

**An Exploration of the Influences of Female Under-
representation in Senior Leadership Positions in Community
Secondary Schools (CSSs) in Rural Tanzania**

A Thesis Submitted to the UCL Institute of Education in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Declaration

I, Joyce Mbepera, declare that the study titled ‘An Exploration of the Influences of Under-representation of Females in Senior Leadership Positions in Community Secondary Schools (CSSs) in Rural Tanzania’ is my own work and that all sources that have been quoted or used have been acknowledged by means of full reference.

Signed: 

Date: 2015

Name of Supervisor: **Dr Tracey Allen**

Abstract

This study explores the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in community secondary schools in rural Tanzania. Key issues include factors contributing to women under-representation in leadership, the perceptions of members of school communities of women leaders and the challenges facing current women leaders that deter other women teachers from taking leadership posts. The empirical study included interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires and involved 259 participants at schools and district level in one district in rural Tanzania. Twenty schools were involved and included 20 heads of schools, teachers, members of school boards, parents and a District Educational Officer.

The empirical study found that, at the individual level, familial responsibilities and rejecting the post due to poor social services in rural areas deterred women from taking leadership posts. At the organisational level, the lack of transparent procedures for recommending, recruiting and appointing heads also contributed to poorer access by women. At the societal level, negative perceptions and stereotypes of female leaders, conservative expectations of women in the private domain rather than in professional and public roles, and deep-seated beliefs in some rural areas pertaining to issues such as witchcraft, at times resulted in physical risk and exploitation of female leaders. These proved to be strong barriers to leadership succession and resulted in on-going, significant challenges for incumbent female leaders.

Overall, the study concludes that female under-representation in school leadership in rural Tanzania is influenced by a number of interrelated factors at the individual, societal and organisational level (Fagenson, 1990a), with dominant social norms and values having a cross-cutting influence on the access, experience and perceptions of female school leaders. The study thus suggests a number of measures for improving female representation in community secondary school leadership in Tanzania at the professional and personal development level, recruitment level and policy level.

Dedication

To my beloved late brother-in-law Aidan Mahondela Ndunguru, and my late grandmother Generosa Kinunda. I also dedicate my PhD thesis to my husband Mr Raphael Komba and my lovely son Isaac Komba. I appreciate for your support, love and tolerance during my absence.

Acknowledgements

Writing a PhD thesis is a long process that involves the construction and reconstruction of arguments, questions, answers and instruments and the weighing of evidence. In the process I consulted a number of people. Thus, this thesis is a product of the contributions of many dedicated individuals who deserve my sincere gratitude.

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I am also indebted to all the participants who agreed to be part of my study sample and provided me with the required information. Special thanks also go to Mkwawa University in Tanzania, for sponsoring my PhD studies.

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In producing this final document I have exercised full freedom regarding the form and content of this work. This work is truly mine. I and I alone am responsible for any uncertainties, if any, that remain in this document.

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List of Abbreviations

ADEM	Agency for Development of Education Management
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSSs	Community Secondary Schools
DEO	District Education Officer
DUCE	Dar es Salaam University College
ETP	Tanzania's Education and Training Policy of 1995
GBP	Great Britain Pounds
GOS	Gender Organisation System
IBR	International Business Report
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MUCE	Mkwawa University College of Education
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
OUT	Open University of Tanzania
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PEP	Pre-entry Programme
REO	Regional Education Officer
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEDP	Tanzania's Secondary Education Development Plan
TAWLA	Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UDOM	University of Dodoma
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UK	United Kingdom
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND, CONTEXT AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.1 Introduction

In many societies, leadership is construed as masculine (Mascarenhas, 2007; Mruma, 1995; Visser, 2011), and Tanzania is no exception. Literature and research on leadership in the Tanzanian educational system have shown that there are few females in decision-making positions, despite the implementation of affirmative action in 2000 (Bhalalusesa, 2003). Socio-cultural factors appear to determine who leads and what leadership should look like, both literally and figuratively. On the basis of this background, this study attempted to explore the influences of women under-representation in senior leadership positions in community secondary schools in rural Tanzania. This study mainly used the qualitative approach, with a few quantitative methods for triangulation. Knowledge is constructed from the participants based on the Gender Organisation System (GOS) approach, liberal feminism theory and transformational leadership theory, which complemented each other to gain an understanding of the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in Community Secondary Schools (CSSs) in rural Tanzania. This chapter presents the background and context of the study. It also presents the situation of women in leadership in secondary schools in Tanzania, the Tanzanian educational system, and my experience as a female academic. Furthermore, the statement of the problem, the objectives and research questions of the study, the significance of the study, the definition of key words and the structure of the thesis are presented.

1.2 Background

Under-representation of women in top leadership positions is influenced by factors that are within individuals, within organisations and within society (Fagenson, 1990a). Despite the fact that gender composition in the world is almost equal, as indicated in the Central Intelligence Agency report (CIA, 2010), there still are only a few women in top leadership posts worldwide (Grant Thornton, 2013). The worldwide labour force comprises 34% women, and only 24% are involved in leadership according to the International Business Report (Grant Thornton, 2013). Women are facing challenges and discrimination in accessing different opportunities, irrespective of their qualifications for leadership positions. Cultural practices, patriarchal socialisation and religious beliefs cause women to be oppressed and marginalised by both society and organisations in most of the world, and the levels of these vary from country to country (Fagenson, 1990a). Women are not

treated as an integral part of society, which makes them lack self-confidence, which in turn contributes to inequality in society (United Republic of Tanzania, 1992). These factors make women invisible and under-represented in decision making. Due to this, a number of initiatives have been taken internationally to address these barriers and improve women's representation in leadership.

For instance, gender equality was introduced by a United Nations charter as well as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, emphasising that each individual person is equal before the law and has equal rights to access services (United Nations, 1948). Tanzania was a signatory to these declarations, and the constitution of Tanzania insists on the equality and rights of every person (United Republic of Tanzania, 1992). Despite these declarations and global conferences, such as the one in Beijing in 1995, which aimed to bring about gender equality, statistics show that women still are under-represented in key decision-making platforms in all sectors. This study focuses on the education sector in which female under-representation has been observed worldwide, even in areas where women form the majority (Sanchez & Thornton, 2010; UNESCO, 1999).

The trend of female under-representation in senior leadership positions is manifested in schools in both developed and developing countries (Coleman, 2002; McLay & Brown, 2000; Moorosi, 2007; Mwebi & Lazaridou, 2008; Onsongo, 2004). In the United Kingdom (UK), Holt (2012) noted that female headmistresses comprised only 36.7%. In Bangladesh in 2006, 17.4% of college heads were women, and in secondary schools, women heads comprised 22.7% (BANBEIS, 2006, as cited in Sperandio, 2007). In the province of Guangzhou in China, women secondary school leaders comprised 38.4% (Qiang, Han & Niu, 2009). Furthermore, female under-representation in leadership is observed even in schools where women outnumber men. In South Africa, for example, women comprised 70% of the teaching population but only 30% of school leaders (Department of Education, 2005, as cited in Moorosi, 2007). To some extent this is similar to the situation in Tanzania, for instance, where primary school women teachers constituted 84.1% in the Ilala district in the Dar es Salaam region, but only 38% of them were heads of schools in 2009 (Omboko & Oyoo, 2011) (details provided in Chapter Two). Therefore, having women in senior leadership positions has considerable implications for an education system.

The implications have been noted by international organisations such as the United Nations (United Nations, 1995). As women are a group that constitute almost half of the

world's population and a third of the labour force, the United Nations calls for women to be involved in decision making and other opportunities. Involving women in decision making accelerates development and improves the economy, as women are able to contribute their abilities and creativity (United Nations, 1995). Under-utilisation of the skills of capable and qualified women means a potential loss of economic growth. That is to say, women in the world constitute an under-utilised resource. The majority of capable and skilled women in the education system are not utilised (Mbilinyi, 1992). Not utilising the skills, knowledge and experience of female teachers in decision and policy making means ignoring the experience of the majority of the population (Mbilinyi, 1992). Involving more capable and qualified women in leadership may create leadership opportunities for other women, as female leaders serve as role models and mentors for other women and young girls in society. This would help to break society's stereotyping and negative perceptions of female leaders.

1.3 The context of the study

Tanzania is a developing country in Sub-Saharan Africa with a population of approximately 45 million people, of whom 51.3% are women (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013a). Tanzanians have various beliefs – Christian, Muslim and indigenous beliefs (CIA, 2013). The country is dominated by a patriarchal system, with culture and values varying from one tribe to another. Therefore, religion, culture, norms and values influence the participation of women in education and in decision making in Tanzania (Omboko & Oyoo, 2011). The behaviour, thinking and socialisation of the people in the country are shaped by societal norms and values. There is indirect and direct discrimination against girls and women seeking access to education, caused by the social, cultural and structural setup of society (Bhalalusesa, 2003). Due to this, women may refrain from climbing the leadership ladder because of culture, which portrays them as inferior.

Furthermore, organisational culture is shaped by society's culture, because it is located in the same society that marginalises and has different perceptions of women. It is my argument that female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania may be contributed to by culture and the patriarchal system, which is dominant in the country. This culture may play a major role in the upbringing of children, which later affects their career development. Furthermore, due to this early socialisation, some women may be unwilling to abandon certain traditional chores, which could also be

blamed for their under-representation in senior leadership positions (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). Similarly, Sperandio (2011) noted that organisations are shaped by socio-cultural principles and norms that have gender neutral policies which prevent women from obtaining leadership posts. Because women in the Tanzanian education industry are located in a society that marginalises them and, together with the family, causes them to face different challenges, society perceives women as being incapable of leading. This is because, from a cultural point of view, men are perceived as the decision makers and strong, while women are perceived as having the role of being mothers and caring for children (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). This may have caused women to be excluded from decision making in organisations as they may lack the necessary qualifications.

1.3.1 The Tanzanian education system

The education sector in Tanzania is controlled by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT). The ministry is headed by a minister and has a permanent secretary, a chief education officer and directors, who are in charge of basic education, secondary education, policy and planning, administration and personnel, inspection of schools and vocational training. Primary and secondary schools are under the Ministry of Local Government, which also posts teachers to various schools, whereas teacher training colleges and universities are under the MoEVT (Swarts & Wachira, 2010). The Tanzanian education system follows the 2-7-4-2-3+ system: two years in pre-primary school, seven years of primary school, four years of ordinary secondary schooling (O-level), followed by two more years of advanced secondary schooling (A-level) and tertiary education of 3+ years.

The country has private and government (public) schools. Moreover, there are two types of public secondary schools. First there are central government schools, built by the government, for which it employs teaching and non-teaching staff and provides furniture and all services. These schools are fully coordinated and controlled by the government. The second type of public schools are Community Secondary Schools (CSSs), which are built by the community, who provide furniture, while the government provides teachers and non-teaching staff, and controls and operates the schools. These schools are operated in a partnership between the government and the community. Both the community and central government schools have governing boards, which comprise Local Government Authorities (LGAs), Ward Level officers, School Boards and School Management Teams.

CSSs were introduced following educational reform in the 1980s and 1990s (Machumu, 2011). The number of government secondary schools was 1 291 in 2004. Up to 2009 there were 3 283 government schools (both community and central government schools) (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b). In 2012, the number of government schools increased to 3 508 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). CSSs comprised the majority, and these newly introduced schools are mostly in remote rural areas (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). Currently these schools are found in all parts of Tanzania. The driving force for introducing these schools was the government policy of allowing each ward to build its own school (United Republic of Tanzania, 2004). CSSs were also introduced because of poverty alienation, and they aimed to give students the opportunity to study in their locality. They were also established because of the social demand for secondary education due to the impact of the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE), which meant that many students completed standard seven, but could not go further because there were few secondary schools (United Republic of Tanzania, 2004). The expansion in the number of secondary schools also created a huge demand for qualified teachers and heads of schools due to having community secondary schools in almost every ward. Thus, more teachers needed to be recruited and more leaders needed to be appointed in these newly introduced schools. But, despite the increase in the number of schools, the number of females in leadership remains low. The question is whether the recruitment and appointment of heads of schools considers gender equality or not (see section 2.4.3 on the recruitment and appointment procedures for heads of schools).

Against this background, this study set out to investigate the issues influencing female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. The CSSs are of interest to this study because they were introduced recently, are under-researched and comprise the majority of public secondary schools in Tanzania. Most of these schools are located in remote rural areas with poor social services and where teaching, learning and management are taking place in a difficult environment. The assumption of the research is that women might be under-represented in leadership in these schools because of the culture and the rural environment.

1.3.2 Women in leadership positions in secondary schools in Tanzania

In Tanzania, women in leadership positions in all sectors acquiring a higher level of decision making constituted only 25% in 2007/2008 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2008). In the education sector in Tanzania, under-representation of women in school leadership

positions mirrors the national and global trend. In secondary schools, available statistics for the workforce overall in 2010 showed that there were 40 517 secondary school teachers, of whom 68.7% were men and 31.3% were women (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). Although the percentage of male teachers generally is higher than that of females, the gap in leadership is still too big. One would expect that the appointment of heads of schools would ensure a reasonable representation of men and women in secondary schools because students need to be motivated in their studies and aspire for leadership modelled by their gender. Although data is lacking on the current state of affairs, the MoEVT statistics of 2007 show a large gap between men and women in leadership in the nation and its regions. For example, female heads in secondary schools nationally in 2006 comprised 12.7%, while males comprised 87.3% (Bandiho, 2009). Furthermore, data from Tanzanian mainland show that, in 2013, about 18.7 % of secondary school heads were women (ADEM, 2013). In primary schools, females constituted 48.8% of all teachers; nonetheless, only 18% were in school leadership positions in 2010 (Hungu, 2010).

Region-wise, even in areas where women are in the majority and have good qualifications, they still are under-represented in leadership. Iringa Region as a whole had 1 741 CSS teachers in 2010, of whom 59.3% were men and 40.7% were women (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). In addition, despite higher education being a prerequisite for leadership in secondary schools in Tanzania, evidence shows that the region had more female teachers with a bachelor's degree (60.4%) than males (39.6%) (data from District Educational Office, 2011a). Male teachers still appear to dominate school leadership positions in those localities where data is available (Omboko & Oyoo, 2011). For example, of the 25 schools in Iringa Municipality, 16 (64%) were led by men, while only nine (36%) were led by women in 2010 (District Educational Office, 2011a). Equally, Bagamoyo District in the Coast Region had 23 CSSs in 2011, but only one (4.3%) woman was the head of a school, while 22 (95.7%) schools were headed by men, despite a significant number of women with a degree (74.8%) in the District (District Educational Office, 2011b). Similarly, Figure 1 shows that, in the Kagera Region in 2013, only 9.4% of women were heads of schools, while 12% in Manyara Region were women; in Morogoro, female heads of schools comprised 17.9% and males 82.1% (see Figure 1). As indicated in Figure 1, almost all regions in Tanzania have very few female leaders (ADEM, 2013). The ADEM report, as indicated in Figure 1, also shows that the trend is different in Dar es Salaam Region, where the percentage of female and male heads of schools is almost equal. This trend is possibly caused by the status of Dar es Salaam as being a major city in Tanzania, where

many women prefer to live with their husbands. Conversely, Hungi (2010) observed that the Southern Highlands Zone of Tanzania had no female primary school head teacher, despite the almost equal number of women and men in primary schools.

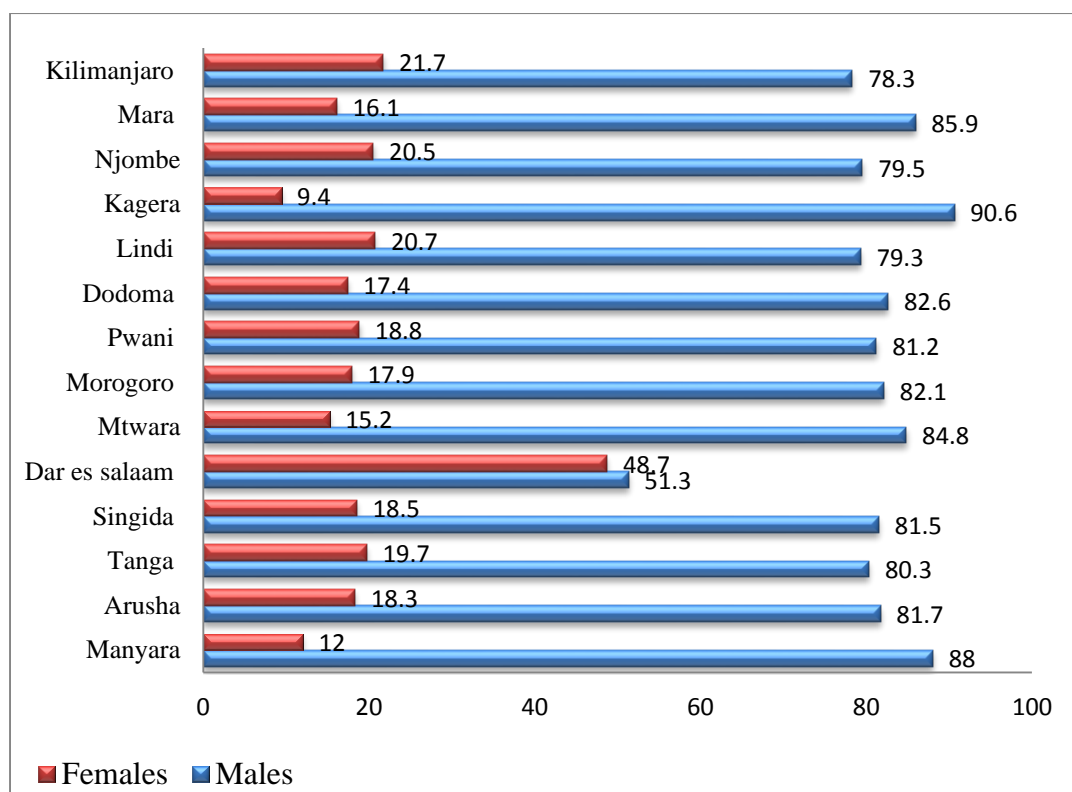


Figure 1: Secondary schools heads by gender in percentages in selected regions in Tanzania in 2013

Source: ADEM, 2013

Other studies also have observed that female representation in leadership is not related to the actual number of male and female teachers in the education sector in the world as a whole (Addi-Raccach, 2006; Coleman, 2002; 2003a; 2011; Dimmock & Walker, 2006; ILO, 2005; Moloi, 2007; Sanchez & Thornton, 2010). Following this realisation, there have been national and international efforts to strike a balance between male and female representation in leadership globally and regionally (De-la-Rey, 2005; Marille, 1995; Oakley, 2000; United Republic of Tanzania, 1992). Nevertheless, female representation in leadership has remained poor in all sectors in Tanzania, despite commitments and policies emanating from within and outside (Mruma, 1995; Mukangara & Shao, 2008; Muro, 2003). The reasons for this, however, remain either speculative or too general. Some scholars, for instance, attribute the situation to the lack of a comprehensive and targeted gender policy in education. It is observed that Tanzania's Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995, Tanzania's Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) 1 and 2 and Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) have no initiatives to increase the number

of female educationalists in secondary and primary school leadership (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995a; 2006; 2010b). Meanwhile, others attribute the failure to poor implementation of the present gender policies (Muro, 2003). Other scholars maintain that the government has fallen short of taking direct action to increase the number of female leaders in schools, including the CSSs introduced in each ward in Tanzania (Oluoch, 2006). Socio-cultural norms, socialisation and expectations may have a major influence on women's participation in decision making, as they may mould the behaviour of people in CSSs to believe and act according to these norms and values of society. Tanzanian society still believes that leadership is for men, and this belief is dominant in most of the country (Muro, 2003).

1.4 My experience as a female academic

In this section I describe my experience as a woman who has passed through different levels of education and experienced the work environment in a patriarchal society. It is important for me as a researcher to relate my position to this study. The idea of carrying out this study on female leadership stems from my rural background, my education and my work experience, which are crucial for interpreting the participants' views on issues influencing women's under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs (Harding, 1987; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002).

I was born 39 years ago and studied in rural areas in Tanzania. My professional background as a teacher (with a diploma in education, a Bachelor of Education in Arts and a Master's in Educational Management and Leadership). Being a female student, assistant lecturer and having been born in a rural environment, I have experienced the following: some women are unwilling to take leadership posts because they lack the confidence, feel inferior and accept men's superiority. This is caused by the socialisation of women, who are less encouraged by their parents and society to be involved in decision making. I noted the hegemonic culture and practice of ignoring women in decision making and valuing them less at the family level. Throughout my seven years of primary education, all the head teachers in my school and neighbouring ones were men. I have also experienced women putting more effort into family issues than their studies and careers. Women are ready to forgo their studies for marriage. For instance, I postponed getting married in my 20s to pursue my studies, and then got married in my mid-30s, which is believed to be rather old for marriage in my culture.

The trend was the same in secondary schools and at university level. At secondary school level, I noticed that the majority of the schools were led by men; female leaders were mostly found in a few girls' secondary schools in Tanzania. Similarly, I observed that there were only a few female-headed departments and sections in secondary schools. Furthermore, as a member of the university staff now, I noticed that a minority of women are in senior leadership positions in my institution, as well as in other institutions. Since the university was established in 2005 it has been under male principals, although a female principal fortunately was appointed in 2013. All the deputy academic and administrative leaders are men. Additionally, there is only one female dean. I have observed, however, that a large number of women lead departments at the university. I have observed a similar situation in all sectors in Tanzania (political, religious or secular).

Likewise, I have also realised that female teachers face obstacles at the family and school level when seeking promotion (unlike male teachers). I have further observed that some women discourage other women from aspiring to leadership positions instead of motivating them, by suggesting that it is men's work and that they will be unable to manage. I have also experienced the negative attitude of men towards some women when they are appointed as head of department. As a case in point, I experienced one of my male colleagues asking my friend why she had been appointed head of department when there were male staff who could have taken the post, and he appeared to sympathise with her about how tough it would be for her to lead men.

Because of this experience, I became interested in gender studies from the undergraduate to the postgraduate level. To fulfil the requirements for my Master's degree, I carried out research that led to the writing of a thesis entitled: *Perceptions of Community towards Female Leaders in Secondary Schools*. In this study, I am motivated to find out the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in the recently introduced CSSs in rural Tanzania. It is my assumption that the problem is marked in secondary schools, given the localised data that currently is available.

1.5 Statement of the problem

In Tanzania, women are under-represented in leadership in general, and in educational leadership in particular (Bandiho, 2009; Chachage & Mbilinyi, 2003; United Republic of Tanzania, 1992). Consequently, many crucial decisions affecting women are made with little or no input from them (Mukangara & Shao, 2008; Muro, 2003). Tanzania attempted

to correct this old order through adopting national (e.g. Females' Development Policy of 1992) and international policies, strategies and legal frameworks (more details in Chapter Two, section 2.2.3). Despite the existence of these policies, strategies and legal frameworks, achievements have been insignificant to date (Kashonda, Malekia, Tendwa & Kashungu, 2000; Mukangara & Shao, 2008; Muro, 2003). The education sector, for example, is among the sectors that exhibits acute under-representation of women in leadership in Tanzania (Bandiho, 2009; Omboko & Oyoo, 2011). It was observed earlier that educational leadership is dominated by men even in areas where women form the majority of the teaching staff and/or are more qualified than the men. This has been observed to have its roots in society and the family due to patriarchy and culture. For instance, women have been observed to be overwhelmingly taken up with family chores, with little chance of being educated or participating in decision making, and some women are more willing to be housewives (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003).

It is in this context that this study seeks to explore the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in Tanzania. Although research has reported female under-representation in education in a different context (international and local), it is still unclear, or rather questionable, whether cultural attitudes and the religious context in other countries can equally explain the influences associated with the under-representation of females in school leadership in Tanzania. The existing literature that was surveyed does not give a sufficient understanding of the situation in Tanzania. The study was to some extent influenced by the inquiry raised by Oplatka (2006) on the need for carrying out further research in developing countries concerning women and leadership to fill the existing gap.

One problem is that most studies on female under-representation in school leadership have been conducted in developed countries like Australia, North America and England (Collard, 2001; McLay & Brown, 2000; Shakeshaft, 1989). A second problem is that the relevant literature on women's under-representation in educational leadership in Tanzanian schools is limited, as the few studies do not address the question of leadership in CSSs. For instance, Damian (2003) focused on the administrative skills of heads of schools; Msolla (1993) focused on the administrative skills and knowledge of heads of schools; and Kabaka (2002) focused on teachers' perceptions of ideal educational leadership from a gender perspective in secondary schools. Other studies were on the merits of female and male participation in educational management in secondary schools (Bhalalusesa &

Mboya, 2003); and on being a female head teacher in the Tanzanian experience, which concluded that being a female head influenced their personal and professional lives (Omboko & Oyoo, 2011). Moreover, Bandiho (2009), who undertook a study on the status of women with the potential for educational leadership in secondary schools and universities, concluded that women are under-represented in educational leadership. In brief, there is a gap in the knowledge of what influences female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. Consequently, this study has the socio-academic obligation to bridge this knowledge gap and advance the frontiers of knowledge concerning gender and gender outcomes in Tanzania.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The study aims to explore the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in community secondary schools in rural Tanzania.

1.6.1 Specific objectives

1. To examine the factors contributing to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs.
2. To determine the perception of members of the school community of senior female heads of schools and how it affects other potential women teachers participating in leadership in CSSs.
3. To identify the challenges facing current senior female heads of schools and deterrents to potential female leaders in CSSs.

1.6.2 Research questions

Based on the key research objectives above, the following research questions were explored:

1. What factors contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs?
2. How do members of the school community perceive female heads of schools and how does this affect other women participating in senior leadership positions in CSSs?
3. What challenges face current female heads of schools and how do they deter other potential female teachers from participating in senior leadership positions in CSSs?

1.7 Significance of the Study

Women are under-represented in leadership and the few who get to the top have to grapple with major social and psychological pressures (Coleman, 2011). In this context, even the idea of women in senior leadership positions is still difficult for many to grasp. To date, studies completed in Tanzania have not revealed what specifically has contributed to this trend in CSSs, despite the national commitment and efforts to improve gender equality in the country. As a whole, insights from this study are expected to inform policy makers on viable strategies for achieving gender-balanced leadership in secondary schools in Tanzania. That is, through this thesis, institutions and policy makers will understand what hinders female teachers from participating in decision making, which is invisible from the top level (ministry and region) to lower levels (district and school). Based on this -- which is not gender sensitive when appointing heads of secondary schools. Through the findings of this study, the policy that guides procedures for recommending and appointing heads of schools may be reviewed (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995a). The findings may also be used by MoEVT and the government to introduce gender-specific policy and programmes on leadership in secondary schools. The findings may also make stakeholders aware of the gender-oriented appointment of school heads. At the district level, the District Education Officer (DEO), Local Government Authority (LGA) and members of school boards would be able to sensitise the community to the cultural and social barriers that hinder girls and women from being educated and from participating in leadership, as well as the benefits of educating girls. Also, the study will help female teachers to know why there are so few of them in senior leadership positions, which would enable them to struggle to develop their career.

In addition, this study will help to supplement the existing literature on female under-representation in school senior leadership positions, and will contribute to the growing body of knowledge on women in educational leadership in Africa and other developing countries. As stated above, Oplatka (2006) asserts that more research on women in leadership in developing countries needs to be conducted, because few studies had been done on this and there is a gap in the literature on women in leadership in developing countries, especially in Tanzania. The literature review indicates that no study has been carried out on female under-representation in senior leadership positions in rural secondary schools in Tanzania. The findings of this study also will contribute to, confirm or refute the existing theories on female under-representation in leadership. The findings of this study are relevant to all secondary schools that participated in this study, because the issues

revealed are of great concern to them. Meanwhile, the findings may also be relevant to other secondary schools in Tanzania, as the majority of community schools that are in rural areas experience a similar situation.

1.8 Definition of key words and concepts

Conceptualisation of leadership

Several authors acknowledge that there are competing definitions, as well as different concepts of and approaches, to leadership, and that leadership may vary from one culture to another and from one situation to another. Bass and Bass (2008) define leadership as a process of exerting influence over activities. Also, “leadership is an interaction between two or more members of a group that often involves a structuring or restructuring of the situation and the perceptions and expectations of members ... leadership occurs when one group member modifies the motivation or competencies of others in the group. Any member of the group can exhibit some amount of leadership” (Bass & Stodgill, 1990, pp. 19-20). Apart from that, leadership is defined as the interpersonal influence applied in circumstances and, through the communication process, is focused on accomplishing particular objectives (Tannenbaum, Weschler & Massarik, 1961). In addition, Hollander (1978) defines leadership as a process by which a leader influences supporters. According to Rodd (2001, p. 10), “leadership is a contextual phenomenon, that is, it means different things to different people in different contexts”. That is to say, leadership is the ability to influence, lead and guide subordinates in a particular context. Specifically in such a context, leaders motivate, communicate effectively and resolve the conflicts of their subordinates.

Blackmore (1999) contends that leadership is about bringing positive change and upholding the principles of gender equality in all aspects. Likewise, Bennett, Crawford and Cartwright (2003) describe it as the process of giving a person a particular position to lead in an organisation by virtue of some special or personal skills and knowledge he or she has. Similarly, Kouzes and Posner (1995, p. 50) define leadership as “the art of mobilizing others to want to struggle for shared aspirations”. Other scholars define leadership on the basis of personal traits, skills and abilities, behaviours, styles and the competences of a leader (Bennett et al., 2003). It means that leadership comprises the ability to stimulate subordinates to work in a participatory manner.

For the purpose of this study, the transformational and democratic elements stipulated in the definition of leadership by Blackmore (1999), Bennett et al. (2003) and Kouzes and Posner (1995) are considered to be of great relevance, as well as the view of Rodd (2001, p. 3), who identifies the key elements of effective leadership as a leader's ability to "provide vision and communicate it, to develop a team culture, to set goals and objectives, to monitor and communicate achievements and to facilitate and encourage the development of individuals". To sum up, the present study considers leadership as the ability to lead, encourage, influence, work well with colleagues, to be honest, respect others and maintain the ethics of equality in giving people positions by virtue of their special or personal skills and knowledge, rather than other differences. This definition seeks to enlighten policy makers, district and regional education leaders, schools management and the community at large on the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions, as they obviously need the right information for fruitful intervention.

Under-representation

This means that female teachers are less represented than males in senior leadership positions in schools.

Community Secondary Schools (CSSs)

These are schools that provide educational opportunities for under-served groups like the rural poor at a sustainable cost (Miller-Grandvaux & Yoder, 2002). In the context of this study, these are schools that have been built or renovated in each ward by local communities (they are located in the communities) but fall under the government, which supplies teaching and learning materials and staff. The local community continues to be responsible for constructing and maintaining the basic structure of the school.

Senior leadership position

By senior leadership position in this study I mean the highest position of leadership, held by the heads of schools at school level, who have the day-to-day responsibility of leading the schools.

Rural

Rural is defined by Moseley (2003) as an area with a low population living in scattered houses, settlements, villages and small towns. In this study, rural areas are those remote

areas with poor social services such as hospitals, electricity and roads, and they also lack clean and safe water.

A leader/head

A leader or head is the person who has vision, commitment and skills. He or she directs his/her energy into influencing others to achieve goals. In this study, a leader/head is the person who influences, motivates and encourages subordinates to achieve organisational goals. He/she is in the top position over all issues in CSS. Leaders and heads of schools are used repeatedly and interchangeably in this study.

Members of the school community

Members of the school community comprise the population that the school serves and those who deliver services to the school (Raubinger, Sumption & Richard, 1974). In this study it refers to all people or groups of people around the school who share almost the same qualities and live in a similar location. These people include school leaders, members of school boards, the Regional Education Officer (REO), teachers, the District Education Officer (DEO), parents and students.

Societal factors

These are factors that direct or affect the lifestyle of people in society and include family, culture, religion, economic status and education. These factors influence human behaviour, as everyone is inclined to behave according to a society's culture, rules and norms.

Individual factors

These are factors resulting from the women themselves who are under-represented in top leadership positions, and from the family. These factors express who a person is and what he/she does. These individual factors affect the behaviour of an individual, and they can be biological, social, cultural and psychological (self-esteem, self-motivation and self-confidence).

Organisational factors

These are hindrances to women participating in leadership, resulting from schools and top leadership. Note that the individual, organisation and society are interrelated.

Perception

Bagandanshwa (1993) defines perception as both the experience of gaining sensory information about the world of people, things and events on the one hand, and the psychological process that accomplishes this on the other. In this study, it refers to how members of the school community judge, view, accept, respect and think about female school leaders.

1.9 Structure of thesis

This study is divided into six chapters. Chapter One discusses the background of the study, Chapter Two constitutes the literature review and Chapter Three discusses the methodology used. Chapter Four presents and analyses the data obtained in the field, Chapter Five is a discussion, and Chapter Six presents the conclusion of the study.

Chapter One: Background of the study

This chapter provided a general introduction to the thesis. The chapter presented the education system in Tanzania so as to highlight the specific context in which heads of schools operate, and women and leadership in secondary schools also was discussed. Specifically, the chapter described the problem being explored and presented the purpose and objectives of the study, as well as the research questions. The significance of the study in Tanzania and outside of Tanzania, and the definition of key terms, also were presented in this chapter.

Chapter Two: Literature review

This chapter engages in a critical discussion of the literature relating to the research topic. The review discusses the concept of female under-representation from a global and regional perspective and reviews the theories used in this study. The chapter discusses transformational leadership theory, liberal feminist theory and the Gender Organisational System (GOS) approach, which help to provide an understanding of female under-representation in senior leadership positions. The chapter critically debates and evaluates the published empirical studies based on factors that influence female involvement in leadership, the perception of members of the school community of female leaders, and the challenges facing female heads of schools. The chapter also reviews the empirical studies undertaken in Tanzania in order to establish the research gap. The review is followed by the presentation of the conceptual framework that informed the study.

Chapter Three: Research methodology

This chapter provides the methodology used in the study. Methods and research techniques used to answer the research questions of this study are presented. The study is discussed from the feminist perspective, which also favours the mixed methods approach. The constructivist philosophical perspective in relation to the interpretive paradigm is also discussed. Moreover, the mixed methods approach used in this study places emphasis on the qualitative approach, which is also discussed in this chapter. The research design in this study is a case study, which focuses on people's experiences. Sampling, methods of data collection, validity and reliability, ethical issues concerning research, methods of data analysis and the limitations of the study are discussed.

Chapter Four: Data analysis and presentation

This chapter presents and analyses the data of the study based on the three research questions. The findings are presented in figures, tables and the voices of the participants. The qualitative and quantitative data were mixed during data presentation and analysis. Both methods were employed in this study to gain a better understanding of the problem.

Chapter Five: Discussion

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings and provides a detailed interpretation of the results, examining the common themes in relation to the literature reviewed and the theoretical framework.

Chapter Six: Summary and conclusion

This chapter concludes and gives an overview of the thesis by presenting a summary of the whole thesis. The main aspects are presented in relation to the research questions. The chapter gives an overview of the questions of the study, the methodology used, the main findings of the study, policy suggestions, implications, the research argument, theoretical implications, recommendations for action, suggestions for further research and conclusion.

1.10 Summary of this Chapter

This chapter laid the foundations for the thesis. The chapter introduced the background of the study by discussing the extent of the problem, the context of the study, the objectives and research questions, the significance of the study, the definition of key terms and the structure of the thesis. The next chapter critically reviews the theories and empirical studies done based on the research questions of this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the relevant literature relating to the research topic. It focuses on relevant theories and empirical studies on female under-representation in senior leadership positions. The chapter presents what is already known about female under-representation in school leadership in order to identify the existing research gap that gave rise to the need for this study. The rationale for focusing on this literature was because it addresses the issue of female under-representation in leadership in different contexts, as well as ascertains the participation of females in decision making in different countries. Therefore, the knowledge obtained from this literature sheds light on my study, which is on female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. The chapter is organised in relation to the main research questions. It starts by reviewing the under-representation of women in leadership at the global and national level, including a review of gender differences in leadership. It also discusses transformative leadership theory, liberal feminist theory and the Gender Organisational Systems (GOS) approach. These theories and this approach complement each other in gaining an understanding of female under-representation in leadership positions. The chapter also reviews the procedures for appointing and promoting heads of schools in Tanzania and other countries, and whether the procedures facilitate gender equality in educational leadership. This chapter further reviews empirical studies on factors that hinder female teachers from reaching senior leadership positions, the perception of society of female heads of schools and the challenges that women face in their leadership role. Finally, the research gap, conceptual framework and synthesis are presented.

2.2 Global and national perspectives on under-representation of women in top leadership positions

2.2.1 Global perspective

Globally, women are under-represented in leadership (Stelter, 2002). Research done by the European Commission (2010, p. 3) reports that “today only one out of ten board members of the largest companies listed on the national stock exchange of European Union (EU) Member States is a woman and progress has been slow in recent years. The disparity is widest at the very top where only 3% of such companies have a woman directing the highest decision-making body”. In Asia, women who participate in the labour force

comprised about 64% in 2000, but they still occupied only a few managerial positions, which means that they are invisible in leadership positions (Yukongdi & Benson, 2005). Sector-wise, women are under-represented at the top of the judiciary in Europe, comprising only 31% of all judges in the supreme courts of all European countries, with men comprising the remaining 69% of judges (European Commission, 2010). In Australia, although women are more educated and have more employment opportunities, they constituted only 39% compared with 61% of males in senior executive leadership in 2012, and constituted only 29% of all federal parliamentarians across Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012).

In the education sector in Europe in 2006, about 46% of female graduates had obtained PhDs, but only 18% of women were senior researchers in 2006 (European Commission, 2010). Similarly, women who were university vice-chancellors in the UK in 2012 constituted 14.2%, while males constituted 85.8% (Holt, 2012). In addition, only 20% of women held senior posts in universities in the UK in 2010, while males constituted 80% (Harrison, 2012). The data from higher education statistics in the UK show that there were 3 500 (16.7%) female professors in 2010 and 17 500 (83.3%) male professors (Harrison, 2012). Similarly, male senior lecturers and researchers comprised 63.2%, while females comprised only 36.8% in the UK in 2008 (Lipsett, 2008).

Coleman (2001) observed that, although women make up about half the number of teachers in secondary schools in New Zealand, Australia, the United States, the UK, Germany, Africa, Central America and India, their ratio in leadership positions does not correspond to the half they constitute. In other countries, like Korea for instance, Kim and Kim (2005) reported that only 14% of school heads were women in 2005, despite the fact that the country had many female teachers. In Nepal, Bista and Carney (2004) found that female heads of schools comprised only 3.7% of all the leaders in 2004.

In this regard, various empirical studies of female under-representation across a range of contexts outside of Africa have been undertaken. The study by Neidhart and Carlin (2003) from Australia addressed the pathways, incentives for and barriers to women aspiring to principalship in Australian Catholic schools using qualitative and quantitative methodology, and they observed that women are seriously under-represented in leadership and are unwilling to apply for posts. Pirouznia (2013) undertook a study on the voices of Ohio women aspiring to principalship using interviews and concluded that women are

under-represented in leadership because of gender role stereotypes and family responsibilities. Powell (1999) identified the barriers to women in leadership positions (e.g. stereotypes) and also addressed women and men in educational management. Another study that used questionnaires was based on global factors affecting women's involvement in leadership in the United States. It discovered that women remain under-represented in leadership (Bullough, 2008). These studies concluded in general that, although women are under-represented in decision making, their numbers slowly are increasing.

For instance, Grant Thornton (2013) conducted a survey on women in senior management and reported that the number of women in top leadership positions in businesses increased globally by 3%, from 21% in 2012 to 24% in 2013. This increase is also seen in parliaments. For instance, the percentage of female parliamentarians globally increased from 13.8% in 2000 to 20.9% in 2013, as shown in Figure 2. Figure 2 shows the regional ranks for women in parliament, with the Nordic region leading with an average of 42% in 2013, followed by countries like America with 24.8%, those in Sub-Saharan Africa with 20.2%, and Arab states ranked the lowest, with 13.8% in 2013. The reason for the increasing number of women in parliaments may be due to different affirmative actions, such as the World Conference on Women in 1995, which was aimed purposely at removing gender inequality and increasing the number of women in leadership positions (Norris & Inglehart, 2000).

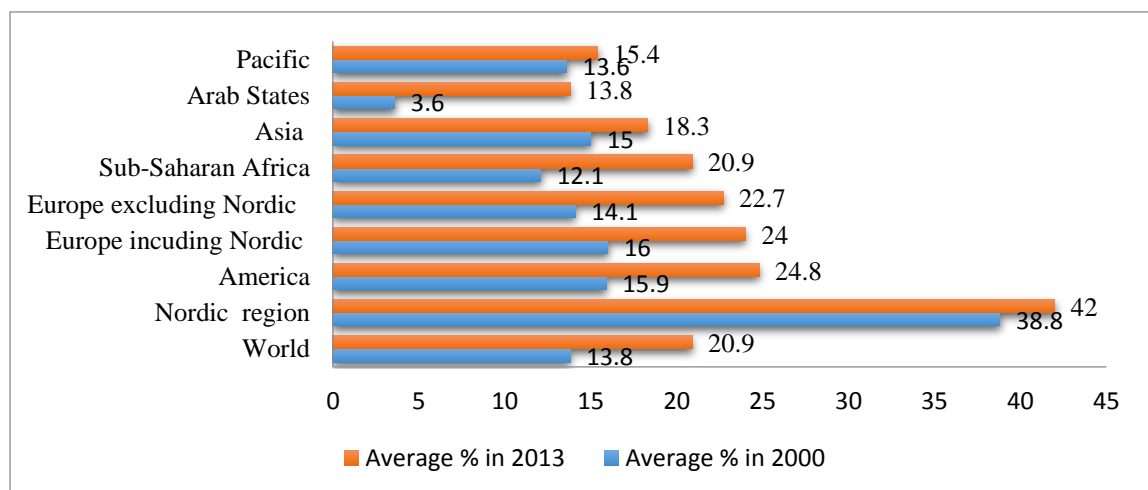


Figure 2 : World and regional averages of women in parliament in 2000 and 2013

Source: Women in National Parliaments (n.d.)

The survey done by the International Business Report on women in senior management shows that, country-wise, China is the country with the largest number of women in top leadership positions in business, at 51%, followed by Poland (48%), Latvia (43%) and

Estonia (40%), as shown in Figure 3. In the top ten (10) countries, only one African country, Botswana (32%), has a high number of women in top leadership positions in business (Grant Thornton, 2013). This implies that African countries are slowly implementing affirmative action aimed at increasing the number of women in decision-making positions.

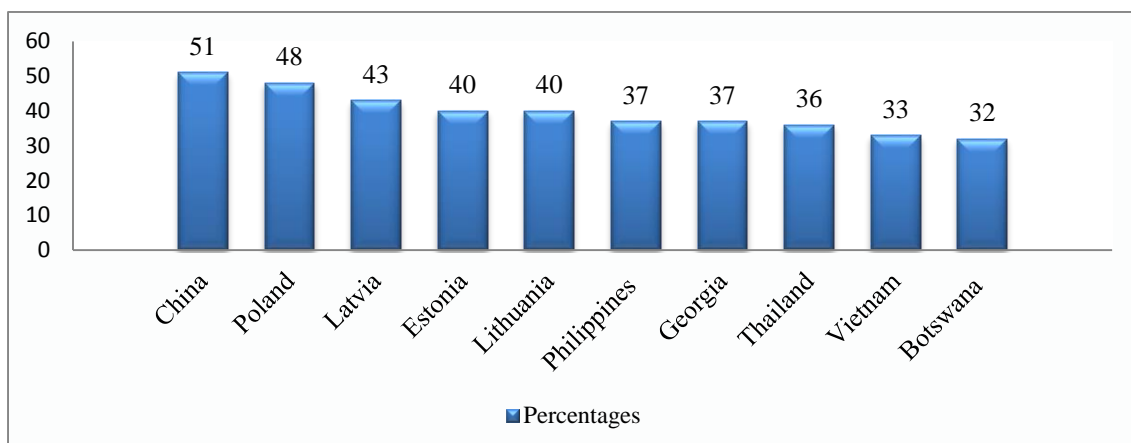


Figure 3: Top ten countries with a high percentage of women in top leadership positions in business in 2013

Source: Grant Thornton, 2013

However, despite some countries being in the top ten, there are ten other countries globally with fewer women in top leadership positions in business. These countries are Japan, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the Netherlands, Switzerland, Argentina, India, the UK, the US, Ireland and Spain, as presented in Figure 4. Japan (7%) and the UAE (11%) are the countries with the least women in top leadership positions, probably because of their patriarchal systems (Grant Thornton, 2013).

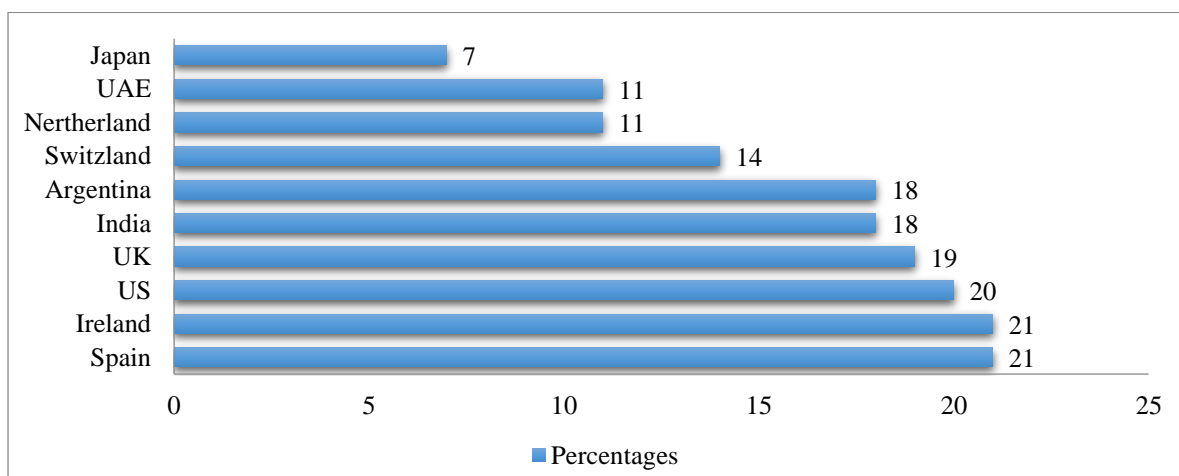


Figure 4: Bottom ten countries with lowest percentage of women in top leadership positions in business in 2013

Source: Grant Thornton, 2013

Therefore, the above statistics show that there has been an improvement in female participation in leadership globally. This improvement gives hope that, in the near future, there will be many more women in top decision-making posts.

