.

School statistics and TVET by gender[17]

The primary gross enrolment ratio in 2010 stood at 110 per cent, indicating gender parity. The net enrolment ratio was 91 per cent, albeit slightly higher for girls at 92 per cent. The average completion rate was 77 per cent with a pupil-teacher ratio of 45:1. Primary to secondary transition rates were 72 per cent overall in 2010/2011, up from 2009 (64 per cent for male students and 69 per cent for female) and 2007 (57 per cent for boys and 63 per cent for girls). However, these national averages hide pockets of gender disparity in rural areas and arid lands, as well as the start of detachment among boys from the education sector in urbanized and more agriculturally developed regions.

The GER (gross enrolment ratio) at secondary level rose to 48 per cent (51 per cent for boys and 46 per cent for girls) in 2010, while the NER (net enrolment ratio) increased to 36 per cent in 2008 (37 per cent for boys and 35 per cent for girls). Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) enrolments in 2010 indicate that half of students were female.

Achievement rates among girls are lower than for boys at primary and secondary level, and a significant gender gap remains (KNEC Reports). There are signs of improvement in mathematics among girls at primary level, but the gender gap is slow to close and reading scores indicate that girls' previous advantage may be slipping (Saito, 2010).

In conclusion, Kenya has achieved national gender parity at primary level. Transition rates to secondary now favour girls, but secondary enrolment ratios continue to indicate a disadvantage for female students. TVET enrolments have achieved parity.

Semi-autonomous government agencies (SAGAs) of the Ministry of Education

- Kenya Institute of Education (KIE)
- Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC)
- Teachers' Service Commission (TSC)
- Kenya Institute of Special Education (KISE)
- Kenya Education Staff Institute (KESI)
- Centre for Mathematics, Science and Technology in Africa (CEMASTEA)

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17. Ministry of Education Statistics, Annual Reports.

- Kenya National Commission for UNESCO (UNESCO NatCom)

  In addition, there are two publishing houses:

- Kenya Literature Bureau (KLB)
- Jomo Kenyatta Foundation (JFK)

  The National Council for Research and Technology is attached to the Ministry of Higher Education and has not been granted the status of a SAGA. Currently, it remains an integral part of the Ministry.

Appendix 2. Description of the household and childcare management roles of women in modern Africa

Women working outside the home in Africa, whether independent senior professionals or not, generally face social disapproval. As such, society has not provided an adequate substitute or partner for the mother's role in the management of daily childcare. In the absence of adequate overall childcare manager substitutes (AOCMs),[18] most women are unable to leave small children overnight, which restricts their professional mobility. In the event of illness in the family, the married woman is obliged to leave the workplace, often without notice, to take care of the sick family member without delay. In short, childcare and household management are still generally the sole responsibility of wives/mothers in Africa, without input from the male partner – a factor that is not often appreciated. Moreover, the absence of adequate overall household manager substitutes (AOHMs) creates further constraints on professional women.

These responsibilities are commonly referred to as 'domestic', a practice that hides the time-consuming, unpredictable, and highly valuable nature of the work and responsibilities carried by all wives and mothers for the family and society as a whole in Africa. Direct engagement in childcare and housework is sometimes referred to as 'unpaid domestic work'. Too often, the management of childcare and housework is not termed *work* or counted in terms of work (remunerated or unpaid) or *time* devoted to work. The significant value of home and societal responsibility is also not taken into account. The demands of dependents whether children or adults (the husband and possibly other members of the extended family included in the term 'household management') require daily time and attention, and increase the working hours of wives and mothers, distracting from professional commitments.

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18. Abbreviations have been coined here to facilitate reference to these phenomena later in the text.

The socio-cultural barriers responsible for the workload of women remain invisible and unaddressed. Debate regarding the numbers of women at the top of professions, and accompanying expectations that these numbers will increase in the future, have not been reflected in significant changes in labour distribution in the home. If changes are occurring at household level – and by all accounts they would be slight and confined to couples under 40 years old – they have not been investigated by research in Africa, and evidence for change is sparse and largely anecdotal. There is little awareness regarding whether reported changes in household practices are countrywide or restricted to specific income levels or communities, and whether ethnic communities or communities characterized by specific religious observance or by some other attribute are affected by such changes. It is generally acknowledged among female interviewees that women's professional advancement will continue to be compromised by daily overwork, multiple responsibilities, and lack of mobility, until there is a change in labour distribution in the home and provision of AOCMs and AOHMs or sharing of domestic responsibilities.

In summary, Kenya society is beginning to accept the principle of women in leadership, but accompanying changes to share or relieve them of the burden of childcare and household management are few and far between. The women interviewed for this study had no expectation that household roles would change. Instead, the women who reach senior management are forced to find a way to cope with these challenges alone. However, expert input on the part of a sociologist highlights a growing interest in parenting among young fathers aged under 35 years old (Dr Fatuma Chege, personal communication, 1 September 2011). This points to the beginnings of a social change, the effects of which could reach the MoE in about 10 years, when the wives of these men are recruited into the Ministry.