2.2.2 African perspective on women in educational leadership

Brown and Ralph (1996, p. 1) report that “most of the literature on women in educational leadership relates to research and observations made in the UK, Western Europe, Australia and the USA”. It is noteworthy that the amount of research on women in leadership has increased compared to the observation by Shakeshaft in 1989 (Oplatka & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2006). Research has been conducted on women in leadership in Africa, focusing on issues of gender inequality and barriers to them being promoted to principal positions. The most notable studies from African states include Brown and Ralph’s (1996) study in Uganda on barriers to women managers. These authors found that female participation in leadership is hindered by internal and external factors. In addition, Sperandio and Kagoda (2010) conducted a study on female teachers’ aspirations to school leadership by surveying 62 female secondary school heads. They revealed that the majority of female teachers aspired to leadership posts in school, but were hindered by a lack of confidence. Furthermore, Kagoda and Sperandio (2009) did a qualitative study by moving beyond the history and culture of educational leadership and found that Ugandan women are hardworking, strong, cooperative and have leadership skills, and the only challenge is to encourage and support them to look for leadership posts.

In South Africa, Mathipa and Tsoka’s (2001) study on barriers to women’s advancement in leadership discovered that women face challenges not only as individuals, but also nationally and internationally. In addition, Moorosi (2007) investigated the challenges facing female principals in South Africa using feminist methodology and concluded that women still face challenges in the organisations in which they work, in the society in which they live and in their families. In Zimbabwe, Chabaya, Rembe and Wadesango (2009) investigated the factors that impede women advancing into leadership positions in primary schools through face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions. They discovered that the majority of the women interviewed were qualified to hold a leadership post but did not apply for it.

Moreover, in Kenya, Onsongo (2004) based her study on factors affecting women’s participation in university management using feminist theory. She concluded that women are missing from top leadership posts in the university and that there is indirect gender

discrimination when it comes to appointments, recruitment and promotion. In Nigeria, Ilo (2010) undertook a study on women's access to senior management positions at the University of Abuja by using qualitative and documentary methods and discovered that, although university culture supports female promotion to leadership, they are still few in number in higher posts.

Overall, studies have shown that women generally are under-represented in top leadership positions in Africa. Higher Education Resource Services – South Africa, for instance, in their survey across 10 African countries in 2007 (Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe), found that “even though women constitute over 50 percent of the higher education workforce, only eight percent were vice chancellors and 12 percent were registrars; while 21 percent of women were appointed as deputy vice chancellors and executive directors” (Ogunsanya, 2007, pp. 51-52).

Moreover, Morley (2013) observed that only 10% of professors in Ghanaian universities were women, while Uganda had 12% in 2008. In Kenya, Onsongo (2004) noted that there was no woman vice chancellors and only one female deputy vice chancellor in 2002. According to Onsongo (2004), more women in Kenyan universities were heads of departments (13.2%), deans of faculty (18.2%) and registered female students (25%) in 2002. In a different study in Uganda, in 2006, only 12% of women were deputy heads and heads of secondary schools. The situation was worse in private schools in Uganda, where only 10% of heads of schools were women (Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009). Kagoda and Sperandio (2009) postulated that women were only well represented in lower-paid positions, such as secretaries and attendants. In fact, the under-representation of women in top leadership positions in these countries reflects the general situation in many African countries.

The reasons for female under-representation in leadership positions in the education sector have to some extent been documented in Africa. Kariuki (2006) asserts that Africa is largely a male-controlled society and hence headship is the field of men. Ogunsanya (2007) goes on to say that most women in Africa do not acquire the needed experience to become leaders because of social positioning. She further observes that most women in Africa have been outside the leadership domain for a long time and thus are not equipped for leadership roles. However, some scholars are positive that the adoption of affirmative action by African states, such as the Millennium Development Goals of 2000, will increase

the number of women in leadership positions previously dominated by men (Kariuki, 2006). However, these reasons do not necessarily address female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in Tanzania. Therefore, this study assessed the applicability of these factors to female under-representation in Tanzanian CSSs.

2.2.3 Tanzanian perspective on female leadership

Tanzania is no different from other African countries with regard to female under-representation in leadership positions. Traditionally, the position of women in decision making has been low, from family to national level (Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (MCDGC), 2013). This is because of the dominant, rigid patriarchal system that prevents female voices from influencing decisions (MCDGC, 2013). Muro (2003) concluded that women are invisible in decision making in Tanzania. At the national level, the existing attitudes influence the election and appointment of women to high positions, and hence prevent their voices from have an impact on decision making and the planning process (MCDGC, 2013).

Following this, different moves have been made by the government and non-governmental organisations, both locally and internationally, since the 1970s to bring about gender equality in all aspects of life (Muro, 2003), because the government recognised that women's progress and the attainment of gender equality are a human right and equate to social justice (MCDGC, 2013). These moves became more visible in the 1980s, following the formation of organisations such as the Women's Research and Documentation Project, the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) and the Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) (Chachage & Mbilinyi, 2003). Other initiatives were the introduction of the Female Development Policy in 1992 and the formation of the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children.

In addition, Tanzania has a variety of policies and Acts targeting gender equality in leadership. These include the Female Gender Policy of 2002, the Public Service Commission (on all-sector gender equality) and the National Employment Promotion Service Act of 1999 (on non-discrimination). One of the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals of 2000 is to promote gender equality and to empower women. Tanzania also has adopted the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (Muro, 2003), as well as the Beijing Platform for Action, whose objective is to increase women's participation in decision making by 30% (Muro,

2003). Some of these reforms are based on key policy documents, such as the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 and the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty. The government's plan was to have a ratio of 50:50 of male and female parliamentarians by 2010, in line with the African Union's declaration (Meena, 2009). This plan has not yet been achieved.

In the education sector there have been a number of affirmative actions aimed at removing gender imbalance. To this end, there has been an increase in the enrolment of women in higher learning institutions, as well as in secondary and primary schools. For instance, the government managed to close the gender gap in primary education enrolment, whereby girls comprised 49.7% of the enrolment and boys 50.3% in 2010. In higher education, Pre-Entry Programme (PEP) strategies were introduced in 1996/1997 at the University of Dar es Salaam, whose aim is to increase the enrolment and involvement of women in higher education and teaching. PEP allowed women who had not attained the required academic cut-off points for admission to university to enter the Faculty of Science at the University of Dar es Salaam.

There also is the Female Undergraduate Scholarship Programme and a scholarship for postgraduate female students at the University of Dar es Salaam (with support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York). These initiatives offer 50 scholarships to female undergraduates in all disciplines. Meanwhile, SIDA/SAREC and NORAD also support female graduate students through special female scholarships. Moreover, there is a strategy of raising the number of female science teachers in advanced secondary schools (A level). In addition, there is the student higher education loan, of which men and women are beneficiaries.

Therefore, many women who would not be able to pursue a degree in the normal way, due to a lack of finance and qualifications for joining the university, have benefited from affirmative action, which has helped women to obtain a degree that is required for promotion to top leadership positions in various sectors, including the secondary school education sector. These affirmative actions have increased the skills, knowledge and confidence of women so that they have a greater chance of participating in different decision-making situations. This, in turn, could reduce gender disparities in leadership, as those women would have one of the qualifications for leadership in secondary schools and have a greater chance of being promoted to a leadership position in education if they have

other qualifications. All these strategies are aimed at ensuring equal rights and removing obstacles preventing women's active participation in different sectors.

The above affirmative actions and strategies have helped to increase the number of women in decision-making positions, especially in the political sphere. For instance, Figure 5 shows that the number of women in the Tanzanian parliament increased from 37 (16.7%) in 1995 to 97 (31.6%) in 2005. In 2010, the percentage increased to 36%. Figure 5 shows that the number of female parliamentarians in Tanzania gradually increased over the four parliamentary terms. Statistics show that, in the parliamentary term of 2010/2015, only 126 (35%) out of 357 parliamentarians were women (Okwemba, Kayis, & Ndlovu, 2011). Likewise, the number of female cabinet ministers during the 2005/2010 parliamentary term was only seven (27%), while deputy ministers numbered only five (24%). Moreover, in the 2010/2015 parliamentary term, female cabinet ministers numbered only eight (16%) and deputy ministers three (14%) (Okwemba et al., 2011).

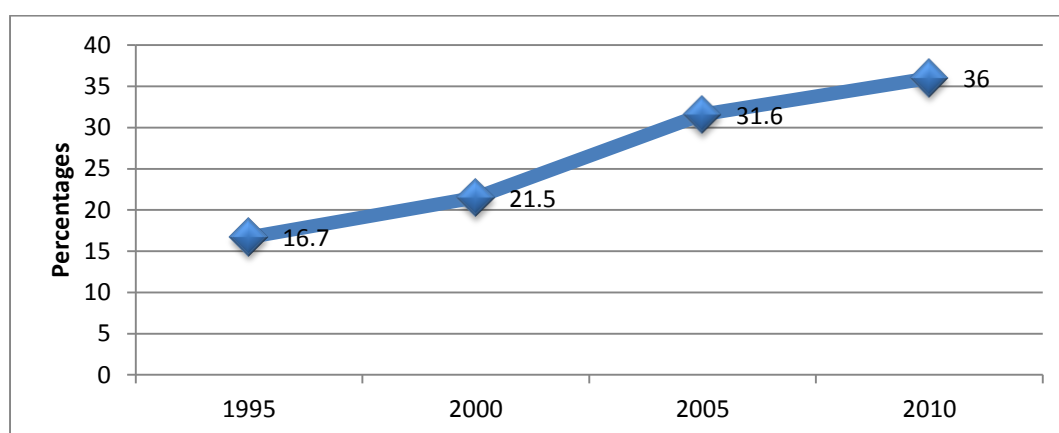


Figure 5: Trend of women in the Assembly in Tanzania 1995-2010

Source: EISA (2010); United Republic of Tanzania (2010c)

Despite these policies and affirmative action (to empower women) having slightly increased the number of women in decision-making positions, the status of women has remained considerably low, both economically and socially, and with regard to decision making (Mruma, 1995; United Republic of Tanzania, 1992) (see Table 1 below), the majority of them still hold low-level posts in the governance structure.

Table 1 shows that the number of women involved in making and implementing key policy decisions is still a concern in almost all organs in Tanzania. The table illustrates that, overall, women are under-represented in decision-making positions, with only 29.25% participating in 2007/2008. Women ministers numbered only four (15%), while males

numbered 23 (85%) in 2004/2005, but in 2007/008 the number slightly increased to six (25%), although the number of male ministers fell to 15 (75%). Another area that has shown a slight improvement is regional administration. In 2004 there were two (9.5%) female regional commissioners and 19 (90.5%) male commissioners, but in 2007/2008 the number of female regional commissioners increased from two to three (14.2%).

Table 1 : Women and Men in decision-making positions, Tanzania 2004–2008.

Decision-Making Position	2004/05				2007/08			
	Women	Men	TOTAL	% Women	Women	Men	TOTAL	% Women
Ministerial Cabinet								
Ministers	4	23	27	15.0	6	15	26	25.00
Deputy Ministers	5	12	17	29.0	6	15	21	33.00
Parliamentarians	63	213	275	22.5	97	224	321	30.29
Elected Parliamentarians	12	218	230	5.0	17	294	320	5.16
Nominated Parliamentarians	2	8	10	20.0	3	4	7	42.85
Special Seats	48	-	48	100.0	75	-	75	100.00
Regional Administrative								
Regional Commissioners	2	19	21	10.0	3	18	21	14.28
Regional Administrative Secretaries	4	17	21	28.57	6	15	21	28.57
Public Service								
Permanent Secretaries	7	18	23	30.4	7	24	31	22.05
Deputy Permanent Secretaries	1	7	8	12.5	4	17	21	19.04
Directors	28	83	133	21.05	133	1 053	1 186	11.21
Assistant Directors	37	118	211	17.53	37	118	155	23.8
Commissioners	7	16	44	15.9	44	37	81	54.3
Local Government Authorities								
District Commissioners	20	87	107	18.69	28	85	113	24.7
District Administrative Secretaries	23	86	109	21.10	23	86	109	21.10
District Executive Directors	23	94	114	20.17	28	101	129	21.70
Elected Councillors	250	2 237	2 537	9.85	380	2 267	2 552	14.35
Special Seats Councillors	940	-	940	100.0	940	-	995	100.00
Ambassadors	2	34	36	5.26	5	38	42	9.75
Judiciary								
Justice	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
Court of Appeal								
Justice	1	8	9	11.01	3	9	12	25.00
High Court								
Judges	9	24	33	16.16	13	40	53	24.50
Registrar	0	1	1	0	2	8	10	20.00
Resident Magistrate	22	123	145	15.00	25	130	155	16.12
Primary Court Magistrate	49	546	695	27.20	290	580	870	33.33
TOTAL	1 588	3 738	5 326	29.81	2 056	4 972	7 028	29.25

Source: MCDGC, 2011

Furthermore, the number of women has increased in the judiciary. In 2004 there was only one (11%) female justice in the court of appeal, while there were eight (89%) males, but in 2007/2008 the number of female justices increased to three (25%). Despite this increase, women still are under-represented in terms of decision making. Having a few women in decision-making positions contributes to women's rights being recognised and their voices being heard to some extent, and contributes to gender equality. Generally, Table 1 shows that there are few women in governance structures, leading to the marginalization of women in decision making.

In terms of the education sector, Bandiho (2009) revealed that women still are under-represented in top leadership positions, despite affirmative action. This situation is related to the number of staff. For instance, in secondary schools there were fewer female staff than male, as shown in Table 2. In primary schools, the number of female teachers is higher than that in secondary schools and is almost equal to that of males. The number of teachers in secondary schools includes those with diplomas and degrees, but the majority of qualified teachers have a diploma. For instance, in 2010 the percentage of female staff in secondary schools was 31.3%, while in primary schools it was 50.5%. The majority of female teachers may not qualify for advanced education, or they may not want to develop their career due to family responsibilities, and women tend to drop out as they advance higher in academics. As Table 2 indicates, there was a slight increase of 2.5% in female teachers in secondary schools, from 29.8% in 2007 to 32.3% in 2009 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). However, in 2010 and 2011 the number of female staff decreased by 1% to 31.3% and 30.3% respectively (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a), but the reason for this is still unknown. In primary schools there were no major differences between male and female staff.

Table 2 : Teaching staff in secondary and in primary schools in Tanzania, 2007–2011

	Secondary school staff					Primary school staff				
	Males	%	Females	%	Total	Males	%	Females	%	Total
2007	16 316	70.2	6 936	29.8	23 252	78 702	50.8	76 166	49.2	154 868
2008	23 122	70.4	9 713	29.6	32 835	76 638	49.5	78 257	50.5	154 895
2009	22 972	67.7	10 982	32.3	33 954	80 066	50.9	77 119	49.1	157 185
2010	27 821	68.7	12 696	31.3	40 517	82 170	49.5	83 686	50.5	165 856
2011	36 357	69.7	15 789	30.3	52 146	86 098	49.1	89 351	50.9	175 449

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a

The low number of female teachers in secondary schools is related to the enrolment of students and the completion rate in secondary schools. Table 3, for instance, shows that, in 2012, the enrolment of males in advanced secondary schools was 53.6% against the 43.4% of females. A big gap has been observed between the numbers of females and males who complete secondary school in Tanzania. Although the number of females is increasing, there still is a big difference. Table 4 shows that, in 2008, 56.2% of males completed form four and 64.7% completed form six, compared with 43.8% of females who completed form four and 35.3% who completed form six. There was an increase in the percentage of females who finished form four and six in 2010, at 45.8% and 39.5% respectively.

Table 3: Enrolment in form six in 2008/2012

Year	Males	Percentage	Females	Percentage	Total
2008	679 124	55.6	543 279	44.4	1 222 403
2009	812 945	55.4	653 457	44.6	1 466 402
2010	910 171	55.5	72 858	44.5	1 638 699
2011	986 993	55.2	802 554	44.8	1 789 547
2012	1 010 472	53.6	873 799	43.4	1 884 272

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a

Table 4: Trend of completion of form four and six by gender between 2008 and 2010

Year	Form four completion				Form six completion			
	Males	%	Females	%	Males	%	Females	%
2008	37 676	56.2	57 519	43.8	13 158	64.7	7 179	35.3
2009	109 205	54.2	92 211	45.8	13 245	60.8	8 546	39.2
2010	177 176	54.2	149 639	45.8	20 381	60.5	13 299	39.5

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a

Table 4 shows that the number of girls who completed form four and six was smaller than that of boys. In comparison, more girls completed form four than those who completed advanced-level education (form five and six). This may be attributed to the fact that the few girls who succeeded in joining form six may have dropped out due to pregnancy. For example, the United Republic of Tanzania (2009) noted that 10.3% of girls in secondary schools dropped out in 2008 due to pregnancy, and the percentage doubled to 20.4% in 2009. Due to dropping out and culture, parents prefer to educate boys rather than girls (Onsongo, 2004). The education of girls has implications for the teaching staff in secondary schools. Few girls are educated at the lower level and fewer participate in higher learning. The fact that only a few girls are educated has a major influence on leadership in that they have less chance of being involved in leadership than their male counterparts, which probably contributes to women being under-represented in decision making in

different sectors. There are not only fewer women, but they are also less educated than men.

Women also are under-represented in universities, where 29.7% of academic staff were women while 70.3% were males in all non-government and government universities in Tanzania in 2012 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). Moreover, there were 156 (24%) female doctors and 493 (76%) males, while women with master's degrees numbered 604 (31.6%) and men numbered 1 306 (68.4%) in 2012 in both non-government and government universities (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). At the University of Dar es Salaam alone, women comprised 17% of the academic staff, 10% of associate professors and 13.2% of professors in 2005/2006 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010a). Moreover, female staff at university in 2007/2008 numbered 229 (20%) and male staff numbered 898 (80%) (University of Dar es Salaam, 2013).

Table 5: Enrolment trend in selected government universities and colleges from 2008/2009 to 2011/2012

Institution	2008/2009			2009/2010			2010/2011			2011/2012		
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
UDSM	5 202	9 001	14 203	6 118	9 946	16 064	5 763	10 536	16 289	6 053	10 856	16 909
DUCE	1 484	2 044	3 528	1 238	1 717	2 955	1 324	1 569	2 893	1 137	1 620	1 757
MUCE	652	1 247	1 899	757	1 352	2 109	906	1 063	1 967	1 014	1 302	2 316
UDOM	2 183	5 154	7 337	5 899	9 222	15 121	6 538	13 046	19 584	6 328	11 368	17 696
OUT	6 768	22 167	28 935	7 925	22 144	30 069	13 500	30 772	44 272	16 078	35 443	51 521
SUA	1 003	2 616	3 619	1 053	3 082	4 135	1 306	3 347	4 660	1 330	3 347	4 677
Total	17 292	42 229	59 521	22 990	47 463	70 453	29 337	60 333	89 670	31 940	63 936	95 876

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a

National statistics also show that few women were enrolled in selected universities in Tanzania (Table 5). There was unequal enrolment of female and male students in higher learning institutions. In 2008/2009, the number of women being selected for government universities and university colleges (six selected) was 17 292 (29.1%), while men were 42 229 (70.9%). In 2011/2012, the number of female students enrolled increased to 31 940 (33.3%), while that of males was 63 936 (66.7%). The slight increase in the number of women with a degree is hopeful that more women will qualify for educational leadership in the near future and be appointed in CSSs. However, progress remains slow and gender

inequality continues to persist. Such inequality has a major impact on teachers when it comes to promotion, as more males than females would have a degree. That means women may remain under-represented in leadership positions because they lack a degree, which is one of the criteria for promotion. This indicates that fewer women than men proceed to higher levels of education. The table shows that many female students were enrolled in the Open University of Tanzania (OUT), which may be due to the fact that in-service teachers could study while at their workstation and close to their families. This indicates that being far from the family for studies is a barrier to females being involved in higher education.

Despite the fact that some women enter higher education in Tanzania, the societal culture and patriarchal system may continue to keep them back. Therefore more efforts may be needed to educate society on the importance of educating girls and women. Although there are few female teachers, their number in leadership is smaller than expected. It is my assumption that, although there are few female teachers, some of them are qualified to be leaders, but they may be hindered by cultural and social factors. Traditionally, they are expected to shine as good wives (Kamau, 2004). Tanzania still needs to have more qualified teachers, as more CSSs are being constructed, and this could be the right time to give more opportunities to qualified women. Bandiho (2009) suggested that more opportunities need to be made available at the higher education level to improve women's educational qualifications.

2.3 Theoretical perspectives

This study sought to explore the influence of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. To accomplish this I reviewed theories based on women's under-representation in leadership. Rappoport (2004, as cited in Priede, 2014) argues that theory informs practice, which is because theory offers insight into understanding and interpreting behaviour in relation to a particular context. Therefore, theories guide the way of viewing and thinking about the specific problem being studied. Theories are used as analytical tools to understand and explain the issues influencing female under-representation in leadership in CSSs. In this case, theories are used as a conceptual frame and guide the study in the setting of the main research questions, instruments, data collection, analysis and interpretations (Priede, 2014). Theories in this study are used to explain and understand the findings. Theories also helped in

understanding what already exists and in supporting or refuting new findings in relation to female under-representation in leadership in CSSs.

Therefore, this study is informed by theories and an approach to help explain why women are under-represented in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. The theories and approach used are transformational leadership theory, liberal feminist theory and the Gender Organisational System (GOS) approach.

Transformational leadership theory is used since it insists on effective leadership. Leaders using this theory are observed to be very effective in their leadership. An effective leader is motivating, a role model, encouraging, supportive and less hierarchical, as he/she involves subordinates in decision making and stimulates intellectual ability by encouraging subordinates to think widely. Transformational leaders are also concerned with the personal problems of subordinates, are accessible to followers and are role models. Therefore, women are expected to display such behaviour that promotes positive change in schools (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005) because they are role models and encourage followers to aspire to leadership positions when opportunities arise. Evidence shows that female leaders who use transformational leadership styles have a good relationship with the staff (Rosener, 1990), which makes them more effective in their leadership. This theory therefore helps gain an understanding of how women in CSSs lead, how they interact with the community around them and how they encourage and motivate their staff to take on leadership positions and develop their careers. Although the nature of female leadership is observed to be transformational (Druskat, 1994), this may not always be true because of differences in context and culture. Despite women having been observed to be ideal transformational leaders, because of these differences there still may be other factors that hinder them from performing effectively and being involved in leadership. Because of the context and cultural differences, effective female leaders may face obstacles in being accepted as leaders, which may be why fewer women are in senior leadership positions. While transformational leadership theory explains the nature of leadership styles and the relationship female heads have with the school community, it is not strong in addressing the complexities of society, such as gender inequality based on biological differences and culture, which could be addressed by liberal feminist theory.

Liberal feminist theory therefore is used in this study to explain the influences of gender inequality in terms of women's participation in senior leadership. The theory provides an

understanding of gender inequality and insists that all women should have equal opportunities in different aspects, including leadership (Lorber, 2001). This theory mirrors my experience as a woman born into and working in a patriarchal and discriminatory society (see section 1.4). Therefore, the theory helps to explain how women are undervalued despite their abilities. A lot of different reasons seem to contribute to this, as women are treated badly or unfairly and are thought to be less able than men. Although liberal feminist theory is strong in addressing gender inequality in society based on sex, Haralambos and Holborn (2000) argue that it fails to recognise the different levels of women's oppression. Therefore, this study adopted GOS to fill the gap to explain how individual, organisational and societal factors hinder women from participating in leadership in CSSs (Fagenson, 1990b). This approach believes that female underrepresentation in senior leadership positions is the result of interrelated individual, societal and organisational factors that influence each other. The sections below discuss the theories and the approach and the way in which they influence each other and finally give the theoretical point of departure.

2.3.1 Transformational Leadership Theory

Transformational leadership theory was first introduced by Burns in 1978 in his book titled *Leadership*, and was developed further by Bass in 1985. Leaders using this theory focus on building the relationship between the leader and his/her supporters to achieve the objectives of an organisation (Burns, 1978). The theory believes in the ability of a leader to motivate and empower followers and to promote change in the organisation (Peeke, 2003). Furthermore, Bass and Bass (2008, p. 618) observed that “transformational leaders motivate their followers to do more than the followers originally intended and thought possible. A leader sets challenging expectations and achieves high standards”. Moreover, Leithwood and Jantzi, (2005, p. 31) add that “the transformational approach to leadership emphasises emotions and values, and has the fundamental aim of fostering capacity development and higher levels of personal commitment to organizational goals by leaders and colleagues”. Increased ability and commitment are expected for greater output.

Other scholars argue that the theory is more suitable for overcoming current challenges facing the leadership of educational institutions (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005). Banerji and Krishnan (2000, p. 405) add that “with an emphasis on followers' empowerment, transformational leadership is in line with contemporary organizational changes and

management theorizing stressing the need of organizations to become less hierarchical, more flexible, team oriented and participative”. The theory stresses sharing, communication and the ability to focus on the role of relationships in transforming the mentality and behaviour of subordinates regarding their performance. This theory satisfies its followers’ needs due to its inherent humanity – in this regard, it makes followers work with morality to achieve organisational goals (Bass, 1999). This theory maintains that if leaders are able to involve supporters fully, complex problems are easily solved.

There are four dimensions to transformational leadership: charismatic/idealised influence, individualised consideration, intellectual stimulation and inspirational motivation. On *charismatic leadership* or *idealised influence*, Bass and Bass (2008) argue that a charismatic leader is likely to be a transformational leader. Nevertheless, one can be a transformational leader without being a charismatic leader. A highly intellectual and stimulating leader may change an organisation regardless of whether or not he/she is charismatic. These leaders are role models, who are respected and admired by their subordinates. The subordinates thus trust the decisions of their leaders (Avolio & Bass, 2002).

With regard to *individualised influence*, leaders are concerned with the individual needs of their followers, treat employees individually according to their differences, train them and appreciate their successes (Bass & Bass, 2008). This dimension is based on friendliness, accessibility and participative decision making (Bass, 1999), and a shared way of communicating is encouraged (Bass & Bass, 2008). In addition, leaders who delegate power to their subordinates are perceived to be the main contributors to an organisation’s success (Bass & Bass, 2008). Moral accountability forms the part of a leader’s characteristics that include being caring, assisting subordinates with their career plans, attending to their social affairs and counselling subordinates on personal problems (Bass, 1999). Due to this behaviour of their leaders, subordinates become close to leaders and hence participate in decisions so that organisational goals are likely to be achieved (Felfe & Schyns, 2002).

As regards *intellectual stimulation*, leaders help supporters to be creative, encourage them to think widely and find different alternatives for solving problems (Bass & Bass, 2008). Leaders also accept challenges as part and parcel of their job. They raise the awareness of followers of how to attain the required outcome.

Inspirational motivation refers to the “ability to offer a convincing vision and attractive goals. The vision presented is not only based on material rewards but also provides meaning by addressing the higher-order needs such as the personal growth of the followers” (Felfe & Schyns, 2002, p. 5). Leaders have high expectations and the followers are encouraged to achieve more than they thought possible (Avolio, 1999; Bass, 1998). Moreover, Sarros and Santora (2001) reported that leaders motivate and encourage followers to behave well, raise their awareness of the vision of the organisation and communicate with followers about the vision in simple language. Leaders simplify the work by giving instructions about what is required to be done by the followers.

In relation to gender and transformational leadership, studies suggest that transformational leadership is a more feminine style, as women are reported to be less hierarchical, more collaborative and more oriented to interpersonal relations than men (Carless, 1998; Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt & Van-Engen, 2003; Rosener, 1990). In their study, Bass, Avolio and Atwater (1996) found that women use this leadership style more than men, and that it sometimes leads to great satisfaction. This is also supported by Coleman (2003a), who argues that female leadership has a positive relationship with transformational leadership.

Overall, this theory mostly fits female leaders, as they have the ability to interact well with subordinates. Eagly and Karau (1991) and Rosener (1990) found that female leaders always build good relationships with their followers and tend to make subordinates feel part of the organisation, from setting performance goals to determining strategy. In her study, Rosener (1990) found that female leaders use the interactive style of leadership by encouraging, motivating and sharing information with their subordinates. This view is supported by Malin and Ulrika (2010), namely that female leaders use the transformational leadership style more than males, as they communicate well with their followers and involve them in decision making. This encourages a mutual relationship with subordinates.

Furthermore, several studies focusing on transformational leadership indicate that women perceive themselves as using the transformational leadership style more than their male counterparts (Druskat, 1994). Studies further have reported that “female leaders exceed male leaders, especially in the female-stereotypic dimension of individualized transformation” (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). However, Komives (1991), Hackman, Furniss, Hills and Paterson (1992), and Jirasinghe and Lyons (1996) found that

there are insignificant differences in transformational leadership between male and female leaders. Transformational leadership typically is stated to be a gender-balanced style (Hackman et al., 1992; Powell, 1990).

Therefore, to have an understanding of women in leadership it is crucial to find out how they lead. The transformational leadership theory may also suit female leaders in Tanzania because of the current challenges facing the school environment, which need innovation, discussion, communication and networking to overcome them and achieve school goals, and this is mostly appropriate to women (Banerji & Krishnan, 2000). The theory further is appropriate for this study as it focuses on the ability of leaders to care, their ability to offer advice to their subordinates regarding career development, their keen interest in the social needs and affairs of their subordinates, and their ability to build good relationships with the surrounding community. It is my assumption that, as women are more caring and good problem solvers, they will be greatly encouraged to be involved in leadership if they qualify for the post, and would be perceived more positively by the school community than those who use power and vice versa. This is also emphasised by the government of Tanzania, namely that heads of schools should discuss school problems and how to accomplish school goals with the community, teachers and other stakeholders (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013b), which female leaders participate in. However, transformational leadership theory alone does not give a full understanding of the under-representation of women in leadership in CSSs, and so other theories like liberal feminist theory and the GOS approach are also important for understanding the problem.

2.3.2 Gender theories

The theoretical perspective on feminism can be traced back in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Europe and in the United State of America (Lorber, 2001). These theories addressed the need for equality between women and men, with a particular focus on equal rights.

There are many feminist theories, including first- and second-wave feminism. First-wave feminism developed between the 19th and 20th centuries. This movement fought for the rights of women based on racism, property ownership and the right to vote (Lorber, 2001). To some extent this wave does not suit the Tanzanian context, as women have the right to vote and own property. Also the issues around racism in the United States and other Western countries are not the same as in Tanzania. The second wave of feminism came after the Second World War, and argues that men's dominance and women's subordination

are social creations but not biological phenomena (Lorber, 2001). In her book, *Feminist Theories and Politics* (2001), Lorber names three basic types of “feminisms” based on their prescribed solutions to gender inequality: gender reform feminisms, gender resistance feminisms¹, and gender rebellion feminisms².

In relation to gender reform feminisms, the reform has “made visible the pervasiveness of overt discriminatory practices, both formal and informal in the work world and in the distribution of economic resources” (Lorber, 2001, p. 10). Moreover, the reform emphasises “valuing women as men and to be free to live their lives according to human potential” (Lorber, 2001, p. 10). The gender reform feminisms includes liberal feminism, Marxist and Socialist feminism, and post-colonial feminism.

Liberal feminism argues that the “explanation of women’s position in the society is seen in terms of unequal rights or ‘artificial’ barriers to women participation in the public world, beyond the family and household” (Beasley, 1999, p. 51). Moreover, Marxists and Socialists argue that a system of patriarchy, coupled with capitalism, has led to men’s domination of women (Bryson, 1993). Marxists and Socialists believe that there is a close link between class structure and the oppression of women. The theory follows the work of Karl Marx, according to which the hierarchical class relations provide a foundation for coercive control and domination of all inequalities (Beasley, 1999). The theory is based on the division of work in the family and work in well-paid jobs.

Moreover, in relation to post-colonial feminist theory, assumptions are based on world-wide human rights in reflection to third world countries with “political pressure for girls’ education, child health, maternity and economic resources for women who contribute heavily to the support of their families” (Lorber 2001, p. 22).

There is also post-structural feminist theory. This theory does not consider gender as an “axis of power” that forms social structure, identities and knowledge (Kolb and Meyerson, 1999, cited in Moorosi, 2007) “but it is viewed as a complex set of social relations enacted across a range of social practices that exist both within and outside formal organizations” (Moorosi, 2007, p.510). Moreover, there is a debate about “whether or not there is a single

¹ Blames violence against and sexual domination of women and the hiddenness of women’s experiences in knowledge and culture creation.

² “Traces the connection among gender, racial category, ethnicity, religion, social class and sexual orientation to show how people become advantaged or disadvantaged in complex stratification systems” (Lorber, 2001, p. 11).

unified concept of ‘woman’. The theory stresses plurality rather than unity and is concerned that by declaring the existence of universal ‘woman’ there is, by implication, a set of characteristics that make up that concept and which become the norm, for that group” (Bernard, Chambers & Granville, 2000, p. 11). Another theory is intersectionality feminism, which advocates in relation to multiple sources of discrimination in terms of gender, class, race, ethnicity and other relations that are interacted and interconnected (Yuval-Davis, 2006). This theory is concerned with the marginalization of poor women and black women in white societies (Davis, 2008). The theory suggests that several biological, societal and traditional groups comprising race, ethnicity, gender and class interact and contribute to discrimination. That is, many forms of domination are interrelated (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Therefore, the above explanation underscores the multiplicity of feminist theories and related assumptions focusing on gender inequality, for example on race, class and ethnicity, on which the study could have been based. However, given the context of this study I decided to focus on gender inequality based on sexual discrimination and used only liberal feminist theory to explain and understand the factors contributing to female under-representation in CSSs in rural Tanzania, because its assumption seems to fit more into this study rather than other theories as presented in the subsequent section.

2.3.2.1 Liberal Feminist Theory

This study is also informed by liberal feminism,³ which can be traced back to the struggles over job and wage differences between women and men in the USA in the 19th and 20th centuries (Lorber, 2001). The theory questions the viewpoint’s damaging and discriminating issues concerning women and hence demands equal opportunities through legal reforms and more women in decision making (Mannathoko, 1992). The theory aims to involve women in leadership, overcome the glass ceiling to senior leadership positions and demonstrate how much society discriminates against women (Lorber, 2010). That is to say, the theory demands equal opportunities for both men and women (Kanter, 1975; Lorber, 2010; Mannathoko, 1992). The theory maintains that women are oppressed because of their sex (Baehr, 2008; Lorber, 2001). Liberal feminism claims that biological differences should be ignored in order to achieve gender equality. People should be treated in accordance with their talents and determination, rather than based on their biological

³This study has not employed other feminist theories, like Black Feminism, because their assumptions do not fit this study.

differences (Mascarenhas, 2007). The theory holds that women's mental ability is equal to that of men, and hence they should have the same rights in the political, economic and social sphere (Lorber, 2001). It points out that the socialisation of women and men supports patriarchy and keeps men in power, which leads to oppression, discrimination and inequality in society (Lorber, 2001).

Sharing this view, Lorber (2001) asserts that women are limited by the organisational glass ceiling, as appointment and promotion systems still produce workplaces where most of the top positions are held by men. Blackmore (1999) adds that women are under-represented in educational leadership because of the bias against them in recruitment and promotion. Similarly, leadership positions with better pay, command and authority are given to men (Lorber, 2001). Lorber (2001, p. 27) further reports that liberal feminism also explains the persistence of the gender separation of jobs ("females work with females and males work with males") and the gender stratification of organizational hierarchies (at the top are males). Patriarchy is a worldwide system of male control demonstrated through sexual exploitation and violence and, as a consequence, women are in a subordinate position in all societies (Lorber, 2001).

Although liberal feminism originated in the USA, it is still applicable in Africa. According to Mannathoko (1992, p. 72), "it is a misconception to view feminism as a western ideology which reflects western culture simply, because feminists theories, just like other theories, have been influenced by external pressure resulting from colonisation and imperialism". She argues that feminism has its roots in the African condition, as women in Africa have been aware of their prevailing oppressive gender relations and have challenged this situation throughout history. Therefore the assumptions of feminist theory, like liberal feminist theory, are still applicable in Tanzanian society today.

In this case, liberal feminist theory is considered to fit in this study because it helps to explain the issues that damage women and discriminate against them in terms of their participation in leadership, resulting in the demand for gender equality in CSSs so that they may be involved in leadership roles, thereby discouraging discrimination on the basis of biological differences. Different studies conducted in different countries show that men dominate leadership positions (Coleman, 2002; Moorosi, 2007; Mwebi & Lazaridou, 2008; Onsongo, 2004) and that there is cultural dominance at school, which has resulted in the exclusion of women from the decision-making arena (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003).

The theory is used to analyse gender equality in leadership positions in CSSs in Tanzania, which were introduced in each ward. The study assumes that, among other factors, women are discriminated against in terms of obtaining senior leadership posts because of their sex rather than their ability and determination. Based on the theory, the study examined how society's perception based on sex leads to the unequal acquisition of headship by men and women in the targeted schools, and how women are treated in schools.

However, liberal feminism "has been less successful in fighting the informal processes of discrimination and exclusion that have produced the glass-ceiling that so many women face in their career advancement" (Lorber, 2010, p. 35). That is, the theory fails to address the invisible or hidden gender discrimination emanating from societal values, norms, beliefs, attitudes and stereotypes, and those that are within the women themselves that discriminate against them in terms of their participation in different opportunities; this is not formally stated.

Also, liberal feminist theory "does not challenge patriarchy or any other fundamental structures of society, but rather looks for the removal of barriers that prevent women operating effectively in the public sphere on equal terms with men" (Welch, 2001, p. 2). Therefore, liberal feminist theory lacks the internal (personal) and patriarchy-oriented factors that hinder women from reaching the top, and thus the GOS approach fills this gap. Despite these weaknesses inherent in liberal feminist theory, its strengths identified above are vital for gaining an understanding of female under-representation in community secondary school senior leadership. This study therefore combines the strengths of liberal feminist theory with the GOS approach to gain a full understanding of the problem of female under-representation in leadership positions, thereby complementing its weaknesses.

2.3.3 Gender Organisation System (GOS) Approach

The GOS approach presents a holistic approach to the study of issues concerning women's leadership advancement (Fagenson, 1990b). The approach holds that the absence of women at senior levels of leadership is a result of the coexisting interaction between the individual, organisations and society (Fagenson, 1990a; Yukongdi & Benson, 2005). Rowley and Yukongdi (2009) and Meyerson and Fletcher (1999) report that obstacles to progression are not just within women, but are around them and within the structures of

organisations and their culture. This perspective combines a gender-centred perspective and an organisation-structure perspective to explain female under-representation in leadership. The GOS framework helps to explore what influences female under-representation in senior leadership positions, and it shows that gender inequality at school should be seen from different dimensions in terms of how men and women differ in their experience of an organisation and system, which are the main factors that are leading to discrimination against women in workplaces. The details of the variables are discussed in subsequent subsections.

Gender-centred perspective

This perspective assumes that “gender, whether due to biological roots or socialisation influences, determines many if not most of one’s preferences, abilities, and skills, and that these characteristics largely drive behaviours” (Parker & Fagenson, 1994, p. 18). This perspective is conventionally used by researchers to explain the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions (Fagenson, 1990a). The perspective assumes that “women’s traits and behaviour are ‘inappropriate’ for top management positions” (Akpinar-Sposito, 2013, p. 1). It considers that organisational and societal factors are not responsible for female under-representation in leadership. According to this perspective, women are under-represented in leadership because of internal factors resulting from socialisation. Values imparted to women during their childhood socialisation influence them in taking top leadership posts (Fagenson, 1990a; Hennig & Jardim, 1977). It holds that females are instilled with personal ambitions, few aspirations to power, sympathy, unselfishness, obedience, inactiveness, irrationality and a great concern for their personal lives (Hoyle & McMahon, 1986). Women are socialised to put more effort into their lives and to value peers more than their careers, to feel little commitment to their work in the organisation and to reject posts (Fagenson, 1986, as cited in Akpinar-Sposito, 2013). Unfortunately, such qualities are considered contrary to the demands of senior leadership positions (Fagenson, 1990b). On the contrary, individual traits instilled in men, such as aggressiveness, decisiveness and independence, are reported to be the traits of promotable leaders (Rowley & Yukongdi, 2009). This suggests that women should behave and act like men to convince society that they qualify for leadership positions.

It is noteworthy that this perspective cannot sufficiently explain the influences of female under-representation in top leadership position. This is because researchers have

discovered that there are few women in leadership even though they are more qualified for posts than men (Cleveland et al., 2000, as cited in Akpinar-Sposito, 2013). Hence the organisational-structure perspective fills the gap.

Organisation-structure perspective

This perspective argues that men and women in organisations behave differently because of the characteristics of organisations. This perspective proposes that, not only do women's inner factors resulting from socialisation impact and shape their behaviour at the workstation, but so too does the organisational structure (Fagenson, 1990b; Kanter, 1977). Furthermore, the perspective believes that the organisational culture, stereotypes, rules, laws, policies and ideology hinder women from becoming senior leaders (Fagenson, 1990a). Organisational culture shapes the behaviour of women and many opportunities are given to men (Fagenson, 1990a). Oakley (2000) points out that these organisations contribute to the under-representation of women in leadership positions due to, among other things, unfairness in recruitment, promotion and retention.

Kanter (1977) explains that women are discriminated against at the organisational level due to work being categorised into disadvantageous and advantageous job positions (low-ranking leadership and high-ranking leadership). The advantageous positions offer power and opportunities and men mostly occupy such positions (because men tend to develop behaviours and attitudes that enable them to move up the leadership ladder) (Kanter, 1977). Similarly, the majority of men are in top positions and hence support each other in climbing the leadership ladder. On the contrary, the disadvantageous job positions offer little power and opportunities and are mostly occupied by women (the majority of women in the workplace have less advantage of moving up the ladder), as affirmed by Kanter (1977). Therefore, this has a major influence on female representation in leadership. The dissimilar behaviours and attitudes of men and women are a result of different chances and authority structures in institutions. It has been observed that the prevailing gender stereotypes in the environment in which the organisations in question are located are what make organisations act according to these stereotypes (Kanter, 1977).

Gender Organisation System (GOS) approach

The GOS approach presents a holistic approach to the study's issues concerning women's leadership advancement (Fagenson, 1990b). This approach proposes that women's actions and capacity to be involved in top leadership are influenced by the interaction of

individuals, society and the institutional system in which the organisation operates. Rowley and Yukongdi (2009) hold that this interaction may lead to the under-representation of women in leadership positions in organisations. That is, it assumes that the presence of a few women in leadership is caused by both organisational and individual factors. This approach integrates the assumptions and arguments of the gender-centred and organisational structure perspectives (Fagenson, 1990a). It also argues that “an individual and his or her organisation cannot be understood separate from the society (culture) in which he or she works. When the individual, the organisation or the system in which they are embedded change, the other components change as well” (Parker & Fagenson, 1994, p. 19). Furthermore, in order to understand inequality in an organisation, it is important to discover how men and women differ in their experience, how women are discriminated against in organisations, and how the system/society discriminates against and treats women (Fagenson, 1990a). That is to say, women’s behaviour in an organisation is a result of both gender and organisational structure. The GOS approach is the most useful theoretical framework for women in leadership research (Omar and Davison, 2001, as cited in Akpinar-Sposito, 2013).

It is worth noting that societies describe the appropriate roles and behaviours expected of men and women (Martin, Harrison & Dinitto, 1983). These beliefs, gender role expectations and stereotypes concerning the role of men and women, as well as cultural values, may affect structures and institutional practice and women’s behaviour at work (Martin et al., 1983). That is, some societies either encourage or discourage women from entering certain careers and developing aspirations relevant to leadership. Moreover, based on this study, most staff and leaders who make recommendations for leadership may be socialised to give females subordinate ranks and to make them obedient listeners. With these attitudes and perceptions at work, there might be a greater probability of promoting more men than women to leadership positions. This perspective believes that women are under-represented in top positions in CSSs because of individual and societal stereotypes and expectations, as well as cultural and organisational practices (Rowley & Yukongdi, 2009).

Generally, the GOS approach assumes that the interaction between gender, organisations and social systems is a continuous process (Martin et al., 1983). With regard to the application of the GOS approach to the present study, it informs the study on how individual, organisational and societal factors prevent women from obtaining headship

positions in CSSs in Tanzania. In this way it helps the study to examine, among other things, how the socialisation of women affects their career advancement and leadership aspirations. The approach helps to explain and understand female teachers' behaviour at work, their level of confidence and commitment to work, and their priorities with regard to work and family. It helps to assess how the expectations and perceptions of society, individuals and organisations influence female teachers' participation in leadership. At the organisational level it helps to explain the policies used in promotion and organisational procedures for recommending and appointing heads of schools.

Therefore, transformational leadership theory, liberal feminist theory and the GOS approach guided the present study in identifying the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in Tanzania. The theories and approach detail how and why women are discriminated against in leadership and, in so doing, they sensitised the researcher to what to expect from the study of female under-representation in leadership in CSSs in Tanzania.

Despite the differences between the theories and approach identified above, emphasis on the consideration of gender is found to be a common feature. While the GOS approach focuses on women's under-representation in leadership positions based on gender (individual), organisational and societal factors (Fagenson, 1990a), researchers using transformational leadership theory emphasise that the theory is used mostly by female leaders to compare themselves to men (Bass et al., 1996). Liberal feminist theory also emphasises gender inequalities in leadership. Moreover, the tenets of the theories and approach formed the basis of the research objectives, questions and instruments for the study.

Theoretical departure

The discussion of the two theories and the GOS approach given above has shed light on the way in which women are treated in diverse settings, including discrimination in leadership. The discussion also indicated various differences among them. Despite the differences, the two theories and the GOS approach complement each other in providing an understanding of women's under-representation in leadership positions in CSSs in Tanzania, Africa and the world.

Transformational leadership theory helps to give an understanding of how female leaders lead and the nature of the relationship they have with their subordinates in their attempt to achieve organisational goals. Transformational leadership theory also explains how female leaders communicate, act as role models, motivate and help each other to achieve organisational goals and develop their careers. The behaviour of female leaders may influence other women to participate in leadership. In this case, transformational leadership does not question gender inequality as liberal feminist theory does. Liberal feminist theory helps to provide an understanding of gender inequality in society by explaining why there is gender inequality in top leadership, and explains that gender inequality is based on biological differences rather than ability. The theory insists that all people are equal before the law. However, liberal feminism does not explain adequately informal factors such as societal values and norms that segregate and discriminate against women in their professional development (Lorber, 2010). Mannathoko (1992, p. 73) argues that, although liberal feminist theory has been fighting for rights and opportunities for women, it does not question adequately the organisational “inequalities prevailing within societies”. In this case, GOS helps to explain the unequal status of male and female teachers in secondary school senior leadership. Liberal theory does not explain gender inequality at different levels (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000). That is to say, the GOS approach helps to provide an understanding of the influences among individual females (internal factors), organisations and society that impede women from acquiring leadership positions in CSSs.

Therefore, the concepts of liberal feminist theory and transformational leadership theory were incorporated into GOS in order to provide a holistic approach. That is, the GOS approach was key to this study, as were other theories that function or operate in society where people’s behaviour is moulded and where its values and norms are instilled. An organisation and its people cannot be understood separately from the society/culture (Fagenson, 1990a). Therefore, how people lead, behave and act in any organisation is the product of society’s norms and values. Also, gender inequality, discrimination and the gender expectations of the family and schools have their base in society. In actual fact, society’s values and norms determine the leadership style to be used that creates gender inequalities. Therefore, the conceptual framework shown in Figure 6 is informed mainly by the GOS approach, with the other two theories (i.e. lack of role models, support and encouragement in transformational leadership theory and gender bias and equality in appointment in liberal feminist theory) providing conceptual support.

In this case the ideas of liberal feminist theory and transformational leadership theory are fixed in the general framework of GOS at the individual, societal and organisational levels. The conceptual framework incorporates the two theories and the GOS approach to explain the influence of female under-representation in leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania (see Figure 6). Methodologically, the study constructs, analyses and discusses the data based on constructivism epistemology by maintaining that multiple realities concerning female under-representation in leadership positions emanate from the participants constructing and interpreting the meaning of the phenomenon (Crotty, 1998).

2. 4 Empirical studies on female under-representation in leadership

2. 4.1 Gender differences and educational leadership

Many researchers have explored gender differences in educational leadership (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Rosener, 1990; Shakeshaft, 1989). Hall (1996) and Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001) argue that men and women in educational leadership differ in their leadership styles. This view is supported by Hall (1996) and Shakeshaft (1989), who attribute the differences in the way in which men and women lead to different socialisation patterns, rather than inborn qualities. This is maintained by Hoff and Mitchell (2008) in their research done in the USA, which concluded that gender socialisation determines the respective roles and behaviours of women and men. Eagly and Johnson (1990) reported that people judge leadership based on what behaviour society perceives to be appropriate for men and women. That is to say, women are expected to portray a feminine style and men a masculine one due to socialisation, culture and context. This therefore may result in few women being considered for leadership, especially where the masculine leadership style dominates.

Shakeshaft, Brown, Ibry, Grogan and Ballenger (2007) conducted their study using both qualitative and quantitative methods and came up with the finding that female principals are more relational and interpersonal. This is supported by Eagly and Carli (2007), who conducted studies on female leadership styles and reported that female leaders preferred participatory and people-oriented leadership styles, whereas males preferred an autocratic style. The same results were observed by Kobia (2007) in Kenya. Rosener says that, when people perform well in an organisation, they should feel good about themselves and their work, and an interview with female leaders reported that it was important to “create a situation that contributes to that feeling: (Rosener, 1990, p. 4).

The above view is supported by Coleman (2005) and Shakeshaft et al. (2007), who argue that female leaders prioritise communication, teamwork and collaboration, involve subordinates in decision-making and maintain personal relationships with them. Ouston (1993) had a similar view that female leaders communicate, motivate and care a lot about individual differences, and are more concerned about staff and students' needs than males. She adds that parents also appear to be more favourably disposed to schools run by women and are more involved in school life than in schools run by men. The study conducted by Bhalalusesa and Mboya (2003) in Tanzania revealed that women are more careful when taking decisions, are hard-working and are more committed than men.

Addi-Racah (2006) adds that female school leaders cultivate friendly workplaces and are responsive to other teachers' requirements. Female educational leaders focus on instructional leadership in supervisory practices, are more concerned with students' individual differences and focus more on how to achieve objectives than men (Shakeshaft, 1993). Additionally, Grogan and Shakeshaft (2011) discovered that female leaders often talk about accomplishing goals with and through others. This therefore suggests that the style of females is based on transformational leadership theory, which appears to offer hope for democratic, values-based and inclusive leadership (Judeh, 2010; Lumby, 2006a). In contrast, Kariuki (2004) reported that female leaders in Kenya are authoritarian, competitive, idiosyncratic and unsupportive. Female heads of schools were also reported to be assertive, task oriented and had centralistic characteristics, which generally are attributed to the masculine style of leadership (Oplatka, 2001). Oplatka and Tamir (2009) discovered in their study that women claimed that an effective head ought to be assertive, aggressive, determined, persuasive, strong, charismatic and manipulative. This means that female heads should lead like males, which is contrary to feminine behaviour (for example closeness to people, emotional expression). Similarly, Mwilolezi (2012) reported that some female heads of schools in Tanzania use the dictatorial leadership style, which causes students to riot against them. According to this view, females with "female" behaviour may be perceived to be incapable leaders.

In addition, Arar and Abu-Rabia-Queder (2011, p. 416) observed a change in the style of leadership used by females, as they reported that the "managerial style of women principals changes over time as, in the course of their career, women principals tend to move from an authoritarian style based on legitimatised power to power based on their

specialised skills as pedagogic leaders”. In Zimbabwe, Makura (2012) studied the leadership styles of female educational leaders in search of a gender-inclusive leadership theory using interviews and questionnaires with nine female heads of schools and 45 teachers. He had mixed results in that the interviews showed that women were task-oriented, while the questionnaires indicated that women use the relational style. Therefore the surveyed literature shows that, although women use the participatory approach (which is democratic and relationship-oriented) more than men, there are some who use the non-participatory rather than the autocratic style (which is task oriented, assertive and centralistic). Those who use the non-participatory style may think that one has to be task oriented to be an effective leader. However, Celikten (2009) notes that one of the barriers hindering women from becoming leaders is their leadership style.

The reason why women use the autocratic leadership style is that they hope it would make them accepted by the school community (Arar & Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2011). Likewise, Cunnison (1989) points out that female leaders try to act like men because men are perceived to be better leaders than women. According to this view, women are supposed to adopt the male way of leading to fit in with a male-controlled organisation. This assumption might be wrong, however, because it is reported that women who lead in an autocratic manner are less favourably evaluated than women who lead in a democratic manner, although men receive a favourable evaluation regardless of whether they use an autocratic or democratic style (Eagly, Makhijani & Klonsky, 1992). Furthermore, Kariuki (2004), by using questionnaires in her study on what drives women leaders to adopt an authoritarian model of power, revealed the reason why women in Kenya use the authoritarian leadership style. She argues that “authoritarianism may be influenced by the social context in which the female principals work. When forces within the school invoke negative socio-cultural norms, it may drive the female principal to respond aggressively if not in an authoritarian manner” (Kariuki, 2004, p. 4). Furthermore, female leaders use the autocratic leadership style as a defence mechanism and because they want to be seen as and to prove to society that they are leaders like men – this as a result of their lack of confidence because of working with unsupportive staff (Kobia, 2007).

2.4.2 School achievement under female leadership

School achievement depends a lot on how leaders enhance the relationship between the school and the school community. Gelsthorpe and West-Burnham (2003) state that school

achievement depends greatly on the social capital around the school. Drake and Owen (1998) maintain that the head of school, who has agreed to more equitable participation by the school community members in decision making, enables his/her school to achieve well. Correspondingly, Ouston (1993) argues that academic achievement is higher in female-led schools than in male-led ones. She argues that female leaders are likely to introduce and support strong staff development programmes, to encourage innovation and to experiment with instructional approaches. Moreover, women are likely to stress the importance of instructional competence to teachers, and are attentive to completing instructional programmes through the involvement of school members (Shakeshaft et al., 2007). Hence, through cooperation and involvement, the probability of developing a good relationship with the school community is high because the involvement of members of the school community leads to a common understanding for accomplishing school goals; eventually leading to a greater possibility of achieving school goals. Lumby (2006b) maintains that the participatory approach leads to effectiveness in the performance of female leaders. Moreover, Addi-Raccach (2006) and Rodd (2006) emphasise that women in leadership positions focus on pedagogical issues and promote educational innovations. In their view, these qualities make female educational leaders more effective in managing human resources and the curriculum than males. With regard to gender, women have the mental capacity to build a good relationship with staff, and the ability to perform effectively (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). However, Kabaka (2002) argues that there are no major differences in performance between male and female leaders in Tanzania. Therefore the differences may be because of the differences in the context of the study done, which means that, even in the same country, findings can differ from one locality to another.

2.4.3 Criteria and procedures for appointing/selecting secondary school heads

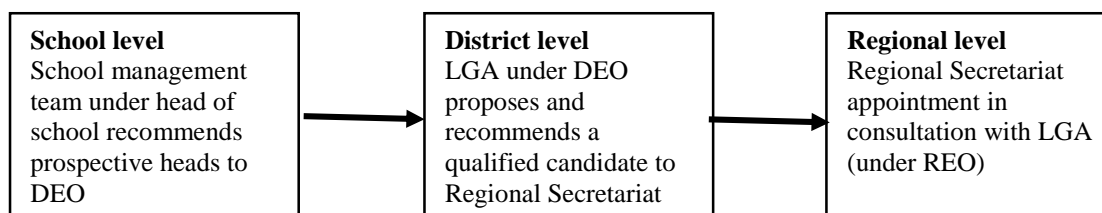
In various countries, including several in Africa, ministries of education appoint or promote heads of schools on the basis of qualifications, experience and a broad age range (Bush, 2010; Nathan, 1996). In India, Sperandio (2011) observed that the only criterion used for promoting heads of schools to department head, deputy and head of school was only seniority. When there is a vacancy a teacher who is top in terms of number of years of working was promoted. There is no competition for vacancies. But a list of those teachers proposed to be promoted is published for transparency purposes (Sperandio, 2011). In Botswana in 1994, the Ministry of Education (cited in Pheko, 2008, p. 74) said “the criteria for appointing teachers to school leadership positions are: degree or diploma,

and 3 years or more as deputy head teacher or head of department”. In Taiwan, Chen (2002) reported that a principal’s maximum age was 55, and that he or she must have one of the following qualifications: PhD with a minimum of one year’s experience, a Master’s in education degree with a minimum of three years, or a bachelor’s degree in education with a minimum of six years. The selection of principals in Taiwan starts with applications for the post, followed by shortlisting and concluded by interviews and a written examination.

Meanwhile, in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa, someone qualifies for being appointed as the head of a secondary school if s/he is professionally qualified (university graduate), has over three years’ teaching experience, has served at the level of deputy head of an institution or head of department, has shown competence and ability, both as a classroom teacher and in leadership and, of course, has a clean record (Department of Education, 2006; Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009; TSC, 2007; United Republic of Tanzania, 1995a), and personal characteristics such as being responsible, hard-working, independent and committed are an added advantage. In Tanzania, age is not considered a criterion for the appointment of heads of schools.

It is worth noting, however, the idiosyncrasies in the appointment procedures across countries. In Kenya, Uganda, the UK, South Africa and Taiwan, the process of identifying a candidate for recruitment and appointment as school head starts with advertising such vacancies, for which qualifying candidates can apply. After the applications are received, they are shortlisted on the basis of the academic and professional qualifications and experience of the applicants (past responsibilities in various aspects of institutional life and their level of training). The next step is the appointment of heads of schools by Provincial Staffing Committees, which are chaired by the Provincial Directors of Education. The persons who qualify during these interviews are thus given appointment letters by the Teachers Service Commission to become heads of schools (Chen, 2002; Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009; School Regulations England, 2009; TSC, 2007). However, in Tanzania the process involves identifying the candidates for recruitment and appointment by the school management team (head of school, deputy head, school accountant, academic master and discipline master) under the head of school, and recommending them to the Local Government Authority (LGA) where, under the DEO, it selects candidates and submits their names to the Regional Secretariat (who eventually makes an official appointment under the REO) (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b). Table 6 shows the procedure for appointing secondary school heads in Tanzania.

Table 6: Procedure for appointing senior heads of secondary schools in Tanzania



Nevertheless, despite the existence of these appointment criteria and procedures, it is possible that issues like favouritism and corruption (other than qualifications and merit) sometimes apply in Tanzania, due to the nature of the recruitment and appointment process followed. Mathibe (2007) observed that, because of favouritism, candidates without qualifications for leadership still get the highest posts in schools and other educational institutions. This does not happen in Kenya, Uganda, the UK and Taiwan, where the system of appointing heads of schools is explicit (open advertisements and interviews) (Chen, 2002; Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009; School Regulations England, 2009; TSC, 2007), which is likely to minimise favouritism and bias. It is more explicit in Uganda, which has specific policies stipulating that a head and deputy cannot be of the same gender (Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009). That is, in Uganda there is affirmative action that, in coeducation, both men and women should be leaders, i.e. if the head of a school is male the deputy must be a female and vice versa (Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009), which does not apply in Tanzania.

2.4.4 Factors that influence female under-representation in leadership

Empirical factors that influence female under-representation in leadership are presented at the individual, organisational and societal level. These are discussed in detail below.

Individual factors

Individual factors observed, as discussed below, are women's lack of confidence to aspire for leadership and reject the available leadership posts, satisfaction with their teaching, low commitment to work and the lack of incentives to become a leader due to the poor working environment.

Lack of confidence

This has been observed to be among the individual factors for female under-representation in senior school leadership positions. In Zimbabwe this was observed by Chabaya et al. (2009) as they held interviews and focus group discussions with 13 female heads of schools. They found that the factors that prevent female teachers from being promoted to headship positions are within themselves as they lack confidence and see themselves as

unsuitable for promotion. In Uganda, Kagoda and Sperandio's (2009) study on Ugandan women moved beyond a historical and cultural understanding of education leadership using documentary data from qualitative research, and observed that female teachers were restrained from becoming school leaders because they lacked the confidence to deal with student riots. Lack of confidence was also observed by Bubshait (2012), Mathika and Tsoka (2001) and Moorosi (2010). This is supported by Smulyan (2000), who found that all female principals in her study were indecisive about assuming leadership roles because they lacked confidence but were forced to become heads by others.

Other scholars add that internal barriers to female involvement in leadership include perceiving that they lack career advancement opportunities and having a poor self-image (Bubshait, 2012; Chabaya et al., 2009; Mathika & Tsoka, 2001; Moorosi, 2010). Researchers further have reported that gender-based socialisation, lack of confidence, which leads to fear of failure, limited mobility and not being competitive, and interrupted career development due to child bearing and rearing, are internal barriers hindering women from becoming leaders (Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Oplatka & Hertz-Lazarowitz 2006).

Satisfaction with their teaching and career

Researchers have further noted that female teachers have a higher level of satisfaction with their teaching than males, and that their priority is to put extra energy into their work, but they are not interested in leadership (Watson, Hatton, Squires & Soliman, 1991). Similarly, Iqbal, Ali, Akhtar and Ahmed (2013) observed that graduate female teachers are more satisfied with being normal teachers than non-graduate teachers. This may be because they have a degree and can obtain a leadership position at any time if they meet the requirements. The non-graduates are dissatisfied, maybe because they want to obtain a degree to stand a better chance of acquiring a leadership post.

Studies have also found that women are contented with their career and are unwilling to apply for leadership posts (Gaus, 2011), which can be attributed to the socialization of women from childhood. Chapman and Lowther (1982) and Gupton and Slick (1996) put it that women are more satisfied with their academic qualifications. Moreover, *The Reporter* (2013a) adds that women are more satisfied with their academic qualifications and long teaching service than men, so that most females neither plan to climb to top positions nor work hard to develop their career. Furthermore, Young and McLeod (2001) found in their study in the USA that some female teachers were satisfied with the

leadership of their heads and thus did not wish to replace them. Due to this, female teachers were reported to be less active and unable to lead a school (Young & McLeod, 2001). This is possibly because women have been socialised to have lower expectations than men. This is supported by Dorsey, who argues that girls are groomed for their role as wives and taking care of males from an early age (Dorsey, 1996, p. 30). The tendency of female teachers to be satisfied and not to apply for leadership posts may lead them to be under-represented in leadership. However, in the context of this study, heads are appointed without them applying for the post.

In contrast, male teachers were found to always be striving to be heads, as they were unhappy being classroom teachers (Abdullah, Jegak, & Balakrishnan, 2009; Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990). Similarly, they were reported to put more effort into their careers than their female counterparts (Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990). Al-Mashaan (2003) revealed that men were only satisfied when they had a high-level qualification, were paid well and were in a better position for promotion. Satisfaction with work has a close relationship with commitment to work.

Female teachers' commitment to work

Bhalalusesa (2003) reported that women in organisations have been observed to put less effort into work than men. Other researchers, such as Stevens, Beyer and Trice (1978) women were less committed to their work, and Iqbal et al. (2013) added that young employees were less devoted to work than older ones. Older teachers in this case seemed to have a higher level of organizational commitment, possibly because they have grown up children, are more experienced and are established in their profession. This view is supported by Sekaran (1983), namely that married young women were less committed to their work and put more energy into their family. In her study on stress and distress in teaching, Jensen (1989) found that female teachers allocated less time to teaching in order to meet the needs of their families. Therefore, less commitment to work may affect them in terms of lacking the qualification to be appointed to a leadership post, as they may be perceived to be less effective. Women's lack of commitment to work and interest in being leaders is also associated with the benefits associated with the posts. The next sub-section discusses the benefits of being a leader.

Benefits of and incentives for being a leader

Incentives for being a leader increase the morale and aspirations of leaders. In contrast, the lack of good pay, rewards and incentives may discourage employees from working hard and participating in leadership. Different countries have different mechanisms for motivating head teachers in terms of responsibility or hardship allowances. For instance, the UK has a policy that states that “the governing body should have oversight of a head teacher’s entire role and any paid responsibilities attached to this role. This would ensure that the governing body can take a fully informed decision about the appropriate remuneration for the head and any consequential implications for the pay of other staff who may be taking on additional responsibilities in the absence of the head” (Department for Education, 2012, p. 134). Furthermore, in New Zealand, the Ministry of Education stipulates that principals are entitled to allowances that reflect their career progression⁴. In Tanzania, the government has a policy that aims at providing allowances for newly appointed teachers in remote and difficult working environments and responsibility allowances for those in leadership (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012b). However despite the policy, the United Republic of Tanzania (2013b) reports that teachers lack motivation because of poor salaries and incentives, which lead to poor quality education as teachers skip classes. The available incentives at the lower level are fringe benefits and training opportunities (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013b). Gaynor (1998) reports that incentives can be in the form of special study leave or better training chances, not necessarily financial.

The lack of incentives and low salaries paid to teachers and heads of schools can also be de-motivating factors for women to aspire for headship. Alzaidi (2008) observed that the heads of schools in Saudi Arabia were dissatisfied with being paid a similar salary to classroom teachers, regardless of the huge responsibilities heads of schools have. Likewise, Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) (2002) reported that teachers’ salaries were significantly below the level necessary to ensure their satisfactory motivation in most developing countries. Thus, the dissatisfaction of teachers with their pay may de-motivate them from devoting their time to working towards achieving school goals and hence they may not qualify for senior headship. For instance in Tanzania, the slight difference in salaries between diploma holders and graduates may be a discouraging factor for women to develop their career by acquiring a degree, which is also a qualification for school

⁴ <http://www.minedu.govt.nz/NZEducation/EducationPolicies/SchoolEmployment/TopicsOfInterest/BaseSalaryandAllowances.aspx>

headship. As a case in point, the Tanzanian teachers' salary scale in 2011/2012 showed that the salary entry point of newly employed diploma teachers was 325 700 Tanzanian shillings (Tshs) (US\$ 206), while the salary entry point of graduates was 469 200 Tshs (US\$ 298) per month. That is, the difference in salary between diploma and degree holders is only 143 500 Tshs (US\$ 92) (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011b). In the Tanzanian context, because of the high cost of living, such a salary for teachers is not enough to meet their needs in a culture that is dominated by extended families.

However, some developing countries provide teachers and heads of schools working in a rural environment with incentives in the form of hardship, travel and housing allowances (Mulkeen, 2005). Mulkeen (2005) reports that teachers posted to rural areas in Mozambique are paid a bonus according to the location of the schools: the greater the distance, the higher the bonus. In Lesotho, a hardship allowance is paid as a flat fee each month⁵. This is equivalent to 20% of the salary of an unqualified teacher, but only 10% of the salary of a teacher with a diploma. Therefore the lack of incentives for teachers to become leaders may have an impact on women's participation in leadership in poor rural areas, as explained below.

Women reject the post when appointed

The studies show that female teachers reject posts in rural areas due to their low risk-taking propensity. For instance, some researchers attributed women's rejection of leadership posts to the many family tasks that deprive them of leadership experience⁶ (Bubshait, 2012; Chabaya et al., 2009; Coleman, 2009; Ruijs, 1993). A study on the career progression of female teachers in England found that they preferred taking care of children at home than being leaders, which restricted their career development (Moreau, Osgood & Halsall, 2005). Gaus (2011) writes that family issues in Indonesia are given first priority by female teachers, rather than their career. Moreover, because of patriarchy in Turkey, Celikten (2009, p. 173) observed that "women prefer the teaching profession, which they see as the continuation of motherhood and name it as an 'easy and feminine profession' and therefore do not prefer administrative positions".

⁵This would probably boost the number of female heads in Tanzanian rural secondary schools if applied in Tanzania.

⁶To get top positions, like school headship, one must have served as a deputy head or department head, which would require of women to sacrifice their personal time

Other researchers, like Chabaya et al. (2009), noted that some female teachers were not taking leadership posts, not only because of socialisation, culture and family responsibilities, but also because of the fear of exposing their husbands and themselves to sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS, as their partners would be involved in love affairs with other women in their absence. This indicates that women are more concerned about their own health and marriages more than their profession. This has a positive impact on their families, but not on their profession. Furthermore, Limerick and Anderson (1999) hold the view that women have no interest in being departmental heads, which would have given them the necessary credentials for promotion. Other researchers report that women do not equip themselves for promotion to headship positions (Brown & Irby, 1998; Chabaya et al., 2009; Moorosi, 2010).

Reject the post due to poor working environment in rural secondary schools

Mulkeen's (2006) study in five countries in Africa (Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Uganda and Tanzania) found that poor working conditions were one of the reasons why there are few female teachers in rural schools. He reported that almost 80% of female teachers in Mozambique and Lesotho were reluctant to accept a posting to rural schools, and added that 82% of teachers in Malawi lived in towns, with only 31% of female teachers in rural schools. Similarly, it is reported that retaining female teachers in rural schools in Uganda is very difficult — the same applies to Tanzania (Mulkeen, 2006). The reasons are the poor housing, water and transport, and regarding the poor or lack of housing, the statistics show that the number of teachers' houses in Tanzania is insignificant, with a nationwide shortage of 46 250 (76.8%) teachers' house in secondary schools in 2012 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). The situation is worse in rural areas, which may discourage female teachers and heads of schools from taking posts in rural schools (Oluoch, 2006). This observation is supported by the findings of Akyeampong and Stephens (2002) in their study in Ghana, namely that teachers were anxious about the quality of housing in rural schools compared with urban schools. In my opinion, the lack of school resources, houses, medical services and access to leisure influences teachers' commitment to work in rural schools.

Teachers in rural schools not only lack houses, but also running water and toilets (Cheruto & Kyalo, 2010). USAID (2010) observed the problem of water in three villages in Kondoa district and reported that people were walking up to five kilometres to fetch water from wells and surface water, which sometimes took them more than an hour. The Children's

Dignity Forum (2013) adds that, in rural areas, people fetch water very far away from where they live. This is threatening the lives of women and girls; women have reported being assaulted, and some impregnated, on their way to fetch water. They therefore drop out of school, thereby losing women teachers and future decision makers.

The transport problem has also been observed to affect many women in rural schools (Cheruto & Kyalo, 2010). In his study in five countries in Africa, Mulkeen (2005) found that teachers in rural schools spent a lot of time going to town (for health services, salary, and visiting their family) because of the poor infrastructure. In addition, Mulkeen (2006) observed that most female teachers in rural schools were living far from their families and home areas. Thus they have to travel frequently between their families and workstations due to the absence of housing at the school. In this regard, headship constrains mobility, because the head has to be available at the workstation all the time, which in turn limits married women from aspiring to be heads (Obura, Wamahiu, Kariuki, Bunyi, Chenge, Njoka, & Ruto, 2011). It is true that travelling can be time consuming and risky in some areas. This idea has been supported by Sumra (2006), who says that this hinders the work of female teachers and heads and affects their presence at school on time. Generally, the United Republic of Tanzania (2010a) observed that 61% of the interviewed heads of schools and 57% of education officers held the view that the lack of electricity, water and health centres, as well as poor transport and communication networks in some areas, are the reasons why there were few female teachers in rural schools.

Due to the poor or lack of these social services, Mulkeen (2005) reported that female teachers were more unwilling to accept a rural appointment than their male colleagues, and rural areas have fewer female teachers than urban areas. This may also lead to the absence of female heads in rural schools. Moreover, Rust and Dalin (1990) add that posting females to a rural area and unfamiliar surroundings cannot be safe for them due to cultural difficulties. According to Hedges (2002), single female teachers, for instance, would feel less safe in rural areas than their male counterparts. This may cause few female teachers to aspire to or accept rural school headship positions. Chisikwa (2010) carried out his study in Kenya and found that remote schools in Vihiga District had few female heads of schools, because most female teachers refused to take headship posts in the area due to its inaccessibility. He concluded, therefore, that school location influences gender balance.

Organisational obstacles

The organisational obstacles discussed in this section are gender bias in appointments and promotion, policy obstacles, stereotypes at the organisational level, the lack of school leadership role models and mentors, the lack of support and encouragement, and sexual harassment.

Gender bias in appointments and promotion

Onsongo (2004) observed that the main source of under-representation of women in educational leadership was sex discrimination in recruitment and promotion. Some researchers have observed that the top management lacks the commitment to deal with gender equity and equal employment initiatives (Bell, McLaughlin & Sequeira, 2002). Women encounter a number of obstacles from their superiors. It is observed that male domination of top leadership and selection positions discourages women from seeking leadership positions, as they prefer to promote their favourites who, unfortunately, are not women (Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009). Furthermore, Bassett (2009), Powell (1999) and Shakeshaft (1989) observed that men tend to like working with other men. In addition, Hill and Ragland (1995, as cited in Oplatka, 2006, p. 608) argue that “males are likely to recruit new principals who resemble them in attitude, philosophy, deeds, appearance, hobbies and club membership”. In this case, women lack the opportunity in organisations to gain the experience required to move forward (Bell et al., 2002). Cubillo and Brown (2003) reported that the acquisition of access to top posts in leadership exceeds the country limits.

In addition, Acker (1990) and Blackmore (1999) put it that structural barriers to female advancement in organisations have their roots in the fact that most organisations have been created by and for males and are based on male experiences of leadership, which leads to the existence of a particular form of masculinity in organisational leadership. Amondi (2011) declares that leadership values in society have been formulated by males to favour males over females. A case in point is that many organisations still define the competence of a leader in terms of traits that are associated with males, such as the availability to work all the time, strength and firmness (Meyerson & Fletcher, 1999). Mulkeen, Chapman, DeJaeghere and Leu (2007), in their study in five African countries, found that there is favouritism in the appointment of heads of schools at both district and regional level. This is supported by Gaus (2011), who reported that female under-representation in leadership is due to recruitment procedures dictated by corruption, ethnicity, nepotism and discrimination. In relation to this, Onsongo (2004) observed that qualified women were

not appointed to top leadership positions in Kenya due to gender bias, nepotism, ethnicity and political affiliation, among others.

In this regard, appointing committees sometimes ignore formal rules and make their own informal rules and regulations to favour males in appointments (Brown & Ralph, 1996; Celikten, 2005; Coleman, 2009; Ruijs, 1993; Sales, 1999). In Tanzania, for instance, there is a *Public Leadership Code of Ethics* No. 13, section (d) of 1995, which states, “in relation to private interests, public leaders shall not have private interests, other than those permitted by the Code that would be affected particularly or significantly by government actions in which they participate” (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995b, p. 4). This means that committees and public leaders at school, district and regional level may not select heads based on interests, perceptions and stereotypes that may affect women.

Policy obstacles

Gender disparities within education systems and leadership are a policy concern in most countries (Powell, 1990). Coleman (1994) argues that, despite extensive research having been done on gender disparity in education in various countries, education policies in those countries still do not adequately reflect gender concerns. In relation to policy, organisational barriers to female progression to senior positions take the form of rules, laws and practice (Morley, 2006; Onsongo, 2004). In other words, informal rules and regulations give men a better chance of promotion than their female counterparts (Ruijs, 1993). Bond (1996) maintains that structural factors in the under-representation of women include, among others, discriminatory appointment and promotion practices, male resistance to women in management positions, the absence of policies and legislation to ensure the participation of women, and limited opportunities for women to acquire leadership training and demonstrate competence. Bond, therefore, calls for fundamental changes to eliminate inappropriate discrimination in institutional policies and practice. Furthermore, Kamau (2001) found that female teachers are under-represented in leadership because of the lack of policy and practice to encourage females to aspire for the posts. Ruijs (1993, p. 571) reported that “rules and regulations are made by men, for men: promotion and selection procedures are geared to the stereotypical male image of a leader”. In Tanzania, it is observed that the Educational Training Policy (ETP) also lacks a gender policy that insists on equality in the promotion of teachers to headship in secondary schools (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995a). The lack of a gender policy in the educational system as in Tanzania may put women at a disadvantage in terms of being promoted to

leadership positions because of the male-dominated culture. In her study in Kenya, Onsongo (2004) suggested the need for having equal opportunity policies to ensure equality that will be gender responsive.

Stereotypes at the organisational level

Researchers have observed that appointing committees mostly rely on intuition and stereotypical leadership images (Bartol, 1999; Graves, 1999; Powell, 1990; Sandison, 2008; Ruijs, 1993). Senior positions and appointment committees are dominated by men (Obura et al., 2011; Gaus, 2011). Likewise, Ruijs (1993) disclosed that interview and selection panels for headship consisted mainly of men, who ask females irrelevant questions like the number of children they have and about their husbands. This implies that fewer females get promoted to top leadership positions or they are promoted at a slower speed than men at all levels due to gender stereotyping (Obura et al., 2011). Catalyst reported further that gender stereotyping is a significant problem, as men outnumber women because men's voices dominate and male managers regard females as poor problem solvers. These managers tend to evaluate women leaders more harshly and undermine their interpersonal influence (Catalyst, 2007).

Catalyst (1998, as cited in Burke and Mattis, 2005) added that selection committees often have a negative attitudes to female leaders due to stereotypes. For instance, females are deemed not to fit the organisational culture. Similarly, Soobrayan (1998) reported that females are stereotyped as less able to maintain discipline in schools than their male counterparts and hence are unsuitable for headship. Kagoda and Sperandio (2009, p. 54) quoted one female head describing remarks by a male head when she first attended a district head of school meeting "Are you now a man?" This implies that headship posts are still expected to be held by males in African society.

Role models and mentors at organisational level

A study shows that mentoring is very important for a new person in a post (Coleman, 2002). Mentoring may provide the inspiration to aspire for headship. Mulkeen (2006) reports that the availability of females in school, whether as normal teachers or heads of schools, is a crucial aspect in generating gender role models and mentors. Morley (2006) adds that females feel happy in the presence of female role models.

Nevertheless, Otieno (2001) observed that female teachers and students lack role models and mentors. It has also been observed that there are few female teachers and heads in rural schools who could be positive role models for female students in those areas. For instance, the United Republic of Tanzania (2012b) found that in some districts in Tanzania, like Meatu, only 28% of teachers were women – 40% of the 110 surveyed schools in Meatu did not have even one female teacher. This implies that female students lack role models and mentors, which affects their future careers and professions. Mulkeen (2006) added that the lack of role models is one of the reasons why fewer girls than boys enrol in primary schools in Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, the European Commission (2010) reported that women in leadership lack females above them to admire and inspire them to work hard towards acquiring the same positions as their male counterparts. Even females who obtain power are surrounded by males, making it hard for them to learn about leadership (Sperandio, 2011).

Apart from lacking role models and mentors, Shakeshaft (1993) says that women's lack of formal and informal networks at the institutional level locks them out of getting a job and obtaining promotional information compared to males. Furthermore, if women network with and are mentored by male leaders, it can be less productive and more difficult for junior women, who may be suspected of engaging sexually with their mentors (Bell et al., 2002).

Lack of support and encouragement

One of the reasons for female under-representation in school leadership is reported to be the lack of support from the family, society and institutions⁷ (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003; Chabaya et al., 2009; Reisser, 1988). Sperandio (2011) reports that females would rarely get family support if they opt to seek headship positions. Members of society or organisations believe that females may not be able to lead. As a consequence, they may be reluctant to support women who seek leadership roles. That is, following the socialisation of males that they should strive for power, females are encouraged less. Institutional systems are also blamed for denying support to females seeking headship. At the organisational level, males tend to undermine females and deny them the support they deserve (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). This is supported by Chabaya et al. (2009), who

⁷Bhalalusesa and Mboya (2003) argue that male school leaders usually take their wives' support for granted: females are expected to keep children quiet and create a conducive working environment for male leaders so that they can concentrate on their work, but not vice versa.

say that the education system does not prepare females for leadership by giving them different responsibilities, like being deputy or departmental head. Meyerson and Fletcher (1999) add that females lack organisational support to be involved in leadership. Furthermore, even those women who are leaders get less support from institutions and the leaders above them, which in turn could discourage other females from aspiring to be leaders. This is supported by Peters (2012), who discovered that female principals lack support from top leadership in terms of mentoring, human resources, pecuniary resources and time for implementation, which left them feeling inadequate and frustrated. Chisholm (2001) also found that the majority of black females felt unsupported by political heads in South Africa – the women spoke about being avoided by the political heads and being consistently undermined by the South African authorities.

Surprisingly, Gupton and Slick (1996) found that female teachers not only expect a lack of support and discouragement from males, but also from fellow females. Adding to this, Akuamoah-Boateng et al. (2003), in a study on *psychological barriers to female leadership, motivation and gravity* in Kenya and Tanzania, found that female leaders and colleagues discouraged female teachers who aspire to become leaders. They reported that female leaders did not support fellow hardworking females and did not like to see their friends flourishing. They reported further that female leaders would set much higher standards for female subordinates (and this may be perceived as a lack of support for them).

Interestingly, the researchers indicated that male leaders help and support female teachers, unlike female heads. For instance, Valerio (2009) noted that some males are very supportive of the development of talented females. In addition, Akuamoah-Boateng et al. (2003) observed that female teachers get more support from male leaders than from fellow females. This is in line with Coleman (2003a) and Grogan and Shakeshaft (2009), who observed that support for female teachers and the encouragement of colleagues and institutions to get into leadership had increased. Coleman (2002) found that the head teachers interviewed were reported to more likely support and encourage their female subordinates than males to develop their careers based on their gender-specific needs. However, Cubillo and Brown (2003) found women to be lacking peer support, specifically from the men, and this was observed to be due to patriarchy in the studied areas.

Apart from the support female teachers get at the organisational level, women have been observed to get support from their families and partners. For example, in her study done in South Africa, Moorosi (2007) found that older married women living without children had the support of their husbands. Furthermore, Raburu (2011) reported that those female teachers who progressed in their career smoothly were single, did not have children, or they had supportive husbands. Smith (2011) in her study discovered that the female head teachers interviewed reported to be supported by their partners. Coleman and Glover (2010) noted that there have been some changes, as a few married female leaders in education now share some family responsibilities with their partners. Some male partners play a crucial role in helping their wives to meet the demands of leadership. Visser (2011, p. 42) adds, “Young women who are successful in changing their inner beliefs to ‘we are partners in raising our children’ and ‘we share the right to self-development and career development’ no longer suffer from feelings of guilt and lead more balanced and happy lives”.

However, other scholars argue that female leaders have only minimal or no support from their male partners regarding home chores, while female teachers married to male heads of schools support their husbands in headship positions (Coleman, 2011; Coleman & Glover, 2010; Moorosi, 2010; Raburu, 2011). Moreover, the study on forms of spousal support for 29 female managers through interviews and written text in Finland observed that female leaders mostly need psychological support from their spouses, although they acknowledge the need of career assistance (Valimaki, Lamsa & Hiillos, 2010).

Sexual harassment and discrimination

Sexual harassment in an organisation is the improper use of authority. Gutek (1985) argues that sexual harassment is coercive and exploitative, and regards women as sex objects. Sexual harassment has been noted to be a serious problem at the workplace, despite the presence of laws against it. Other scholars have reported that “sexual harassment, a form of sex discrimination, is one manifestation of the larger problem of employment-related discrimination against women. It now appears obvious that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination” (Bell et al., 2002, p. 67). Cleveland (1994) reported that power plays a key role in sexual harassment. She said that leaders have the capacity to distribute rewards or punishments, and they make decisions about promotions. Sexual harassment by supervisors in an organisation is harmful to the individual and organisation by virtue of the positions of power they hold. Females may be denied a post as some male bosses may

use their titles to harass them (Bell et al., 2002). Women were occasionally reported to deliberately take low-paid jobs and/or remain with low qualifications (Kemp, 1994) so as to avoid sexual harassment by male co-workers associated with certain jobs and positions (Bell et al., 2002). This is supported by Cleveland (1994), who observed that women face discrimination and sexual harassment in the course of their careers. In her study in England, Coleman (2009) reported that half the female leader respondents had experienced sexism or discrimination during the process of their appointment and career. This is in line with Chabaya et al. (2009) and Insch, McIntyre and Napier (2008), who claim that women are discriminated against during the appointment process. This sexual harassment may contribute to the persistence of work-related sex segregation (Bell et al., 2002). The Australian Human Rights Commission (2008) observed that, despite having laws, sexual harassment has remained a problem in Australia. The report revealed that, of every five women, one has experienced sexual harassment at the workplace, and of every 20 men, one man has also experienced sexual harassment. This shows that more women are harassed than men.

Some qualified females may be discriminated against and prevented from getting top posts because of their sex. For instance, Coleman (2009) reports that one woman in her study was told that there was no post for which she could apply, because the top management had decided to give the advertised post to a man. Lange (1995, as cited in Shakeshaft et al., 2007) conducted a survey among 561 female leaders, 78% of whom reported having been sexually harassed by male colleagues who are in senior leadership positions. Recent statistics in Tanzania show that 35% of women and girls in Tanzania have experienced sexual abuse at school or in the workplace, and the perpetrators are men (*The Reporter*, 2013b). This is supported by Blasé and Blasé (2002), who noted that there is physical or verbal sexual mistreatment of school heads by the staff, which may sometimes put employees off from seeking to be leaders.

However, female heads have been observed to be very concerned about men who sexually harass female students and staff in their schools. For instance, a study done in Australia discovered that women are more sensitive than men to issues regarding unlawful sexual relationships with female students because of the stereotypical belief that females should nurture and protect children. In their study, they reported that female participants were much angrier than their male counterparts about teachers being involved in sexual relationships with students (Geddes, Tyson & McGreal, (2012). This is supported by

Wellman (1993), who found that females had stronger beliefs, attitudes and emotional responses to child sexual abuse than males.

Furthermore, people who have been harassed were reported not to make a formal complaint because of the perception that the behaviour is not serious enough to report, a lack of faith and the fear of being threatened by the harasser (The Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008). Bagilhole and Woodward's (1995) study in the UK made a similar observation of under-reporting and underestimation of the incidences of sexual harassment and its effect on women in the academic world. This is supported by the Department of Education (2004, p. 19) of the Republic of South Africa, which stated that "sexual harassment distresses the self-respect of the victim and in most cases sexual harassment is not reported, because people think that it is manifested only in the form of sexual advances". Furthermore, often no action is taken towards the harasser, although sometimes he would be warned by an officer or unofficial letter (Gutek, 1985).

2.4.5 Societal obstacles that hinder women from becoming leaders

The under-representation of females in leadership has a strong relationship with gender, leadership and society, because leadership is a culturally-bound practice (Dimmock & Walker, 2006). That is, the behaviour of males and females is shaped by the culture within a society that ascribes roles for men and women. This implies that society categorises male and female roles, which in turn creates opportunities for men and women to have access to different opportunities (Dimmock & Walker, 2006), such as involvement in leadership. These roles ascribed by society control females, while males are less controlled (Dimmock & Walker, 2006). In other words, women have less access to different opportunities, while men have many. It is true that females are regarded as home and family carers, while males are perceived and trained to be office workers, breadwinners and heads of families.

Women are discouraged from being leaders and so obstacles are placed in their way by society because of the culture that hinders women from becoming leaders. These hurdles are the consequence of outdated beliefs about women's roles (Onsong, 2004). Society stereotypes females from a cultural perspective and assumes that the highest decision-making positions are for males (Onsong, 2004). Cubillo and Brown (2003) add that stereotype, social and cultural expectations devalue women. Society tends to classify females as inferior and being supposed to take low posts, implying that they are incapable

of being heads (Amondi, 2011). This perception affects the minds of people in organisations. Onsongo (2004, p. 49) reported: “The gendered-based roles even though irrelevant to the workplace are carried into the workplace.” That is, society’s perceptions are also present in organisations. Society may play a major role in female under-representation in school leadership if it does not value their roles and achievements. To confirm this, Sperandio (2011) conducted a study in an Islamic society in Bangladesh and discovered that society discourages women from gaining higher education qualifications or participating in employment. She claims that women with degrees who have a desire to work face problems obtaining leadership positions in government schools. This is supported by Onsongo (2004), who says that religion has a major effect on the placement of females in inferior roles, which in turn prevents females from taking part in decision making.

Other studies assert that females have been socialised to be mothers, dependent and submissive, while males have been socialised to be strong, independent, breadwinners, household decision makers and executives (French & Sheridan, 2009; Kanter, 1977; McDowell & Pringle, 1992; Oakley, 2000). Cultural patterns, like the distribution of housework, education and the choice of one’s future life, ascribed to males and females affect the composition of gender in leadership positions (Hojgaard, 2002). This implies that early upbringing makes girls and boys perform and behave differently. Girls will behave more femininely, while boys will express their masculinity – so that this socialisation is bound to keep females in the inferior position of being dominated by males (Otieno, 2001). Therefore, it is my assumption that there are few women in leadership positions in Tanzania because of socialisation and the hegemonic culture, which does not value females’ contribution.

Society’s expectations of girls’ education

Societies have different expectations of males and females, and social roles based on sex are set from childhood, hence males and females are supposed to adopt these gendered systems as part of their socialisation into their traditions (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Parents may have different prospects for their daughters. For example, Butt, Mackenzie and Manning (2010) report that parents have higher expectations of their sons than their daughters, and boys are encouraged to study hard while females are expected to perform domestic tasks well. Parents would deny females educational opportunities using the excuse of lack of funds (Herman, 2009). It has been observed that this preference

influences children in terms of acquiring leadership positions in the future (Chabaya et al., 2009).

Furthermore, Mlama's (2005) findings show that negative cultural values and practices that nurture premature pregnancy, early marriage and extreme domestic chores and ignore the necessity of girls' education are factors for gender discrimination and disparity in education and leadership. For instance, the cultural expectation of females in Kenyan society is to get married at an early age, bring up a family and do household tasks (Mlama, 2005). Similarly, Johnson's (2011) study in Tanzania observed that women expressed their desire to get married because of the cultural role they are expected to play in society. Tanzanian society expects females to get married at an early age to avoid unwanted pregnancies (*The Reporter*, 2011). This is evident from the data of the United Republic of Tanzania (2010a), which shows that, between 2004 and 2008, a total of 28 590 female students in Tanzania dropped out of school due to unwanted pregnancies, 11 599 being secondary school students and 16 991 primary school students. In 2012, however, only 5 157 female students dropped out of school due to pregnancy, some of whom were impregnated by their teachers (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012a). This may discourage parents from continuing to educate girls, which in turn may affect the participation of females in leadership, as few would be able to get a qualification, unlike males. Similarly, Makoye (2013) observed that a young girl (15 years) was forced by her father to get married to a much older man and leave school (primary level), because of the bride price he received to resolve his financial problems. This implies that the dreams and expectations of many girls are diminished by society, as it perceives daughters as financial assets. Such early marriage is also encouraged by law in Tanzania. The Tanzanian Law of Marriage Act of 1971, section 13 (1), states that the minimum age for girls to get married is 15 and for boys it is 18, but section 13(2) states that a court may give permission for a girl as young as 14 years to get married (United Republic of Tanzania, 1971). This implies that many girls get married at a young age and few are educated and qualify for leadership posts. However, society has a different perception of those few females who are in leadership, as discussed below.

Societal perception of female heads of schools

Women's abilities are overlooked, as societies perceive females negatively (Obura, 1991). Studies show that women are perceived to be less able than men to make decisions (Belen & Bose, 1995; Chabaya et al., 2009; Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001; Ruijs, 1993; Sedyono, 1998).

Furthermore, Shakeshaft et al. (2007) add that females are perceived as weak leaders in certain areas such as discipline and mechanically related issues, as they are not strong enough biologically to undertake tough jobs. Females are perceived to be emotional, passive, weak and lacking leadership features like decisiveness, commitment and curiosity (Korchek & Reese, 2002; Mascarenhas, 2007; Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001; Ouston, 1993). Moreover, Kabaka's (2002) study in Tanzania found that female heads of schools were perceived to be passive in handling situations, while males were perceived as more direct and active. Males are perceived as stable when dealing with a difficult situation, while females in a similar situation are perceived to be stubborn. Makura (2009) also found in his study that female heads were perceived negatively by the staff, as some old, experienced and less qualified teachers were jealous of their female leaders and thus would apply all kinds of tactics to frustrate them. Coleman (2009) attributes this view to the institutionalised patriarchal system that perceives females as unable to lead.

However, AL-Mahrouqi (2010) observed in a study that the majority of the respondents perceived female leaders in the same way as males. It is my opinion that different societies have different perceptions of female leaders, but females may be perceived negatively because of culture and the patriarchal system, especially in African countries.

Societal perception of the rapport between female heads and the school community

The relationship between heads of schools and the society around is crucial for achieving school goals. Sowell (2001) argues that members of society, like parents, are important for the success of the school. In this context, building a friendly relationship with them is required for the smooth implementation of school programmes and the acceptability of their leadership. MANTEP (1995) asserts that schools are an integral part of the community. The head of school as a member of the school community and professional educator has to build a good relationship with all members of the community for her/his leadership to be acceptable (Raubinger et al., 1974). Allen (2010) asserts that a country like the UK recognises the importance of this relationship, to the extent that it has a national policy on the relationship between the community and schools.