Appendix 3.   The Public Service Commission Act (2012) and its relation to the Constitution of Kenya (2010)

The Public Service Commission Act (2012) states unequivocally that it is the obligation of the Commission to act as the 'custodian of the [national] guiding values and principles of governance' and to 'promote them' (Article 4). According to the Constitution of Kenya (2010) these 'values and principles of governance ... bind all State organs, State officers, public officers.' They include:

(*a*)   patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power; the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people;
(*b*)   human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized;
(*c*)   good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and
(*d*)   sustainable development
        (Article 10.2 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010)

With regard to the public service, Article 232(1) of the Constitution is very clear:

The values and principles of public service include –
(*a*)   high standards of professional ethics;
(*b*)   efficient, effective and economic use of resources;
(*c*)   responsive, prompt, effective, impartial and equitable provision of services;
(*d*)   involvement of the people in the process of policy making;
(*e*)   accountability for administrative acts;
(*f*)   transparency and provision to the public of timely, accurate information;
(*g*)   subject to paragraphs (*h*) and (*i*), fair competition and merit as the basis of appointments and promotions;
(*h*)   representation of Kenya's diverse communities; and

(*i*)   affording adequate and equal opportunities for appointment, training and advancement, at all levels of the public service, of –

(i)   men and women;

(ii)   the members of all ethnic groups; and

(iii)   persons with disabilities.

The concepts and language of the Constitution are of interest. They appeal to the principles of efficiency and effectiveness in governance (*c*), which according to current theories of governance necessarily include a critical mass of women in senior decision-making positions. The notion of 'the involvement of the people' (*d*) also means that diverse facets of society, as noted also in sub-article (*h*), should participate in the management of public affairs. Regarding the principle of accountability, planners need to ensure that they identify the people and social bodies to whom they are accountable. This means being accountable to female as well as to male citizens. With specific reference to the public service, the Constitution stipulates that appointments, training, and advancement measures need to target women as well as men, and fairly represent marginalized groups (232.(1): i, ii, and iii).

Further, the Commission's function is to 'investigate, monitor and evaluate the organization, administration and personnel practices of the public service; to review and make recommendations to the national government ... ; (*h*) to evaluate and report to the President and Parliament on the extent to which the values and principles mentioned in Articles 10 and 232 are complied with in the public service' (Article 234.(2) d, g, and h).

The PSC Act spells out these functions in some detail, stating that the Public Service Commission is obligated:

> to inform and educate public officers and the public about the values and principles of national governance and public service; ... to recommend to the President and Parliament effective measures to promote the values and principles; to formulate, implement and oversee programmes intended to inculcate in the public officers their duty to uphold the values and principles; to advise the Government on its obligations under international treaties and conventions on good governance in the public service ... and to perform such other functions as the Commission may consider necessary for the

promotion and protection of the values and principles (Article 65 d–g and j, PSC Act).

The latter principle would include, for example, the principles of CEDAW (the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) (1979) and the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (ICPD, (1994).

As regards public service efficiency and effectiveness, the PSC duties include advising the Government on reforms to improve performance and service delivery by public bodies and officers; and evaluating the organization and core functions of public bodies 'in terms of human resources, internal processes' (Article 67 a–b, PSC Act).

The duties of the Commission in the discharge of its Constitutional function include investigating, monitoring, and evaluating the administration of the public service, that is, the 'staffing needs including establishment and terms and conditions of service; prudence in use of available resources [which could include human resources]; and any other matter as the Commission shall deem necessary' (Article 68 e, h–i).

The Commission's duties in relation to personnel practices encompass 'appointment, promotion, re-designation and related processes'; 'the working environment' and 'training and development' in the public service and 'the investigation, monitoring, evaluation and reporting on personnel practices' (Article 70 (1) b, f, and g, and 2).

The contents of the Commission's annual report are to include 'any ... impediment in the discharge of its functions' which could include any constraints to the promotion of women in the public service and 'the programmes the Commission is undertaking or has planned to undertake in the medium term towards the discharge of its functions' which could also include gender-related programmes (Article 75 d and e).

The Commission shall publish the report in the gazette not later than seven days from the date of its delivery to the President and Parliament (which is in December).

38.

(1) The provisions of this Act and regulations or procedures which apply to appointments shall also apply to promotions.

APPOINTING OFFICERS

33.

(1) In selecting candidates for appointment, acting appointment, promotion, re-designation, or deployment, the Commission or concerned lawful authority shall have regard to:

    (a) the standards, values and principles set out in Articles 10, 27(4), 56(c) and 232(1) of the Constitution;

    (b) the prescribed qualifications for holding or acting in the office;

    (c) the demonstrable experience and milestones attained by the candidate; and

    (d) conduct of the candidate in view of the relevant code of conduct, ethics and integrity.