Furthermore, Lundholm (2003) argues that the involvement of the school community in the education process enables the creation of a climate that increases the motivation of members, leading to an improvement in academic achievement. Moreover, the school is an important agent for change. Thus, the head of school is supposed to relate the school to

the external world, which includes parents, non-governmental and governmental organisations, community-based organisations and the whole society. Green suggests that the head of the school should create a friendly and welcoming environment for the parents. For example, he argues that a friendly school is depicted by notices that read: “Welcome parents, this is your school” (Green, 1968, p. 67). Therefore, the heads of schools and the school community as a whole are responsible for receiving parents positively and resolving their problems to avoid losing their respect. In this respect, Collings (1991) suggests that, for a good relationship, parents should be informed of any major changes in the school thorough a monthly newsletter and occasional formal letters.

Concerning the actual relationship between female heads and school communities, Makura (2009) found that parents in Zimbabwe did not have a good relationship with female heads and so they failed to cooperate with them, sometimes by refusing to attend meetings and transferring their children to male-headed schools. Cheruto and Kyalo (2010) reported that head teachers had conflicts with parents, as some parents refused to contribute funds to supplement the government budget because they thought that education was free. In addition, in his study in Turkey, Celikten (2009) discovered through interviews that female leaders are not favoured by parents and are less respected and valued by them. The poor relationship with female heads was also observed by staff with female heads. For instance, Makura (2009) reported that female heads of schools were short-tempered, less tolerant and acted on rumours that caused subordinates to have a cold relationship with their leaders. Some female heads of schools would experience friction with some of their subordinates because of being keen to maintain the school routine and watching teachers to see what they were doing (Makura, 2009).

On the other hand, Ouston (1993) argues that parents are more favourably disposed to schools run by women and thus more involved in school life than in schools run by men. Becker, Ayman and Korabic (2002) agree that female heads of schools have a good relationship with the school community and staff. Women are stronger, hard-working and cooperate with parents, particularly today when, schools are facing a multitude of social problems like HIV/AIDS (Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009). Furthermore, Addi-Raccach (2006) revealed that women heads of schools are more friendly and create a school environment that is welcoming. Mero’s (2009) study in Tanzania discovered that there was a very close relationship between teachers and female head teachers, who considered individual needs, were encouraging and offered opportunities for personal growth. This has an impact on

the relationship between female leaders and their subordinates, and hence may lead them to accept their leadership or not (Mero, 2009). The way in which females lead, build a relationship with the community or delegate power may affect other people in a positive or negative way in terms of participating in leadership. However, due to the lack of education and exposure, some members of the community surrounding rural schools may perceive an effective leader to be the one who knows all the answers and runs the school alone, without seeking advice or involving parents, which is contrary to the stipulated nature of female headship. Therefore, a good relationship with the school's community may put women in a position where their leadership is accepted, motivates other females to participate in leadership and helps to change society's negative perception of female leadership.

Society's culture and beliefs

Female heads of schools are observed to face the challenge of coping with culture and religion when posted to a new environment (Mulkeen, 2005). Moreover, researchers have observed that some teachers and heads of schools are afraid of working in certain areas in Tanzania because of witchcraft threats from students and parents, especially when they discipline the students (*The Reporter*, 2012). Pelgrim (2003), in her study in South Africa, found that witchcraft is a threat to people. She further reported that the number of cases relating to witchcraft in South Africa have been increasing, from an estimated 500 to 1 300 per year from 1990 to 2001. Due to witchcraft, some teachers in parts of Tanzania leave their work for fear of being bewitched (*The Reporter*, 2012).

2.4.6 Challenges facing women who are in leadership

This section presents the challenges facing female heads of schools. The challenges observed in the literature were misunderstandings with husbands, balancing multiple roles, disciplining misbehaving teachers and students, and running schools with insufficient resources, as presented below.

Misunderstandings with husbands

Some females have been observed by researchers in Kenya not to have the consent of their husbands and spouses to be heads of schools on personal grounds (Chisikwa, 2010). That is to say that spouses have a major influence in relation to the imbalance of gender in school leadership. Some female heads reported choosing demotion because of family quarrels (Chisikwa, 2010). Similarly, Onsongo (2004) did a study in Kenya on factors

affecting women's participation in university management, using the feminist theory and questionnaire method, and found that some female leaders in her study were misunderstood by their husbands, who did not appreciate the demands of leadership. This was also observed by Chabaya et al. (2009) in their study on factors that impede the advancement of women in leadership positions in primary schools in Zimbabwe through interviews. In Tanzania, Muro (2003) reported that women participating in leadership threaten their husbands, who think they will be controlled by females if they are in decision-making positions.

Balancing multiple roles

Studies have observed that women in educational leadership have multiple roles of balancing family and office responsibilities (Burke & Mattis, 2005; Chabaya et al., 2009; Coleman, 2002; 2009; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Moorosi, 2007; 2010; Reisser, 1988; Ruijs, 1993). Consequently, many women who apply for leadership positions are regarded as unsuitable by employers for fear that they might not balance home and office tasks. Sanda and Sackey (2010) found that employed married females faced the challenge of having many responsibilities that limited their professional development. Hence, they observed that some females who opt for leadership sometimes have to sacrifice having children. Performing both headship roles and caring for children, as reported by Coleman (2009), leads women to choose which role to prioritise. Coleman (2009) observed that almost a third of young female head teachers in her study had no children, while 90% of male head teachers had children. Coleman (2002) further observed that women leaders face the challenge of balancing school and family responsibilities and hence are less likely to marry, and when they do their marriage breaks down. Moreover, it has been observed that unmarried female leaders without children have more time to attend to school matters without the pressure of setting aside sufficient time for the family (Ruijs, 1993). The same was observed by Bhalalusea and Mboya (2003), who suggested that society should be educated to appreciate the dual roles played by female leaders and understand that women needs support.

However, Coleman (2009) noted that even male heads who are widowed or have ill wives face the challenge of balancing the same multiple roles. In her study, Smith (2011) revealed that head teachers have skills of balancing office and family work well for a happy working life. Apart from balancing multiple roles, female heads also face the challenge of disciplining teachers and students, as presented below.

Challenge of disciplining misbehaving teachers

Female heads face the challenge of dealing with staff who misbehave, as they are perceived to be lacking in confidence in dealing with them because of entrenched patriarchy (Kabaka, 2002). This is supported by Mwamasangula (2006), who observed that female heads face the challenge of confronting teachers, especially if the school is dominated by male teachers who restrain other female teachers from becoming school leaders.

It has been noted globally that some male educators and lecturers are guilty of sexually harassing female students in schools and universities (Jones, Moore, Villar-Marques & Broadbent, 2008; Mulkeen, Chapman & DeJaeghere, 2004; Samuel & Stephens, 2000; Timmerman, 2003). It may be a challenge for female leaders to discipline such staff. Male teachers in schools have been observed to be the culprits, either explicitly or implicitly, by promising better marks, cash or dating relationships with female students (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Timmerman (2003) put it that it has become common nowadays to hear, read or view news of teachers who have been accused of impregnating students. Female heads have been observed to find it more challenging to deal with those teachers than male teachers, as Kabaka (2002) reported that female heads of school have challenging work dealing with the teachers who treat female students as their wives. This, in turn, may discourage other women from being involved in leadership. This view is supported by Abuya, Onsomu, Moore and Sagwe (2012), who did a study on sexual harassment and violence against girls attending high schools in urban slums in Nairobi, Kenya. Sometimes female students were tempted in various ways and entered into sexual relationships with such teachers, without thinking of the implications (Abuya et al., 2012). Majani (2010) reports that, as a result of these acts, female students, who are the victims, cannot concentrate on their studies. This suggests that the vision of many females of becoming future teachers and leaders is made impossible, and this is likely to get worse unless the deep-rooted cause of the problem is dealt with immediately and sustainably. Female head teachers not only face the challenge of disciplining male teachers, but also of disciplining misbehaving students.

Challenge of disciplining misbehaving students

Studies have observed that it is common nowadays to find students misbehaving in schools (Cheruto & Kyalo, 2010; Towse, Kent, Osaki & Kirua, 2002). Hungi (2011) reported that, in SACMEQ countries, pupils' common forms of misbehaviour reported by head teachers

were arriving late at school, absenteeism and skipping classes. This is in line with the United Republic of Tanzania (2011a), which found that 55 267 students truanted from secondary school in Tanzania. Some students are reported to beat or stab teachers with knives due to the lack of discipline, fuelled by drug abuse and globalisation, and less fear and respect for female leaders and teachers (*The Reporter*, 2012). Surprisingly, some misbehaving students in Tanzania have been observed to rape women teachers, kissing them forcibly in public and burning the head of school's house (*The Reporter*, 2013a). This is reported to scare female heads and teachers, causing them to fear disciplining those students (*The Reporter*, 2013a). Furthermore, *The Reporter* (2012) states that students in the Shinyanga Region in Tanzania recently targeted their teachers, especially female teachers, with sling-shots and catapults if they followed their movements closely. This was reported to frighten female teachers, discouraging them from being involved in leadership (Mwangoka, 2013). Towse et al. (2002) write that children are apparently getting out of control and are becoming too challenging to deal with. In this situation, female teachers may not be prepared to be leaders, as they may be scared of dealing with those children.

Students' misbehaviour in school has its roots in the family background or the surrounding society (Blandford, 1998). That is, society may socialise boys not to fear women, whether they are heads of schools or their mothers. This implies that heads of schools may lack support from society when disciplining students, which eventually may discourage women from being involved in leadership, as they experience the challenges female heads face. This is supported by Bhalalusesa and Mboya (2003), who observed that it was a major challenge for female heads of schools to deal with these misbehaving teachers, as they lack support due to the patriarchal system.

However, in Tanzania there is a discipline committee for dealing with teachers and students. For students, school boards deal with misbehaving students, while for teachers, the MoEVT and the Teachers Service Commission deal with disciplining teachers after being advised by school boards (United Republic of Tanzania, 2004). School boards get information about misbehaving teachers from the heads of schools after they have warned the teachers and if the behaviour persists. Through this process, female heads may still be perceived negatively and face a challenge because of the culture and prejudice against female leaders.

Challenge of running schools with insufficient resources

Schools were reported to be run under difficult conditions in terms of financial resources. Schools lack offices for teachers, and money to buy chalk, books and office materials (Oluoch, 2006). This is supported by a study in Kenya by Wangui (2012), who reported that some heads of school interviewed lamented the problem of finance in rural schools. Such heads face a hard time getting money to attend meetings or seminars. Moreover, Cheruto and Kyalo (2010, p. 75) add that “head teachers identified delay in releasing funds by the government as a major challenge; this makes it very difficult for them to project and plan ahead”. This situation may lead posted female teachers and heads of school to reject the posts and eventually there would be few female heads in secondary schools. In Tanzania, for example, the government (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b), based on the SEDP II report, provided a capitation grant of Tanzanian Shillings 20 223 591 000 (equivalent to 7 422 720.8 GBP) to all government schools for teaching and learning materials per year. This money is not enough and sometimes there is a delay in it reaching schools, as observed by HakiElimu (2011). Similar findings were found by Alhazmi (2010) in Saudi Arabia, namely that there is a shortage of financial resources provided by the ministry of education to schools, so much so that some female heads complained of having to use their salary to pay for maintenance or to cover shortfalls, which annoys them. However, corruption was a problem in Saudi Arabia, as the government provided a huge budget for the ministry of education, but some respondents reported that no-one knows where the money goes (Alhazmi, (2010). Wangui (2012) made a similar finding on inadequate funds in Kenya. Therefore, this may demotivate teachers to aspire to be leaders, and it is worse for the few females who are in leadership positions.

2.5 Empirical studies on Tanzania’s educational leadership

Bosu, Dare, Dachi and Fertig (2011) did a comparative study in Tanzania and Ghana on school leadership and social justice. Damian’s (2003) study on the leadership behaviour of head teachers in managing schools revealed that the head teachers were warm in managing schools and encouraged consultation between staff and pupils and between schools and parents. Head teachers were viewed as being facilitators in coordinating all the activities undertaken in the school. This was revealed by the head teachers’ efforts of holding meetings with staff, committee members and parents. Temu (1995), on the other hand, studied leadership styles, teamwork and the implementation of school projects in primary and secondary schools. He revealed that school heads in successful schools had confidence in the teachers, supported staff and students and welcomed constructive criticism in

meetings. Furthermore, Msolla (1993) assessed the administrative skills and knowledge of heads of schools in Tanzania. He reported that, apart from professional qualifications, the heads needed leadership skills to enable them to perform school activities effectively. Mero (2009), on his part, undertook a study on the influence of leadership styles on teachers' performance in primary schools and claimed that head teachers used all three types of leadership styles to a varying extent: democratic, autocratic and laissez faire. Moreover, Mwamasangula's (2006) inquiry into the low participation rate of female students in advanced-level secondary schools in the Coastal region in Tanzania found that there still was gender inequality in advanced-level secondary schools, with parents and teachers giving priority in education to male students. He found that society as a whole contributed to gender inequality in advanced-level secondary schools.

About females in leadership in particular, Bhalalusesa and Mboya's (2003) study on female and male participation in educational management and leadership reported that both women and men who already were in senior managerial positions displayed high levels of motivation and commitment to their jobs, and worked extremely long hours. Furthermore, Kabaka (2002) studied teachers' perceptions of ideal educational leadership with a gender perspective in secondary schools. She concluded that teachers conceived an ideal leader to be a person who sacrifices his/her interests for national gain. A study by Bandiho (2009) focused on the status of women with the potential for educational leadership in secondary schools and universities and found that women are under-represented in educational leadership from the secondary to university level. Overall, none of these studies focused on the issue of under-representation of women in senior leadership in rural CSSs that this study set out to address.

2.6 Conceptual framework

A survey of the empirical literature and literature based on theories of women and educational leadership informed the study in developing a conceptual framework to guide the tracing of the issues influencing women's under-representation in community secondary school senior leadership in Tanzania. That is, from the insights of the theories and the literature review, the researcher developed a framework for the phenomenon, as summarised in Figure 6.

The conceptual framework summarises the assumed issues of female under-representation in community secondary school senior leadership positions. The framework shows that

there is a causal interaction between individual, organisational and societal levels influencing female under-representation in leadership positions. It is conceptualised that these levels are interdependent and may influence female under-representation in leadership, as indicated in Figure 6. Therefore, this framework informs the present study by scrutinising these general tenets of the theory to determine which ones (among them) are applicable as far as female under-representation in community secondary school senior leadership in Tanzania is concerned. Below I present the detailed assumptions based on the individual, organisational and societal levels.

Individual level

The literature and theories have shown that women are under-represented in school leadership due to inappropriate traits resulting from socialisation (Fagenson, 1990a). This study assumed that socialisation shapes women's identities, which affect their behaviour throughout their lives. Women's behaviour as ascribed by society may put them in fewer valuable posts, which has serious implication for their future career. The lack of aspiration for power is one of the individual dimensions of interest in this study. The literature revealed that most women do not aspire to become leaders and sometimes may reject or be unwilling to take up leadership posts. One example is that they are unwilling to become department heads or accept other academic leadership positions, probably because of cultural impacts and an inferiority complex among women, or because of their socialisation to receive orders. Moreover, it is my assumption that women may not want to move beyond what they are qualified to do in relation to their level of education. Therefore, the study assumes that the lack of willingness by women to develop a career may be among the reasons for women's under-representation in community secondary school leadership in Tanzania, as they may lack the required qualifications for promotion, as documented in other countries. The literature also shows that women are more committed to family chores than office work. In this regard, family chores sometimes may bar women from being recommended for leadership positions by their school heads, who may assume that female teachers are less motivated to be leaders. It is my assumption that there must be other reasons why women reject leadership posts in the Tanzanian context.

Organisational level

The literature and theories have also shown that women's under-representation in leadership in CSSs is also influenced by organisational factors. The theories and literature show that organisations may put women in disadvantageous posts. It is my assumption that

the process used in Tanzania for recommending and appointing heads of schools might be more discriminatory, with a greater risk of gender bias than in other countries, which base their appointments for the post on interviews in a more transparent process. It was also interesting to confirm how realistic this assumption is in the context of the senior leadership of CSSs in Tanzania.

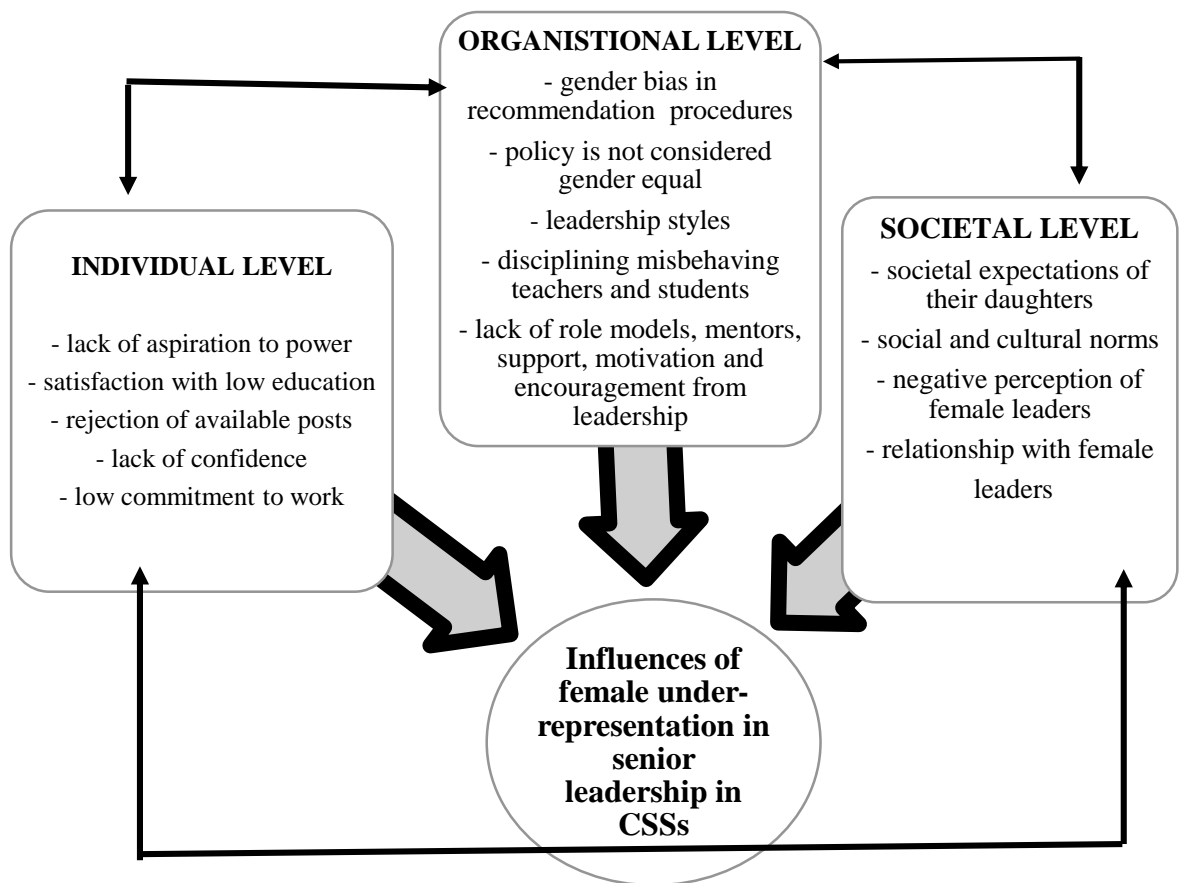


Figure 6. Conceptual framework for female under-representation in community secondary school senior leadership

With regard to the Tanzania's Education and Training Policy (ETP), the working documents have shown different policies in the country that have stipulated gender equality in all sectors (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995a), but there is no policy to ensure gender balance in secondary school leadership. Therefore, this study assumed that this organisational glass ceiling of a lack of a gender policy in appointing heads in secondary schools might be among the factors for female under-representation in community secondary school leadership.

The review has further indicated that most female leaders use the transformational and participatory style of leadership. My assumption was that, if this style of leadership were to be used by female leaders, it might encourage other female teachers to aspire to be leaders or the surrounding society to encourage women to participate in leadership, as it is more relational. It therefore was very interesting for this study to refute or confirm this assumption. Likewise, disciplining misbehaving teachers and students is also assumed by this study to be a hurdle to women's aspiration to leadership positions. This study assumed that women may face the challenge of dealing with stubborn students and male teachers who do not acknowledge the presence of female leadership. The study thus scrutinised these factors to see how they explain the under-representation of women in community secondary school leadership in Tanzania. Moreover, this study assumed that, at the organisational level, females are less encouraged to develop their career and participate in leadership by their heads and subordinates. Moreover, the literature revealed that the under-representation of women in school leadership is caused by the lack of role models. That is, most female students and teachers in community secondary schools might be lacking role models and mentors who could boost their morale and help them work towards becoming heads of schools. The study thus focused on testing whether this factor also featured in the under-representation of women in community secondary school senior leadership.

Societal level

Due to the community's perception, parents might discourage their daughters from getting an education and becoming leaders. The community might have different aspirations for their daughters (to get married, be homemakers and good listeners and obey males, regardless of their age). Furthermore, the literature also revealed that the community's perception of female leadership may cause women's under-representation in school senior leadership. Society might have negative perceptions of female leaders based on their culture and norms, which eventually might discourage other women from aspiring to leadership positions. This is because many cultures in Africa (Tanzania included) still perceive female leaders negatively and are not prepared to accept female leadership (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). Moreover, the nature of the relationship (bad or good) with school heads and the community might encourage or discourage other women from aspiring to leadership positions. It therefore was interesting to scrutinise these factors to find out which ones applied in this study's area of focus in Tanzania.

2.7 Chapter summary

This chapter reviewed the literature on female under-representation in leadership according to the main research questions of the study. The literature reviewed indicated that women are under-represented in leadership positions globally (Norris & Inglehart, 2000). The review also revealed that the hindrances to women reaching top positions are divided into three main parts: individual, organisational and societal. The literature showed that, to some extent, women cause their under-representation in leadership position (Shakeshaft, 1989) by being submissive, less confident, less aggressive and paying more attention to their family than their career, which is a result of socialisation (Fagenson, 1990a). The review shows that women reject posts at the school level that could have given them experience for top leadership (Limerick & Anderson, 1999). Women's lack of confidence in dealing with students was also found to be an internal barrier. Balancing multiple roles, i.e. office work and family chores, was also revealed to be a major barrier to females aspiring to leadership positions.

Organisational barriers leading to female under-representation include biased promotional procedures, lack of support from those in power, lack of networking, favouritism and informal rules and regulations, which favour males when it comes to promotion. Also, the review indicates that female teachers lack role models and mentors who would have encouraged them to work towards becoming heads. The review further revealed that female teachers and leaders are harassed by the top leadership of organisations whenever they seek leadership posts. This tendency was revealed to be fuelled by patriarchal beliefs that a good leader is always a man. This perspective suggests that women may be suited to jobs with little power in institutions and society (Kanter, 1977). The review revealed that women and men differ in their leadership styles and abilities. Men are reported to be task oriented and authoritative, while women are more participatory and relationship oriented. Furthermore, the review showed that females are blocked from reaching the top by societal aspirations and expectations that portray them as wives and mothers.

Above all, the review focused on the relevant theories that guided the study of the under-representation of women in leadership positions in CSSs. The study thus reviewed transformational leadership theory, liberal feminist theory and the GOS approach. Transformational leadership theory provides an understanding of the nature of the leadership used by female leaders, while liberal feminist theory gives a deeper understanding of gender inequality in leadership in CSSs. On the other hand, the GOS

approach was the main approach used to explain the factors leading to women's under-representation in leadership as a result of the interaction between the individuals, the organisation and society. That is to say, the under-representation of women in senior leadership in CSSs is assumed to be due to individual, societal and organisational factors.

The review also informed the present study about previous studies on female leadership and the gap that the study could bridge. In this regard, the literature showed that women are under-represented in top leadership positions in Africa, and in Tanzania in particular. No study on female under-representation in school leadership positions has been carried out in CSSs in Tanzania, either in rural or urban areas. The lack of leadership studies on female under-representation in senior leadership implies that society lacks knowledge about women in leadership in CSSs in Tanzania. Methodologically, most studies done in other countries did not apply the theories and approaches used here (transformational leadership theory, liberal feminist theory and GOS) in order to gain an understanding of female under-representation in leadership positions. This study not only operates at the school level, but covers the broader district and regional level, while previous studies conducted in other countries were based mainly on the school level. Furthermore, few of the previous studies carried out in developed and developing countries used the mixed methods approach, or used different techniques for collecting data, as this study did. This study used the mixed methods approach (qualitative and quantitative approaches), as well as interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions (FGD) as instruments for collecting data to discover the possible influences of women's under-representation in senior leadership positions in rural CSSs. This approach helped to elucidate, verify and validate the influences of female under-representation in school leadership positions, which was not done in most of the reviewed studies. In brief, there is a gap in the knowledge of what contributes to female under-representation in community secondary school leadership in Tanzania, which this study bridges.

Different methods were used in order to explore the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. Therefore, the next chapter describes the methodology for exploring issues that influence female under-representation in CSS leadership positions by using the constructivist philosophical perspective, based on an interpretive paradigm and the mixed methods approach. The qualitative approach was employed mostly, through interviews and FGDs, as well as the quantitative approach, through the questionnaire method to triangulate the findings.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study set out to investigate the issues that influence female under-representation in senior leadership positions in community secondary schools in rural Tanzania. To achieve this aim, this chapter discusses the research methodology that guided the study. The chapter describes the research ontology and epistemology underpinning the study, as well as the underlying theoretical perspective and methodology. Likewise, sampling techniques and sample size are discussed. Similarly, the chapter discusses the procedures for data collection, the rationale for using them and the approach to data analysis. Trustworthiness, validity and triangulation of the study, ethical issues and the limitations of the study are also covered. The research design and application aimed to address the following research questions:

1. What factors contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs?
2. How do members of the school community perceive female heads of schools and how does this affect other women participating in senior leadership positions in CSSs?
3. What challenges face current female heads of schools and how do they deter other potential female teachers from participating in senior leadership positions in CSSs?

3.2 Ontology and epistemology of the study

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) assert that there are diverse ways of viewing social reality that is constructed and interpreted in various ways. There are covert and overt assumptions concerning social reality, and the key considerations here are ontology and epistemology (Cohen et al., 2011), as discussed in subsequent sections.

3.2.1 Ontological assumptions

Ontology is concerned with the nature and essence of investigated phenomena in the social world as a researcher questions whether the social reality is external, independent and objectively real to the individual, or whether it is socially constructed or subjectively experienced as a result of human thinking (Sikes, 2004). The former, external and objective, approach is a 'realist' ontological assumption, while the latter is socially constructed and the approach to the subject is considered a 'nominalist' assumption (Cohen

et al., 2011). Ontologically, this study set out to gain an understanding of the social reality concerning the issues influencing female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. Therefore, the study could be appropriately described as adopting a nominalist approach.

Nominalist ontological assumptions guide the design and data collection approaches used in the study to obtain valid information (Sikes, 2004). A nominalist position assumes that social reality is a result of the human mind and consciousness (Crotty, 1998). This drives the decision within the methodology to pursue an interpretive paradigm (see section 3.2.4) and the constructivist philosophical perspective, which is concerned with how people look at the universe and make sense of it through knowledge construction (Crotty, 1998). This study is underpinned by the assumption that the social reality concerning female under-representation in school leadership is subjective and has multiple realities for individuals and between individuals that are the results of human thinking (Crotty, 1998).

3.2.2 Epistemological assumptions

Epistemology is concerned with asking “how we know what we know” and it deals with the nature of knowledge (Crotty, 1998, p. 8). Epistemology involves assessing the relationship between an investigator and what is investigated. Stanley defines epistemology as a theory of knowledge that asks questions like “who can be a knower? What can be known? What constitutes and validates knowledge? What is or should be the relationship between knowing and being? (that is epistemology and ontology)” (Stanley, 1990, p. 26). The epistemology used in this study was constructionism. Crotty (1998, p. 42) argues that constructionism is about viewing “all knowledge, and therefore all meaning and reality as such is contingent upon human practices being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their worlds, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context”.

In this study, knowledge and meaning concerning the influences of female under-representation in school leadership were constructed and not discovered. This was because I believe that the true knowledge about female under-representation in senior leadership is one that is constructed by research participants as they live in the world with which they interact (Crotty, 1998). That is to say, different participants in my study constructed meaning in different ways from the same phenomenon (Crotty, 1998). Constructivism was important to this study, as knowledge was constructed in the context by different

participants, based on the factors that cause women not to participate in senior leadership, on school community members' perceptions of female heads and the challenges female leaders face, and how they hinder other females from participating in senior leadership. This is based on the assumption that leadership phenomena are subject to multiple realities, in terms of which participants "understand reality in different ways that reflect individual perspectives" (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2013, p. 92). Researchers focus on testing their findings against various groups of participants who provided the data (Krefting, 1991). Therefore, the aim was to find out whether or not the participants agreed with a single phenomenon and would give various interpretations. This study therefore constructed knowledge based on the feminist perspective.

3.2.3 Feminist perspective on knowledge and research

As noted in Chapter Two, this study constructed knowledge based on the liberal feminist theory, the GOS approach and transformational leadership theory. The focus was on issues influencing female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs, and so women were the main focus of the study. In this regard, Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002) argue that feminist research is research conducted by women, for women and about women, and that the emergent knowledge is constructed through a discussion of perception and experience, that is to say it is socially constructed. This study is located in feminist research, as it positions women as the focal point of the research and data collection, and is also based on the assumption that social reality and knowledge concerning women is socially constructed (Punch, 2000).

Feminist research is not only concerned with observing social reality, but also with changing women's lives (Westmarland (2001). Moreover, Maynard and Purvis (1994, p. 23) argue that: "One of the driving forces of feminism was to challenge the passivity, subordination and silencing of females. This can be achieved by encouraging females to speak out about their own condition so as to confront the experts and dominant males with the limitations of their own knowledge and comprehension."

The rationale for dealing with female issues in this study was to find out why females are under-represented in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. Stanley and Wise (1993) note that research findings on men are normally generalised to both men and women. The aim of feminist research is to deal with the gendered nature of experience of the phenomenon (McAndrew & Warne, 2005). However, Stanley and Wise (1983) argue

that, in studying females separately, feminist work may be seen to have no implications for the rest of the social sciences. Other researchers suggest that gender implies women's relationship with men, and thus males should also be included in feminist research (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). This is supported by Maynard, who argues that there is a need to include males in feminist research in any investigation into understanding how women's experiences are structured by the males' world, even though the observation is made from the female perspective (Maynard, 1994). The experience of social reality relating to females in leadership involves both males and females, which supports the notion that there is no separate truth for only females or males (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Therefore, this study includes both males and females to gain an understanding of female under-representation in school senior leadership. The study believes that there is no single fact that can be discovered only through women's experiences, but instead, assumes that the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership are multiple and present in the minds of both males and females. Hence the study was conducted in the school environment, where information was gathered from both males and females. In the view of this study, males and females have different experiences and perceptions of women in leadership in an arguably patriarchal society. Males' contribution was valued as a means of exploring underlying dominant values and the perspectives of both males and females involved in contexts affecting female participation in, and access to, leadership roles. Consequently, knowledge was constructed through males' and females' experiences of their lived environment.

Feminist research also advocates that a relationship be established between the researcher and the respondents (Harding, 1987). That is, the methods used to collect data in this study regarded participants as part of the research and not simply as a source of data. In feminist research, the involvement of the interviewee is very important in establishing trust and thus obtaining good quality data (Maynard, 1994). Stanley (1990) argues that feminists can use any methods to investigate the condition of females in a sexist society. Therefore there is no one set of methods in feminist research. Feminist research is based on the assumption that the world is socially constructed (Punch, 2000). Feminist research methods are generally described as interpretive. This research mainly used the qualitative approach through interviews and FGDs, hence adopting the interpretive paradigm.

3.2.4 Research paradigm

A paradigm is defined in relation to how research could be affected and guided by a certain pattern. As Weaver and Olson (2006, p. 460) state, “paradigms are patterns of beliefs and practices that regulate inquiry within a discipline by providing lenses, frames and processes through which investigation is accomplished”. Therefore, to structure the investigation and state what methodology to adopt, an exploration of the paradigm adopted for this study is discussed before a discussion about the methodology applied. In this study the interpretive paradigm was used. The interpretive paradigm maintains that social realities are based on the participants’ personal interpretation (Crotty, 1998). It argues that social realities exist in a social context, and gaining an understanding of the behaviour of individuals may not necessarily come through numbers (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007; Pather & Remey, 2004). Based on an interpretive approach, this study believes that understanding social reality concerning female under-representation in leadership positions in CSSs is informed by the perspectives of the participants. Thus, meanings are constructed by the participants “as they engage with the world they are interpreting” (Crotty, 1998, p. 43). Therefore I believe in multiple realities when searching for the truth about the influences of female under-representation in school leadership.

Through the interpretive paradigm, the study focuses on the participants’ actions, beliefs and perceptions and how they interpret meaning in relation to female under-representation in senior leadership (Cohen et al., 2007). In this interpretive study, the feelings, viewpoints and experiences of the participants in the research are appreciated as researchable data (Verma & Mallick, 1999). This is supported by Burton and Bartlett (2009, p. 21), who argue that “the interpretivist prefers more ‘naturalistic’ forms of data collection and often includes detailed descriptions to give a ‘feeling’ of the environment”. Consequently, in this study, interviews and FGDs were conducted and the data shows the perceptions and feelings of the female participants concerning the challenges they face in rural areas and how the patriarchal system affects their participation in leadership. The interpretive paradigm also helps gain an understanding of the phenomenon in its complexity in a real socio-cultural environment (Flick, 2009). Oduro (2003) argues that the interpretive paradigm is also sensitive to context in understanding a phenomenon in all its complexity and within a particular situation and environment. Therefore, this paradigm is linked to the wider theoretical frameworks used in the study (transformational leadership theory, GOS and liberal feminism) as information was constructed and interpreted focusing on women’s issues. The next section focuses on the research approaches.

3.3 Research approaches

This study used the mixed methods approach, which involves conducting research by combining qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). A study can use both qualitative and quantitative approaches (Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 1994). Moreover, feminist researchers also can use both qualitative and quantitative methodology, depending on the paradigm (Roberts, 1981). Molina-Azorin (2012, p. 1) argues that “mixed methods research is becoming an increasingly popular approach in several areas, and it has long been called for as an approach for providing a better understanding of research problems”.

Despite being popular, there is debate about using the mixed methods approach of viewing the world in a single study over using one approach (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007). This debate affects our thinking about knowledge based “on what we look for, what we expect to find, and how we believe we are to go about finding and justifying ‘knowledge’” (Johnson et al., 2007, p. 113). Those who oppose the mixed methods approach give the reason that it lacks congruency in philosophical positions (Crotty, 1998). However, those who propose the use of mixed methods argue that it strengthens the reliability of the results of the study (Creswell, 2005). The mixed methods approach overcomes the weakness in each approach. This is supported by Brewer and Hunter (1989, p. 4), who argue that “social science methods should not be treated as mutually exclusive alternatives among which we must choose and then passively pay the costs of our choice. Our individual methods may be flawed, but fortunately the flaws are not identical. A diversity of imperfection allows us to combine methods, not only to gain our individual strengths but also to compensate for their particular faults and imperfections”.

The decision on which approach to give weight to depends on the researcher, as Creswell notes that “ideally, the weight is equal between the two methods, but often in practice priority may be given to one or the other” (Creswell, 2009, p. 121). Creswell (2009) reports that giving priority to a certain type of approach depends on the interests of the researcher and audience, and what a researcher wants to emphasise in a study. Based on the constructivist epistemology and interpretive paradigm, this study largely used the qualitative approach for collecting in-depth information from participants so as to get multiple realities of the truth about female under-representation in leadership. Johnson et al. (2007, p. 124) argue that “qualitative dominant mixed methods research is the type of mixed research in which one relies on a qualitative, constructivist-poststructuralist-critical

view of the research process, while concurrently recognizing that the addition of quantitative data and approaches is likely to benefit most research projects". The qualitative approach in this study focused on how people construct and make sense of a phenomenon in the place in which they live (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). This study aimed to explore in detail the possible influences of females' under-representation in school leadership.

The qualitative approach was mainly used because of its strength in collecting in-depth information based on the experiences, beliefs, feelings and behaviour of females in leadership in CSSs (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). The qualitative methodology, such as group discussion and individual interviews, is most effective for collecting abstract variables such as the feelings, beliefs, views and perceptions of women that influence their under-representation in leadership (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). The approach helps to obtain a clear picture of the relevant issues relating to female under-representation in senior leadership positions, with specific reference to CSSs in rural Tanzania. Research that is mainly qualitative relies on the interpretative approach to understand social reality. Therefore, the qualitative interpretive approach was preferred in this study because of its strength in interpreting the condition of women in leadership positions (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001).

On the other hand, the quantitative approach is a numerical method of quantifying and describing phenomena of materials or characteristics (Best & Kahn, 1993). Creswell (2009) argues that quantitative research is a means of testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables, which can then be measured, typically by instruments, so that numbered data can be analysed by numerical procedures. This approach is linked to positivist epistemology, which assumes that there is only one social reality of a phenomenon, which can be discovered, but not constructed. This approach was used to triangulate the quantitative data and so gain a more robust understanding of the overall influences of women's under-representation in leadership. Questionnaires were used with a wider group of teachers and members of school boards.

Mixing the two types of data was done during data presentation and analysis, when the qualitative and quantitative data were integrated. Both approaches were used in this study to gain a better understanding of the problem. Mixed methods were used in this study in order to give a complete picture of the study problem by assessing the outcome of both

approaches (Creswell, 2002). It helped the researcher to use the weaknesses and strengths of each approach to gain an understanding of the issues influencing female under-representation in school leadership, and offered a greater chance of creating more meaning (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). The mixed methods approach also helped to triangulate both qualitative and quantitative data obtained from the participants, which meant that the results from these approaches were validated and converged concurrently (Creswell, 2002; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). Moreover, the mixed methods approach is useful for complementing the different methods, so that quantitative data obtained from closed questions is elaborated on and clarified by the qualitative data (Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska & Creswell, 2005).

Furthermore, the study used the concurrent triangulation design to collect data. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected at the same time (Creswell, 2009). Creswell (2009, p. 206) suggests that “it is more manageable to collect both quantitative and qualitative data at roughly the same time, when the researcher is in the field collecting data, rather than revisit the site multiple times for data collection”. The collected data were then compared “to determine if there is convergence, differences, or some combination of the two” (Creswell, 2009, p. 212). Morgan (1998, as cited in Creswell, 2009, p. 212) refers to this “comparison as validation, cross-comparison, confirmation, or corroboration”. The aim of using concurrent triangulation was to offset the weaknesses of one method by applying the strengths of other methods (Creswell, 2009). This design was an advantage for this study, as it validated and substantiated the data gathered about the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership position in CSSs. This was an important consideration, as the researcher was only able to collect data in a short period in each school because of the nature of the school environment. The schools were scattered in a remote area, and there were limited transport and accommodation (Creswell, 2009).

3.4 Research Design

In order to explore the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership position in CSSs, this study used one district in rural Tanzania (Yin, 2009). This study therefore was a case study, which was used to gain a detailed understanding of the complex problem that involved the use of mixed methods (Yin, 2003a). Cohen et al. (2007, p. 253) contend that the “case study provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply presenting them via abstract theories or principles”. In case study, the phenomenon studied is not separated from its

context, but remains close to it in order to understand how behaviour is influenced by, and how it influences, the context (Yin, 2009). The case study was used in this research to get in-depth and first-hand information from the respondents in their natural environment (Yin, 2004).

The case study (as used in this research) is used for four reasons, as pointed out by Denscombe (2003) and Yin (2004): a) if a researcher wants to study an extreme or unique instance, contrary to the norm, b) an area is selected because of its suitability for either building or testing a theory, c) a case might be selected to test the validity of a theory, and d) a case can be selected because it is a typical instance. Following from the four reasons given above, the case was selected because of the need to study an extreme instance contrary to the norm, and it was observed that “the logic being invoked is that the particular case is similar in crucial respects to others that might have been chosen and that the findings from the case study are likely to apply elsewhere” (Denscombe, 2003, p. 33).

Therefore, one district was chosen for this study because it had similar characteristics to other rural districts in the region. However, it differs from other districts in terms of culture and geography. For instance, the nature of transport and the lack of water and medical facilities made this case study interesting. The selection of the case study was also guided by the theoretical perspectives used, namely transformational leadership theory, the GOS approach and liberal feminist theory, which require detailed information and the use of multiple sources of information (Rowley, 2002). In this case study the focus was on describing and explaining the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership position, rather than on generalisation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). Since the case study may include both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, its choice is based on its capacity to accommodate multiple instruments of data collection to get in-depth information (Yin, 2003b). Baxter and Jack (2008) report that, in a case study, a researcher can gather and integrate survey data to arrive at a holistic understanding of the issue studied.

Moreover, Kumar (2011, p. 126) argues that “to qualify as a case study it must be a bounded system, an entity in itself: A case study should focus on bounded subjects or a unit that is representative or extremely typical”. Yin (2003b) suggests the importance of placing a boundary in a case study to avoid overly broad questions. The boundary can be determined by time, place, context and activity. The particular boundary of this case study

was one rural district and 20 CSSs within it. The participants were female heads of schools, the Regional Education Officer (REO), District Educational Officer (DEO), teachers, parents and members of school boards.

In this study I used what Yin (2003a; 1994) refers to as an embedded single case study design, in terms of which I explored the influences of female under-representation in leadership positions in CSSs in one rural district (single case). Sub-units of schools, teachers, heads of schools, parents, members of school boards, the DEO and REO are embedded within the case study. This type of design enables a “number of sub-units each of which is explored individually to be drawn together to yield an overall picture” (Rowley, 2002, p. 22). In this case study I used cross-case analysis, according to which sub-unit data was collated and compared to draw overall conclusions (Rowley, 2002).

The strength of the case study rests in its power to observe the phenomenon in its real context in terms of both its cause and effects. Thus, the results are more easily understood by many readers as they are written in non-professional language, they speak for themselves, are strong in reality and help to interpret similar cases (Cohen et al., 2007). It “provides also an overview and in-depth understanding of a case process and interactional dynamics within a unit of study” (Kumar, 2011, p. 126). In contrast, the weakness of the case study is that the results cannot be generalised and are prone to observer bias (Cohen et al., 2007; Kumar, 2011). To limit this bias, I ignored my existing knowledge of the influences of female under-representation in leadership and focused on the participants’ views.

3.5 Selection of the study area

This study was conducted in district X in region Y in Tanzania. The population in the region is 51.3% females and 48.7% males (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013a). The region was selected as it has many CSSs (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011a), but only 33 (18.1%) female leaders out of 182 heads of secondary schools in the region, making it important for this study on female under-representation in community secondary school leadership (ADEM, 2013). District X has 54 secondary schools and was purposefully selected because of its geographical location (lacking water), its poor transport and its culture. Also, the district was selected because it has few female heads of schools. A total of twenty schools were involved in this study. The district had only seven female heads of schools and all of them were involved in this study. Thirteen (13) male heads of schools

were also purposely selected. The selection of these male-led CSSs was based on their accessibility, as many of the schools were scattered and located in remote areas, where transport links are not well established. Also, the selection of thirteen male-led schools was based on those schools previously headed by women so as to get teachers who had experienced female leadership.

3.6 Study population and sampling

Creswell (2002) defines population as a group of people who have similar characteristics and who provide data to answer your study questions. For instance, all students in the region may make up the population of students. The population for this study comprised all heads of CSSs (males and females), all secondary school teachers, the District Educational Officer (DEO), all parents, all members of school boards and the Regional Educational Officer (REO) in region Y. It was impossible to study all the schools in the region, as the study wanted to obtain in-depth information through interviews and FGDs, which was not feasible across a large population. Moreover, due to limited time and financial constraints it was not possible to cover a large population (Cohen et al., 2007; Corbetta, 2003). A sample of the population subsequently was used.

3.6.1 Sampling procedures and sample size

This study used the mixed methods approach and this called for the use of different sampling procedures. Specifically, non-probability (purposive) sampling was used to obtain qualitative data and probability sampling was used to obtain quantitative data.

Non-probability sampling

For non-probability sampling, participants are selected based on their availability and convenience and having features that the researcher seeks to study (Creswell, 2002). Some important techniques of non-probability sampling are purposive sampling and convenience sampling (Creswell, 2009), both of which were used in this study.

Non-probability selection procedures

Through purposive sampling, different categories of participants were selected based on the purpose of the research. Cohen et al. (2011, p. 156) say that purposive sampling is when the “researchers hand-pick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought”.

Purposive sampling was used because it was the most significant kind of non-probabilistic sampling that would identify key participants (Welman & Kruger, 1999). This sampling strategy was used to obtain “knowledgeable people” with in-depth information about women in leadership due to their professional role and experience (Corbetta, 2003). That is to say, participants were chosen for a specific purpose. In this study, therefore, by virtue of their positions and roles in education, the DEO, heads of schools and the REO were chosen purposively as they were believed to have crucial information concerning the studied phenomenon. In addition, female heads of schools were selected and interviewed because of their experience of the challenges and obstacles they faced before and after they were leaders. Moreover, the female and male heads of schools recommended teachers to the DEO’s office for appointment to leadership positions. It was my assumption that they may have some information on female under-representation in leadership positions, hence their participation was crucial. All leaders (male and female) of the selected schools automatically qualified to be included as participants (see section 3.5).

The DEO was purposively selected because of his role in recommending teachers for leadership to the REO. Moreover, the DEO is accountable for all educational issues in the district. Hence, his experience, feelings, perception and views on the participation of women in leadership were very important in this study. Similarly, the REO was interviewed because of the educational role he has in the region – first that of disseminating directives from the MoEVT to the DEO’s office and heads of schools, and second that of sending information from the DEO and school heads to the MoEVT. Third, he is responsible for all educational matters in the region, and fourth, he is among those who make the final appointment of heads of schools in his region (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b).