(2) In evaluating whether an appointment including promotion and re-designation has been undertaken in a fair and transparent manner, the overriding factors shall be absence of nepotism, tribalism, cronyism, corruption, political influence and presence of merit.

(3) The Commission shall prescribe a code of practice to be implemented by all public bodies and authorized officers to encourage the employment and retention in the public service of:

    (a) women;

    (b) persons with disabilities;

    (c) youth;

    (d) ethnic and other minorities; and

    (e) marginalized communities.

40.

(3) In all cases of deployment the Commission or the relevant authorized officer shall take due care so that the best interest of the health and family of the affected officer is protected.

50.

(4) The factors that shall guide the Commission in making a review and recommendation on qualifications under this section shall include:

    (a) parity of treatment of public officers;

    (b) the current and future operational requirements of the public body;

(c) legitimate expectations of the public officers concerned including career progression;

(f) the rate of generation of persons holding the desired competencies and skills attached to the concerned public office that may justify disparities in qualifications;

(g) the need to attract and retain competent, qualified and motivated public officers; and

(i) the need to build a public service that embraces continuous improvement and innovation.

(6) The commission shall institute 'measures for affording adequate and equal opportunities for appointment, promotion, training and advancement in the public service of:

(a) men and women;

(b) the members of all Kenyan communities; and

(c) persons with disabilities.

(8) Nothing in this section shall prevent the Commission from determining, reviewing or recommending qualifications on case by case basis with respect to a public office or category of public offices.

51.

(1) In the development of human resources in the public service, the Commission shall aim at achieving the following objectives:

(a) promotion of better understanding of professional requirements and sensitization to the professional, socio-economic and political environment in which public bodies operate;

(b) promotion and protection of human rights and freedoms of citizens; and

(c) promotion of an ethical environment for public service delivery in accordance with the national values and principles of governance and principles and values of public service provided for in the Constitution.

The Commission will also engage in:

2.

(a) evaluating, monitoring and advising on public sector training policy;

(b)   promoting the achievement of the objectives set out in subsection (1);

(c)   evaluating and making recommendations on the relevance of qualifications for holding or acting in any public office; and

(d)   cooperating and liaising with learning institutions to achieve programmes relevant to holding or acting in any public office.

Part II of the Constitution addresses rights and fundamental freedoms. Clear principles of equality and equity are enunciated. As a form of preamble, the text states:

> Every person is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law. Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and fundamental freedoms (Article 27 (1 and 2), Constitution of Kenya).

Specifically:

> Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres.

> The State shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against any person on any ground, including race, *sex, pregnancy, marital status*, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth.

> To give full effect to the realization of the rights guaranteed under this Article, the State shall take legislative and other measures, including *affirmative action programmes* and policies designed to redress any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination.

> In addition to the measures contemplated in clause (6) [above], the State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that *not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender*.

> (Article 27 (3, 4, 6 and 8), Constitution of Kenya).

Appendix 4. The enactment of legislation pertaining to constitutional reform

To give an idea of the intensity of legislative activity over the last 12 months in Kenya resulting from the new Constitution of 2010, and the pace of social reform which is having direct and immediate impact on the lives of women, the bills passed by the Kenya Parliament are listed below.

The bills explicitly affecting women are listed in bold; however, the other bills are also of direct significance to women.

Passed bills

1. Vetting of Judges and Magistrates Act, 2011
2. Judicial Service Commission Act, 2011
3. Supreme Court Act, No. 7 of 2011
4. Independent Offices Appointment Act, 2011
5. Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Act, 2011
6. Salaries and Remuneration Commission Act, 2011
7. Political Parties Act, 2011
8. Kenya Citizenship and Immigration Act, 2011
9. Urban Areas and Cities Act, 2011
10. **Kenya National Commission on Human Rights Act, 2011**
11. **National Gender and Equality Commission Act, 2011**
12. Commission on Revenue Allocation Act, 2011
13. Contingencies Fund and County Emergency Funds Act, 2011
14. National Government Loans Guarantee Act, 2011
15. Environment and Land Court Act, 2011
16. Industrial Court Act, 2011

17. Power of Mercy Act, 2011

18. Ethics and Anti-Corruption Act, 2011

19. Commission on Administrative Justice Act, 2011

20. Elections Act, 2011

21. Public Appointments (Parliamentary Approval) Act, 2011

22. National Police Service Commission Act, 2011

23. Kenya Citizens and Foreign Nationals Management Act, 2011

24. National Police Service Act, 2011

25. Price Control (Essential Goods) Act, 2011

26. Tourism Act, 2011

27. Veterinary Surgeons and Veterinary Para-Professionals Act, 2011

28. **Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act, 2011**

29. Industrial Training (Amendment) Act, 2011

30. Independent Policing Oversight Authority Act, 2011

(South Consulting, 2012: 17).