Moreover, the parents involved in this study were selected through convenience sampling based on their accessibility (Marshall, 1996) in schools headed by women to find out their perceptions of female leadership. Therefore, six parents nearest the schools were selected. Because schools are in the community and heads of schools interact with the community on different issues, it was viewed as important to include parents in this study. It was assumed that parents taking children to the selected schools had expectations of the school leadership. Also, they participated in various school development activities such as contributing resources for school buildings and furniture. Therefore, information on the perceptions, feelings, experiences and relationships with the heads of schools was

important. Parents were selected with the assistance of the teacher on duty by asking which students lived nearest the school. This was done to reduce costs, as most villagers lived far from the schools.

Probability sampling

Creswell (2002) reports that probability sampling is the selection of individuals from a population to take part in a study and those participants represent that entire population. Corbetta (2003) argues that, in probability sampling, each person in the population has an equal chance of being selected. Probability sampling was used in this study to select teachers and members of school boards from the population to participate in the study to represent the entire population of teachers and members of school boards (Creswell, 2002). This study used simple random sampling, which gave all members an equal chance of participating in the study. The aim of using this technique was to choose a sample of teachers and members of the school boards that represents all the teachers in CSSs and all members of school boards.

The teachers were selected in their office. The researcher wrote all the names of teachers from each school on small pieces of paper. The researcher then put those pieces of paper into two different baskets (for females and males) (Cohen et al., 2011). The researcher selected the pieces of paper from the basket containing the names of females from the females' basket and the names of males from the males' basket. There were an unequal number of female teachers in the schools, and so it was difficult for the researcher to select an equal number of teachers of each gender from each school, because some schools had few female teachers and others had many (see Table 8). The teachers whose names were picked were invited to participate in the study. This process was repeated in each sampled school headed by both males and females. Teachers in male-headed schools were included because heads of schools recommend the names of teachers for headship, and thus teachers were the beneficiaries of the recommendation. Therefore teachers in these schools might have some information about the whole process of recommendation for and appointment to headship. Also, as stated above, those teachers were selecting from the schools that previously were headed by females, hence they might have experience of female leadership.

Through random sampling, the selected teachers were involved in completing questionnaires and later were involved in FGDs to validate what they said in the

questionnaires and to provide some explanation. Therefore, their perceptions and experiences were very important for gaining an understanding of females' under-representation in school leadership.

Furthermore, members of school boards also were selected by simple random sampling. Five members of the school boards were selected from each school headed by women. In each school I wrote all the names of the members of the school board on small pieces of paper and put them into two baskets; one contained the names of females and the other the names of males. I then picked three names of women and two of men. Therefore, those members whose names were picked were involved in this study. Members of school boards were included because they potentially might have information regarding the perceptions, feelings, experience and relationship with the heads of schools as they interacted with them when they dealt with different school activities, such as "disciplining students, approving school development plans and budgets, and overseeing their implementation, advising the District Education Officer on school management and advising the District Education Officer and Teachers Service Department on disciplinary cases involving teachers" (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b, pp. 49-50); therefore their involvement was important.

Sample size

This study involved the sample of 20 schools with 20 heads of CSSs (13 males and seven females), the REO, DEO and 160 out of 454 teachers (68 females and 92 males). Furthermore, each school had 11 members of the school boards, but the researcher selected only five members (three women and two men), getting a total of 35 from schools headed by women. All members of school boards had completed at least ordinary level secondary education. Moreover, 42 parents, six from each school (21 females and 21 males) from all the schools headed by females were involved in this study. Therefore, the study involved 259 participants (see Table 7). Gender was considered in the sample. Note that parents and members of school boards were only selected from schools headed by females.

Table 7: Number and percentage of participants by gender and sampling techniques used

Category	Type of sampling	Males	Females	Total	%
Teachers	Simple random sampling	92	68	160	61.8
Members of school boards	Simple random sampling	14	21	35	13.5
Parents	Convenience sampling	21	21	42	16.2
Heads of schools	Purposive sampling	13	7	20	7.7
DEO	Purposive sampling	1	-	1	0.4
REO	Purposive sampling	1	-	1	0.4
Total	-	142	117	259	100.0

3.7 Background information of teachers and heads of schools

Table 8 summarises the background information of teachers and heads of schools and shows that most heads of schools (males and females) were over 50 years old, while the majority of male and female teachers were aged 20 to 29. Among the participants, 18 out of 20 heads of schools and 102 out of 160 teachers had a diploma in education qualification. However, no head of school or classroom teacher had a postgraduate qualification. Out of 68 female teachers involved in this study, only 23 had bachelor's degrees, while 35 out of 92 male teachers had bachelor's degrees. In the case of heads of schools, only two female heads had bachelor's degrees, while no male head had a bachelor's degree. The length of service of heads of schools ranged from five to 10 years, with the majority having been primary school teachers before being promoted to secondary school leadership, as presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Background information of teachers and heads of schools

		Head of schools			Teachers		
Characteristics	Category	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Age	20-29	2	0	2	43	37	80
	30-39	4	2	6	29	20	49
	40-49	-	-	-	10	3	13
	50-59	7	5	12	10	8	18
Marital status	Married	12	4	16	35	12	47
	Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Widow	0	1	1	0	0	0
	Single	1	2	3	57	56	113
Academic qualification	Diploma	13	5	18	50	52	102
	Degree	0	2	2	35	23	58
Experience	Deputy & heads of departments	8	3	11	44	10	54
	Heads of departments only & class teacher	5	4	9	29	17	46
	No experience	0	0	0	23	37	60

3.8 Instruments for data collection

As discussed above, this study used the case study design to explore the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. Therefore, different techniques for collecting data were used. Yin (2004, p. 9) argues that a “good case study benefits from having multiple sources of evidence”. The central aim in collecting case study data, as stated by Yin, is to “triangulate or establish converging lines of evidence to make your findings as robust as possible” (2004, p. 9). In this study, different methods were used to explore the same fact, which gave me more confidence in concluding that the data was valid, rather than relying on a single method. Therefore, the present study used semi-structured interviews (key informant interviews) and FGDs to obtain qualitative data and questionnaires (mostly with closed but a few open-ended questions) to obtain quantitative data. Figure 7 shows the methods of data collection and type of data from each approach.

The process of data collection was assisted by a research assistant, who was familiar with the environment and so could connect me with the schools, although he was not known to the participants. The research assistant was a secondary school teacher in one of the districts in the region. He had skills for conducting the research. However, in this study he was given a short amount of training to enable him to understand his role, the objectives of the study, and the research tools used to collect data. The training also covered the issues of confidentiality in research. Being a research assistant, his role included working as my driver to and from the rural schools within the district during data collection, helping me to distribute the questionnaires to the teachers and members of school boards, spot-checking the questionnaires to confirm if they were filled in appropriately during submission, taking notes and audio recording during discussions and interviews, and assisting me in transcribing some of the qualitative data.

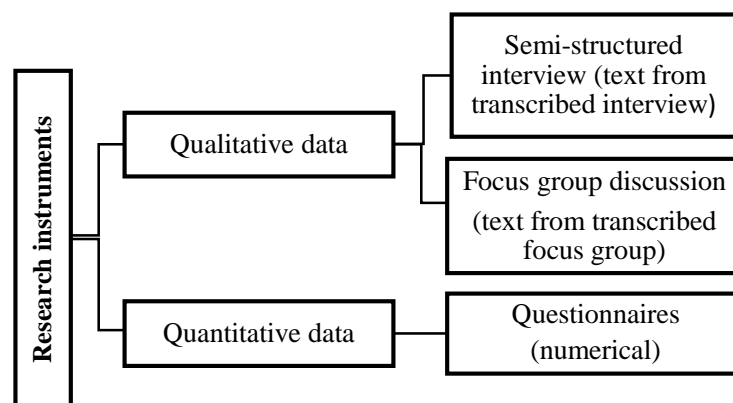


Figure 7: Qualitative and quantitative instruments of data collection; Adapted from Creswell (2002)

3.8.1 Semi-structured interview

In order to gain an understanding of people's feelings, perceptions and interpretation of a phenomenon, interviews were used. Semi-structured interviews were employed with a flexible structure, content and format for asking questions (Sarantakos, 2005). This method was used because feminist research insists on the use of methods of data collection that are less hierarchical and give autonomy to the participants to express their views for the trustworthiness of the data (Harding, 1987). As the method is based on the feminist perspective, the direct quotes of participants have been used to authenticate the data collected. This type of interview was used to obtain specific data in detail. The participants (heads of schools, REO and DEO) worked in the study area and so they possessed in-depth information about what was being studied. This method gives freedom to participants to construct knowledge of their environment. In this study, interview guides contained the same questions for almost each respondent category in order to get valid and consistent findings. In this regard, heads of schools were asked similar questions (see Appendix 1), while the REO and DEO had questions that were similar in relation to their positions, and these were also almost similar to those asked of the heads of schools (see Appendix 2). The questions for the interviews were developed from the research questions to obtain the answers and views of the participants. The interview questions were about the influences of females' under-representation in community secondary school senior leadership based on factors that hinder women from being involved in leadership, the community's perception of female leaders, female heads' relationship with the community and the challenges facing female heads in their leadership and how the challenges affect women's participation in leadership. This method was favoured because it was thought to be relevant for collecting the feelings and perceptions of participants. Cohen et al. (2011, p. 409) assert that "the interview enables participants to discuss their interpretation of the world in which they live and express how they regard situations from their point of view".

Before the interview, I arranged a convenient time and date for the interviews with the participants. At the beginning of each interview, I introduced myself to the participants (name, position, career, institution and the purpose of the study), and then I asked the participants about their positions, work experience and responsibilities in order to build rapport, to get to know the participants in detail, and to create a conducive environment for conducting the interview. During the interview the discussion was controlled and guided by the case study design and interpretive paradigm strategies (Sarantakos, 2005).

A positive relationship with the participants was maintained so as to abide by the research ethics in exploring the influence of female under-representation in the leadership of CSSs. The interviews were conducted in the office of the heads of the schools, the DEO and the REO to allow the participants freedom and flexibility. The interviews were conducted in English and Swahili (code mixing) to give freedom to the participants to elucidate their feelings in a language with which they are comfortable. Each interview lasted about an hour.

Probe questions were important and were used to get more insight or to clarify some points. As Wragg (2002) points out, semi-structured interviews permit the interviewer to ask questions first and then probe for more clarification of the issues discussed. I used non-directive probing and summary techniques (Sarantakos, 2005). Non-directive probes were used when the interviewer gave incomplete or inadequate answers, which encouraged the participant to elaborate more on the issues. Through this technique, phrases were used such as: “Can you elaborate more?”; “Can you give me an example?”; “Is there anything else?”; “What do you mean?”; “How do you address this?” and “How certain are you?” These techniques broaden the participants’ understanding of the problem and make the participants free to share information about the issue under discussion (Sarantakos, 2005). Moreover, words like “ok, go on”, “next”, “mmm”, etc. were used to encourage participants to carry on speaking, and I summarised their response to encourage them while waiting for new information (Sarantakos, 2005). Generally, these techniques gave the participants an opportunity to elaborate and clarify their feelings, perceptions, views and experiences of female leadership in detail. During the interviews, the assistant researcher took notes and tape-recorded the interviews, which were transcribed after the interviews. This was important because it helped me to refer to what had actually been said by the participants and correct some errors in the notes.

The advantages of using interviews were that all the questions were attempted as planned, there was a high level of response, in-depth information was gathered and they enabled me to observe the non-verbal behaviour of the participants, which helped me ascertain their mood (Sarantakos, 2005). Moreover, this technique helped me to explain and clarify unclear and ambiguous questions (Kumar, 2005). On the other hand, the weakness of this technique is that it might cause bias due to my presence (Sarantakos, 2005). This bias was overcome by conducting a survey that validated the qualitative data.

3.8.2 Focus group discussion (FGD)

Focus group discussion refers to the collection of information in the form of an interview with a group of four to six participants (Creswell, 2002). The FGDs adopted the strategy described in Kumar (2005), in terms of which I developed questions before the discussion to provide a broad framework to follow during the discussion (see Appendices 3 and 4). This method was selected because of its ability to obtain the collective views of respondents and the meanings they give (Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008). The method was used because of its usefulness in generating information on members' experience and beliefs (Gill et al., 2008). FGDs were conducted for the sake of dynamics to explore the participants' knowledge and experience of the influences impeding female teachers from acquiring senior leadership posts (Cohen et al., 2011; Kumar, 2005). Bryman (2004, p. 358) argues that feminist researchers use FGDs because they "emphasize group interaction which is a normal part of social life".

This study assumed that FGDs would give the opportunity to teachers and parents to discuss, interact and evaluate their views on women and leadership in more detail than in a questionnaire or one-to-one interview. This method was also used to triangulate the information obtained from the semi-structured interviews and the questionnaires. According to Dawson (2009), FGDs involving teachers and parents are aimed at clarifying the issues raised in the questionnaires confirming the understanding, position and interests of the participants and validating the information obtained from the questionnaires and interviews. Teachers were involved in FGDs after completing the questionnaire. The questions asked in the questionnaires were also used in the FGDs.

In each school, FGDs with teachers were conducted in the classroom, while the FGDs with parents took place in one of the parent's houses, which was selected by the participants. Conducting FGDs in the real environment (school or home) helped the participants to express issues concerning leadership more freely than if they were conducted somewhere else (Gill et al., 2008). Parents were also asked about the children's socialisation, the expectation they have of their girls' education and their perception of female heads. In this study, FGDs comprising the same sex were considered important for providing participants freedom of expression, especially women, who may feel inhibited from expressing notions of oppression and discrimination. However, teachers were not grouped based on sex because there only were a few female teachers in some schools and so it could have been expensive and time consuming. Parents were separated into two groups (males and

females) in order to purposively allow freedom and flexibility for women to participate effectively. Each discussion lasted no longer than one and a half hours.

During the discussion, the strategies for conducting FGDs outlined by Dawson (2009) were adopted, in terms of which I facilitated the conversation by presenting the subject, asking questions, probing and controlling the discussion and making sure that no one dominated the discussion. In addition, with the help of the research assistant, the FGDs with teachers were audiotaped and notes were taken to ensure that no important information was left out. In the FGDs with parents, notes were taken by the researcher and research assistant, as the parents refused to be recorded. The notes were later compared to check for accuracy. During the discussion, the final agreement of all the participants was regarded as the group data.

This method was used to collect a range of responses that cannot be gathered in a one-on-one interview. Also, the use of this procedure provides a quicker means of collecting data than individual interviews. Therefore, the use of FGDs saved time and brought together participants with different views (Cohen et al., 2011). Dawson (2009) adds that FGDs can produce a wide range of responses in one meeting and also help participants to remember forgotten issues. The method was also useful for detecting the way in which participants agreed, disagreed, complemented and influenced each other and how they were related (Cohen et al., 2011). Data emerged from the interaction between FGD members and, through this, knowledge was constructed (Creswell, 2002).

3.8.3 Questionnaire method

This study employed semi-structured questionnaires, which are in between structured and standardised questionnaires (Sarantakos, 2005). Questionnaires were based on the research topic and main research questions for collecting relevant information (see Appendix 5). Closed-ended questions were mostly used to collect information on the issues that hinder female teachers from attaining leadership positions. The questions were precise so that each question had only one answer. The questions were simple and constructed in English. This method is very useful in feminist research (Sarantakos, 2005) because of its ability to provide frequencies of the participants' responses (Dawson, 2009).

Questionnaires were developed based on the Likert scale format. Respondents were asked to select responses from predetermined answers and, in relation to some questions/statements, were requested to give clarification. In this case, three choices were

provided for each question or statement. The options on the Likert scale were varied between given options. That is, for some statements or questions the respondents were asked whether they agree, disagree or are neutral. For example, a scale used was: (a) Frequently, (b) Rarely, (c) Never; (a) Agree, (b) Disagree, (c) Neutral; and (a) Always, (b) Sometimes, (c) Never. The Likert scale helped respondents to answer the questions easily.

The questionnaires were distributed to teachers and members of school boards, who completed and returned them to the researcher anonymously. Although the questionnaires were administered personally, some teachers and members of school boards did not fill them in on the day they were administered but promised to return them the next day. Unfortunately, some participants did not return the questionnaires as promised. A total of 160 questionnaires were distributed to teachers, but only 154 (96.3%) were returned, and of the 35 distributed to members of school boards only 32 (91.4%) were returned – 19 from women and 13 from men.

This method was chosen for its advantages of being cost effective, producing quick results, being stable, consistent, having wide coverage and being less biased. The questionnaires were administered to triangulate the data obtained from the interviews and FGDs. The method was also used to gather individual feelings about females in leadership before they participated in FGDs, where some of them could be influenced by others' perceptions when answering the questions. The questionnaire was also used in order to identify participants who were involved in FGDs and to detect some of the critical areas to probe during the interviews and FGDs (development purpose). The fact that the questionnaire did not allow for probing and clarification and did not offer the participants the chance to express themselves meant that it was imperative for an FGD with the same teachers completing the questionnaires. Also, the limitation of questionnaires is that they do not give the researcher a chance to clarify questions that could be unclear (ambiguous) and likely to lead to misinterpretation due to poor design of the questions (Cohen et al., 2011). As mentioned above, this was solved by conducting focus group discussion with some of the participants, like teachers, of whom the same questions were asked for more clarification and detail.

3.9 Trustworthiness, validity and triangulation

3.9.1 Trustworthiness

The questions of validity and reliability in both quantitative and qualitative studies are important, although they are treated differently. In a qualitative study, different approaches and methods are used to determine the trustworthiness of the data. In this study, trustworthiness of data was achieved by describing accurately the experience of the informants of the influences of females' under-representation in leadership (Krefting, 1991). To ensure trustworthiness in this study, I used the case study design to discover humans' experiences and behaviours in their context (Krefting, 1991). That is, in a case study the validity of the data obtained is confirmed when different categories of participants from different schools either agreed or disagreed on the issue under discussion (Cohen et al., 2007).

In this study, transferability was also used to ensure the trustworthiness of the data. Transferability of the findings in qualitative research is similar to generalisability of the findings in quantitative research (Krefting, 1991). The antagonists of qualitative studies claim that it is difficult to generalise the findings in qualitative studies because they only apply to the context of study (Punch, 2005). Nevertheless, Denscombe (2003) argues that the ability to generalise the findings depends on how similar other contexts are to the study location. In this study, the findings were not meant to be generalised, but to provide increased understanding of the influences contributing to females' under-representation in senior school leadership positions. In this case, the findings from the context of this study may not represent the experience of the whole country, but are comparable to other rural districts and rural secondary schools operating in similar environments, with a similar culture, beliefs and organisational structure. Hence, the findings of this study are likely to be transferable to a similar context.

3.9.2 Validity of the study

Kumar (2005, p. 153) defines validity "as the ability of an instrument to measure what it is designed to measure". Researchers are obligated to use valid criteria to judge knowledge claims to construct robust knowledge (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Cohen et al. (2000) argue that the justification of the instruments is the production of documented evidence, which offers a high level of accuracy that a specific process consistently meets its objectives. Validity was assessed in this study by comparing the results of different sources of data (interviews, FGDs and questionnaires) and cross-checking the finding with

the pilot study (Bush, 2002). The validity of the study was assessed by examining the research instruments through discussions with the supervisor and PhD colleagues before the actual process of data collection (Cohen et al., 2007). After the data had been collected, the transcriptions were assessed by fellow PhD students and my supervisor.

The instruments were piloted in September 2011 to check the effectiveness of the research instruments. The pilot study was carried out in one of the rural districts in one region in Tanzania. It involved ten (10) participants drawn from CSSs, as well as the REO and DEO. The participants were drawn from two different schools (headed by a female and a male). The pilot study helped the researcher to add respondents to be involved in the study. For instance, parents were not involved before the pilot study, but during the pilot study the researcher recognised their importance to this study as they are involved in building CSSs and providing furniture for them.

3.9.3 Triangulation

Triangulation is the process of observing a phenomenon in different ways rather than only one way, which helps to ensure the accuracy of the data (Neuman, 2006). Triangulation is useful in a case study as the data can be viewed and explored from multiple perspectives (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Different methods help to add strength to the findings, as they mingle together to provide a greater understanding of the case (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Therefore, the types of triangulation are methodological, respondents' and theoretical, which are important for establishing the trustworthiness and validity of this study.

Methodological triangulation was done by collecting data from multiple sources (Merriam, 1998) to ensure the accuracy of the data. This triangulation is applied when more than one method of data collection is used (Cohen et al., 2000). Therefore, as discussed in section 3.8, data were collected through interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires (Creswell, 2009). In this study the same issue was asked about by using different methods. For example, the issue of the aspirations of women teachers to leadership was questioned through interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires (the Likert scale was used and the majority of questionnaires were closed-ended). The data analysed from different methods helped to validate and mutually confirm the findings and to identify any outliers across the data. Also, this helped to increase the depth and trustworthiness of the results and increase the accuracy of the information obtained on factors relating to females' under-representation in CSSs leadership (Cohen et al., 2000).

Moreover, triangulation of the participants' data involved the use of the same instrument to gather data from different respondents (Bush, 2002). Data obtained through the quantitative approach were validated and confirmed by data from the qualitative approach. In this case teachers first filled in the questionnaire and were then involved in FGDs to elaborate, clarify and verify what they said in the questionnaires to validate the data. Questionnaires were completed first in order to get individuals' thinking about the influences of female under-representation in school leadership. The questionnaire was regarded as the best method, as the individuals' thinking was not influenced by that of others (Zohrabi, 2013). For instance, in the questionnaires teachers were asked to select the leadership style used by female heads of schools from the given list; while in the FGDs the same question was asked to confirm what they said in the questionnaire and to give details on how female leaders lead, why female heads use such a leadership style and how it affects women's involvement in leadership.

In this case, participant triangulation was done by comparing the information obtained from the heads of schools with that from the REO and DEO through interviews, the questionnaires completed by members of the school boards and teachers and the FGDs with the parents and teachers. Finally, theoretical triangulation was done according to which the data was validated through the logical connection between the research instruments, the conceptual framework and the main questions (Kumar, 2005). In this study it was important that the methods of data collection and techniques of data analysis were congruent with the methodological and theoretical framework, which answers the research questions.

Position of the researcher

The position of the researcher is important for establishing trustworthiness. It is important for a researcher to know her/his position in the context of any study. "Whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants, or an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, the personhood of the researcher, including her or his membership status in relation to those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 55).

In this study I started collecting data as an outsider in the area of the study, which irritated some informants, since I was new to the region and district. I was an outsider in the context

of the study because I was studying a group of which I was not a member. The majority of people in the community are Muslim. However, during discussions with the participants I noted that the majority of teachers and heads of schools were not Muslim, but providing education in a Muslim society. I am a Christian. Therefore, I was new to their culture, for example, in relation to how women dress, behave and talk. The parents considered me an outsider and did not want to be recorded during the discussion. The majority of the community abided by the cultural norm in terms of which women do not wear trousers and cover their heads. To be accepted in this community, I had to wear a long skirt and cover my hair when talking with parents. This made them happy to participate in the discussion. Before the discussion, some parents were interested in knowing my religion and when I told them they were surprised and asked why I dressed like a Muslim woman. I told them that because I was in a Muslim context it was necessary to abide by their culture. During the discussion, humility was important in order to get the community's views and I did not reveal my position on the issues discussed, especially about females being undervalued in society.

In addition, as I communicated with the participants trust increased, to the extent that they asked me many questions at the end of the discussion. Some teachers and heads of schools were interested in knowing more about higher education and how to reach their potential, and what London is like. They told me that I inspired them and that I was their role model. They also asked me to advise them academically.

The closeness with the participants mirrors the thoughts of Herod (1999, p. 234), who maintains that, "whereas a researcher may initially be perceived very much as an 'outsider', over time her/his positionality may change. This situation is likely to arise when a researcher is conducting follow-up interviews with sources with whom s/he has already developed a working relationship". Therefore, as an outsider-insider in the context, and a female teacher by profession, I had characteristics in common with the potential informants (school heads, teachers, REO and DEO). Moreover, the heads of schools facilitated quick discussions with teachers because of the lack of accommodation and other infrastructure, which necessitated daily travel from town to rural areas, a round trip of more than 80 kilometres.

3.10 Ethical issues in the research protocol

Various ethical issues were considered in this study for the purpose of protecting participants from risks that could harm them (Bryman, 2004). Cohen et al. (2011) argue that each stage of research raises ethical issues that may be based on the nature of the research itself, the context of the research, the methods involved in data collection and the type of data collected. The participants have a right to balance the threats and benefits of being involved in the research and make a decision to participate or not (Cohen et al., 2011).

Research clearance and introduction

This study was informed by the guidelines provided by the British Educational Research Association (BERA) (2004). The researcher considered ethical issues like informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity. All these were explained to the participants before and during data collection to ensure an accurate and fair process. Before data collection, ethical clearance was secured from the UCL Institute of Education. Furthermore, a letter of introduction to the relevant authorities was secured from the University of Dar es Salaam to allow data to be collected (see Appendix 6a). The letter was presented to the REO, who also provided me with a letter to submit to the DEO (see Appendix 6b), who granted me a research permit and a letter of introduction to all the schools visited (see Appendix 6c).

Informed consent

All participants were given an information sheet, which described the study, and a consent form to sign upon agreeing to participate in the study. The participants read and reflected on the information given and decided either to participate or not (Flick, 2009). That is, the agreement to participate was based on open information sharing and not force or an incentive to influence their participation. The participants also were informed of their freedom to withdraw from the study at any time. The information sheet and informed consent form contained information about the researcher's background, the purpose of the study, the risks and advantages of the study, the role of the participants, and the confidentiality of both the participants and the data collected (see Appendix 7). The researcher obtained a signed consent form from each willing respondent (see Appendix 8). Informed consent is considered to be the foundation of ethical behaviour, as it values the rights of participants to control their lives and to make their own decisions (Cohen et al., 2011). Neuman (2006) affirms that voluntary participation of participants in research is an important ethical principle in social research.

Anonymity and confidentiality

To ensure confidentiality, the participants' anonymity was protected by using codes, which assured participants that their names would not be mentioned in the report or other publications. For example, the female head of school A was coded FHoS-A, while the male head of school J was MHoS-J. In addition, the names of the region and district were not mentioned and were coded as region Y and district X. Anonymity in research in analysing and interpreting the collected data has been emphasised in the literature (Creswell, 2009). As Kumar (2005) points out, it is unethical to mention the names of the participants involved in a particular study. The data gathered were kept in a secure place that was inaccessible to anyone except the researcher and the research assistant. The participants from each school were promised a summary of the report after completion for them to know what had been found.

3.11 Framework for data processing and analysis

The analytical framework to be used in a particular study depends on the theoretical and philosophical perspectives, questions and goals that inform the study (Walliman, 2005). This study aimed to explore the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. The study was informed by the ontological assumption that knowledge is constructed and acquired in the real environment through the interaction of participants with the researcher (Cohen et al., 2000). There are different ways of analysing data, whether qualitative or quantitative. Qualitative data can be analysed by reducing and displaying it and drawing conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Creswell (2009) identified six stages of data analysis, which are data organisation and preparation for analysis, reading through the data, coding, generating themes using codes, and presenting, describing and interpreting the themes.

Therefore, the data in the current study was analysed based on the main research questions that arose from the conceptual framework and literature review. The main data collected was qualitative but triangulated by the quantitative. Therefore, thematic analysis was used for the qualitative data and open-ended questions, while the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) (version 16) was used on the closed-ended questions in the quantitative data, in terms of which mostly numerical data was gathered. The qualitative and quantitative data were collected at the same time (Creswell, 2009). Moreover, the data was analysed and presented in one chapter by presenting figures with percentages from the quantitative data. This was followed by presenting tables summarising the themes

generated from the qualitative data because the qualitative data clarifies and confirms the quantitative data. A description and voices from the qualitative data were then presented.

Qualitative data analysis

Qualitative data was analysed and presented in different ways. The choice depended on the research purpose and how it fits the objectives (Cohen *et al.*, 2011). I analysed the qualitative data through thematic analysis. This was done by using Microsoft Office Word, since it is able to store, organise and keep track of information (Robson, 2012). Word also was useful for coding, by which the researcher copied and pasted appropriate themes by combining relevant codes (Robson, 2012). Although several software packages are used to analyse qualitative data, such as NVivo, time and effort are needed to become familiar or conversant with them. Therefore, the use of Microsoft Office was thought to be appropriate and adequate for organising the data.

Bryman (2004) argues that thematic analysis is one of the most used approaches in analysing qualitative data. In analysing the qualitative data in this study, I worked closely with the research assistant,⁸ who was involved during data collection (Laws, Harper & Marcus, 2003). The amount of transcribed data in this study presented an analytical challenge, requiring selecting and ordering. There were 56 transcribed datasets (20 heads of schools interviewed, 20 groups of teachers in FGDs, 14 groups of parents in FGDs, the REO and DEO interviewed). This was possible and could be managed as the questions were arranged on the basis of the study's main research questions. The data were classified according to their nature and their relationships on the basis of the research questions addressed, and themes were selected based on those that addressed the main research questions.

The procedure for data analysis articulated by Creswell (2009) (see Figure 8) was adopted as follows. The first step was *organising and preparing the field data*. This stage involved transcribing the data, typing field notes, and sorting and arranging the data according to the source of information (Creswell, 2009). That is, the transcription was organised in the categories (case) of heads of schools, parents, teachers, REO and DEO. Before transcription, the research assistant and I listened to the audiotapes repeatedly to be familiar with the conversations. The audiotapes of the interviews and FGDs, which were

⁸ The research assistant was involved in the initial stages of transcription of the data, after which the rest of the stages were done by the researcher.

in Kiswahili and English, were transcribed. Participants were assigned codes for confidentiality. For example, the female head of school from school A was given the code FHoS-A (Cohen et al., 2011) in the transcribed script (see Appendix 9). Then the data that were in Kiswahili were translated into English immediately after all the interviews and FGDs had been transcribed. This was done by me, although the translated version was also given to professional speakers of Kiswahili and English to confirm the correctness of the translation.

The second step was *reading through the transcribed data* iteratively to get general information on what the participants said and reflect on overall meaning by asking what the general ideas were that the participants conveyed (Creswell, 2009). Iterative reading of the transcripts enabled me to be familiar with the conversation. In order to notice if any important points were missed, the transcribed data was cross-checked with the field notes taken during data collection.

Following familiarisation with the data, analysis entered the third stage of *detailed analysis with coding process*. In this stage I took the text data, paragraphs and segments obtained in the field and categorised them (Creswell, 2009). Then the categories were labelled with the selected terms (code) based on the participants' language. This helped to obtain preliminary codes. I started by randomly selecting one interview and reading through it. The key ideas from the participants that were addressing the interview research questions were noted in the margin (see Appendix 9). This was done in relation to all the interviews with different participants by exploring all the transcribed data wisely and repeatedly. I then developed a list of all topics, with similar topics clustered together in columns (see Appendix 10). From the list of topics I generated final codes, and continued with the same process in relation to all interviews. It is worth remembering that this is a mixed methods study, and so counting the number of times the same responses occurred (frequencies) from each participant was important in identifying the number of respondents who supported or opposed the statement before combining similar codes (Creswell, 2009, p. 218). The codes were based on ideas from the literature, codes that were not expected at the beginning of the study and codes that expressed the theoretical perspective (Creswell, 2009).

The fourth stage was *using the codes to produce a description and the themes* for analysis. "Description involves a detailed rendering of information about people, place or event in a setting" (Creswell, 2009, p. 189). I generated themes from this description. These themes

are the ones that are used in the findings; they display various views of individuals and are supported by quotes. They were analysed in relation to each individual and group (see example in Appendix 10).

The fifth stage was about the way *description and themes would be presented* in the qualitative narrative. Creswell (2009) reports that the best way to present qualitative data is to use the narrative passage to convey the findings drawn from the analysis. At this stage I used narrative text to convey the findings of the analysis, which were the evidence supporting the main description. This was done by analysing and presenting themes that were derived from multiple perspectives (including voices) of the participants. Tables and photos are used in presenting the finding to make them more visible.

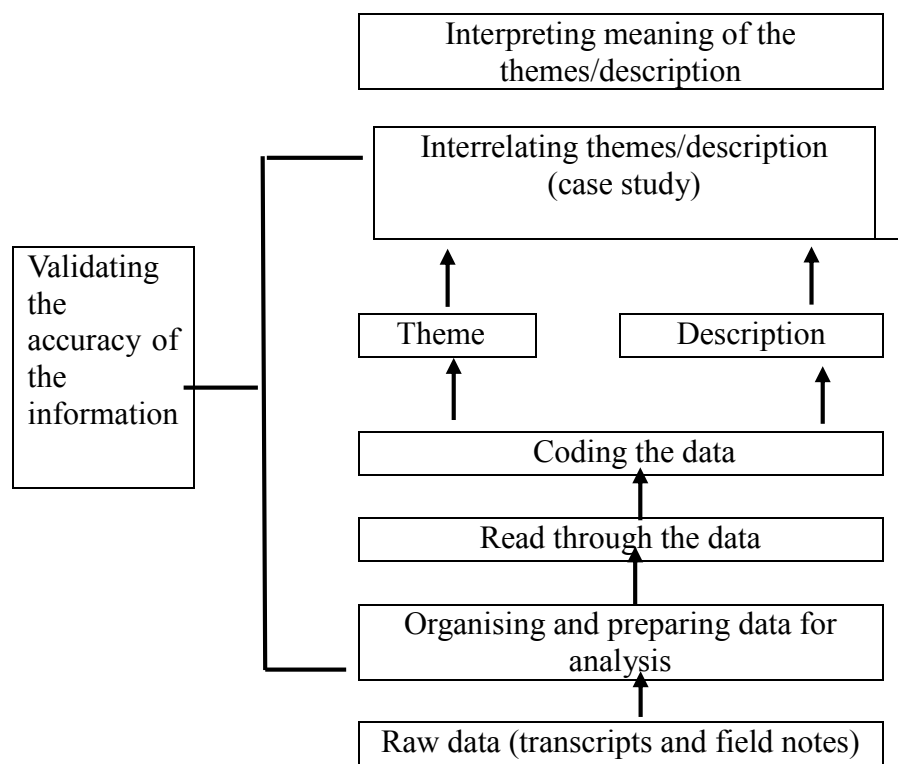


Figure 8: Data analysis in qualitative research (adopted from Creswell, 2009, p. 185)

The sixth stage was *data interpretation or giving meaning to the data*. According to Creswell (2009), research based on qualitative methods is reported to be interpretive research. In this stage I asked myself what I had learned from the data and the messages they conveyed. Therefore, I interpreted the meaning of the coded data as obtained from the interviews in relation to the existing literature, the theories used in this study (GOS, liberal feminism and transformational leadership theory) and my experience (Creswell, 2009).

Quantitative data analysis

The data obtained from the research questionnaires were analysed by SPSS (version 16). This method of data analysis allows the researcher to analyse huge amounts of data (Laws et al., 2003). This method was chosen because the researcher wanted to compare the responses of different groups (Creswell, 2009) and the data were mainly in terms of numbers. Creswell (2009) indicates the importance of knowing how the variables will be measured, either in continuous scores or categorical scores. In this study, categorical scores were used to measure the variables. That is, there were groups of members of school boards and teachers (male and female). As noted earlier, of the 160 questionnaires administered to teachers only 154 (i.e. a 96.3% return rate) were returned, and 32 out of 35 (i.e. a 91.4% return rate) given to members of schools were returned. This high return rate shows that the majority of the respondents filled in the questionnaires.

Data were entered using a spreadsheet with columns and rows. In each column there were variables of questions, schools, group and gender, and each row represented the participants, with respective labels to give the meaning of the information (Laws et al., 2003). This later provides the number of participants who answered particular questions. Then, descriptive statistics were used to describe and present the data in frequencies, figures and percentages (Cohen et al., 2011). Frequencies and percentages are presented in figures to indicate the responses of the research participants. The interpretation of the results determines whether the results answered the research questions, contradicted or supported them (Creswell, 2009). The quantitative data then were combined with the qualitative data during the analysis, presentation and interpretation to make sense of the influences of females' under-representation in community secondary school leadership.

3.12 Limitations of the study

Despite achieving the aim of this study, some limitations were unavoidable. Firstly, in this study, subjectivism could not be avoided. As Muijs (2004) points out, the findings of a study can be influenced by the private thoughts and views of the investigator, which could lead to bias. The fact that I am a female professional in the field of educational leadership, familiar with the context of the study and knowledgeable about women in leadership, meant that my personal beliefs and feelings possibly were included rather than letting the data speak for itself. However, my experience and knowledge was put aside during data collection and analysis on the assumption that I was new to the subject matter, which allowed the participants to express their feelings and views.

Second, there was a gender imbalance among both heads and teacher participants in the district, which prompted me to plan to undertake the research in two districts in order to get a large number of female heads and teachers. Limited time and financial resources meant that I did the research in one district only. Consequently, a fewer number of female heads (seven) and teachers (68) were involved. This limitation was minimised by involving females in the discussion to a great extent. Lastly, members of the school boards are key people in the day-to-day running of the schools. They participate in various school activities, such as disciplining students, approving school development plans and budgets, and overseeing their implementation. Because of these roles, members of school boards are influential people and their experience and perspectives would have been collected better through interviews or FGDs, which would have provided rich information. However, most members of the school boards were living in different areas within the district and it was difficult to get them for interviews or group discussions. Using the questionnaire method to get their views was a limitation to getting rich information. However, other methods were used to triangulate the findings and resolve the limitation.

3.13 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the research methodology that guided the data collection process. It presented the constructivist perspective, epistemology, and the methods that guided the study in constructing knowledge about the influences of female under-representation on leadership in CSSs. The use of the constructivist perspective provided a deeper understanding of the problem. The study also used the case study design and concurrent triangulation design. Knowledge was constructed through the mixed methods approach in order to triangulate the information obtained from different research instruments. Questionnaires, interviews and group discussion were employed. Purposive, convenience and non-purposive sampling methods were also discussed. The chapter discussed the validity of the study and ethical issues. Furthermore, the methods of data analysis (thematic for qualitative and SPSS for quantitative data) were also discussed. Therefore, based on the methods presented in this chapter, the following chapter presents the findings of the study by exploring the issues that influence female under-representation in senior leadership. That is, the chapter presents and analyses the responses of my research participants through interviews, FGDs and questionnaires.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the data collected from the field and highlights the main findings. Chapter Five discusses the findings presented in this chapter in relation to the literature reviewed in Chapter Two and the methodology in Chapter Three. This chapter further explores the issues influencing female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania, and is organised in accordance with the study's research questions, which are:

1. What factors contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs?
2. How do members of the school community perceive female heads of schools and how does this affect other women participating in senior leadership positions in CSSs?
3. What challenges face current female heads of schools and how do they deter other potential female teachers from participating in senior leadership positions in CSSs?

Two types of data are presented in this chapter: first quantitative data, which are presented through numerals. The responses from questionnaires have been summarised in the form of descriptive statistics such as percentages and frequencies, which are presented in figures. The second is qualitative data, which are presented in matrix tables containing themes that emerged during the discussions. Frequency analysis was used to determine whether the responses of the respondents were shared by other participants or were just individual views, and these were triangulated from different categories of respondents and instruments. Qualitative data from interviews and FGDs clarify, confirm and give detailed information on the data obtained from the questionnaires. The findings are presented and analysed based on the themes that emerged from the data.

The presentation of the data from heads of schools and parents in this study was not based on biological sex. This is because the analysed data shows that the majority of men and women were supporting the same views during the discussion (see Appendixes 11 to 15). There was no sex group that dominated the views over the other group, as the majority were agreeing or disagreeing with the issues discussed. Although there were few women, the majority of men concurred with the women's views. In other words, during the analysis females' views were considered first and then compared with how many males who were supporting the same view. However, the individual voices of participants based on their

sex are acknowledged and presented in qualitative data to support the claim. Also, the findings observed to have high variation of perception were presented in brackets according to sex (see section 4.4.).

Presenting the data of men and women as if they are a homogeneous group could potentially lead to bias in the data and analysis. However, in this study, presenting the data of women and men in one group had less impact on the findings and discussion, since majority had common views on the phenomenon.

4.2. Factors contributing to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs

To find out which factors influence female under-representation in school leadership, qualitative data were collected through face-to-face interviews with heads of schools, the REO and DEO, questionnaires given to teachers⁹ and members of school boards, and FGDs with parents and teachers. The findings revealed that the factors influencing female under-representation in leadership positions in CSSs comprised individual (personal and familial), organisational and societal factors, as presented below. Multiple realities were observed in the findings.

4.2.1 Individual (personal and familial) factors

Individual factors for female under-representation in school leadership included (i) female teachers' satisfaction with the status quo, (ii) turning down leadership appointments, (iii) female lack of interest in leadership due to the lack of rewards, and (iv) commitment to work. These are thematically presented in summary form in Table 9 below and full details of each are provided in the subsequent sections.

4.2.1.1 Female teachers' satisfaction with the status quo

This is one of the issues that emerged during the discussion. The findings revealed that female teachers were contented with their status (being normal teachers) and satisfied with their teaching qualifications, as presented below (see Table 9).

Female teachers' contentment with being normal (classroom) teachers

The majority of the participants interviewed and in the FGDs reported that most female teachers were contented with their status. About 17/20 heads of schools, the REO and DEO, in face-to-face interviews, and 15/20 groups of teachers through FGDs, reported that female teachers were happy to be normal (classroom) teachers and considered leadership

⁹ The same teachers were involved in questionnaires and group discussion.

posts time consuming and stressful. A few (3/20 heads of schools and 5/20 groups of teachers) reported that female teachers were dissatisfied with being classroom teachers (see Table 9).

Therefore, the majority of heads of schools, the REO, DEO and teachers had the view that female teachers were happy to remain classroom teachers rather than being heads of schools. They were unwilling to take school leadership posts and most opted to have a low profile in order to have less responsibility at school. This was captured, for example, in the response of one female teacher of school D, who pointed out that:

In my life, I do not think about being a leader; I like to remain a normal teacher as this frees me from responsibilities. I don't even want to participate in school leadership like being a head of department... (Female Teacher from School (FTS) - D)

Teachers and heads of schools reported further that female teachers do not see the importance of being leaders. This is because, to them, leadership involved too much, was time consuming and demanded that female teachers dedicate part of their family time to attending to school responsibilities. One female teacher reported this when she said:

I don't see the point of being a leader since my children will miss my company and my help. As you know, to be a leader, you have to dedicate a lot of your time. I am happy to be a normal teacher and I do not see the importance of struggling to be the head of school as I have socialised to be like that. (FTS-A)

This was supported by the majority of teachers, who further reported that leadership is a stressful undertaking and leaders have to struggle all the time to make sure that things go well in the schools. For example, this observation was noted from one of the female teachers during the focus group discussion:

Leadership is a stressful post, you can't be free and you are supposed to work all the time with no time for relaxation and reducing your stress with friends ... from the childhood we have been taught to be obedient to males and be good mothers. (FTS-F)

Nevertheless, 5/20 groups of teachers and 3/20 heads of schools reported that female teachers were not contented with remaining classroom teachers, as some of them were craving for promotion in order to acquire a leadership post, especially when their children had grown up. For example, one female teacher reported:

Females are dissatisfied with their status, as some females are struggling to obtain a leadership post but are hindered by cultural and family responsibilities (FTS-E)

This shows that females were less satisfied with remaining as classroom teachers, but were hindered by culture and family responsibilities.

Table 9: A summary of participants' views on individual factors that contribute to female under-representation in leadership in CSSs

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents				Description
			HoS	GTFGD	Others		
Contented with the status quo	Contented with being normal teacher	Very contented: because leadership is time consuming and stressful	17/20	15/20	REO	DEO	Female teachers were perceived by others to be happier to be normal teachers than leaders
		Less contented	3/20	5/20	-	-	
	Satisfied with own qualification	Very satisfied: family responsibilities and males are breadwinners	11/20	12/20	REO	DEO	Female teachers were satisfied with their qualifications
		Less satisfied	9/20	8/20	-	-	Dissatisfied but hindered by jealous husbands
Turning down leadership posts	Social and environmental confidence	Poor environment and social services and lack of confidence	14/20	16/20	REO	DEO	Female teachers rejected the post when appointed
			-				
	Ability to lead	Inability to lead	6/20	4/20	-	-	
Reward for leadership	Remuneration	Disinterested in leadership due to lack of allowances in the post and salaries similar to those of normal teachers	19/20	17/20	-	DEO	Lack of responsibility allowances and small difference in salary between heads of schools and normal teachers of the same age with the same qualifications discourage females from participating in leadership
		Benefits available like exposure	1/20	3/20	REO	-	There are leadership benefits like exposure and networking
Commitment	Less committed	Inactive, false apologies and less volunteering	16/20	14/20	REO	-	Female teachers were not recommended for leadership due to being less committed to work
	More committed	Active at work with more volunteering	4/20	6/20	DEO	-	

HoS – Heads of schools; GTFGD – Group of teachers in focus group discussions

Although the majority of participants reported that female teachers were satisfied with being classroom teachers, a few of them disagreed. The findings also show that female teachers were satisfied with their teaching qualification and were not interested in developing their career, as presented below.

Female teachers' satisfaction with teaching qualification (diploma)

This is another issue that emerged based on the female teachers' satisfaction with the status quo. It was revealed that the majority of female teachers were happy with their teaching diploma. The satisfaction with their level of education was closely related to their lack of a degree, which was needed for promotion to leadership positions (see Table 9). The questionnaire data obtained from 154 teachers and 32 members of school boards indicated that 88 (57.1%) teachers and 18 (56.3%) members of school boards reported that female teachers were satisfied with their qualification (see Figure 9). The questionnaire findings were triangulated with the interviews and FGDs.

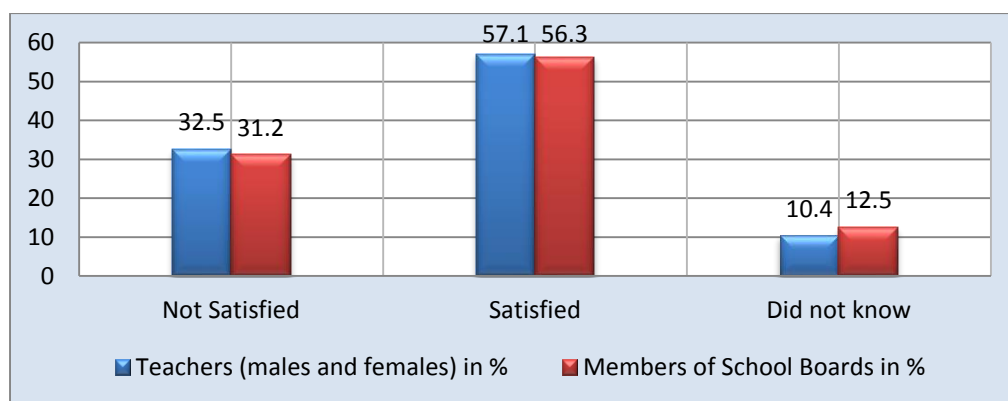


Figure 9: Satisfaction with qualification among in-service female teachers

Source: Field data, 2012

The analysis of the FGD and interview data shows that 11/20 heads of schools, 12/20 groups of teachers, the REO and DEO concurred with the questionnaire data that most female teachers were satisfied with their diploma and believed that their male counterparts were the breadwinners and should accept leadership positions. Conversely, female teachers had the major responsibility for taking care of family affairs, as presented below.