Between February and April 2011, eight new bills were to be presented to Parliament. Among them the Land Bill and the Land Registration Bill are being reviewed by the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC). The Transition to Devolved Government Bill, the Intergovernmental Relations Bill, and the County Government Bill have been submitted to the Attorney General for onward transmission to Parliament (South Consulting, 2012: 18).

Appendix 5.   Cronyism

Cronyism, or giving favours to a friend or kinsman, and nepotism, or sharing favours with the family, have been identified ahead of ethnicism as responsible for diverting attention away from merit and correct procedures.

Kenya's private formal sector is vibrant and manages its best to cope with a hardly efficient government machinery that sets out ostensibly to regulate and promote industry and business. As regards recruitment and promotion, the private sector is renowned for appointing the best man for the job, literally. It has traditionally been male dominated. Some women are now breaking through and gaining senior management positions including the coveted corner office. But state institutions, including parastatals comprising both semi-autonomous state corporations and wholly state-owned ones, remain a challenging working context for women. Government and semi-government institutions suffer from mismanagement and inefficiency, as well as from corrupt practices. This means that women hoping to gain a foothold in management and at the top level of management in government institutions could not rely until recently on any form of support from the state machinery, or from public policy which promoted gender equity. The domain of parastatal appointments is further described below.

The Kenya press puts it this way. In a Special Report of the *Financial Journal* of the national daily, *The Standard*, the lead article stated that parastatal appointments were characterized by 'political influence, ethnic balancing and profiling, cronyism, patronage and uttermost nepotism' (*Standard*, 2011). It described parastatal jobs as 'spoils of war' since they are viewed as 'money-making entities', according to the chief executive of one of Kenya's most discerning think-tanks, the Mars Group. Ministers – or even authorities beyond ministers – are reported to go the extra mile to ensure 'their man' gets the job, as noted in the *Journal*. In the past, the process of appointing parastatal heads was neither open nor transparent. Neither merit nor procedure counted, according to the same source. Things are now changing in Kenya. Not only are recruitment and promotion in these institutions open to scrutiny, but the appointment of the principals is also undergoing fundamental change. There have always been 'laid down procedures' for appointing staff, but they were 'blatantly disregarded'

during one-party rule, according to the *Financial Journal*. As a result, parastatal bosses lack 'any form of credibility'. Currently, from the Kenya Bureau of Standards, through the National Environmental Management Authority and the Communications Commission of Kenya, to the Central Bank itself, civil society is maintaining a close watch and exposing any action that compromises the recruitment process. In addition, the new structures and procedures laid down by the Constitution of Kenya (2010) are gradually being implemented. A new series of vetting processes and recruitment/interviewing panels have been set up. By 2012/2013, after the next elections, professional technocrats or cabinet secretaries will replace ministers, who up till now have been politicians. The dynamics of power are expected to undergo a fundamental shift.

To turn explicitly to the prospects for women in senior management, a frequent commentator on the socio-political scene, says: 'We attempted to bring women into leadership positions with the "one-third rule". It is another question, however, whether women make better leaders than men.' Another view on equity comes from the veteran writer on economics and social affairs, Ndii, who has written: 'For equity and fairness, we must invest in areas that have so far lagged behind' (Ndii, 2011). He wields a constantly clever and acidic pen, and one devoted to equity. His thesis on the new Kenya is that social equity is all important, and that the devolutionary path that Kenya has chosen under the new Constitution means that priority must be given to areas 'that have so far lagged behind'. His argument is based on ethics, economics, and politics. He notes that the new Kenya needs to learn how to share, to level the playing field, and to counter 'the predatory elite'. He says nothing about women in the article quoted and has been known in the past to lambast ill-focused women activists.

It seems that comment is either narrow and unenlightened as regards the issue of women's leadership or that the topic has not caught the attention of mainstream social commentators, unless they are female writers. This is something that needs to be remedied, so as to get more well-informed male and female comment on gender issues into mainstream opinion writing.

Appendix 6.   Acknowledgements

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Annexes

Annex 1.   Analytical framework

Background

The objective of this research is to analyse the current participation of women in leadership roles in ministries of education across two continents (Africa and Latin America). Research findings by Scott Page indicate that diversity at top management level is profitable for big business and for governance in general, as diversity among a group of problem-solvers is found to be more important than individual excellence.[19] Diversity generally implies representation of both men and women, and of social groups (ethnic, racial, religious, etc.) not typically present in top government or top corporate boards. Yet reality shows that far from being diverse, senior management positions in most ministries of education in developing contexts have not reached gender parity, let alone gender equality.

The research will be divided into four principal sections:

- a review of the current participation of women in leadership roles, particularly in ministries of education at national (and where possible regional) level;
- an analysis of the enabling factors that actively promote women's access to decision-making positions at national level (and where possible drawing on regional comparisons);
- an analysis of the obstacles that hinder women's access to decision-making positions at national level (and where possible drawing on regional comparisons);
- recommendations based on existing strategies that have (or are expected to) overcome the barriers to access and full participation of women in educational planning and management.