Males as breadwinners

As indicated above, the majority of heads of schools and teachers, the REO and DEO reported that the belief that males are the breadwinners contributed a lot to female teachers' satisfaction with their level of education. The respondents reported that female teachers and society still believe that males have more responsibility for providing for their families

and hence should have a higher education. This social construction was pointed out by one male teacher when he said:

I think the reason why females are satisfied with their level of education is the belief that men are responsible for supplying family needs and so they are always eager to develop their career for the benefit of the family. (Male Teacher from School (MTS-J)

The teachers further pointed out that, traditionally, society expects males to be the breadwinners and females only to supplement what the males get. One male teacher pointed this out, saying:

The majority of males are the breadwinners and thus are dissatisfied with being normal teachers; hence they struggle to develop their careers in order to be in a good position to support their families, unlike most females who depend on males. (MTS-L)

Moreover, the respondents reported that society does not value educated females, which contributes to female teachers' satisfaction with their low level of education. One female teacher reported that:

You know, we are satisfied with the education we have, and society has a negative attitude to highly educated females and particularly if you earn more money than your husband. They believe that educated women are less respectful of their husbands. To be honest, I am satisfied with my diploma as my husband contributes more. (FTS-K).

This was also reflected by a male teacher from school C, who commented in support of the social construction that women should not be encouraged in their career:

Females use strong and harsh words by nature; if they earn more than their husbands, they suppress a man and make him feel inferior and less respected in the family. Thus, this social pressure or concern makes some females prefer having a low level of education to increase the chances of being married. (MTS-C)

The ascribed satisfaction of female teachers with their level of education was also pointed out by the REO and heads of schools, who reported that some female teachers were satisfied if their husbands were rich and would feel there was no need for them to develop their career. The REO commented on this, saying:

Most women married to rich men forget everything about their academics ... they become satisfied with their husbands' properties and hence fail to use the available opportunities to develop their career ... they just consider their husbands to be the providers of everything for the family: cars, houses, jobs and so forth. They actually forget that as mothers they have to struggle to contribute too.

A similar view was echoed by the female head of school D:

Some females do not see the need to develop their careers and involve themselves in leadership. Their mentality is to marry educated men ... they say in Kiswahili: 'tumesomewa' (means 'someone (men) has studied for us and no need to struggle

with studies'). They say that it is only men who should study hard for no-one is struggling for them ... I think this is because they have been socialised to behave so. (FHoS –D).

These beliefs were said to cause female teachers to lack the appropriate qualifications for promotion to leadership. Family responsibilities were also reported to be among the factors for female teachers being satisfied with their diploma, as presented below.

Family responsibilities

Responsibility for taking care of the family was another factor that was reported to cause female teachers to be contented with their diploma in education. The analysis of the data indicates that, for female teachers, working towards a degree¹⁰ was a waste of time and they opted for child bearing and rearing and maintaining their families. This was highlighted by a female teacher who said:

I think the most important thing in my life is my children, I do not go for studies and leave my children behind missing me ... I am better remaining with my diploma rather than leaving my young children for studies. (FTS-C)

It was further reported by heads of schools and teachers that the sense of being responsible for their families makes female teachers hesitate to undertake further studies for fear of ruining the behaviour of their children. Meanwhile, they also would avoid the condemnation of their husbands if their children developed bad behaviour. This was expressed by a female teacher, who commented:

I am satisfied with the level of education I have (diploma); I have to think about my children now instead of wasting my time studying. If I go for further studies, no-one will take care of my children and raise them the way I wish. Maids are not always good at taking care of children; they might mistreat them. I have seen my friend's children behaving badly because their mother is developing her career and no-one is there to take proper care of them. (FTS-B)

The question of female teachers not being interested in developing their career to degree level for fear of their husbands marrying other women was also reported by the teachers and heads of schools. They reported that women were afraid that, being absent for three years while attaining a university degree would jeopardise their marriage. This concern was highlighted by a female teacher, who said:

Imagine three years away from your husband, it is not possible, he will find another woman, I am willing to sacrifice studying for my marriage. (FTS-I)

Contrary to the findings in Table 9, 8/20 groups of teachers in FGDs and 9/20 interviews with heads of schools observed that female teachers were dissatisfied with their diploma and were interested in developing their career. Nevertheless, a number of obstacles, such

¹⁰ A degree is one of the criteria for promotion to leadership

as their obligation to spouses, hindered their ambitions. During the FGDs, a male teacher commented:

My wife is a certificate holder; I think that level is enough for her. I do not encourage her to develop her career, she is a woman, and she should stay at home most of the time to take care of my children rather than wasting time studying. (MTS-L)

Another male teacher from school M added that the decision to pursue further studies causes husbands to be humiliated:

I dumped my fiancée because she got a scholarship for a master's degree; it was a humiliating experience for my fiancée to have a master's degree while I only have an advanced diploma. I did not want to marry a woman who is above me academically. (MTS-M)

Teachers and heads of schools supported the idea that jealous husbands do not allow their wives to develop their career for fear of them being involved in love affairs with other men while away for their studies. This was revealed by a male head of school, who commented that:

I have experienced married women studying at universities and colleges getting involved in sexual relationships with fellow students or lecturers. Hence, I cannot allow my wife to go to study at the university; if she wants to study, she had better do it through distance learning. (MHoS-H)

While the findings show that females were satisfied with their level of education and were not working to develop their careers for better chances, other data show that some female teachers had shown an interest in developing their careers but were hindered by a number of constraints, causing them to lack the qualifications necessary for a school headship appointment. The next section presents another individual factor contributing to female teachers' under-representation in leadership positions by examining the respondents' opinions on why women reject the appointment.

4.2.1.2 Females turn down leadership offers

This is another issue that emerged as one of the individual factors contributing to female under-representation in community secondary school senior leadership. The analysis of data from the questionnaires indicated that 98 (63.6%) teachers reported that female teachers frequently turned down leadership offers, 44 (28.6%) rarely turned down offers and 12 (7.8%) never turned down leadership offers (see Figure 10).

When the questionnaire data was triangulated with the data from the key informant interviews and FGDs, detailed information on the reasons why female teachers reject school leadership posts emerged.

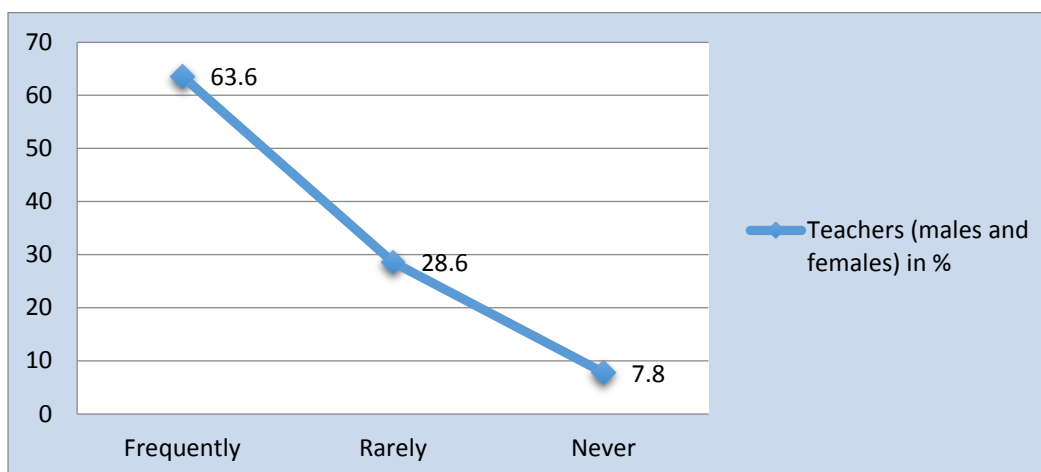


Figure 10: Teachers' views on female teachers rejecting leadership offers
Source: Field data, 2012

The interview and FGDs findings concurred with those of the data from the questionnaire, namely that some female teachers turn down school leadership offers because of poor social services and the work environment, a lack of confidence and their inability to lead (see Table 9). These are presented below.

Poor social services and work environment and lack of confidence

Poor social services and work environment, and a lack of confidence, are factors mentioned by 14/20 heads of schools, 16/20 teachers in FGDs, the REO and DEO as the major reasons why female teachers turn down leadership offers in rural CSSs (see Table 9). Regarding poor social services and working environment, the findings reveal that poor transport, a lack of safe and clean water and poor housing with no electricity in rural areas were among the reasons causing female teachers to reject the posts, unlike male teachers. This was due to the different socialisation of the sexes. For instance, motorcycles are the main means of transport in rural areas, but this type of transport was reported to scare female teachers from using them frequently, as they felt unsafe due to repeated accidents. Photo 1 shows the common means of transport used. For example, a female head of school highlighted during the interview that:

We mostly use motorcycles for travelling to town ... I have had three accidents involving motorcycles ... it is also risky because we travel through the forest ... So, we get scared ... we do not have an alternative means of transport. (FHoS-G)

This means of transport was reported to affect women more than men. This is because the husbands of most female heads of schools work and live in town and so they have to travel frequently to visit their families, unlike male heads of schools, whose wives and families are at their workstations.



Photo 1: Commonly used transport in the researched district

Source: Field data, 2012

Few male heads of schools live far from their workstations and use their own motorcycles to travel to and from the school. One male head of school commented on this, saying:

I live with my family far from the school and so I have to ride a motorcycle for more than 40 km to and from school daily ... working in an environment with poor social services affects females mostly because culturally they are not allowed to ride motorcycles like males ... thus they reject leadership posts once appointed. (MHoS-K)

The respondents mentioned further that the lack of safe and clean water was among the reasons for women rejecting the post. Sometimes they had to walk for more than 15 kilometres to find unsafe and unclean water from boreholes (see Photo 2). They reported that female heads of schools were affected most, as they would be too tired after walking such long distances to fetch water after office hours. Their male counterparts were more advantaged as they had wives who fetched water for them. During the interview, a male head of school highlighted this when he commented that:

The little water we get is neither safe nor clean ... wells and boreholes which provide seasonal water are shared by both people and animals ... it needs tolerance for females with children who are not locals here to live in this unsafe environment ... this causes some female teachers to decline leadership posts. (MHoS-Q)

This view was shared by another female head of school, who made a similar comment:

At first, I refused the post in this area because it lacks social services. I only took the post because my children are all grown up and live on their own in boarding schools. Otherwise, I would not have managed to live with them in this environment... (FHoS-E)

More findings indicated that, to live and work in a rural area where one needs to search for water sources at night during the dry season, was not only a punishment, but also

exposed female teachers to some social problems. For example, fetching water from distant water sources at night and in dark forests exposed some women to rape. One female teacher highlighted this when she said:

Imagine an environment of a school like (mentioning the name). It is so harsh: only one teacher's house ... sometimes rape at night, walking more than 15 kilometres, fighting for unclean water shared with cattle; so discouraging ... females are rejecting the posts in this district. (FTS-I)



Photo 2: Water sources in the district, where wells are shared with cattle

Source: Field data, 2012

Poor housing was another reason mentioned by respondents that caused female teachers to reject school leadership posts. The houses in villages where schools were found were unsafe, too risky, with no electricity, and generally were frightening. One female teacher reported this concern, saying:

Females may reject posts because of poor housing, for instance, I stay in a poor rented house, which after all is very far from the school; I am not safe because the house is not in a good condition, it has poor windows and doors. (FTS-N)

The question not only concerned poor housing, but also adequacy. Most respondents reported that, because of the shortage of teachers' houses, some teachers had to live in a classroom for months. These were unsafe, with no proper windows and doors, making female teachers prone to rape and robbery, unlike male teachers, who were reported not to be at such risk.

In this study, it was found that some villages lacked even poor houses to rent. The analysis of the data gathered via interviews with the DEO and REO show that the district had only 135 teachers' houses against the requirement of 425. It was also reported that, where a school had a teacher's house, more than three families, including the head of school, would share it. Similarly, where the house was allocated for a female head of school, she would

still be too afraid to live there alone. This is because the schools were normally in isolated locations and were surrounded by bush. Photo 3 shows teachers' housing in the district.



Photo 3: A sample of teachers' and villagers' houses in the district. On the left: teachers' housing in the school compound; on the right: houses that teachers rent in the villages

Source: Field data, 2012

Lack of confidence

As was introduced above, a lack of confidence was among the reasons mentioned by the majority of heads of schools, teachers, the REO and DEO contributing to female teachers turning down leadership offers (see Table 9). These participants claimed that some female teachers rejected leadership appointments because of a lack of confidence and assertiveness, irrespective of their ability. This was reported by a male head of school, who said:

The common enemy of females causing them to reject the post is lack of confidence. Many females have no confidence to encounter the challenges of headship although they have the ability to lead. (MHoS-T)

The analysis of the data from the interview with the REO confirms that, in 2010/2011, four female teachers rejected the opportunity to become heads of schools in the region. He reported that the region has only 33 female heads of schools and they may appoint about eight female heads annually. Four female teachers rejecting headship posts in 2010/2011 underscores the severity of this factor. In line with this, the heads of schools attributed the rejection to fear of dealing with higher authority. Female teachers were reported to lack self-confidence in handling official responsibilities, while male teachers rarely feared to deal with higher authority.

Inability of female teachers to lead

The findings show that female teachers rejected the leadership posts because of their inability to lead CSSs. The analysis of the data collected from interviews and FGDs indicates that 6/20 heads of schools and 4/20 groups of teachers in FGDs (see Table 9)

reported that female teachers regularly turned down leadership appointments because they considered themselves incapable of leading. This was particularly evident when a male head of school commented:

Sometimes heads of schools would appoint female teachers to headship posts at school level (as academic mistress or deputy headmistress); but some of them would reject taking up the posts because they would consider themselves incapable of leading. (MHoS-K)

The heads of schools insisted that such female teachers always declined school posts and responsibilities. They rather would hide their talents and not take risks. This was reflected in a comment made by the head of school M, who said that:

There are more than three female teachers at my school, although they do not have any experience in leadership, surprisingly they decline all appointments like academic posts as they believe that they do not have the ability and qualities of leadership. (MHoS-M)

Therefore, it was revealed that there are various reasons causing female teachers to turn down leadership posts, including poor social services, lack of confidence and lack of ability to lead.

4.2.1.3 Rewards and their influence on leadership

The issue of rewards is another one that emerged in relation to individual factors contributing to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. The analysis of the findings shows that the majority of respondents reported that female teachers were less interested in leadership positions because there were no benefits for being a leader, which discouraged women from participating in leadership, as indicated in Table 9. It was found that 19/20 of heads of schools, 17/20 groups of teachers in FGDs and the DEO confirmed this assertion. The reasons given were lack of hardship and responsibility allowances for teachers involved in leadership posts, as well as the similarity in salaries between heads of schools and classroom teachers, as presented below.

Lack of hardship and responsibility allowances

As indicated in Table 9, the respondents revealed that some teachers were not interested in taking school leadership posts, such as deputy or departmental headship, because no reward was given for such positions. A sample of the responses to this view is from the male head of school J, who said:

Females do not show interest in becoming leaders. I heard one female teacher saying that she did not want to take up the department headship because the post had no allowances. (MHoS-J).

The respondents further reported that the lack of responsibility and hardship allowances for teachers and heads of schools on top of their salaries discouraged females from taking

leadership positions, unlike males, who felt proud to be leaders. One male head of school pointed this out when he said:

Headship is devotion, if you do not have patriotism, you won't aspire to become a head ... no responsibility and hardship allowances, this discourages teachers from aspiring to be leaders, and for female teachers it is worse because there are few of them in the system. (MHoS-N)

Another female head of school added to this by reporting that the only allowance they got was for their transport and meals when attending district meetings. This was made clear when she reported that:

Sometimes when we attend a meeting we may get an allowance which covers our accommodation, but which is not enough as sometimes you have to use your own funds if you want to eat and sleep comfortably ... it is really discouraging being a head and it is true that some females are not interested in leadership because of this. (FHoS-F)

Similarity of salaries

Table 9 indicates that some qualified female teachers were not motivated to be leaders because of the lack of difference in salaries between the heads of schools and classroom teachers of the same age with similar qualifications and experience, irrespective of leadership responsibilities. This was reported to discourage young female teachers from working towards leadership, as it was claimed there was no benefit in being a leader. This was noted by a female teacher, who said:

Heads of schools have the same salary as normal teachers with the same qualifications. So why should I do a stressful job which at the end of the day would earn the same salary as other teachers who do not work under stress? (FTS-S)

However, 3/20 groups of teachers, one male head of school and the REO disagreed with this, as they reported that there were other benefits to being a head of school apart from financial benefits. These include developing leadership skills, increased networking with top leadership, and gaining confidence, knowledge, exposure and experience.

4.2.1.4 Commitment to work and underperformance

In this study, less commitment to work was reported as one of the individual factors for female under-representation in CSS leadership. The analysis of the data from the questionnaires indicated contradictory views on the level of female teachers' commitment to work (Figure 11). Figure 11 shows that 93 (60.4%) teachers reported that female teachers were less committed to their work, while 20 (62.5%) members of school boards had the opposite view.



Figure 11: The assessment of female teachers' commitment to work

Source: Field data, 2012

Triangulation of the questionnaire findings with those of the interviews and FGDs provided detailed information and an explanation of the contradiction. The findings from the interviews and FGDs were in line with those of the questionnaires, which reported that female teachers' were less committed to their work, as indicated in Table 9. The analysis of the qualitative data in Table 9 shows that the majority of heads of schools (16/20), the majority of the groups of teachers (14/20) and the REO reported that female teachers were inactive and sluggish, prone to giving false apologies and were less willing to volunteer for tasks. These sub-themes are presented below.

Inactive and sluggish female teachers

The analysis of the qualitative data indicates that some junior female teachers were inactive and sluggish and had to be forced to work and perform school responsibilities. This discouraged heads of schools from recommending and appointing them for school leadership positions. This was revealed by a female head of school during the interview:

Some female teachers are lazy. They do not perform their duties well as male teachers do. If you assign a task to female teachers, they are not active in performing it. As a result, if an opportunity occurs, I recommend and give it to a male teacher. I have one teacher who has a degree and long experience, but she is too lazy. To be honest, I have never given her any post at the school and if any opportunity occurs, I recommend males with a diploma instead. (FHoS-E)

Some heads of schools also asserted that some female teachers were inactive and fragile and did not deliver when given academic and deputy headship posts. An analysis of the data further revealed that female teachers come to school late and leave early, with the excuse of family responsibilities. Excuses include sick children, attending clinics for children and many others. This was sometimes associated with signing the attendance book falsely to indicate that they had arrived at work earlier. All these were practical issues that

compelled heads of schools not to recommend women for school leadership positions. This was confirmed by a female head of school, who commented that:

Female teachers are very tricky, sometimes they come late and pretend they came early, I have warned them several times but they change for only a few months. I cannot recommend such a teacher to a leadership post. (FHoS-E)

The female heads of departments or deputies at the schools were reported to abuse the positions bestowed on them, as they would be away from their duties for a week or more without reporting to the school leadership. The DEO supported this claim that he had received complaints from heads of schools regarding the absence of some female teachers from their workplace.

Apologies by female teachers

The analysis of the data shows that some female teachers were perceived to make unnecessary apologies and demanded a lot of attention and excuses to be excluded from school activities to attend to family and personal issues.

Female teachers reported that they were perceived to be making apologies when given some of the school activities because they were overwhelmed with family chores and had less support from their husbands. Also, the nature of the school environment was reported to be less conducive for women. For example, one female teacher reported that:

As women we have a lot to do, including home activities, taking care of children and travelling to schools on foot which are very far from where we live. When we have family problems the leadership and other males think we pretend, to be honest we are burdened with families and environment problems which sometimes we may ask for excuse from school to attend family issues. (FTS-D)

Another female teacher reported that:

We are working in harsh environment, government does not care about the hardship we have, we have a lot of challenges, we get less support from husbands, therefore when we talk to school leadership about challenges we face they perceive us negatively and less believe. (FTS-G)

One experienced female head of school also gave her experience when she stated:

The male head of the school I was posted to for the first time was not happy having females at his school. I remember how he asked me many questions on the first day; 'Are you married? How many children do you have? How many do you plan to have? How old are they? Where is your husband? ... I do not like female teachers because of their excuses and feigned sickness. I was very disappointed with him and I immediately developed a negative attitude to him. (FHoS-A)

Heads of schools further reported that working with females needs a great deal of patience and tolerance, as some of them were not serious about their work, but rather cared more

for their social affairs. The findings show that some pregnant female teachers used this as an excuse for being relieved from school responsibilities. The heads of schools reported that such habits would sometimes discourage them from recommending female teachers for school leadership positions.

Unwilling to volunteer

One of the issues that emerged was female teachers' unwillingness to volunteer (see Table 9). It was reported that some female teachers were unwilling to volunteer for the tasks that emerged. They would give many excuses to be exempted or would demand payment for any extra duties, as opposed to their male counterparts, who worked for prestige. This view was put forth by the male head of school J, who commented:

Some female teachers are reluctant to spare some time for the school's voluntary activities. Many times I ask teachers to volunteer but mainly males do so. I have learnt that some females do not use their time for extra work without pay ... and if they do they complain a lot. (MHoS-J)

When female teachers were asked why they do not volunteer they reported that the government does not acknowledge their contribution. Although the findings indicate that female teachers are less committed to their work due to low morale, a female teacher in FGD said:

I teach only because it is my responsibility, but I do not have the incentive to teach because of the hard life: the government does not appreciate our contribution at all. (FTS-O)

While most participants were of the opinion that female teachers were less committed to work, 4/20 heads of schools, 6/20 groups of teachers and the DEO revealed that female teachers were more committed to their work than males. Some male teachers were observed to spend most of their time doing personal business in search of money at the expense of teaching. Female teachers, on the other hand, reported to work unreservedly to avoid being scorned and reprimanded. In contrast, male teachers were confident of being defended by the heads of schools before the higher authorities. They pointed out that committed female teachers would devote their time to performing school activities. Their efforts made it easier for them to be recommended for leadership positions. Nevertheless, it was also noted that not all committed female teachers were given such opportunities because of the personal interests of some heads of schools, as detailed in section 4.2.2.

On the other hand, male and senior female teachers were reported to be the most committed to their work and would arrive early at school. This was attributed to the lack of family responsibilities at home. One female head of school commented:

Men do not perform household chores; women have to prepare children for school in the morning, take them to the clinic or hospital if sick, budget for the household, do the washing, clean and other chores, which may cause females to be less committed to their work and unpunctual. (FHoS-C)

Therefore this section has presented the individual factors contributing to female under-representation in CSS leadership positions. The four themes that emerged were presented and analysed. These are female teachers' satisfaction with the status quo, turning down leadership offers, not being interested in leadership due to the lack of allowances and rewards, and less commitment to their work. The next section presents organisational factors contributing to females' under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs.

4.2.2 Organisational factors

Organisational factors also emerged from the data analysis as factors influencing female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs. The issues emerging included (i) gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools, (ii) gender inequality policy in education, (iii) the leadership style used by female heads of schools, (iv) lack of support from top leadership and (v) lack of role models. These themes and sub-themes are summarised in Table 10.

4.2.2.1. Gender bias in recommending and appointing teachers to leadership

The data gathered via the questionnaire revealed a gender bias in recommending and appointing female teachers to leadership posts. The data from the questionnaire shows that 65 (42.2%) teachers and 22 (68.8%) members of school boards agreed with the above statement (see Figure 12).

The interview with the REO and 14/20 heads of schools, as well as 18/20 groups of teachers in FGDs, agreed with the data from the questionnaire that female under-representation in senior leadership positions was exacerbated by gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools (Table 10). The sub-themes that emerged were the inappropriate appointment procedure based on tribalism, favouritism, culture and stereotypes, and recommendations based on sexual corruption.

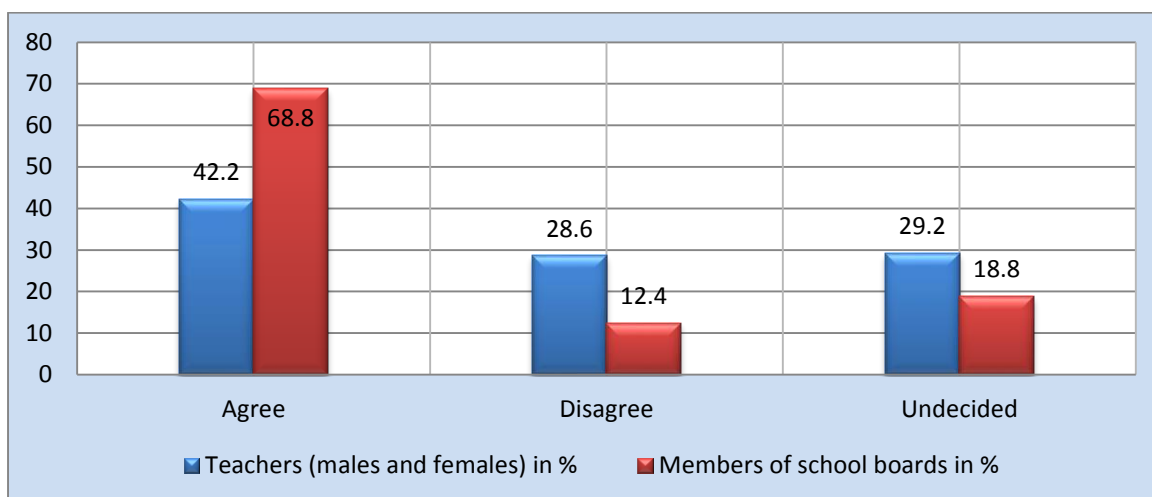


Figure 12: Existence of gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools
Source: Field data, 2012

Inappropriate procedure used to recommend heads

The majority of respondents pointed out that the inappropriate procedure used to recommend and appoint heads of schools was the leading cause of female under-representation in school leadership. For example, the interview and FGD data show that 9/20 heads of schools and the REO and 12/20 groups of teachers respectively considered this as among the organisational factors for females' under-representation in leadership in CSSs (see Table 10). It was revealed that the procedure for appointing heads of schools comprised three stages: heads of schools recommend qualified candidates and forwarded the names to the DEO, who selected the most qualified teachers and forwarded the names to the REO for the final appointment.

The procedure was viewed as encouraging discrimination. This was confirmed by the female heads of schools, who witnessed gender bias in the appointment and recommendation of teachers to school leadership throughout their career. One female head reported:

There is no fairness in the procedure for recommending and appointing heads of schools. From school level, heads of schools for their own reasons discriminate against female teachers. (FHoS-M)

The heads of schools reported that the procedure sometimes was not followed, as it bypassed the DEO, and they were ordered to allow their teachers to lead certain schools without their recommendation. The teachers further suggested the need to advertise school leadership posts and for applicants to compete through interviews for the sake of fairness.

Table 10. A summary of organisational factors contributing to female under-representation in leadership in CSSs

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents					Description
			HoS	GTFGD	Others			
					GPFGD	REO	DEO	
Gender bias	Gender bias in recommendations and appointments	Inappropriate recommendation and appointment procedure	9/20	12/20	-	REO		There is gender bias in the whole process of recommending and appointing heads to leadership
		Sexual harassment and recommendation based on sexual corruption	7/20	7/20	-	REO		
	No gender bias in recommendations and appointments	Appointments based on criteria and qualifications	4/20	1/20	-	-	DEO	There is no gender bias
Policy	Gender neutral policy	Silent on gender equality policy in appointments	20/20		-	REO	DEO	Policy on recommendation and appointment is gender neutral
Leadership style	Autocratic	Less collaborative and defensive	10/20	16/20	10/14			Leadership styles used by female teachers
	Participatory	Caring, collaborative, supportive and problem solving	10/20	4/20	4/14	REO	DEO	
Encouragement and support	Lack of encouragement and support	Jealous, lack of leadership skills	14/20	17/20		REO	DEO	Female teachers lack support and encouragement from leaders
	Presence of support and encouragement	Committed to increasing number of females in decision making and career development	6/20	3/20	-	-		
Role models	Lack of role models and mentors	Few females take rural posts	20/20	20/20	-	REO	DEO	Female teachers lack role models and mentors due to hostile environment in rural areas

Key: HoS – heads of schools; GTFGD - group of teachers in focus group discussions, GPFGD - group of parents in focus group discussions

The findings further indicated that teachers who were appointed sometimes were not interested in the posts and/or were incompetent. This was highlighted by a female teacher:

The appointment procedure is not good as we don't know what criteria are used by the committee or heads of schools... sometimes well qualified females were overlooked ... I think the best solution would be to advertise the post and compete through interviews. (FTS-L)

In this study, the appointments of heads of schools were reported to be based on favouritism and tribalism, rather than criteria and qualifications. For example, a male teacher commented on this when he said:

Tribalism and favouritism pose a big challenge to the appointment of heads of schools. Even if I were on the panel, I would appoint a person I know, preferably from my tribe, religion or sex; you cannot avoid doing that. (MTS-D)

The heads of schools further reported that the recommendations they make would sometimes not be taken into consideration at higher levels. The REO added that gender bias in appointing heads of schools may influence the appointment committee at regional level, which consists only of males. An interview with the REO further showed that the committee was sometimes discouraged from recommending women because they usually turned down the offer. He said:

It is a waste of time and resources to appoint a person to headship who eventually declines to take up the post ... we thus sometimes mostly appoint male teachers who rarely refuse the post ... (REO)

The REO further noted that his office normally received mostly names of male teachers who were recommended for school leadership positions from the DEO office. The findings with the DEO on this matter show that he normally sent more male names to be appointed to school leadership positions because his office received few female names from heads of schools. The respondents further reported that those who recommend and appoint heads of schools have a negative perception of female leadership. They attributed such bias and discriminatory practices to the African culture, which in their view considered females to be weak and unfit for leadership. They reported that the culture and the Islamic religion, which is dominant in the district, believed that females ought not to stand in front of males to air their views, and so they were less likely to be recommended for and appointed to leadership positions.

Sexual harassment and sexual corruption when recommending teachers to headship

The results of this study indicate that 7/20 heads of schools, 7/20 groups of teachers and the REO reported that recommendations based on sexual corruption are among the factors

influencing the under-representation of female leaders in CSSs (see Table 10). They reported that some male heads of schools would demand sex from female teachers in exchange for leadership promotion offers and other fringe benefits. However, the findings reveal that some female teachers rejected these sexual advances and thus were less likely to be recommended. One female teacher commented on this, saying:

My colleague teacher complained that a male head of school demanded sex with her as a condition for recommending her for school leadership promising that he would talk with the DEO to favour her in the appointment. He also promised that he would offer her different opportunities. However she refused the offer. (FTS-F)

However, the teachers believed that some female teachers concealed the matter to save their boss's reputation. It was also revealed that many female heads had experienced sexual advances throughout their career. One female head of school gave her own experience of how her boss demanded a sexual bribe for appointment when she noted that:

One of my former bosses at a higher level promised to finance my higher studies and promotion. The condition for the offer was however to have a sexual relationship with him. Conversely, I refused the offer and he hated me so much. (FHoS-E)

Other findings show that some unethical bosses engaged in sexual corruption in exchange for posting females to leading schools in urban areas. Therefore, this practice confirms the lack of female heads in rural CSSs. This was pointed out during the FGDs with the teachers, who reported that some female teachers and heads were posted to towns based on sexual corruption. One male teacher commented on this, saying:

In my employment batch, most female teachers I knew were posted to urban schools, with more than 10 female teachers already. But I was posted to this rural school with only one female teacher. Despite telling the authorities that I have a medical certificate proving that I have a medical problem requiring me to stay near a big hospital, they did not care ... I later asked those female teachers how they managed to get a place in urban schools and some of them told me that it was because of their sex ... (MTS-E)

A female head gave her experience, saying:

In my first appointment as a head of school, I was posted to a very remote area and I did not like it. Then some top bosses told me that I had to meet them on different occasions at the rest house and talk with them if I wanted to remain in an urban area. I then asked myself, how could one go to discuss official issues at the rest house? I did not go and as a result, I was posted to that rural school without reliable social services. (FHoS-B)

No gender bias

The DEO and 4/20 heads of schools, and 1/20 groups of teachers in the interviews and FGDs respectively reported that there was no gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools (see Table 10). It was found that recommendations for becoming a head of school were always based on merit, as per the set qualifications. The DEO reported that

they sometimes appointed a teacher without a degree as head of school if no candidate with the required qualification had been recommended, and no-one was discriminated against. They emphasised that the main hurdle for female teachers to be appointed to become heads of schools was their unwillingness to take up leadership posts and lack of qualifications. However, some degree of weakness in appointing/or recommending female teachers for leadership due to personal interests was acknowledged (which is against the law and regulations), but this was not a common practice. In addition, the DEO and a few heads of schools insisted that it was the habit of female teachers of rejecting posts that discouraged them from recommending females, and not bias. One male head of school remarked:

We come back to the same point that few female teachers take up the posts. So, it seems on the surface as if there is gender bias in appointments, but that is not true. You know, sometimes we tried to recommend them, but all they would do is to refuse to take up the posts, so why bother then continuing to appoint such persons?
(MHoS-J)

Generally, most heads of schools, teachers and the REO were of the view that there was gender bias in appointing heads of CSSs. The results show that, while male teachers were favoured, female teachers were discriminated against at all levels (from school to regional level).

4.2.2.2 Gender policy and female under-representation in leadership

The lack of a policy on gender and leadership was another theme that emerged from the data that influenced female teachers' under-representation in school leadership positions. Interviews with the DEO, REO and all heads of schools (20/20) revealed that the Education and Training Policy (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995a) had not addressed the issues of gender and leadership in secondary schools. The policy does not indicate initiatives for increasing the number of female leaders in secondary schools at all levels of education. For instance, the REO recommended that:

We don't have a policy which guides us to appoint or select heads of schools based on gender. The policy indicates only who will be involved in appointing and selecting heads of schools and the qualifications required. Even SEDP, which implemented the policy, is quiet on gender sensitivity in appointing heads of schools. (REO)

The data indicates that no gender-based directives for appointing leaders were stipulated in the ETP. The absence of a gender equality policy was observed by the heads of schools to have led to the presence of few females teachers in educational leadership. Therefore, heads of schools confirmed that the absence of a gender policy on leadership might have

given room for stereotypes and bias in appointments and thus the under-representation of female teachers in the leadership of CSSs.

4.2.2.3 Female heads of schools leadership styles

The leadership style of female heads of schools was another organisational factor found to lead to females' under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. An analysis of the questionnaire data shows that 78 (50.6%) teachers and 13 (40.6%) members of school boards perceived that the leadership style used by female leaders was mostly autocratic (Figure 13).

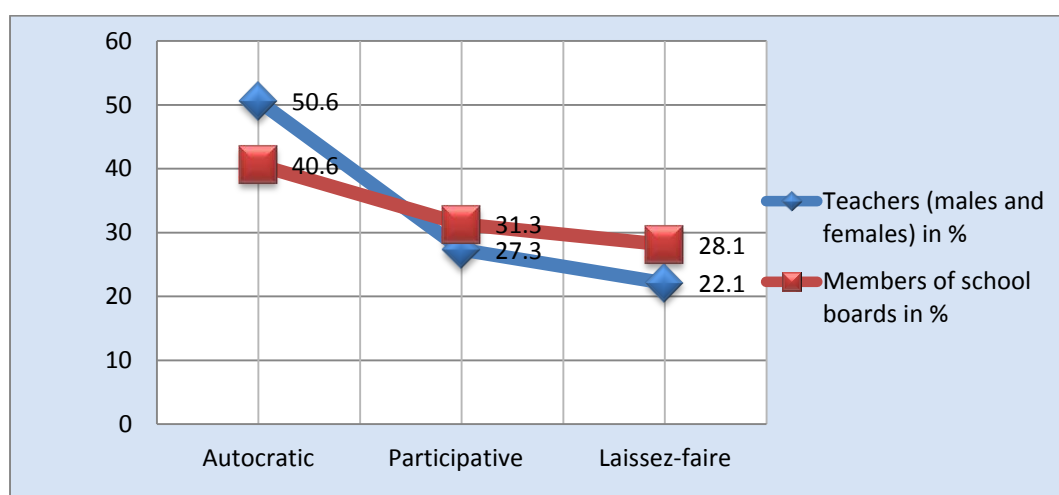


Figure 13: Participants' views on female heads of schools' leadership styles

Source: Field data, 2012

Triangulation of the questionnaire data and the qualitative data (interview and FGDs) indicates that 10/20 heads of schools, 16/20 groups of teachers and 10/14 groups of parents concurred with the view that female heads of schools frequently used the autocratic leadership style. This, in turn, was reported to discourage females from being involved in leadership. It was reported that, as a result of the autocratic style of leadership, teachers were ordered to perform different functions in school without their agreement. Therefore, for the female heads of schools, command was necessary so that goals were achieved. This was acknowledged by a female teacher, who commented:

... to be honest, female leaders use force, they do not involve teachers and parents in different issues; they only want to accomplish the goal. This is really discouraging to have females in leadership as we expected them to behave like mothers. (FTS-G)

Another reason why female heads of schools, in contrast to male heads of schools, used the autocratic style of leadership was a lack of confidence. This was evident when a female teacher remarked that:

Most female heads of schools lack confidence. So they use force to show that they have authority ... one female head of school commands us, saying, 'I have said; you have to do so ... and so ... when she says so ... I have no choice but to do it... (FTS-D)

The respondents further reported that female heads of schools do not involve teachers, members of school boards or parents in decision making, but instead pretend to involve them in decision making when they have already made their decisions. One male teacher reported:

Sometimes we make our contribution on a certain issue ... we can discuss with the head but she always ignores our ideas ... meeting with her is a waste of time as our ideas are not taken into account. (MTS-R)

The teachers claimed to be involved in decisions only when female heads of schools face a problem that needs the support of the school staff. Moreover, parents also reported to be involved only when they need to make a financial contribution for school buildings, but not otherwise. They reported that female heads of schools sometimes do not hold any parental or school board meeting for a year. This indicates dissatisfaction with the leadership style of female leaders, which tends to discourage female teachers from being involved in leadership.

Data from the FGDs with the teachers revealed that some female heads of schools did not take any advice from the teachers. This frustrated and discouraged other teachers, who in turn disliked the leadership style used by women. For example, a male teacher reported:

When teachers want advice or clarification from our head, she accuses them of being after her post ... she also doesn't like to be questioned when things go wrong...and she mistreats those questioning her ... she also does not like some of the staff and so she has divided us into classes by establishing a group of people whom she likes and favours more than others. She has a strong belief in some of the teachers for her own interests. (MTS-B)

In contrast, the data gathered via interviews and FGDs indicates that the REO, DEO, 4/20 groups of teachers, 4/14 groups of parents and 10/20 heads of schools were of the view that the majority of female leaders used the participatory leadership style. They stated that females were more caring and involved subordinates in decision making. Interestingly, the majority of female heads were reported to use various types of leadership styles, although the participatory leadership style was used most. One female head of school argued:

As a leader, I use different leadership styles. I do not depend on one style, as sometimes, I have to use command, sometimes democracy and sometimes laissez-faire, depending on the situation. (FHoS-A)

Female heads of schools disagreed with some respondents, saying that they encouraged subordinates to take part in decision making and regularly communicated through meetings, letters, notice boards and memos. They made their subordinates part of the

school by creating a situation that made everyone participate in accomplishing school goals and activities. They also delegated power to subordinates and shared power and information with all members of the school community.

4.2.2.4 Lack of encouragement and support

Lack of encouragement and support for female teachers by heads of schools was another organisational factor causing female under-representation in leadership. Data from the questionnaire administered to teachers and members of the school boards indicated that 98 (63.7%) and 15 (46.9%) teachers and members of school boards respectively, reported that lack of encouragement and support from heads of schools influenced female teachers' under-representation in school leadership positions (see Figure 14).

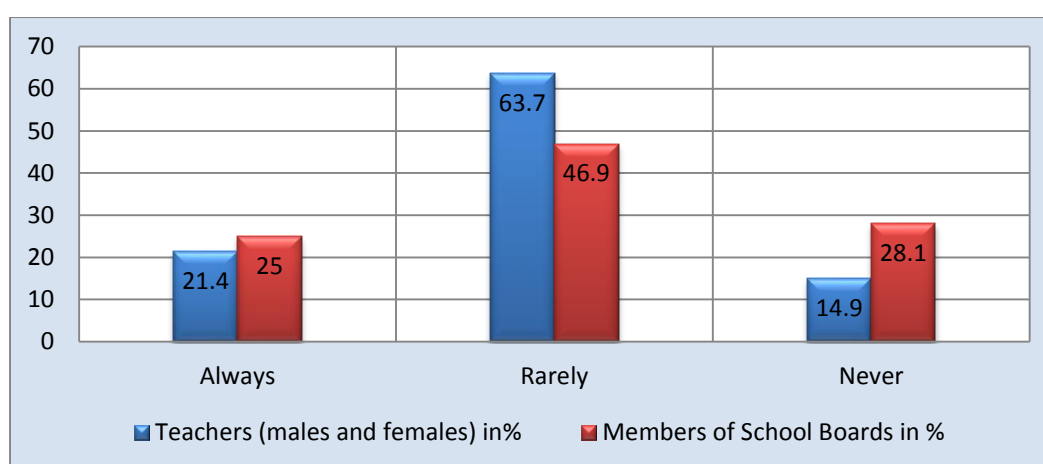


Figure 14: Female teachers' encouragement and support from school leadership

Source: Field data, 2012

When the questionnaire data was triangulated with that from the interviews and FGDs, it was found that the REO, DEO and 14/20 heads of schools as well as 17/20 groups of teachers reported that female teachers had no support and encouragement from female heads to be involved in leadership. This was because, even for the heads, leadership was perceived to be demanding and time consuming. It was revealed that leadership interferes with other social obligations. One female teacher reported:

Our female head of school discourages us from aspiring for leadership positions as she says that there is no office for us to be leaders and leadership is a frustrating post for females. (FTS-D)

Moreover, the teachers reported that some heads of schools did not give teachers support or an opportunity to develop their career, or give any information on career development to enhance their work. This was supported by a comment from a female teacher:

You can't get any information about professional development, as heads of schools conceal the information or the opportunities available and provide it to only a few

they like. It is discouraging to have school heads that do not support and consider the development of their staff. (FTS-B)

The teachers reported further that female heads were not friendly to female teachers and denied them opportunities to attain equal status. They accused female teachers of gossiping about their female leaders. This was indicated by a female head of school who said:

I have seen many female leaders humiliating female teachers. They accuse them of being disrespectful and unsupportive of the leadership. So, their only means of controlling them was to humiliate them and undermine their confidence ... females' gossip too much about their leaders, and always perceive fellow female leaders as their enemy. (FHoS-E)

Data analysed from the FGDs with teachers added more insights to the quotes above, where teachers reported that female leaders were jealous of fellow female teachers who appeared wearing smarter clothes than them. They reported that such leaders tended to hate such female teachers and would not support them to take any opportunities if available. Furthermore, the majority of female heads of schools reported that they did not get support and encouragement to be involved in leadership in their professional life, while the majority of male heads revealed that they were encouraged and supported.

However, 6/20 heads of schools and 3/20 group of teachers were of the view that female teachers were supported and encouraged by female heads of schools. They reported that some female heads desired to make way for other women in order to increase their number in leadership. One female head of school had the view that:

Females generally are not supported by the family and school; we need to give them a hand to stand up and see various opportunities... which will help to build their confidence. (FHoS-A)

Heads of schools further reported that some female teachers were prepared to aspire for leadership posts and professional development if provided with support and encouragement.

Generally, the findings in this section have shown that female teachers did not get the encouragement and support needed from heads of schools and top leaders. Consequently, only a few female teachers are found in leadership positions in rural CSSs.

4.2.2.5 Lack of role models and mentors for female teachers

The lack of role models for female teachers and students was also observed to be among the organisational factors affecting female under-representation in school leadership. An analysis of the data from the questionnaire responses of teachers and members of school boards indicated that 98 (63.6%) teachers and 15 (46.9%) members of school boards

agreed that the lack of role models and mentors for female teachers in leadership cause women's under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs (see Figure 15).

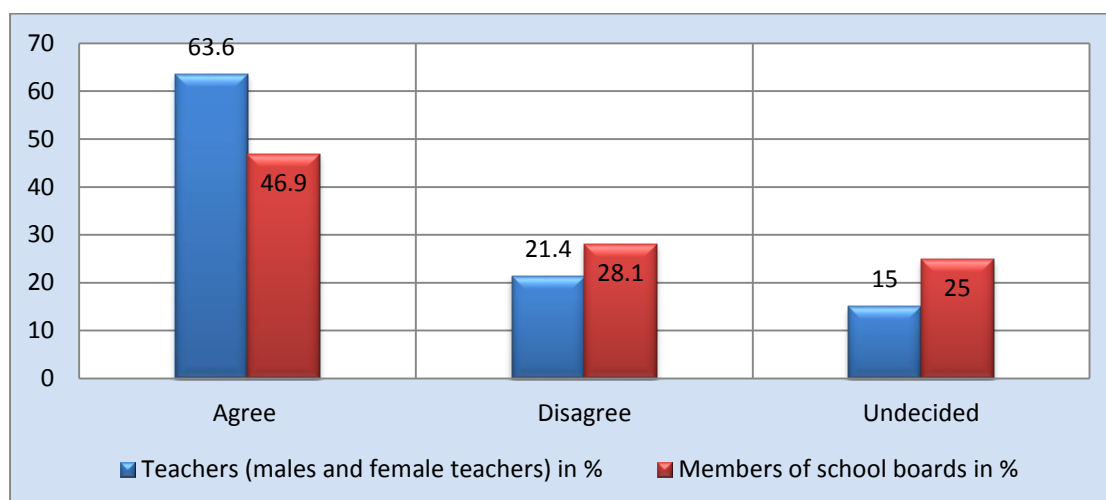


Figure 15: Participants' views regarding the lack of role models and mentors for female teachers

Source: Field data, 2012

The questionnaire findings were supported by the data collected via interviews and FGDs. All 20/20 heads of schools, the REO and DEO and teachers reported that there were few or no role models and mentors for female teachers from whom to learn leadership skills. Because some CSSs had only one or no female teacher or head and several males, it meant that 17 schools had no female teachers in the district. It is obvious that there are no role models and mentors in this district to influence and guide female students. The respondents reported that there were more female teachers in urban schools than in rural schools, which affected female students more in rural schools. Because of the poor social services in rural areas, the participants reiterated that some female teachers would beg to be posted to urban schools. This was supported by a male head of school and the DEO. The male head reported:

A female teacher from our school was crying in the DEO's office for a week begging to be posted to an urban school. (MHoS-L)

Also, they reported that fewer women were educated than men who qualify to take leadership posts. This was confirmed by a female head saying:

Females lack qualifications and those who qualify are not prepared to come to work in this environment and that is why female teachers and students lack role models. (FHoS-E)

Surprisingly, the majority of female heads of schools reported that they had no role models and mentors, and that they reached where they were through their own efforts. Only one female head of school reported having been mentored by her father, who also was a head

of school. However, it was revealed that all male heads of schools had role models and mentors.