The research will rely primarily on qualitative data analysis, using interviews and focus group discussions, and where appropriate questionnaires carried out with a number of actors from the public and private sector as well as in the field of education. In addition, on a global and

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19. Page, S. 2008. *The Difference: How the Power of Diversity Creates Better Groups, Firms, Schools, and Societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

regional scale, some quantitative data will also be collected and analysed through the use of the Gender Gap Report, the Gender Parity Index, and other regional and country-based statistical analysis.

This analytical framework identifies the main issues for the research teams in each country to examine during the research. Its purpose is therefore to guide the interview schedules that will be prepared for the different stakeholders who will be interviewed, as well as the analysis of the data collected in the field. It can therefore constitute the outline of the research to be prepared for each country (while recognizing that there will be context-specific data which may be added to the overall outline).

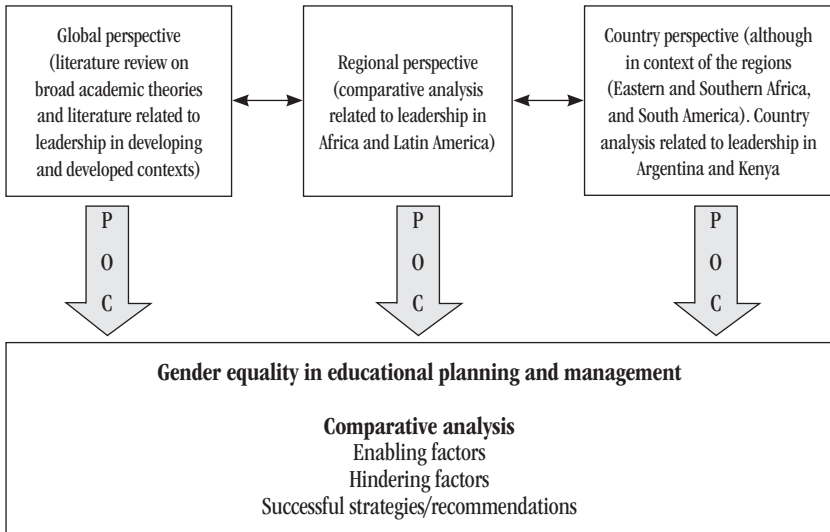The persons interviewed for the country based studies would include:

- men and women in senior and middle management positions in public and private sector positions beyond education;
- men and women in senior and middle management positions in higher and teacher education institutions;
- men and women in senior and middle management positions in the ministries of education (ministers, deputy ministers, permanent secretaries, directors, deputy directors, etc.);
- men and women at sub-national level in education departments and ministry offices at decentralized levels.

The framework is informed by the work of Anne Smulders and others, and focuses on three particular issues related to gender in education management: Perception, Organizational structures, and Culture (POC):

- **p**erception (e.g. personal and external perceptions of what leadership entails and women's participation as leaders);
- **o**rganizational structures (e.g. employment and management structures such as recruitment and promotion policies and practices, work-culture, working and pay conditions, etc.);
- **c**ulture (e.g. religious factors, socialization, cultural norms, etc.).

Through the combination of a literature review, comparative regional analysis, and country case studies (as identified in *Figure A.1*), the research aims to narrow down the enabling factors or obstacles that either support or prevent women from securing and retaining senior leadership positions in educational planning and management. The identified factors will guide recommendations to be presented to ministries of education, policy-makers, academics, and practitioners.

**Figure A1.   Relationship between different elements
                of the Gender Equality in Education Research Project**

Global perspective (literature review on broad academic theories and literature related to leadership in developing and developed contexts)	Regional perspective (comparative analysis related to leadership in Africa and Latin America)	Country perspective (although in context of the regions (Eastern and Southern Africa, and South America). Country analysis related to leadership in Argentina and Kenya

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Gender equality in educational planning and management

Comparative analysis
Enabling factors
Hindering factors
Successful strategies/recommendations

The situation of women in leadership and education management

The purpose of this first section is to provide a review of the current participation of women in leadership roles, particularly in ministries of education at national (and where appropriate regional) level.

A.   Beyond ministries of education

The research will be informed by information on women in leadership in society (public and private sectors) to provide an overview of wider gender differentiation factors in career pathways and participation styles for each of the countries under research.

Using the conceptual frame of analysis mentioned in the background section (Perception, Organization, and Culture (POC)), the research will attempt to answer some of the following guiding questions (although other questions will no doubt arise during the process of research):

•   **What is the proportion of women in leadership** positions in government positions in general? What positions do the majority

of women hold in government (e.g. percentage of senior managers, percentage of middle managers)?

- Where there is equity – is there equality? Are pay and conditions equal?
- **How do women access** decision-making roles in government and the private sector? Is this route any different from the route men take?
- **Are the leadership styles** of women any different from those of men?

POC analysis

- **Perception**
  - Internal
    - How do women and men perceive their own participation in leadership activities?
    - What perceptions do they have regarding the qualities needed to take up leadership positions?
    - How do these relate to their perception of their own capacities?
  - External
    - What leadership qualities are perceived by society to be desirable?
    - Employers' perceptions of leadership qualities and women's capacity to take up leadership roles
- **Organizational structures**
  - What positive/negative recruitment policies and/or practices exist in the target institutions that support/hinder promotion of women?
  - How has the organizational and/or management style affected recruitment and retention of women leaders?
  - How do working practices support women and men to undertake their dual roles at work and at home?
- **Culture**
  - What are the cultural traditions/norms/practices that either promote gender equality or hinder it?
  - How do cultural norms affect women's ability to undertake dual roles in home and work?

B. *Within ministries of education*

This sub-section attempts to also undertake a POC analysis within the framework of the following questions relating to the role of women in ministries of education:

- **What is the proportion of women in leadership** positions in the target ministries of education? What positions do the majority of women hold in the target ministries?
- Where there is equity – is there equality? Are pay and conditions equal?
- **How do women access** decision-making roles in educational planning and management? Is this route any different from the route men take?
- **What roles** do women play in decision-making in educational planning and management? Are their leadership styles any **different** from **those of men**?
- **At sub-national levels**, what can be said about the participation of women in senior positions?

The study will report on the participation of women at sub-national levels of ministries, and provincial and district/local levels, to note any differences in extent and type of leadership practice and perception as regards gender; and to explore any lessons to be learned from this level. This will include among others depending on the context:

- directors of education offices at provinces/district levels;
- deputies, statisticians, quality assurance officers, pedagogical advisors, and teachers' resource centre tutors.

C. *In academic institutions (higher and teacher education in particular)*

This sub-section will examine the difference (if any) between academic institutions and ministries of education in the way leadership is viewed and how leaders are recruited:

- **What is the proportion of women in leadership** positions in the target academic institutions? What positions do the majority of women hold in the target institutions?
- Where there is equity – is there equality? Are pay and conditions equal?

- **How do women access** decision-making roles in higher education and/or teacher education? Is this route any different from the route men take?
- **What roles** do women play in decision-making in higher education and/or teacher education institutions? Are their leadership styles any **different** from **those of men**?

Where appropriate the following POC analysis will be used to inform the questions above:

POC analysis

- **Perception**
  - Internal
    - How do women and men perceive their own participation in leadership activities?
    - What perceptions do they have regarding the qualities needed to take up leadership positions?
    - How do these relate to their perception of their own capacities?
  - External
    - What leadership qualities are perceived by society to be desirable?
    - Employers' perceptions of leadership qualities and women's capacity to take up leadership roles.
- **Organizational structures**
  - What positive/negative recruitment policies and/or practices exist in the target institutions that support/hinder promotion of women?
  - How has the organizational and/or management style affected recruitment and retention of women leaders?
  - How do working practices support women and men to undertake their dual roles at work and at home?
- **Culture**
  - What are the cultural traditions/norms/practices that either promote gender equality or hinder it?
  - How do cultural norms affect women's ability to undertake dual roles in home and work?

Enabling factors

This section focuses on the three most recognized strategies that have enabled women to succeed in reaching leadership positions in education systems. Using the POC analysis from the previous section and drawing on literature and data from the country and the regional context this section attempts to explain how these outcomes came about and to provide examples of women who have reached positions of leadership within educational management.

A.   *Affirmative action*

Affirmative action or quotas have been perceived in many countries as the only mechanisms which ensure that women enter leadership positions. They have been considered particularly successful in political/parliamentary positions. The critical mass for a quota system said to be effective in ensuring that sufficient women are recruited and retained for leadership positions is said to be between 30 and 33 per cent.

B.   *Positive recruitment and/or management practices*

Companies/organizations that are not gender neutral are said to be more effective in ensuring that women have the option to take up and maintain leadership positions. Such organizations factor in the different needs of women, who more often than not have dual roles to play at work and in the home. Legal frameworks encourage employers not to base recruitment or promotion on a woman's marriage status and/or fertility.

C.   *Personal determination/performance and the role of role models*

Do women have to outperform men to get recognized and promoted? Some literature states that women have to be 'more men than men' – is this really the case? What other factors exist that are critical to women's success and are these the same for men? Some literature also cites the particular importance of role models or mentors in giving career guidance, coaching, and helping the mentee to become more visible and prominent in the organization.

Obstacles

This section focuses on two major types of obstacles to appointing women to senior management positions in the developing world: insufficient numbers of qualified women and invisible barriers generally explained by culture, the nature

of work, perceptions of women's worth, and prevailing unbalanced, gendered domestic workload.

A.   The pipeline

This problem reflects a situation present in many countries where fewer girls participate in secondary schools than boys, and where girls perform less well in examinations, access higher education in fewer numbers, and hold fewer diplomas in the most prized disciplines of study. Simply put, in these cases there is a smaller pool of qualified, competent, and experienced women to choose from when appointing top managers.