Therefore, this section presented organisational factors contributing to female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs. The issues that emerged from the participants were gender bias in appointment to senior leadership, unclear procedure used for recommending and appointing senior heads of schools, sexual harassment and corruption of female teachers by male heads of schools, gender inequality policy in recommendation and appointment of teachers to leadership, the autocratic leadership style used by female leaders that discourages other females from being involved in leadership, lack of support and encouragement from the leadership and the lack of role models and mentors.

4.2.3 Societal factors

The third factor that emerged from the field data regarding female under-representation in leadership positions was societal factors. The findings that emerged namely (i) parents' aspirations and expectations to see their daughters married after primary school denied female teachers from getting the education and qualifications needed for leadership; (ii) tradition, culture and belief (witchcraft and superstition), and (iii) the lack of social support. These factors are summarised in Table 11 and presented in subsequent sections.

4.2.3.1 Parents' aspirations and expectations for their daughters

The findings indicated that the level of education of female teachers was influenced and sometimes determined by parental aspirations and expectations of their daughters from childhood. This also had a bearing on their future leadership position as females. The analysis of the findings shows that most parents wanted their daughters to get married after completing primary school, rather than proceeding with education. The research participants revealed that female teachers lacked education and the qualifications needed for leadership because their parents wished them to get married early. Family poverty, culture and lack of knowledge of the importance of education were the reasons reported to influence the parents' aspirations and expectations.

Table 11. A summary of societal factors that contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents					Description
			HoS	GTFGD	Others		GPFGD	
Aspirations & expectations of girls' education	Get married early	Poverty, religion and culture, lack of knowledge	18/20	19/20	DEO, REO	8/32	10/14	Members of society want their daughters to get married after completing primary school
	Graduate and get married	Knows the importance of education	2/20	1/20	-	24/32	4/14	Members of society want their daughters to get married after they graduate
Social support and encouragement	Lack of social encouragement and support	Females are not for leadership	16/20	18/20	DEO, REO	28/32	12/14	Female teachers lack social support and encouragement
	Presence of support and encouragement	Values females' contribution to society	4/20	2/20	-	4/32	2/14	Females get support and encouragement
Cultural beliefs	Witchcraft and superstition	Scare female teachers	20/20	20/20	DEO, REO	-	13/14	Superstition and witchcraft are not considered a myth
		Do not scare female teachers	-	-	-	-	1/14	Witchcraft and witchcraft are considered a myth

Key: HoS – heads of schools; GTFGD – teachers in focus group discussions; MoSBQ – members of school boards in open-ended questionnaires; GPFGD – group of parents in focus group discussions

The findings summarised in Table 11 show that 10/14 groups of parents were of the opinion that their daughters should become housewives immediately after completing their primary education. The same view was held by 18/20 heads of schools, 19/20 groups of teachers, the REO and DEO, who believed that the majority of members of society (parents) favoured early marriages for their daughters. Consequently, women lack the education and qualifications necessary for acquiring school leadership positions in community secondary schools.

The analysis of the findings indicated that, from a cultural point of view, parents had the perception that educating females was a waste of resources and that early marriage would protect young women from unwanted pregnancies. This was specifically pointed out by one male parent during the FGDs:

I do not want my daughters to get pregnant before marriage, because it is a shame. So, I will make sure that my daughters get married immediately after adolescence and get my bride price ... it is our culture for girls to get married early and not to educate them. (MPS-E)

The heads of schools added that many parents expected to get the bride price to solve their financial problems. Therefore, some parents would advise their daughters to perform poorly in their examinations to be available for marriage. One female head of school commented on this, saying:

The majority of parents in this society do not want their daughters to be educated. Even as we are discussing here, some female students have already got fiancées to marry immediately after completing their primary or form four studies. You can easily notice them here at the school ... they put minimal effort into their studies ... they do not care about failure. (FHoS-F)

The participants further reported that the culture of the society did not encourage girls to become educated because they are perceived as an asset for the dowry paid for their marriage. This was supported by a male head of school, who said:

In my experience, women are not encouraged to be involved in education by society. When I came to this school, some parents came to the office to tell teachers that it was better for their daughters to get married and they considered educating them a waste of their money. (MHoS-J)

From the excerpts above, it is clear that the expectations of the society were deeply rooted in the traditional view that educated females were judged unsuitable for marriage.

The participants also reported that culture, the patriarchal system and religion influenced the perceptions of society. Culturally, boys were socialised and encouraged to study hard and give directives. Girls, on the other hand, were socialised to be obedient, honest and

respectful of their brothers, regardless of their age, and to put less effort into studying. This was reported to affect women's career development. A male teacher highlighted during the FGDs that:

Some parents tell their sons, don't do things like a girl, you are a boy! You have to be strong, be brave and work hard at academics ... don't think and act like a woman, you have to think hard and widely ... (MHS-C)

Further analysis indicated that 2/20 heads of schools, 1/20 groups of teachers, 4/14 groups of parents and 24/32 members of the school boards reported in their answers to the open-ended questions that society wanted their daughters to get a degree and a better paid job before they were married. They claimed they knew the importance of educating their daughters. This was also indicated by a female parent during the FGDs, who reported that:

Educated daughters are more concerned about the needs of their parents than males, who would spend their resources on their wives ... Because of our culture, as parents we play a major role in destroying the development of our daughters ... they understand that this is a style of life and they are supposed to behave. If we create a certain environment for our children, they grow up with that and it is not easy to change them abruptly. I really want my daughters to flourish and reach the top and be involved in leadership ... and this is my dream for my daughters. (FPS-M)

From most of the respondents' points of view, the absence of females in top school leadership positions was attributed to the aspirations of their parents to get them married straight after primary education. Therefore, culture, poverty and the lack of education were reported to be the factors contributing to females' under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs.

4.2.3.2 Lack of social encouragement, support and society's expectations of women

The majority of heads of schools (16/20), the REO and DEO in the interviews, 18/20 groups of teachers and 12/14 groups of parents in FGDs, and 28/32 members of school boards through open-ended questions (see Table 11) reported that females lack the support and encouragement of society to be involved in leadership and higher education. Therefore, the under-representation of female teachers in senior school leadership was affected by the discouragement and lack of support of society. In addition, educated females sacrifice a lot, although they still were not encouraged to be leaders, irrespective of their qualifications, but rather were encouraged to get married early and bear children. One male head of school pointed this out when he commented:

... you can find people in society saying to an educated woman: 'You have sacrificed a lot to reach where you are without a child! Now, it is time for you to get married! Otherwise, you will get old studying and eventually nobody will marry you' ... and also they discourage females from being involved in leadership, arguing that it is a challenging post. (MHoS-H)

Teachers and heads of schools reported further that females and girls were culturally less valued because of male dominance, which determines how society perceives and values females. One female teacher commented:

Children are taught that good things belong to men. Therefore, children grow up with this attitude and mentality. Hence, they go to school or work knowing that females have to be placed in second position to men. (FTS-O)

Females in society are expected and stereotyped as wives and mothers and not decision makers. They are expected to perform well in all family chores, to be praised and judged as good wives. A male parent reported:

How can I waste my time encouraging females to be involved in leadership or studies, as culturally it is known that women's roles are being in the kitchen and taking care of children ... no way can women be good leaders. (MPS-D)

It was also reported that females who performed better than males were discouraged and accused of lacking feminine qualities. A female teacher commented on this, saying:

If a female does what was perceived should be done by males she is labelled a 'jike dume' (tomboy) and abnormal, as women cannot do such work. (FHS-C)

In contrast, 4/20 heads of schools, 2/20 group of teachers in focus group discussion, 4/32 members of school boards in open ended questionnaires and 2/14 groups of parents in focus group discussions had the view that females were getting support and encouragement. They reported that they valued the contribution of women in society.

Therefore, the culture of not valuing, encouraging and supporting women and girls affects females' confidence and performance in school and at work, and therefore they have less chance of becoming leaders at the family and organisational level. The next sub-section presents the participants' views on the cultural beliefs of witchcraft and superstition.

4.2.3.3 Cultural beliefs of witchcraft and superstition

Superstition and witchcraft beliefs were reported by 20/20 heads of schools in the interviews, 20/20 groups of teachers in the FGDs, the REO and DEO and 13/14 groups of parents as one of the factors for female under-representation in school leadership (see Table 11). They reported that the issue of witchcraft scared everyone, especially women, who were unfamiliar with the working environment. The REO commented on the witchcraft issue, saying:

Some female teachers refuse or hesitate to take up posts for fear of witchcraft. For instance, one female head of school came to our office complaining of witchcraft during the night in that she woke up in the morning with her nightdress torn. (REO)

The teachers further reported that female teachers and heads of schools in such areas were more prone to witchcraft than their male counterparts, and that this scared women away from taking leadership positions in such areas. One female teacher commented:

It is difficult to work in this district as a woman. You can sleep alone, but when you wake up in the morning, you feel as if you were with a man in bed that night. Male teachers do not experience such things. I heard my head of school saying that her pyjamas were torn and she had been unconsciously raped by an unknown person at night ... females have no confidence in taking up a leadership post in this area (FTS-E)

The DEO reported getting a lot of complaints from teachers about witchcraft in the area, which caused female teachers to hesitate about taking either a teaching or leadership post. However, he reported encouraging them not to believe in witchcraft:

I get complaints from female teachers and heads about witchcraft, but sometimes I think it is just their trick to be posted to an urban area, I encourage them to tolerate it and establish good relationships with the villagers. (DEO)

The excerpts above present witchcraft as a social phenomenon that inhibits teachers not only from considering leadership, but also teaching positions in CSSs. The witchcraft issue appears to make female teachers lack the confidence to take up the tasks and so they opt not to take either teaching jobs or leadership post in rural CSSs.

Generally, the above sections have presented the respondents' views on research question one, on the factors contributing to the under-representation of female teachers in senior leadership positions in CSSs. Using the questionnaire, FGDs and interviews, data was gathered from teachers, heads of schools, parents, the REO, DEO and members of school boards. The analysis revealed that under-representation of female teachers in senior leadership in CSSs was attributed to a number of factors, as shown in Table 12 below, including individual factors such as satisfaction of female teachers with the status quo, turning down appointments, lack of interest in leadership and commitment to work; organisational factors such as gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools; and policy on education that is gender neutral. Others were the leadership style used by female heads of schools, lack of support from top leadership and lack of role models; and societal factors, such as aspirations and expectations of members of the community of early marriage for their daughters, thus denying them the opportunity to be educated and obtain the qualifications needed for leadership; witchcraft and superstitious beliefs and the lack of social support and encouragement of society for females.

Table 12: Summary of participants' views on factors contributing to under-representation of females in senior leadership positions in CSSs

Individual factors	Organisational factors	Societal factors
Contented with the status quo	Gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools	Aspirations and expectations of girls' education
Turned down leadership posts (lack of confidence, poor working environment)	Gender neutral policy on recommendation and appointment	Lack of social support and encouragement and stereotypes
Not interested in leadership due to lack of rewards and remuneration	Leadership styles used by female leaders	Culture and beliefs (witchcraft and superstition)
Low commitment to work	Lack of support, encouragement from leadership and lack of role models	

The next section presents and analyses another research question on the perception of members of the school community of female heads of schools.

4.3 Perception of members of school community of female heads of schools and its contribution to female under-representation in school leadership

This section presents and analyses the perception of members of the school community and how it contributes to females' under-representation in senior leadership position in CSSs. The REO, DEO, heads of schools, teachers, members of school boards and parents were involved. The sources of data were semi-structured interviews, FGDs and both closed and open-ended questions. Two issues emerged, namely negative perception of female leaders and poor relationship of members of the school community with female heads (see Table 13).

4.3.1 Negative perception of female heads of schools

When asked how they perceive female leaders, the majority of the members of the school community reported that they have a negative perception of female heads of schools. An analysis of the closed-ended questionnaire data showed that 93 (63%) teachers and 22 (68.8%) members of school boards had a negative perception of female heads of schools, as shown in Figure 16.

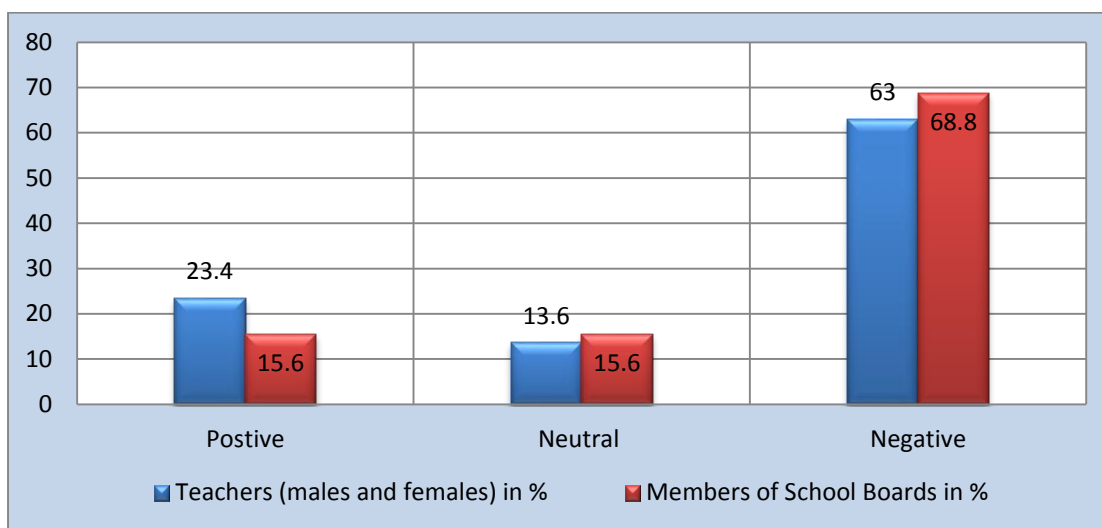


Figure 16: Perception of teachers and members of school boards of female leaders

Source: Field data, 2012

The data from the questionnaires were triangulated and explained by the qualitative data. The data from the interviews and FGDs concurred with that of the questionnaires. As indicated in Table 13, the data revealed that 20/20 heads of schools, 16/20 groups of teachers and 10/14 groups of parents reported that members of the school community had a negative perception of female school leaders, which was stated to be among the reasons for few females in senior leadership positions.

The participants reported that women were perceived as wives with the role of childrearing, and as being incapable of arguing with males in the community. This was pointed out by a male parent during the FGD, when he argued:

How can a woman speak in front of men? This is misconduct ... in our culture, this is an abomination and bad manners. (MPS-K)

Another parent observed:

We do not have a positive attitude to female heads of schools; and we do not want them to participate in leadership. Our beliefs and culture consider females weak creatures who cannot make decisions: and are thus to be led by males, not vice versa. Their roles are specifically home chores! (MPS-D)

The heads of schools and teachers added that, culturally, most members of the school community perceived that females are there to make males happy and doing home chores.

A male head of school had this to say:

... culturally, society perceives females as luxurious objects for males ... males are only content when a female is a housewife or entertainer of a husband, that's all, not a woman working in an office or leading. (MHoS-L)

Table 13: Participants' views on the perceptions of members of the school community of female heads

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents				Description of the themes
			HoS	GTFGD	Others	GPFG	
Perception	Negative	Less risk taking, lack of confidence, very frustrated, lack of transparency, lack of leadership skills	20/20	16/20	-	10/14	Members of school community have negative perception of female heads of schools due to their culture
	Positive	Less corrupt, honest, follow rules and regulations		4/20	DEO REO	4/14	Members of school community perceive female heads positively
Relationship	Poor relationship	Poor problem solvers, rarely accessible, lack of confidentiality make decisions based on speculation	20/20	16/20	DEO REO	9/14	Members' of school community relationship with heads of schools
	Good relationship	Solve problems, listeners, humble, polite and caring	-	4/20	-	5/14	

Key: HoS – heads of schools; MoSB – members of school boards; GTFGD – groups of teachers in focus group discussions; GPFGD – groups of parents in focus group discussions

In an extreme case, some parents stated that, due to their culture sometimes they sometimes did not even want to meet female heads of schools in the office. This was because they perceived them as weak and lacking in both leadership and problem-solving skills. They described female heads of schools as low risk takers, less confident and highly frustrated leaders. A parent commented:

We do not want females to participate in school headship because it is our belief that they cannot be good leaders, their place is in the kitchen ... we really discourage females from participating in leadership as it is not our culture. (MPS-B)

Heads of schools and teachers reported the unequal treatment of male and female heads by the members of the school community as a factor that discouraged female teachers from aspiring to be heads. A female head reported:

If a female head makes a mistake, it is worse than if the same thing is done by a male ... which discourages some qualified female teachers from taking headship posts. (FHo-F)

Female heads further lamented the views of the majority of the members of the school community, namely that female heads of schools could not make proper decisions without the help of a man. A female head reported:

When I was posted to this school, I was perceived as one who could not make my own decisions, without depending on my male deputy head. During meetings, I show them that I am their head and the last decision maker ... when I do so, they say that I am a strict leader ... everything a female head does is perceived negatively. This situation discourages female from being involved in headship and that is why we continue to be few in top leadership. (FHoS-A)

When female heads were asked about the way they perceived themselves, they confirmed having a positive self-perception. They confidently reported that they trusted in their abilities as leaders, as one female head said:

Although society perceives me negatively, I have confidence in what I do, I do not care, and I believe that I can perform better and I am performing better. (FHoS-B)

The quotations above indicate that the majority of the female heads of schools, despite having faith in their own abilities, acknowledged that society has a negative perception of them, which causes women to be discouraged from participating in senior leadership.

However, the findings showed that 4/20 groups of teachers, the DEO, REO and 4/14 groups of parents had a positive perception of female leaders (see Table 13). These participants reported that female leaders were more responsible in their work, less corrupt and would always work hard to avoid failure and criticism, unlike their male counterparts. One male teacher reported that:

I perceive female heads positively because they are less likely to be corrupt than their male counterparts, who according to my experiences are not afraid of being answerable or accountable to top authority and they know the trick of forging. (MTS-A)

On the other hand, a female teacher stated:

At first, they perceived our female head of school negatively, but with time, their mentality has changed after seeing her performance ... some parents now tell her that she is working like a man. They even confess that they did not think that a woman could do well as a head. (FTS-B)

The DEO added that most female leaders were hard-working, honest and good leaders capable of following rules and regulations if supported. The REO and teachers further stated that female heads have the ability to lead as they have the quality of caring. A female teacher was of the view that:

We want many females in leadership because there are fewer of them than males ... females have the ability to lead and always perform better than many people think ... the case in point is our current female head of school, who outperforms the former male head. Through her efforts, she has constructed a teacher's house and two classrooms, while the former male head did not construct even a single classroom. (FTS-M)

The negative perception was reported by the majority of respondents to have an impact on female participation in senior leadership. The next section is about the way in which members of the school community perceive their relationship with female heads of schools.

4.3.2 Perceived relationship between members of the school community and female leaders

The participants were asked to give their perception of the relationship between the members of the school community and the female heads of schools. The participants perceived that there was a poor relationship between female heads and members of the school community, thus affecting females' participation in leadership. Data obtained from the questionnaires showed that 90 (58.4%) teachers and 21 (65.6%) members of school boards indicated that female leaders had a poor relationship with members of the school community, as shown in Figure 17.

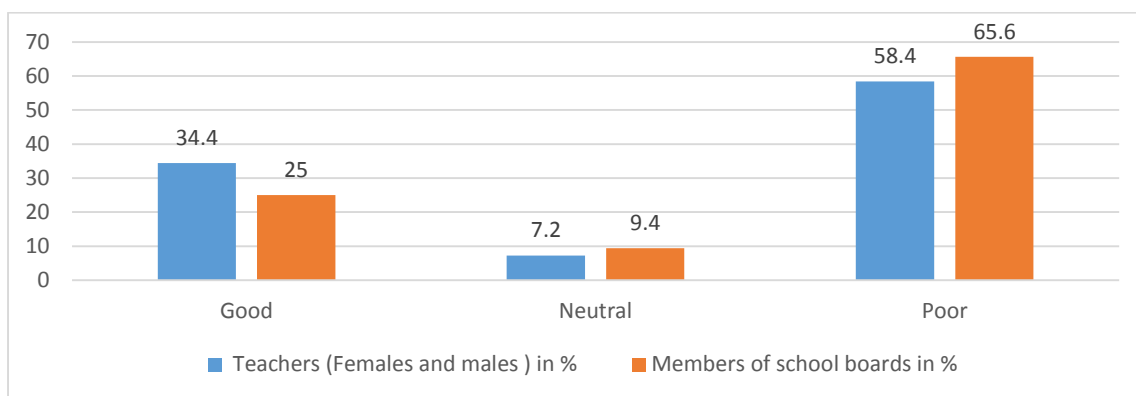


Figure 17: Perception of teachers and members of school boards of the relationship between the community and female heads of schools

Source: Field data, 2012

The information from the questionnaires was confirmed by the interviews and FGDs. The majority of the participants concurred with the results of the questionnaires. Table 13 indicates that 20/20 heads of schools, 16/20 groups of teachers and 9/14 groups of parents reported that the community has a poor relationship with female heads, which discourages females from participating in leadership. A number of issues emerged regarding the school community's perception of female leaders, which were that they are poor problem solvers, rarely accessible to members of the school community, lack confidentiality and make decisions based on speculation. These sub-themes are presented below.

Female leaders as poor problem solvers

The findings from the interviews and FGDs indicate that the participants observed that the school community, which includes staff members, parents and members of school boards, was dissatisfied with how female heads addressed their problems, which led to a poor relationship between them. The perception that female heads would not listen and solve the problems of their subordinates discouraged female teachers from participating in leadership. One female teacher commented:

Our female head of school does not listen to us or solve our problems. For instance, she once denied me permission to accompany a fellow female pregnant teacher to hospital who was about to deliver ... she said that we females pretend a lot. I do not want even to remember ... this led to a negative attitude to females who would aspire to be leaders. (FTS-F)

A parent in FGD added:

Our female head of school does not listen to our problems, she is so proud, as if the school belongs to her. We parents want the school administration to respect and listen to us whenever we go to the school. The school is our property, if the head is not concerned about our problems, then obviously our relationship with her won't be good at all; and we discourage other females from aspiring to leadership. (MPS-A)

The DEO also reported having received complaints from teachers and parents about the schools headed by women, namely that these heads would rarely listen and solve their problems. He commented that:

The community laments the fact that female heads do not readily solve their problems ... I was once obliged to solve parents' and staff conflicts in a certain secondary school headed by a female after the head failed to resolve the conflicts. (DEO)

Female heads perceived as rarely accessible to members of the school community

It was viewed that female heads were less accessible when support was needed. This was because they were observed to pretend to be occupied with leadership responsibilities. One male parent said:

If you have a problem that needs the attention of the head of school, you rarely get a chance to see her. Normally, the teacher on duty tells you that you cannot see her because she is occupied with a lot of work ... (MPS-F)

A female teacher from school G added:

They are rarely accessible! How can you be motivated to be involved in leadership when you see female leaders mistreating subordinates? We are discouraged by their leadership and even our colleagues discourage us saying: look at your fellow woman leader, women cannot be good leaders. (FTS-G)

Lack of confidentiality

Another sub-theme that emerged during the FGDs and interview with members of the CSSs is that female heads lacked confidentiality, which caused a poor relationship with their subordinates. They reported that sometimes they preferred to express their problems to the male deputy, who kept their secrets, rather than female leaders. One parent commented:

Even if I have a problem requiring me to see the head of school, I find it hard to expose all my problems to a female head of school, I feel humiliated to air my secrets to her! (MPS-E)

A male teacher reported:

... our female head has no confidentiality ... if you express your problems to this female head of school, all your problems will be out in the community the following day. For instance, one female teacher had a health problem and had consulted her for advice; the head in turn told some members of the community. (MTS-F)

Make decisions based on speculation

Moreover, the findings revealed that some female heads were perceived by teachers and parents to make decisions based on speculation without having evidence. This was also observed to cause misunderstandings with subordinates. One female teacher asserted:

Sometimes female heads accuse teachers because of a rumour ... they do not seek proof of what they have been told. They judge and discipline a teacher without clear evidence. This causes members of the school to dislike female leaders. (FTS-B)

Nevertheless, when female heads were asked about the relationship they had with the members of the school community, they reported that the community had a wrong perception of their relationship with them, as had been trying hard to build a harmonious relationship with the school community. Female heads of schools perceive themselves as being accessible, except when busy with administrative responsibilities. What female head of schools perceived was also observed by 4/20 group of teachers, 5/14 group of parents, the REO and DEO. Female heads of schools were also reported to be available when needed to solve socio-economic problems and the needs of society. They also maintained they did so without breaching any confidentiality and that they were aware of the consequences of making decisions based on rumours.

However, some female heads observed that stubborn teachers or parents would want them to do things beyond their jurisdiction. For instance, a female head reported:

A parent came into my office and asked me to re-enrol his son who had failed the form four examinations ... and I told him that his son could not get admission to any school because he had failed ... but he later on condemned me for being inefficient. (FHoS-B)

Another female head of school commented:

Some teachers can come to your office to ask for financial assistance, and if you tell them that you do not have money to give them, they do not understand. Instead, they would complain that female heads of schools are not helpful ... they do not know how we struggle to get money to run the schools. (FHoS-E)

However, the REO and DEO reported having a good relationship with female heads of schools, although they acknowledged that the relationship between members of the school community and female heads was poor.

Generally, the majority of the participants in this study observed that the school community had a negative perception of female heads and perceived that they were rarely problem solvers and were less accessible. They maintained that the poor relationship between female heads of schools and members of the community discouraged females from participating in leadership.

The next section presents and analyses question number three regarding the challenges facing female heads that deter other women from participating in leadership.

4.4. Participants' views on the challenges facing female heads of schools that deter other females teachers from being involved in senior leadership in CSSs

The third question posed to participants in this study related to the challenges facing female heads of schools that influence the under-representation of females in senior leadership in CSSs. By challenge I mean the way in which female heads of schools struggle to cope with leadership demands in the impoverished school environment in rural areas, where the dominant culture is patriarchal. This means that female leaders have to use their abilities, strength and physical effort to fight against it in order to be successful. The challenge is considered different from factors relating to the reasons for females' under-representation in leadership, and it also differs from the perceptions that the community has of female leaders.

The answer to this question was mainly obtained from heads of schools. Other participants were teachers, parents, members of school boards, the REO and DEO. Interviews, FGDs and questionnaires were the methods used. The challenges mentioned by participants were: (i) alleged deceit in marriage; (ii) rejection of female heads of schools by members of the school community; (iii) lack of authority to discipline misbehaving and unprofessional male teachers; (iv) lack of authority to discipline misbehaving students; (v) balancing multiple roles; and (vi) insufficient funds and other resources to run the schools. These challenges are thematically presented in detail below (see Table 14).

4.4.1 Alleged deceit in marriage

In this regard, 7/20 heads of schools (all females, see appendix 15), 16/20 teachers, the REO and DEO reported that most spouses of female heads of schools believed that their wives were unfaithful and engaged in love affairs with other males whenever they travelled to town for official duties. This caused them to prohibit their wives from participating in leadership. This challenge faced by most female leaders is that they are distrusted by their husbands, which frustrates them as they are obliged to prove their innocence to their husbands. This was reported to discourage other potential and qualified females from participating in leadership.

One female head of school stated:

My husband has the mentality that I have sexual relationships with my bosses... he used to ask me, 'Why are you the one who attends meetings every time ... and why not your deputy?' I had a big challenge to prove him wrong ... this discourages potential females to become involved in leadership. (FHoS-A)

Another female head of school commented:

When I was posted as the headmistress in this school, the members of the school board did not accept me. Therefore, I decided to form a new school board ... as a result, the members of the former school board told my husband that I had been allowed to form a new board because of my sexual relationships with my bosses. My husband was furious and accused me of using leadership to hide my motives ... this is just an example of the challenges females face as leaders ... and really discourage young ones to become involved in leadership. (FHoS-B)

The REO and DEO confirmed having received complaints from some of the husbands of married female heads of schools, alleging that they were unfaithful. They further reported that some female teachers would shun leadership for the sake of happiness and peace in their marriages, or risk husbands acquiring paramours in their absence.

In addition, the female heads of schools reported that some husbands would be advised by their friends to marry second wives, who would have time for them and not be busy with official responsibilities. They reported that, as a result, some marriages had either broken down or had troubles because of such advice. The DEO reported that:

Some female heads of schools are always in conflict with their spouses. Husbands think that leadership makes their wives unfaithful, hence some of them came to my office to complain about the challenge they get in their marriage. (DEO)

The female heads of schools reported having been threatened with divorce by their spouses when they accepted leadership positions far from their residential area. As a result, sometimes of the married female teachers were in a dilemma about either refusing headship posts to maintain their marriage, or accepting the position and sacrificing their marriage. A female head declared:

Some husbands tell their wives to choose between marriage and leadership when posted apart from them. Therefore, female teachers find themselves in a dilemma of either taking up the post or saving their marriage ... and if they are divorced because of choosing to be far from their husbands because of the post, society regards such females as arrogant. (FHoS-C)

Another marriage-related challenge reported by female heads of schools was communication with their husbands for fear of being labelled arrogant as a result of their position at work. They argued that their husbands, during normal conversation, consistently would remind them not to talk as if they were at school where they give orders to males. Therefore, they had to repeatedly fight against being prohibited by their spouses and earn the right to be involved in leadership. They reported that males in this category treated their wives with contempt and tended to think that the bride price gave them the authority to decide on their wives' destiny.

Table 14: A summary of participants' views of key challenges facing female heads of schools and deterrents to other female teachers

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents					Description of the themes
			HoS	GTFGD	Others	MoSBQ	GPFGD	
Alleged deceit in marriage	Female efforts to prove their innocence in marriage	Allegation of involvement in love affairs with their bosses and divorce threats	7/20	16/20	REO DEO		-	Husbands suspected female heads of having love affairs with their bosses
		No allegation of involvement in love affairs with their bosses; and no divorce threats	13/20	4/20	-	-	-	
Rejection and acceptability of female leaders by school community	Rejection of female heads by school community	Incapable of leading, short tempered, and slow in solving problems	18/20	10/20	DEO		12/14	Members of school community reject female leaders
	Acceptability of female heads by school community	Confident, cooperative, strong and courageous, more responsive and accountable	2/20	5/20	-	-	1/14	Members of school community accept female heads
	Acceptability of both female and male heads by school community	Similar or equal leadership qualities in both sexes	-	5/20	REO		1/14	Members of school community accept both (male and female) leaders
Lack of authority	Lack of authority to discipline misbehaving and unprofessional male teachers	Powerless to restrain unethical male teachers from being involved in love affairs with female students	15/20	14/20	DEO REO	27/32	-	Female heads face the challenge of disciplining unethical staff involved in love affairs with female students
		Observation that no unethical male teachers were involved in love affairs with female students	5/20	6/20		5/32	-	Members of school community confirm that there are no unethical staff involved in love affairs with female students
	Lack of authority to discipline misbehaving students	Powerless to control and discipline students abusing drugs and truanting	20/20	20/20	DEO REO	-	1/14	Female heads face the challenge of disciplining some students abusing drugs, who misbehave and play truant
		Observation that students behave well, and do not abuse drugs					13/14	
Balancing of multiple roles	Pressing familial, social and official responsibilities	Pressure of culture, norms, official and other contextual demands	7//20	15/20	-	-	-	Female heads face the challenge of balancing multiple roles
	Relaxed familial, social and official responsibilities	Relaxed culture, norms, official and other contextual demands	13 /20	5/20	-	-	-	Do not face the challenge of multiple roles
Access to resources	Insufficient funds and other resources	Insufficient funds from government and other sources	20/20	18/20	DEO REO	-	-	Heads run schools with limited resources to the extent of using their salaries for some schools expenses

Key: HoS – heads of schools; FHoS – female heads of schools; MHoS – male heads of schools; GTFGD – groups of teachers in focus group discussions; MoSBQ – members of school boards in open-ended questionnaires; PFGD – groups of parents in focus group discussions

In contrast, all 13/20 heads of schools (all male heads, see Appendix 15) and 4/20 groups of teachers, reported that women do not face any challenges as their spouses understand their work. All male heads of schools also reported that they were neither challenged nor misunderstood in their marriages in relation to their headship. One male head of school reported:

I have never experienced any challenge in my marriage because of leadership ... my wife gives me great support and she has no authority to challenge anything I do... (MHoS-I)

Male heads of schools were reported to have the right to travel anywhere and anytime without any complaints and threats from their wives.

4.4.2 Rejection and acceptability of female leaders by members of the school community

Female heads of schools reported being rejected by and isolated from the staff and members of the school community, which deterred other women from working towards becoming heads. The findings revealed that 79 (51.3%) teachers and 21 (65.6%) members of school boards who responded to the questionnaires rejected female heads and preferred male heads of schools (see Figure 18).

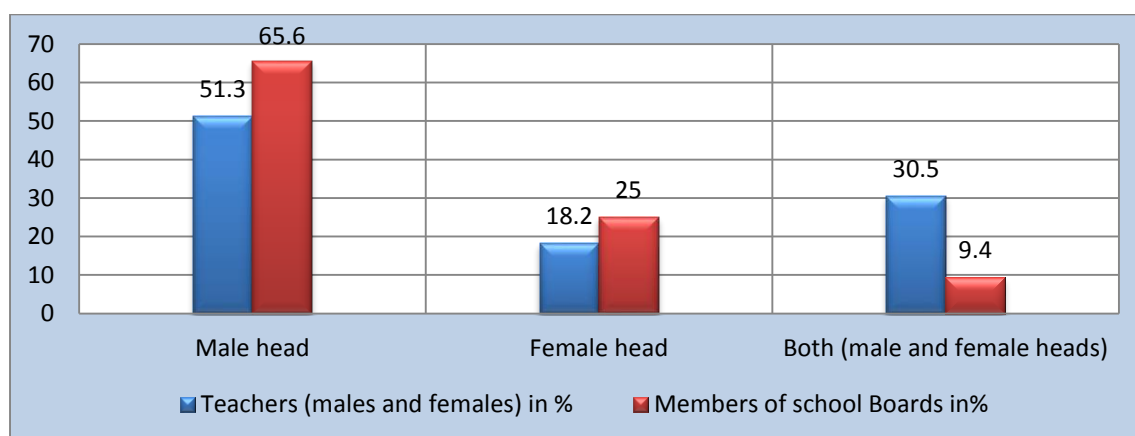


Figure 18: Preference for male heads of schools as opposed to female heads

Source: Field data, 2012

When the questionnaire data was triangulated with that from the interviews and FGDs, it was found that 18/20 heads of schools, 10/20 groups of teachers, 12/14 groups of parents and the DEO concurred that the members of the school communities preferred male to female heads of schools.

The majority of the participants who preferred male heads of schools reported that female heads were incapable of leading, that family roles hindered them from concentrating on their official duties, and that they were short-tempered and worse at executing their administrative roles than their male counterparts. The lack of acceptance of female heads was also attributed to religion and patriarchy, which portrayed women as incapable of leading.

Similarly, female heads of schools admitted that they had to make a greater effort than their male counterparts in order to be accepted. One female head of school commented:

Parents in this community do not believe in or accept female leaders ... sometimes, I have to use force for things to happen ... I get the challenge of parents' refusal to listen to me in parents' meetings because I am a woman. It was really an embarrassment to me ... some parents who visit my office still don't face me when we are talking. They talk to me while facing the window because I am a woman. It is a big challenge; it needs great wisdom and tolerance to deal with this community and make them accept a female leader. (FHoS-G)

Female heads of schools recognised that they were not accepted by the community from the responses they received from parents and staff. Female heads cited several examples where teachers asked provocative questions during staff meetings in order to anger them and make them appear incapable. Meanwhile, some staff did not trust the instructions conveyed by female heads of schools, unless they were presented in written form, such as a document from a higher authority legalising the instructions. This discouraged female teachers from aspiring to become leaders. One female head commented:

Some of my staff show contempt for me when I advise them or give instructions, they say 'ahhh!! She is just a woman 'asitubabaishe kitu' (she should not threaten us). She knows nothing ... There is such disdain for us female leaders! However I believe in myself and I am confident that I can lead. (FHoS-B)

Female heads reported facing the challenge of transforming the mentality of the members of the school community, who neither accepted nor trusted them. One female head of school commented:

I had a meeting with parents whose children were not performing well in their studies ... during the meeting, one parent told me, 'you are just a woman, what can you tell us? We don't accept you! We are wasting our time listening to you'. To be honest, I was so annoyed. I told him, 'I am not a woman, I am the head of the school ... some parents send information to the top leadership that they need a male head to replace me ... this discourages females from being involved in leadership. (FHoS-B)

A different female head made a similar comment:

In a school board meeting, the chairperson told me that 'women do not think', and he turned his back on me and told other members of the school board, 'I told you; this school should not be under female leadership'. With confidence, I told them, 'this school can be led by anyone qualified and I was posted to this school by the government and I am qualified and I lead in line with the rules and regulations. (FHoS-F)

The claims of female heads of schools were supported by the REO, who reported that because of such challenges, some female heads of schools were asking to be transferred to urban areas or would quit the job because they were not accepted by the school community. When they were denied a transfer they ultimately resigned from public service and went to town to become normal teachers in a private school. Similarly, the DEO reported that several parents had asked him to transfer a female head from their school, the reason being that they did not like her.

In contrast, 2/20 heads of schools, 5/20 groups of teachers and 1/14 groups of parents, as indicated in Table 14, reported that they accepted and preferred female heads of schools. They reported that female leaders were more confident, cooperative, strong and courageous in executing managerial roles, and more responsive and accountable in their work than male heads of schools. In addition, female heads of schools showed students love and were responsible at work. For instance, one parent said:

The female head of our school does better than the former male head of the school. She has constructed two teachers' houses and four classrooms but the former male head of the school did not construct even a single classroom. (MPS-B)

Other respondents, namely 5/20 groups of teachers, the REO and 1/14 group of parents, reported no differences in leadership between men and women. The reason they gave was that both men and women are capable of leading. The REO maintained that both male and female heads do their work well. He further stated that leadership is not an inborn trait, but can be acquired through education and experience. Therefore, the REO stated that, in order to have gender balance, both males and females should be given leadership positions.

In general, the majority of respondents felt that female heads faced the challenge of not being accepted by members of the school community, which forces them to work hard to be accepted, thereby discouraging other female teachers from working towards becoming leaders.

4.4.3 Lack of authority to discipline misbehaving and unprofessional male teachers

The majority of respondents reported that transforming the behaviour of male teachers who have sexual relationships with female students and who disobey the orders of female heads of schools was among the challenges facing female leaders of CSSs. Most (15/20) heads of schools, 14/20 groups of teachers, the REO and DEO and 27/32 members of school boards answering the open-ended questions, as indicated in Table 14, reported that female heads lack the authority to deal with male teachers who breach the code of conduct by having affairs with female students. It was noted that male teachers would react negatively when asked by female heads of schools about their affairs with students. The challenge had nothing to do with the capacity of female heads of schools as leaders, but rather gender stereotyping. Female heads lamented that these teachers were insubordinate and contemptuous, which made it very difficult for female heads to lead. One female head commented:

Whatever female heads do, in giving directives or advising teachers, they are considered either stubborn or powerless. This makes it hard for female heads to discipline some misbehaving male teachers who have sexual relationships with female students. (FHoS-D)

Female heads of schools reported that any attempt to advise such teachers would sometimes cause female heads to be completely disobeyed. They argued that the culprits would normally hate them and accuse them of interfering in their lives or call them names such as “wanoko” (an ‘unnecessarily strict person’). In addition, the perpetrators would be at the forefront in disobeying and ignoring the instructions of female heads of schools.

Female heads of schools further reported that it was even more challenging when male heads of schools were involved in sexual relationships with female students. One female head of school stated:

Some male heads of schools are involved in sexual relationships with female students too ... such heads cannot discipline fellow male teachers with the same behaviour ... I have even witnessed some male heads getting demoted for impregnating their students (FHoS-G)

The heads of schools added that, irrespective of the school disciplinary committee, the offenders would still blame them for taking the issue to the committee. They reported that some male teachers were not punished, as they were favoured by the committee and were transferred to different schools. This indicates that female heads were not getting support from the surrounding community. The teachers, REO and DEO added that female heads of schools feared to confront misbehaving male teachers. In addition, unmarried female heads of schools were also frightened of verbal attacks.

The participants reported further that some male teachers did not respect their female heads and disobeyed their orders. This was evidenced by the female head of school A, who commented:

I have a big challenge dealing with male teachers, some of them disobey my orders; for example, at the end of each week I plan to check the lesson plans and schemes of work, but some of them refuse to be checked by me because I don't have a degree and after all I am a woman ... it is really challenging. (FHoS-A)

Nevertheless, other data in Table 14 shows contradictory findings in this study. When analysing the information from the interviews, FGDs and questionnaires, 5/20 heads of schools, 5/32 members of school boards and 6/20 groups of teachers reported that dealing with younger teachers who had affairs with their students was not a challenge and did not deter other female teachers from working towards becoming heads. They rejected the claims that male teachers were having affairs with female students, but rather that they treated them as their siblings and children. Apart from the challenge of disciplining male teachers, female heads face the challenge of maintaining discipline among students, as detailed below.

4.4.4 Lack of authority to discipline misbehaving students

The findings in this study reveal that female heads of schools also face the challenge of disciplining students in CSSs. All 20/20 groups of teachers, 20/20 heads of schools, the REO, DEO and 1/14 groups of parents reported that disciplining students who abused drugs or misbehaved discouraged other females from becoming leaders. They reported that student absenteeism and drug abuse were a challenge to female teachers on duty and female heads of schools, as they were constantly threatened with rape, witchcraft and had stones thrown at them. This was evident from the comment made by a female teacher:

Disciplining male students who abuse drugs is a big challenge. I witnessed some students telling the female teacher that they will rape and impregnate her if she continues challenging their behaviour ... I am scared to discipline these students... (FTS-F)

Another female teacher explained how a male student threatened to take revenge when she was disciplining him:

It is a challenge to deal with students, especially those who use drugs. A male student once wanted to take revenge when I was punishing him. Fortunately, there were male teachers in the staffroom at the time, who rescued me from the menace. Parents are on the side of their children, which discourages females from aspiring to be leaders. (FTS-J)

The respondents reported that the government did not allow corporal punishment in schools, and so students increasingly misbehave and disrespect female teachers and heads. This was a greater challenge for female heads than their male counterparts, who were much more likely to be obeyed and respected than women were. In addition, the participants observed that the situation was exacerbated by the lack of parental support for female leaders disciplining students. One female head of school commented:

I once asked parents to come to my office so that we could discuss the disciplining of their children. However, I got no support. Worse still, they almost insulted me for being feminine. (FHoS-G)

The respondents pointed out that the problems with disciplining students was caused by the ignorance of parents. It was revealed that students sometimes sent the wrong information to their parents when disciplined by female heads of schools. This was reported to have caused misunderstanding and enmity between parents and heads of schools, eventually discouraging female teachers from aspiring to leadership. One female teacher commented:

Parents are on the side of their children, which discourages females from aspiring to be leaders, they don't give support to the staff who discipline the students ... some parents come to school and shout at the teachers if they discipline their children. (FTS-D)

The REO and DEO also were of the view that heads regularly complained that some students abuse drugs and threaten their lives through rape and witchcraft, so that several students were suspended from schools.

In contrast, 13/14 groups of parents in the FGD reported that their children had good behaviour but were unnecessarily punished by the teachers and heads of schools. One parent commented:

Our head of school is too strict, she punishes students unnecessarily, sometimes for mistakes for which they do not need to be punished ... we are tired of her. (MPS-C)

Therefore, most teachers, heads of schools, the REO and DEO reported that female heads faced the challenge of transforming the behaviour of undisciplined students. Parents were observed to favour their children. This, in turn, put off other women from working towards becoming heads of schools.

The next section presents the participants' views on balancing multiple roles as a challenge facing female heads of schools.

4.4.5 Balancing multiple roles

Because of the prevailing culture and norms in the context of this study, women have multiple roles. The balancing these multiple roles by heads of schools was reported by 7/20 heads of schools (all seven female heads; see appendix 15) and 15/20 groups of teachers (see Table 14) as a challenge they face as they struggle to balance office, family and social roles. Female heads of schools reported that they had greater responsibility for monitoring their families. It was revealed that female heads of schools monitored their families in absentia by communicating daily by phone on issues to do with family health, the budget and children's discipline. Female heads of schools reported doing that because they considered their husbands as less responsible for family issues and so they needed to monitor their children. They reported that even unmarried female heads who have no children still do not get time for holiday, relaxation and breaks because of being occupied with office duties. This eventually puts female teachers off from aspiring to be leaders.

Female heads of schools and teachers reported that the community wanted to see female heads at different social events and that they were perceived to be arrogant or uncooperative if they did not participate. Female heads reported that they were mothers, wives, daughters, sisters-in-law, aunts and friends, while at the same time being leaders, teachers, counsellors and problem solvers. Balancing these roles leads to unavoidable conflict and anxiety. One female head commented:

It is really a challenge to be a head of school, while at the same time being a mother, a wife and a member of society. For example, if I fail to attend a social activity, which almost all females attend, like funerals, Saturday morning prayers, weddings, kitchen parties, etc., people complain about my absence. So, I am sometimes in a dilemma as to whether to participate in or shun the events. This is contrary to male heads, whose absence from such events does not raise eyebrows. (FHoS-A)

The teachers agreed that female heads, being African women, have multiple household chores and social responsibilities, unlike their male counterparts. A female teacher said:

Imagine when I go home in the evening from work very tired, but my husband would still want me to do everything for him. For instance, I have to cook special food for him, wait for him while eating so that I can remove the utensils after his meal, iron his clothes for the next day, put water in the bathroom for him to take a bath¹¹, take care of the children, budget for the house, etc., you can see, at the end of the day, I am exhausted. (FTS-E)

¹¹There is no running water in most houses in Tanzania.