3.2   The glass ceiling and the labyrinth

The second phenomenon is known as the *glass ceiling* (or the *glass house)* and the *labyrinth* with which women often contend. The glass ceiling refers to the invisible nature of the barriers facing women in the workplace and with regard to promotion patterns. Policies for recruitment into the civil service may be anti-discriminatory, but practice may find more women clustered at the lowest levels of the service. The labyrinth refers to paths that exist for advancement but are difficult to identify and find.

4.   Recommendations

This section will list various strategies recommended in each country context. More generalized recommendations will be drawn from the comparative analysis and literature review and gleaned from ongoing interviews with public servants, separated and/or retired ministry officials, and other observers. In the final report each recommendation will be followed by a narrative explanation. The recommendations will arise out of sections 1–3 of each research study.

Annex 2.   Interview guide

Interview guide: senior MoE officials

Note for the researcher

Objectives of the interview:

This interview will be carried out with top-level officials within the Ministry of Education and in particular the Department of Planning. The objective is to analyse the current situation of women in leadership roles in ministries of education across two continents (Africa and Latin America). Research from this country case study will provide evidence to contribute towards a comparative analysis that will assist in identification of strategies that have (or are expected to) overcome the barriers to access and full participation of women in educational planning and management

After an introduction by the researchers on the research and its purpose, the interview may start with some more general questions about gender equality in leadership positions within the Ministry.

Methodology:

The aim of this document is to *guide the discussions with the Ministry of Education senior officials.*

This document is composed of:

- the *layout* of the interview, which can be distributed at the beginning of the discussion;
- *suggestions* of issues to be discussed during the interview, and of questions that could be asked – other questions may come up during the interview and some questions may not be relevant to ask in all circumstances. The researchers will follow their own judgement on this.

You may need to undertake two interviews, the first at the beginning of the field visit; the second after interviews and focus group discussions with other actors, in order to complete or verify information.

It is very useful to take accurate notes during the interview (relevant quotations, personal observation), and to review and synthesize them at the end of the day.

This document is a guide: the questions do not have to be followed in the exact order and not all questions have to be addressed.

Role of the country-based research team

(This team will be selected by the lead researcher in each country and will comprise 3–4 persons from the MoE research and evaluation unit, the department of planning, and a research institution.)

The country team is expected to assist the research work initiated by the lead researcher, who will provide the team with the appropriate training, resources, and tools to conduct interviews and analyse data.

The lead researcher will compile and edit data from the country team for both the research brief to be presented at the Policy Forum and the final case study to be submitted in December 2011.

Topics for the interview

- **Presentation**
    - personal introduction of the researcher;
    - the purpose of the research project on gender equality in educational planning and management;
    - assurance of confidentiality (where people do not wish to be named);
    - what the research will be used for (contribution towards the IIEP Policy Forum on Gender Equality in October 2011, and possibly a future publication on the topic).

- Leadership within the Ministry of Education.
- Enabling factors and obstacles in relation to women's successful leadership in the Ministry.
- Career pathways towards leadership positions.
- Strategies that have been successful in promoting women to leadership positions.

Suggested questions to be asked during the interview

1.   Presentation

The research project:

- The research team – names, functions, experience, and the role of each person during the research process.
- The objective of the research is to analyse the current participation of women in leadership roles in ministries of education across two continents (Africa and Latin America) with a focus on Argentina and Kenya.
- The main areas of discussion during the interview:
    – the current situation of women in leadership positions in the Ministry;
    – the enabling factors that encourage greater participation of women in leadership;
    – obstacles that hinder women's access to decision-making positions;
    – the ways in which leadership positions are reached and the difficulties encountered once there;
    – enabling strategies that actively promote women's access to decision-making positions at a national level.

The MoE official:

- May we ask you a few general questions regarding the organization of the Ministry?
- Could you give me an idea of where you (your position) and your department are placed within the overall Ministry structure? *(N.B. if possible try to ask the interviewee to relate this to a Ministry organogram.)*
- Can you briefly tell us what are the qualifications, training, and experience of the heads of the departments/units? On the whole, do you feel that the MoE staff, especially those in senior positions, have the necessary qualifications, training, and experience to fulfil their functions?
- What is the ratio of women to men in the ministry at different levels? (N.B. if possible try to ask the interviewee to relate this to a Ministry organogram and update any statistics that might have been already found on this.)

- Are there any specific policies/regulations in the ministry that favour (or hinder) women's promotion opportunities? How do you think that the 'glass ceiling' (i.e. where there are invisible barriers that prevent women from achieving the top positions) applies to the Ministry of Education or in other sector ministries?

2. Situation of leadership patterns in the Ministry

(N.B. Ask both men and women whether they think their answers would be any different for the opposite sex.)

- How does your role relate to that of other leaders within the Ministry? Are women and men leaders perceived differently?
- When you succeeded in obtaining your post, was it through an application process or were you invited?
- How would you describe your leadership style? What do you think makes you an effective and successful leader? What are the qualities you most admire among the leaders within the Ministry?
- Could you describe how you handle your work on a daily basis? For example, the administrative rules and procedures you follow; the way you exerted authority; your relationships with male/female subordinates, colleagues, and superiors; access to formal and informal networks.
- What are your experiences with management practices regarding performance appraisal, promotion, and incentives? How is performance evaluated, and by whom? What are the criteria? What is the reward system within the Ministry?
- Are you satisfied with the level of responsibility in your current position? Do you feel your qualifications, experience, and skills correspond with your rank? Do the level and content of your work meet your expectations?
- How are you informed about decisions taken by superiors and/or Ministry bodies? What types of decisions are regularly made and what is their impact on you?
- Do you feel that you are seen and treated as a professional? Are your personal as well as professional skills recognized and valued? Is your authority respected?

3. Enabling factors and obstacles

- What did you feel enhanced your chances for promotion? Has anything hampered your career advancement?
- Are there any legal or regulatory frameworks that have either hindered or enhanced your ability to reach your position of senior management within the MoE?
- What (within your work environment) do you feel is the most significant factor that has supported your career advancement?
- Is there anything else within your home environment that has contributed towards your success in becoming a leader, or that you feel might have held you back?
- How would you describe your spouse's attitude to your professional development and the balance with household tasks?
- What are your main family tasks/responsibilities? Were these a barrier at any stage during your progression towards senior management in the MoE? How did you overcome them? How did you manage to combine family and professional duties?
- To what extent were your family responsibilities recognized and accepted by your employer? To what extent have the Ministry's procedures and working conditions been adapted to your out-of-work responsibilities?
- What are your experiences with your superiors? Do you feel fully supported or discriminated against in your work?
- How would you describe the Ministry's management style? Is this conducive to your own leadership style?
- Are there any particular working practices or behaviours within your department or within the Ministry that you feel compromise women in leadership positions?
- Would you say that male and female staff contributed equally to staff meetings (language use, behaviour, time to speak, interruptions, are suggestions and recommendations taken equally into account, etc.)? Do you personally get the opportunity to speak openly?

4. Pathways

- Can you describe your career path? How did you reach your final position within the MoE?

- What are the recruitment criteria in the MoE? Who decided on these criteria? Were these criteria followed when you were recruited to your position?
- How many organizational ranks/levels are still available for you to advance further up the career ladder?
- Would you say that men and women have equal career opportunities in the MoE? If no, what are the differences?
- What would you identify as the most important factor if one wants to make a career within the MoE?
- Do you take work with you to do at home? How do your spouse, children, family members feel about that? Is there any flexibility in working hours to allow you to work from home?
- Are you supported by your family in your career progress? If yes, in what way and by whom? Do you describe yourself as career minded or ambitious?

5.   Strategies

- What kinds of activities would lessen the workload in relation to your family responsibilities (i.e. establishing crèche facilities, etc.)?
- Are there any legal or regulatory frameworks that you feel should be changed or adopted in order to enhance gender equality within the senior management of the MoE?
- How do you see your role in terms of facilitating gender equality within the MoE? Can you describe how you have helped women seek and gain promotion? How have other leaders (women or men) encouraged you to seek and gain promotion?
- What do you consider the main strengths and weaknesses of the MoE in terms of senior management in promoting gender equality?
- Are you satisfied with the way the MoE staff are managed in general, and women in particular? If not, why not? If yes, what has facilitated this effective management?
- What do you think needs to change within the MoE and government in general to ensure gender equality becomes a reality in the MoE and other government departments?

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Hyun-Sook Yu (Republic of Korea)
> Senior Research Fellow, Office of Higher and Lifelong Education Research,
> Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI), Seoul.

Xinsheng Zhang (China)
> President, China Education Association for International Exchange, Beijing.

Inquiries about the Institute should be addressed to:
The Office of the Director, International Institute for Educational Planning,
7-9 rue Eugène Delacroix, 75116 Paris, France

The book

Nowhere in the world has gender equality been fully achieved. Even in countries that rank highest in the world on globally accepted gender equality indices, the gender gap in areas such as economic outcomes and political empowerment remains significant. This is compounded by the increasing invisibility of the barriers that prevent gender equality from being achieved in all spheres of life. Therefore examining the factors that might prevent women from taking up higher management positions in education is critical for developing appropriate policy options for ministries of education to improve gender equality at middle management and leadership positions.

This publication addresses the concern of the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) that much of the currently available research on gender in education has limited its focus on gender equality to access to primary and secondary education. The research therefore investigates the 'labyrinth' that women must navigate on the path to senior leadership positions in ministries of education in Argentina and Kenya and offers generic strategies for overcoming these barriers.

The authors

Lyndsay Bird (Ed.)
Helen Baños-Smith
Natalia Gherardi
Ana Obura
Tina Wallace