The teachers also reported that women are the ones who wake up early and go to bed late because of family responsibilities. A female teacher from school S commented:

A woman has to be the first to wake up in the morning at about 5 am, prepare breakfast for her husband, set out her husband's clothes and shoes, budget for the house, and take care of the children before leaving for work. Meanwhile, males do nothing at that time. They either continue sleeping or preparing themselves for work ... Imagine what would happen if the woman in question is a leader: alongside these chores she will still have to plan for the school and make sure things keep moving... (FTS-S)

The female heads reported that they cope with this challenge by budgeting their time effectively and employ maids who help them. They further reported that the maids were not effective and efficient, which necessitated them to perform most of the housework. They reported that even a single female head without family has no time to relax.

Moreover, in relation to the above quote, all 13/20 heads of schools (all male heads; see Appendix 15) reported that they did not face any challenging roles because they had wives to do all the family chores for them. They reported that their wives gave them the opportunity and peace they needed to concentrate on their leadership work.

Female heads of schools reported working long hours and said they did not even have time for holidays, leisure or relaxation. One female head reported:

... this hectic work discourages females from being involved in leadership ... it is too challenging for a woman to deal with all these chores at a time ... no time to relax, for leisure or holidays. (FHoS-C)

In contrast, 5/20 groups of teachers reported that female heads do not face any challenges because they employ maids who help them with the housework.

Therefore, all female heads of schools reported facing the challenge of balancing the multiple roles of family, office and social responsibilities. These responsibilities were reported to discourage other women from working as heads to avoid the challenge of combining home and official responsibilities.

The next sub-section presents the challenge of insufficient funds and other resources facing female heads.

4.4.6 Insufficient funds and other resources to run the school

In this study, many heads of schools acknowledged the lack of financial resources, social capital, buildings, teaching and learning materials to run the schools. Table 14 indicates that all 20/20 heads of schools, the DEO and REO through interviews, and 18/20 groups

of teachers through FGDs reported that teachers were not interested in leadership because of the challenges facing school heads of running the schools with inadequate resources. Only 2/20 groups of teachers reported that heads of schools were not facing financial challenges.

The heads of schools reported that they needed other sources of funds, as the money from the government (capitation grant¹²) was not enough to run the schools; for instance to repay the debt and purchase school requirements. The majority of participants asserted that the government always delayed allocating funds for running the schools. This would lead to a standstill in some school activities if the heads in question were not creative enough. Female heads of schools were reported to be affected more by this situation than their male counterparts. Male heads of schools claimed they had many sources of money and networks and were more capable of lobbying than female heads of schools. The only option for female heads of schools in such a situation was to borrow money and use their low salary to run the schools. It was reported that female teachers were thus put off from aspiring to be leaders. One female head of school said:

In my school, I get only 1 500 000 Tanzanian shillings per year (equivalent to £537.7) from the government. What can one do with this money? Can one run a school with such a small amount of money? As a head of school, you borrow money from everywhere, in the hope that you will repay it if you get money from the government. Sometimes we use our salary to run the school I wish someone would take this post; it does not pay, it only tortures me. Our challenges really discourage young females from aspiring to be heads. (FHoS-C)

Another male head of school also reported using his own money for school activities, also reported having a good network that supported him:

I am owed about 2 500 000 Tanzanian shillings (equivalent to £ 896.15) for school expenses. The capitation grant I get from the government does not meet the needs of the school ... the government has not repaid the money ... sometimes you have to use your money or borrow for exams, stationery, attending district meetings or other administrative issues at district or regional level. I have friends who sometimes assist me in this. (MHoS-K)

This extract shows that male heads are good at networking and lobbying, which helps them to get financial support. These heads reported that some parents were reluctant to contribute financially to the schools, believing that government provides enough funds to run the schools.

¹² Government provides funds for running schools in proportion to the number of students.

Heads of schools also were reported to face the challenge of working in schools that lack teachers' offices, laboratories and teaching and learning materials. This was reported to lead to the poor performance of schools. They reported that female leaders were facing a greater challenge than male heads because, when students do not perform well in the examinations, the women were blamed for being poor leaders and those complaining did not consider other factors, like working with limited resources.

In conclusion, the challenges appear to have determined the under-representation of women in senior leadership in CSSs. The respondents reported that women face the challenges of maintaining their marriages, being rejected by society, dealing with undisciplined teachers who have affairs with female students, building a community of disciplined students, balancing multiple responsibilities and running schools with limited resources. These challenges therefore discourage female teachers from participating in leadership, leading to female under-representation in CSSs.

4.5 Summary of the findings

This chapter has presented the findings based on issues influencing female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. The chapter examined the factors contributing to female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs, the perception of society of female heads of schools and how this affects women's involvement in leadership, and the challenges facing female heads of schools, which contribute to female under-representation in school leadership. Heads of schools, teachers, the REO, DEO, parents and members of school boards were the sources of data, and interviews, FGDs and questionnaires were used to collect the data.

The factors causing the under-representation of female teachers in leadership positions in CSSs were individual, organisational and societal. Individual factors observed were female teachers' satisfaction with their education status and level, such as being normal teachers and not working towards acquiring leadership positions. Female teachers considered that leadership consumed the time required for the family, and men were the breadwinners. Furthermore, female teachers rejected leadership positions when appointed for various reasons, including poor social services, lack of confidence and lack of ability to lead. However, other women were less interested in leadership because of the lack of rewards for being heads of schools. In addition, female teachers were reported to lack commitment

to work and, as a consequence, were not recommended for leadership, irrespective of their academic qualifications and experience.

The organisational factors observed included gender bias in the whole process of recommending and appointing heads of schools, from the school to the regional, based on corruption, nepotism and favouritism. The recommendations and appointment procedures were reported not to be clear. The appointments committee at regional level comprised only men. It also was observed that sexual corruption was practised in exchange for female teachers being recommended at school level. Moreover, it was observed that there was no specific policy on gender-based appointments of heads of schools, and that the autocratic leadership style used by female heads discouraged subordinates from being leaders. Furthermore, the lack of support and encouragement of female teachers from the top leadership to aspire to being leaders, as well as the lack of role models and mentors in rural schools, were the organisational factors causing female under-representation in leadership positions in CSSs.

The societal factors observed were stereotyping and the expectations of members of society that their daughters would get married immediately after completing primary school instead of being educating. This was attributed to the absolute poverty of families and the belief that educating girls was a waste of money. Moreover, cultural beliefs based on superstition and witchcraft were observed to put females off from being involved in leadership. Lastly, the lack of support and encouragement from society was observed to hinder females from being involved in leadership.

This study also sought to examine the perception of members of the school community of female heads of schools. The findings showed that the majority of these members had a negative perception of female heads of schools, as they were perceived to be incapable of leading men. However, the REO and DEO perceived female leaders positively and as less corrupt, more positive and confident, and with the ability to lead. Furthermore, it was also observed that members of the school community had a poor relationship with female heads. They were dissatisfied with female heads, as they failed to solve personal problems, were rarely accessible, lacked confidentiality and made decisions based on rumours rather than facts. The relationship between female heads of schools and members of the community influenced other women not to become involved in leadership. However, all female heads of schools countered these allegations and perceived themselves as being

good at solving problems, available when they had no office obligations and good at keeping matters confidential.

This chapter also set out to examine the challenges facing female heads of schools that contributed to female teachers' under-representation in school leadership. The challenges facing female heads of schools that discouraged other females from aspiring to be leaders were alleged deceit in marriage, rejection by society and rejection by members of the community. They hence needed to work hard to be accepted, lacked authority to discipline misbehaving and unprofessional male teachers, lacked authority to discipline misbehaving students, had to balance multiple roles and deal with insufficient funds and other resources. Alleged deceit in marriage referred to the participants' views that female heads were involved in love affairs with their bosses, which meant that they had to prove their innocence to their husbands. As regards rejection by society, female leaders were challenged to prove that they were good leaders in order to be accepted. The issue of unethical male teachers involved in affairs with female students was also a challenge to female heads when trying to restrain such offenders. As a result, male offenders would mobilise their colleagues to be insubordinate, thus making leadership challenging. Parallel to unethical teachers there also was the challenge of disciplining misbehaving students, which, apart from making leadership challenging, endangered female leaders' lives. With regard to balancing multiple roles, the views revealed that culture, norms and other contextual reasons saw female leaders overwhelmed with household chores, having to participate in social activities and having to deal with leadership responsibilities. Lastly, the challenge of insufficient funds and other resources challenged female heads in terms of the day-to-day management and running of schools. It was pointed out that female heads often resorted to using their own money or borrowing money to run the schools. This situation gravely affected the teaching and learning environment, which challenged female heads more than male heads because the findings indicated that male heads were good at lobbying and networking.

In this chapter I have presented and analysed the participants' views gathered in the field based on the three research questions indicated in Chapter One. The next chapter focuses on the discussion of the interpretation of the findings in relation to the literature, theory and findings of other related studies reviewed in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Four presented the research findings in the light of the main research questions. The present chapter critically discusses the findings in relation to relevant theories (the GOS approach, liberal feminist theory and transformational leadership theory), the literature and findings of other, related studies. This chapter also draws conclusions from previous studies, theories and the conceptual framework in relation to the findings of this study. The purpose of this study was to explore the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. These influences are addressed in this chapter through three strands: (1) factors influencing female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs, (2) the perceptions of members of the school community of female leaders and how this influences female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs, and (3) the challenges facing senior female heads of schools that hinder other women from aspiring to be leaders. From the analysis and presentation of the data, question one has been observed to have richer findings than the other two questions. The issues that emerged from all three questions are summarised in a model at the end of this chapter, based on the individual, organisational, societal and challenges levels (see Figure 19). Some issues that emerged from the participants had multiple reality characteristics, which are also consequently discussed in this chapter.

5.2 Factors contributing to female under-representation in senior leadership position in CSSs

The factors contributing to female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs comprised individual, societal and organisational factors, as discussed in the subsequent sections.

5.2.1 Individual factors

Individual factors comprise personal and familial factors. In this study the factors were found to include female teachers' contentment with the status quo, female teachers' tendency to turn down leadership posts, their lack of interest in leadership due to the lack of responsibility allowances and remuneration, and low commitment to work.

The desire of female teachers to maintain the status quo

This study revealed that female teachers are satisfied with the status quo for two reasons: they are contented with being normal teachers and the lack of interest in career development. In relation to being normal teachers, this study discovered that female teachers were content to remain classroom teachers rather than leaders. Female teachers expressed their interest in maintaining their freedom by being mere teachers without any obligations that would hinder their participation in other social activities. Earlier findings by Olson (2000), Lambert, Hogan, Barton and Lubbock (2001) and Iqbal et al. (2013) indicated that female teachers were happier with teaching than being in a leadership position. The existence of such an attitude among female teachers suggests that their behaviour is influenced by traditional orientations and beliefs regarding female leadership. According to Gupton and Slick (1996) and Iqbal et al. (2013), the culture and the patriarchal system are believed to contribute strongly to women's negative attitudes to taking leadership positions. This is explained more by Luke (2001), who elucidates that cultural values and religious codes cause females not to consider their careers, professional aspirations and other opportunities. As confirmed by the findings of this study, cultural factors and socialisation force female teachers to take and accept lower status jobs and roles. Females in some ethnic groups in Tanzania, for instance, are conditioned to assume caring roles and serving others at the family level, serving as subordinates rather than leaders. The findings also concur with the GOS approach, which holds that women's behaviour is a product of conditioning during childhood that they are to take care of the family and be leaders' bystanders (Fagenson, 1990a). In addition, the community in which this study was conducted believes that, from a cultural standpoint, marrying women with a high salary and high job title is a problem because they are believed to be stubborn and disrespectful of their husbands. This was previously highlighted by Haonga (2013), who noted that male prejudice also contributes to stopping capable women from participating in leadership. Therefore, educated females who are in leadership positions would normally find it difficult to find husbands. They therefore would hesitate or reject pursuing higher education to increase their chance of getting married, which in turn leads to them lacking the necessary qualifications for promotion to leadership posts. The literature shows that most women with higher education are single (Raburu, 2011).

Regarding the factors associated with women's lack of interest in career development, there were multiple realities in this regard. There were participants (the majority) who reported that female teachers were satisfied with their diploma, while a few participants disagreed with this. It was observed that female teachers were pleased with their diploma and happy to maintain the status quo. This is contrary to men, who are only satisfied when they have a high-level qualification and are in a good position for promotion (Al-Mashaan, 2003).

Therefore, they neither developed their career nor aspired to become leaders because of social stereotypes that men are the *breadwinners*, and should be more educated, prosperous and possibly have more leadership opportunities and a higher financial status than women. Women accept the view that their male counterparts should provide everything, feed the family and make all the important decisions for them (Haonga, 2013). This is because stereotypical, cultural or traditional settings claim the right of men to be breadwinners, decision-makers and providers for their families (French & Sheridan, 2009; Oakley, 2000). Thus, female teachers have the feeling that they do not need to develop their career and aspire to become leaders because leadership positions are meant for men. According to the GOS approach, women are more likely to accept being under men and having lower-level qualifications (Fagenson, 1990b). Dorsey (1996, p. 30) reports that "the expected blind obedience and submission inhibit the development of initiative and independent thought". Therefore, women's socialisation contributes to their lower status, lack of self-confidence in making decisions about their lives and career and becoming involved in leadership. In order to increase the number of women in decision-making positions, this traditional upbringing of females, from family to society level, needs to be changed and women have to be socialised to have confidence to aim for higher education posts.

The present study also discovered that women chose *family responsibilities* at the expense of developing their career. This finding is consistent with other researchers, who revealed that women favoured their families over their careers (Chapman & Lowther, 1982; Gupton & Slick, 1996). Women who wish to develop their career would do so when they are in their late 30s, after having borne two or three children. As highlighted by Shakeshaft (1989), a career becomes a focus for women only when they are in midlife, because at this age women gain more confidence and their children are grown up. However, in the context of Tanzania, at this age women face family roles and financial constraints, e.g. most of the

family income is used for paying children's school fees, taking care of young ones, etc. Having to cater for children financially, coupled with family responsibilities, makes it difficult for those few who wish to develop their career to do so. This might be different for men, for whom familial roles such as child rearing are not their traditional or cultural responsibilities or priority. Traditionally, societies in less developed countries should conform to their gender roles and expectations (Celikten, 2005; Johnson, 2011; Morley, Leach & Lugg, 2009), and therefore the female teachers observed in this study were expected to be good wives whose roles would be at home, caring for children, rather than developing their career. Therefore, under-representation of female teachers in school senior leadership positions is not caused only by their lack of ambition to develop their careers and the stereotype of men males as breadwinners, but also by family responsibilities.

In this study there emerged a claim by a few respondents that female teachers were willing to develop their careers but that they were hindered by their spouse and family. This finding extends that of Haonga (2013), who noted that Tanzania has "many talented women" who could develop their careers to higher levels, but fail to do so because of their husbands' prohibition. A similar observation was made by Dines (1993, p. 30) that "females' career development depended on the grace and favour of their spouses". Generally, based on the findings of this study and previous observations, there are men who still behave in such a way because of cultural factors. Being jealous of their wives when they are away for studies may be one of the explanations for prohibiting them from developing their career away from home. However, changes in the economy have encouraged some men to allow their wives to develop their career, hoping that they would contribute to the family's income. I hope that this change could transform the perception of the majority of males and females in the near future, especially in rural areas, and that more women might be educated and participate in leadership.

Female teachers turn down the posts when appointed

Finding that female teachers rejected taking up senior leadership posts when appointed was consistent with previous studies (Chisikwa, 2010; Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009), as the participants gave different reasons for women rejecting rural posts. Female teachers declined leadership posts in CSSs because of the poor working environment, poor social services, lack of confidence and lack of ability to lead.

Poor and unreliable transport, the lack of sufficient and clean water, poor housing and medical care made female teachers reject the posts. This is supported by Mluma (2005, p. 2), who also pointed to “gender-based constraints to education which tend to be more pronounced in rural areas due to the fact that the environment is normally more accommodative of gender inequality”. The explanation for this is that, in the district where this study was carried out, poor and unreliable transport compelled female teachers to decline taking up leadership posts. Motorcycles were reported to be an unfavourable means of transport for female teachers, as they feared accidents and the risk of being robbed associated with motorcycle transport in remote areas. Female teachers were reported to be affected the most because they were the ones who frequently travelled to their families in the town (as male heads tended to live with their wives). The majority of male heads revealed that they were married to teachers or housewives who were able to accompany them to new the workplace, unlike female heads who were usually married to men whose work was not in rural areas.

The lack of clean and safe water also caused female teachers to reject senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural districts. This finding corroborates those of other research (e.g. USAID, 2010), which confirmed that women had to walk many kilometres to fetch water in some Tanzanian districts. The fact that fetching water is a gender role and cultural manifestation in Tanzania means that women are responsible for fetching water for the family, as was observed in this study, where they walk more than five kilometres to fetch water. This made it harder for female heads to carry out their dual roles, such as finding water after their official work, which caused them to reject posts in rural areas.

Moreover, a report from the study on houses for teachers in secondary schools conducted in Tanzania in 2011 revealed that the shortage of houses for teachers in the visited schools was as high as 72% (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011b). Some of the teachers in this study confirmed that they lived in a classroom with no proper shutters and doors, which makes female teachers turn down leadership posts. Such an environment is not conducive for female teachers and makes them vulnerable to sexual assault and robbery. According to Towse et al. (2002), the lack of school resources negatively affects teachers’ participation in leadership in rural schools. Thus, few female teachers accept leadership posts in remote areas, leading to few female heads in CSSs. Probably the majority of

teachers who reject leadership posts are young, as the data shows that the majority of heads of schools (60%) are over 50 (see Table 8). I argue that the lack of teachers' houses in rural Tanzania is due to the lack of will and commitment by both the government and community leaders, as they emphasise building classrooms rather than teachers' houses.

Having observed that women reject rural posts in Tanzania, it should be noted teachers reject rural posts in other African countries also, and even in developed countries like the UK. The reasons for this in the UK are different from the ones observed in this study. The BBC (2008) reported that teachers are not prepared to take up rural posts because they were not prepared to move from urban areas due to family commitments. Nevertheless, the context of developed countries (such as the UK) differs significantly from that of this study, as in the UK they have good houses, transport, water, medical services and all social services, in contrast to the Tanzanian context, where these are poor or unavailable in most rural areas.

Additionally, in relation to a lack of confidence, Dorsey (1996) observed that women who qualify for promotion are sometimes hindered by cultural conditioning into believing that they are less able to lead compared to their male counterparts, which contributes to their behaviour and performance in the workplace. In this study it has been revealed that female teachers lack the confidence to be involved in leadership and reject the posts when appointed. This may be explained by society's attitude of perceiving women as less able than men, which prevents them from accepting that they are capable and hence they lack the confidence to be involved in leadership. In reality there are talented women with a lot of ability, but because of culture and patriarchal attitudes, they feel that they are unable to take high-level decision-making posts (Sperandio & Kagoda, 2008). This type of upbringing causes women to lack confidence, and to feel inferior or reluctant to accept more challenging roles such as school leadership, as explained by the GOS approach. I argue that women's lack of confidence to be involved in leadership is caused by society and the family, as they socialise them to accept inferior positions. Confidence is undermined by the family, school and surrounding society. As a result, women are confined to their homes and are not encouraged to use their skills and knowledge, and are sometimes discouraged from explaining their aspirations and intentions.

Generally, female teachers reject rural senior leadership posts not only because they do not want to be heads of schools, as observed above, but also because of cultural factors, which socialise them to lack confidence, and social and environmental factors, which are not favourable for women with young children. This study suggests that the rural environment should be improved in terms of social services in order to motivate women and build their confidence to participate in leadership.

Lack of interest in leadership due to poor remuneration and allowances

Wangui (2012) observed in Kenya that heads of schools receive few allowances in relation to the work they undertake. Wangui also observed that female teachers aspiring to be leaders were influenced by benefits such as allowances, which motivated them to pursue more challenging posts and also made them satisfied with being leaders. Similarly, the findings of this study are confirmed by Bennel, namely that, “in most countries head teachers receive little or no extra pay for their responsibilities” (2011, p. 4), therefore suggesting that “in addition to having reduced workloads, head teachers should be paid significantly higher wages and allowances than classroom teachers” (Bennel, 2011, p. 4). This study observed that there were no allowances for heads of CSSs in Tanzania. Due to this, school leadership was perceived as stressful and hence females were not interested in being involved in leadership. While a lack of allowances for heads of schools was reported in Tanzanian CSSs, other countries with the same economic status, such as Lesotho and Mozambique, provide hardship allowances to teachers and heads of rural schools (Mulkeen, 2005). I argue that, if countries like Lesotho, with similar economy to Tanzania, provide such allowances, why not Tanzania? Critics of the government, including opposition political parties, cannot understand why Tanzania has failed in this regard. The lack of political will by the Tanzanian government could be part of the reason for the failure to provide such remuneration. The government could consider providing attractive packages for teachers and heads in rural areas, which would motivate females to aspire to be senior leaders. However, Bhalalusesa and Mboya (2003) and this study confirm that male teachers sometimes could be attracted to leadership positions because of prestige, regardless of allowances.

Similarly, the finding that the heads of schools and classroom teachers with the same experience, age and qualifications receive a similar salary, which discourages female teachers from taking leadership positions, was to some extent similar to studies reporting

that teachers in developing countries are dissatisfied with their salary (Voluntary Service Overseas, 2002), and that some heads of schools opt to quit leadership positions and become normal teachers (Alzaidi, 2008). A responsibility allowance is the only thing that would differentiate heads of schools and normal teachers in terms of remuneration. I argue that the similar payment of heads of schools and classroom teachers of the same age and with the same experience is not a problem. The problem is the responsibility allowance for the position one has. However, as discussed above, this allowance is not available in Tanzanian CSSs, which discourages teachers from participating in senior leadership. The government of Tanzania should consider providing this allowance to heads of schools to boost their morale and efficiency so as to motivate other teachers to participate in leadership.

Lack of commitment to school responsibilities

This was one of the factors observed in this study contributing to females' under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs. Some female teachers were not recommended for leadership as they were reported to be less committed to their work, despite having other qualifications like work experience. These findings concur with those of Stevens et al. (1978), who observed that women were less committed to their work. Mathipa and Tsoka (2001) observed that one of the barriers to females being involved in leadership is demotion as were regarded as lazy and arrogant.

The outcomes of this study show that female teachers were inactive in performing school activities. This is probably because it was found in this study that female teachers in Tanzania are preoccupied with family chores at the expense of school responsibilities. I argue that their involvement in most family responsibilities and the unsupportive working environment may make their contribution to work unclear. According to the GOS approach, females are restricted to behaviours and qualities that are contrary to the qualities required for senior leadership (Earley & Weindling, 2004; Fagenson, 1990b), and so they give less time to teaching than to their familial roles (Jensen, 1968). Similarly, liberal feminist theory suggests that women put more effort into the wife-mother jobs of caring for children than into their official work, and that women interested in their career and leadership were perceived not to be good mothers (Lorber, 2001). It could consequently be argued that senior female teachers would be more committed to their work if they had fewer responsibilities in relation to their families and received support from

family members. Therefore, if not given support, young female teachers would not have the school leadership qualities, as they would still be attending to family or domestic chores despite their qualifications. The fact that it is not about commitment, but rather about family responsibilities and a conducive environment that supports female teachers with household chores, means that if this is improved, it would probably increase their commitment to work and certainly would reduce the under-representation of women in senior school leadership. This study suggests the need for government to introduce structural support, like day-care centres, which would care for children, support women's dual roles and could help female teachers to devote quality time to their teaching.

5.2.2 Organisational factors

These are other factors for female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs observed in this study. The organisational factors comprise gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools, sexual corruption and harassment, and educational policy that is gender neutral in the recommendation and appointment of teachers to leadership. Other factors were women's leadership style, and the lack of encouragement and support, role models and mentors for potential female leaders from among school leadership.

Gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools

Among the striking organisational factors reported in this study were gender stereotypes and bias in recommending females for promotion, as females were perceived to be unfit for leadership positions. It was reported in the literature that school leadership is often correlated with stereotypically defined masculine traits and behaviours (Al-khalifa, 1992; Blackmore, 1999; Ruijs, 1993). In addition, liberal feminist theory and the GOS approach add that women are under-represented in leadership because of biased promotion committees dominated by men with better paid positions (Fagenson, 1990a; Blackmore, 1999; Lorber, 2001), and some interview questions are based on personal issues in order to disqualify females (Lorber, 2001). In a male-dominated culture like Tanzania, the GOS approach holds that females are always in an inferior position because top posts are naturally occupied by males (Kanter, 1977). Therefore, from the GOS approach, the stereotype concerning the role of males and females and cultural values in Tanzanian society could affect institutional practice. Indeed, organisations play a major role in the

under-representation of females in leadership positions in CSSs in Tanzania due to discrimination and favouritism (Oakley, 2000).

The findings reveal that people who recommend and appoint heads of schools have a negative perception of female leadership, as they feel that females are weak and should be listeners. This was observed to be a discriminatory practice in Tanzanian culture (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). In this case, the Western and Arabic influences that Tanzania experienced as a colony regarded males as stronger than females in production undertakings, and from this a structure was formed that regarded females as inferior to males and hence less considered for different opportunities (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). Although liberal feminism is used as a theoretical lens to view gender equality in Tanzania in this study, it still does not adequately uncover the unseen barriers that hinder women from becoming involved in different opportunities. That is, both at societal and organisational levels there are hidden values and beliefs that do not favour women, especially in the context of this study. The treatment of women at family and society levels has a great impact on appointment to leadership. This is because heads of schools, the REO and DEO were observed to make their recommendations and appointments based on hidden gender discrimination (societal values, norms, beliefs, attitudes and stereotypes), which emanate from their socialisation, thus disregarding females' ability and determination. Therefore, to some extent, liberal feminism does not adequately challenge the indirect hidden barriers that exist in society and in the education system (Lorber, 2001). Liberal feminism has less challenges the patriarchal system, which is dominant in the area of this study (Welch, 2001, p. 2). In this case, due to the existing patriarchal system in the country, the education sector, government and society still practise discrimination against women. For example, in this study, all members of the appointments committee at the regional level were men, and the majority of heads of schools in the district were men (47 out of 54), and they are the ones who recommend teachers for senior leadership posts. Thus, this kind of committee is likely to be gender discriminatory because those who appoint heads are socialised in a patriarchal society.

Moreover, the rate of gender-based bias in appointing school heads might even be higher in Tanzania than in other countries because of the nature of the recommendation and appointments procedures used in the country, as indicated in this study. In the context where the school heads recommend names to the DEO, who then forwards them to the

REO, where the heads of schools finally are appointed (see section 2.4.3), the whole process is likely to lack transparency and is more likely to be discriminatory. I argue that, due to lack of advertisements and interviews for the posts, as observed in this study, the way in which recommendations and appointments are made leaves a lot of questions about whether the criteria were followed or not. Therefore, it is highly probable that this procedure used in Tanzania discriminates against women and it is likely that the posts are given to incompetent or even uninterested persons. Researchers have proved that the appointing committees ignore formal rules when appointing heads of schools, and posts are given to the people the committees are interested in (Onsongo, 2004; Rujis, 1993).

The procedure observed in this study for promoting people to leadership positions in secondary schools was also based on *ethnicity, nepotism, sex and religion*, rather than on academic qualifications¹³, thereby affecting female representation in senior leadership positions (Gaus, 2011). This confirms and reinforces the interplay of the cultural and traditional stereotype of undervaluing women. In this process, the chance of females becoming leaders diminishes, as males who normally dominate appointing committees favour and support themselves (Bassett, 2009; Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009; Shakeshaft, 1989), and the process is not based on intellectual and professional qualifications. Typical appointment committees are against the ideals of liberal feminist theory, which posits that people should be treated fairly and in accordance with legal and other established principles (Lorber, 2001). Liberal feminist theory encourages promotion to leadership positions based on the ability to lead, interpersonal skills in the school community, collaboration and the ability to give directions and guidelines, rather than on biological difference and favouritism.

Sexual harassment and sexual corruption when recommending heads of schools

In recommending female teachers for leadership positions, sexual corruption and harassment were also reported to among the reasons why few females were in senior leadership positions in CSSs. Corruption in this study refers to obtaining undeserved official benefits in exchange for illegal payments (bribes). Sexual corruption in this study

¹³One of the criteria articulated in this study was a degree (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b) and, surprisingly, the majority of heads of schools observed in this study had a diploma (18 out of 20), while only two female heads had a bachelor's degree. This may be due to favouritism and culture, which is why very few females with a diploma were appointed to leadership positions, or perhaps because they did not meet other criteria, like three years' teaching experience and experience as a deputy or head of department.

refers to the situation of leaders misusing their power by favouring others by giving the posts or other fringe benefits that are not deserved in exchange for love affairs. Furthermore, sexual harassment is “making unwanted and offensive sexual advances or sexually offensive remarks or acts, especially by one in a superior or supervisory position or when acquiescence to such behaviour is a condition of continued employment, promotion, or satisfactory evaluation” (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2009).

In relation to some incidents, the findings of this study reveal that the involvement of female teachers in sexual relationships with male heads of schools was a precondition for those interested in leadership to be recommended and appointed to leadership positions and to receive other fringe benefits. Those who opposed such relationships were not recommended and were denied leadership positions, despite their qualifications and merit. In line with this finding, Lessing (1994) observed that supervisors have been known to misuse their authority, especially in rural areas. Mlama (2005) argues that sexual harassment is one of the factors in gender bias and inequality in the education sector. The findings are in contrast to transformational leadership theory, which considers leaders as role models who should be admired and trusted by their subordinates and who should create a friendly environment for them (Avolio & Bass, 2002). Sexual harassment is also against the Tanzanian law, section 6 of the Code of Ethics and Conduct for Public Service Regulations, which reads, “A Public Servant shall refrain from having sexual relationships at the workplace, likewise he/she will avoid all types of conduct that may constitute sexual harassment that include pressure for sexual activity or sexual favours with a fellow employee” (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998b, p. 5). Despite this law, some of those who have the power in Tanzania (like some male heads of schools observed in this study) still practise sexual harassment and corruption.

As observed in this study, victims of sexual harassment do not formally report such incidents for several reasons, something also found by Bagilhole and Woodward (1995). The patriarchal system and cultural taboos mean that girl and woman victims of sexual harassment do not report it even to their parents or seniors, and so no action is taken. Harassed females therefore lack the support of parents, leaders and society as a whole. The literature has revealed that little or no advocacy or research has been done on sexual corruption in workplaces in Tanzania, although sexual violence and sexual harassment

have been addressed (Masha, 2014). Therefore, this needs to be taken into consideration by activists and the government for the fair treatment of men and women in workplaces.

Lack of specific gender-based appointments policy

The lack of a specific gender-based appointments policy also was found to be among the causes of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. The results of this study demonstrate the silence of the policy on gender equality in the current Educational Training Policy (ETP) of 1995 and its implementers, SEDP I & SEDP II. The lack of initiative to increase the number of women in school leadership may have contributed to the level of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in the Tanzanian CSSs. In addition, the lack of clear policy guidance regarding females' appointment may have propagated the stereotypical worldview of women. The findings confirm what the literature claims, namely that women are under-represented in leadership positions due to the lack of policies and legislation that would ensure the participation of women in leadership (Bond, 1996) and challenge the basic structure of gender relations (Coleman, 1994; Powell, 1990). Similarly, the findings extend the GOS perspective that organisational rules, laws, policies and ideology hinder females from rising to senior leadership positions (Fagenson, 1990a). As society is dominated by patriarchy and cultural beliefs concerning the image of a leader, the lack of a women-friendly policy on educational leadership in Tanzania means that women will continue to be under-represented in top leadership positions, unless the ETP of 1995 is reviewed. This is also informed by liberal feminism, that the process of recommending and appointing senior heads of CSSs is based on a gender-blind policy, which leads to unfair recommendation with consequent unequal appointment and promotion of females to leadership posts (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997). By a gender-blind policy I mean the policy which does not provide equal opportunities to females and males.

Leadership styles used by female heads

The autocratic leadership style used by female heads of CSSs was also noted to be one of the hindrances to females wishing to participate in leadership. This type of decision making lacks inclusiveness and participation (Everard, Morris & Wilson, 2004). While the findings of this study are consistent with those of Kariuki (2004), Oplatka and Tamir (2009) and Arar and Abu-Rabia-Queder (2011), they differ from those of other researchers (Coleman, 2005; Eagly *et al.*, 2003; Korchek & Reese, 2002) and also differ from

transformational leadership theory, which states that female leaders are more participatory and people oriented (Rosener, 1990). Other studies have reported that the autocratic leadership style is simply a transitory stage in female leadership (Arar & Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2011), as they would start using the directive style in the early stages of their leadership and would later change to the participatory style. This study makes no comment on this finding, because it needs a complete cycle of female leadership to reach a conclusion. The differences in findings may be because of cultural variations. The autocratic style used by female leaders in Tanzania could be a result of the prevailing culture, which is dominated by the patriarchal system that causes females to use the predominant leadership style employed by the majority of males in society.

Moreover, based on the findings of this study there are indications that, in the context of Tanzania, female heads of schools use the autocratic leadership style as a defence mechanism. This may be because they lack confidence and the acceptance and support of their subordinates and members of the school community. Moreover, most female heads of schools have lower levels of education (see Table 8 in Chapter 3) than their subordinates, although they have more experience and may use the autocratic style as a means of overcoming thorny challenges from graduates. This explanation is supported by Kusi (2008), who found that a leadership problem exists where the head teacher has lower educational qualifications than some staff members. In this context, female heads may feel threatened by their junior staff because of their low level of education, and they therefore would choose to make decisions unilaterally.

The use of the autocratic leadership style is an indication of the absence of close interaction between heads of schools and the rest of the staff through participatory decision making and teamwork. This negates the intellectual stimulation in transformational leadership theory (Bass & Bass, 2008), which advocates that a leader should be more participative, an aspect that seems to be lacking in female heads in this study (Banerji & Krishnan, 2000). It is my view that, if women were given support and used the participatory approach in their leadership, it could simplify their work and reduce the burden of official responsibilities, as sometimes the work that should be done by female leaders could be delegated to other teachers. This eventually would encourage female teachers to be involved in leadership in CSSs.

However, the female heads revealed that they would not consider using the autocratic leadership style, but that the choice of leadership style is based on the context and prevailing situation, which is similar to Smith's (2011) findings. I argue that, depending on the circumstances, heads of schools should make decisions, as some issues might be urgent or delicate and cannot wait for everybody to come on board. This is also confirmed by Smith (2011). I argue further that there is no 'right style' of leadership, as the choice of style depends on what would be the best at a given moment. Coleman (2002) supports this approach by recognising that, where possible, the balance of masculine and feminine qualities is vital for the school's effectiveness. I argue also that the appropriate style of leadership for women in Tanzania should be one that is appropriate for the prevailing situation.

Lack of encouragement and support from the top leadership

The lack of administrative support for and encouragement of female teachers in developing their career was also found to be one of the causes of female under-representation in senior leadership. While other studies in the UK found that female heads of schools tended to encourage staff development through individual consultations (Coleman, 2000), the findings of this study and those of Luke (2001) in Hong Kong differ, revealing that women do not support other women or take the opportunity to help them. This probably is because of a lack of awareness of gender equality, which may have negative implications in terms of supporting females in leadership. Also, this may reflect the differences in the level of the patriarchal system of the countries where the studies were conducted. Luke (2001) explains that those few women in headship posts are threatened by the progress of young women in the same career, and so they fail to encourage and help these women to be successful in their career. This implies that female heads prevent fellow women from working towards obtaining leadership positions, thereby reducing competition, commonly referred to as the "queen-bee syndrome" (Luke, 2001). It was reported that such female heads would discourage fellow females from aspiring to become leaders, arguing that leadership was not a friendly role for women due to many tasks that would deprive them of time to be with their families. According to Riches (1988, p. 43), this is a "discrimination model whereby one group excludes the other". It is believed that, in order to maintain their positions, some female leaders would gate-keep to prevent other females from ascending the leadership ladder and make themselves seen, admired and recognized as the only leaders (Luke, 2001). This lack of support also has a close relationship with the lack of

informal and formal social networks, which result in a lack of recognition of professional advancement. Indeed, this is also in line with the GOS approach, in terms of which women lack support and are discriminated against in their desire to become leaders at all organisational levels. Women are given low positions at work and lack support that would enable them to climb the leadership ladder, while males are favoured and supported (Kanter, 1977). Noticeably, this situation encourages the under-representation of females in leadership positions. This behaviour is also likely to make colleagues have a negative perception of female leadership, thereby discouraging young women from participating in leadership.

I argue that the lack of administrative support for female teachers may also relate to the cultural perception of those who are in leadership, namely that females should always be subordinates and not decision makers. The majority of those in power would thus decline to support females aspiring to become leaders. This is contrary to transformational leadership theory, which insists that female leaders have the ability to encourage staff, stimulate them intellectually and motivate them (Avolio, 1999; Bass, 1999). The dominant patriarchal system in the area of this study might have led to the heads of schools being less supported by their subordinates, which is partly why female heads were reluctant to share leadership opportunities with subordinates, including fellow female teachers.

This study concludes that female teachers are already at a disadvantage in terms of becoming heads of schools due to culture and socialisation, which lead them to have low aspirations as far as leadership is concerned. Therefore, lack of support continues to keep them out of the leadership system. One would expect schools to encourage women to be involved in leadership, but the lack of such support and encouragement continues to keep women in low-level posts in CSSs.

Lack of role models and mentors

The finding that females lack role models and mentors to encourage them to climb the leadership ladder has been reported previously (Coleman, 2002; Luke, 2001). Role models and mentors would direct and guide female teachers and children towards acquiring leadership positions in rural community schools. They could help teachers to develop confidence and self-esteem and aspire to become senior leaders. In the context of this

study, where some CSSs in rural areas had neither a female leader nor female teachers, it would appear difficult for female students to have either mentors or role models. This finding is consistent with other researchers, who found that women lack a leader of their sex to imitate (Luke, 2001; UNESCO, 2003, as cited in United Republic of Tanzania, 2012b). Based on the findings of this study, the lack of role models and mentors in rural schools in Tanzania is contributed to by the poor working environment with poor social services, as discussed in previous sections, which cause females to decline posts.

Therefore, it arguably would mean that, if the environment of rural CSSs was attractive enough to motivate more females to take posts there, both female teachers and students would get role models and mentors of their sex from whom to learn leadership skills. Females decline leadership positions in rural CSSs due to the lack of mentors and role models. According to Hedges (2002), female teachers avoid rural posts for a number of reasons, one of them being the poor chance of getting married in rural areas. Bennell and Akyeampong (2007) noted that married female teachers in most countries live with their husbands, who mostly work in towns, and so there are few female teachers in rural schools, which means that female students lack role models. The placement of heads of schools or teachers should take the locality into account, as the Ministry of Education and Culture (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b) suggests that, when council leaders place teachers, they should balance their needs in both urban and rural schools by considering their familiarity with the environment in the respective localities. This would ensure the equal distribution of teachers even in vulnerable rural schools, where both female teachers and students lack mentors and role models. The suggestion given by the Ministry above would only work if the rural environment were conducive, with good social services.

5.2.3 Societal factors

Societal factors also contribute to the under-representation of women in senior leadership positions in Tanzanian CSSs, namely societal aspirations and expectations of girls' education, traditional beliefs (superstition and witchcraft) and the lack of support and encouragement of society.

Societal aspirations and expectations of girls' education

Societal aspirations and expectations of girls' education affect the education of girls. Cultural and traditional expectations are that girls would get married early and not spend time at school, which means that women lack the qualifications to become leaders. This is in line with other studies, which found that young girls were forced to drop out of school because of marriage due to poverty (Makoye, 2013; Saiboko, 2013). Parents mostly support and prefer to educate boys and sometimes no preference is given at all to girls' education. They would force their daughters into early marriages so as to get the bride price (dowry, often in goods or money) in order to settle their financial problems. This implies that parents support girls less in their education. This is supported by Cubillo and Brown (2003), who conducted their study in nine countries (Indonesia, China, Cyprus, Greece, Kuwait, Iraq, Commonwealth of Dominica, Gambia and Zambia) and observed the importance of support from parents, and particularly from fathers. They suggest that fatherly support is very significant in the patriarchal countries they studied. It is possible that these parents would have been better off supporting their girls financially, as they might then have been able to go on to further studies.

The results of this study add to the existing claims of other studies that parents marrying off teenage daughters are pushed by the conviction that educating girls is a bad investment with no dividends, as girls would eventually be taken away as the wives of other men (Children's Dignity Forum, 2010) and that girls are marriage products whose main preoccupation is being caretakers (Onsongo, 2004). These findings are in line with the GOS approach that males are always given priority and opportunities for different ends, including education, while females are neglected. The approach explains that gender role expectations are based on cultural values (Rowley & Yukongdi, 2009). The findings explain why few girls go beyond primary education, resulting in inequality in different sectors, including leadership. The findings of this study can be explained further by the Law of Marriage Act of Tanzania, which contributes to some extent to early marriages and pregnancies as it allows girls to get married at the age of 15 (United Republic of Tanzania, 1971). The Law is opposed by many, including members of school boards, who want their daughters to get married at the age of twenty and over, when most of them would have graduated from universities or colleges, become employed and be involved in leadership. The study suggests that the government of Tanzania should amend this Law, as it deprives

girls of the right to education and other opportunities, and sometimes some future female leaders lose their lives when delivering babies due to their young age.

Traditional beliefs (superstition and witchcraft)

Moreover, traditional beliefs (superstition and witchcraft) are another societal factor for female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural areas. Indeed, related findings were reported by Ibadi (2012), namely that superstition and witchcraft scared teachers in one of the rural districts in Tanzania to the extent that they were sleeping in their offices for about a week. The interpretation of this finding in the present study is that superstition and witchcraft are associated with poverty and people's low level of education, which perpetuates these traditions and beliefs. When educated people such as teachers live in such a society, they may be easily affected by the culture and beliefs such as witchcraft. This is a contextual finding, as personal views are shaped by society. Issues of witchcraft have something to do with society, which shapes the individual's mind-set. I argue that belief in witchcraft therefore can have a psychological impact on teachers so that they refuse to take leadership posts in such areas, irrespective of whether witchcraft exists or not. My perception is that witchcraft is a myth and thus its occurrence cannot be proved, although I have heard and seen people who are psychologically affected by this belief in Tanzania. Belief in witchcraft not only scares female teachers, but males also. However, females are affected most. Since there are only a few of them in school leadership in the district, once one of them rejects a post, it means a loss in terms of leadership representation.

Lack of social support and encouragement

Another societal factor observed in this study is society's lack of support and encouragement for females. This is reported to influence female representation in decision making. Onsongo (2004) states that, because of culture and religion, females were less encouraged by society. This implies that society discourages women from doing anything that is not culturally appropriate for them. As indicated by other researchers (Bubshait, 2012; Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009), this study confirmed that society's lack of encouragement and support has an impact on females' aspiration to become leaders. This discouragement and lack of support causes the talents of females to be wasted, as they do not get involved in different opportunities at the family and society levels. This is because society shapes and encourages females to be listeners, humble and silent before their

brothers and husbands, and to accept low-status jobs or obligations. Therefore, the family and society do not support the acquisition of self-confidence (a very important quality in leadership) by females. Cubillo and Brown (2003) found that women are lacking peer support, specifically from men, and this was observed to be due to patriarchy in the studied areas. This is supported by liberal feminist theory, namely that the lack of social support and encouragement is a result of society's stereotype of women, who should not go beyond kitchen chores and should be respectable wives (Amondi, 2011; Lorber, 2001). Mlama (2005) also observed that not giving girls support in their studies and placing a lot of emphasis on domestic chores is a cause of gender disparity in the education system and leadership.

Therefore, society in the area of this study should recognise the contributions and abilities of women and should make an effort to support and encourage them to take on challenging posts like decision making at the family level.

5.3 Perception of members of school community of female heads of schools and its contribution to female under-representation in senior leadership positions

This is the second research question answered in this study. It was revealed that female heads of CSSs are perceived negatively by members of the school community. It is also revealed that female heads are perceived to have a poor relationship with the school community, were poor in solving problems and were less accessible.

Negative perception of members of school community of female heads of schools

The findings of this study reveal that members of the school community perceive female heads of schools as weak, lacking leadership skills, as being low risk takers and as frustrated. This negative perception is confirmed by other studies (Makura, 2009; Shakeshaft et al., 2007). Women have been perceived to be incompetent in terms of being trusted with senior and delicate or sensitive positions, despite their education and skills (Amondi, 2011). Female leaders are negatively perceived because of the deep-rooted patriarchal system and culture, which lead most people in society believe that women cannot be given equal opportunities in leadership positions. Similarly, the GOS approach asserts that female leaders are negatively perceived because of society's culture and norms, which underrate females in top leadership (Fagenson, 1990b).

In the current study, the negative perceptions of female leaders were possibly exacerbated by religious and traditional beliefs that males should lead and instruct females to receive commands and directives without questioning. These beliefs impact negatively on the capability of women in decision making (AL-Mahrouqi, 2010). The findings indicate that, when female leaders make mistakes, it is considered worse than males making mistakes. This is perhaps caused by the perception that female leaders are not accepted. The view that mistakes made by female leaders are an indicator of their inability to lead contradicts with feminist theory, which calls for the equal treatment of men and women, irrespective of their sex (Lorber, 2001). The different ways in which society treats female leaders imply that female leaders are less honoured, which is in contrast with feminist theory. Irrespective of the level of education and skills women leaders may have, society finds it hard to trust them with leadership responsibilities. In this matter, Bhalalusesa and Mboya (2003) argue that most people in society perceive that women and men cannot be treated equally. Because of the perceptions and treatment of female leaders, teachers' friends, husbands, relatives and colleagues have discouraged women from participating in leadership so as to avoid unnecessary challenges.

On the other hand, although female heads of schools were perceived negatively by the members of the school community, they considered themselves positive and effective, despite the fact that they faced many challenges posed by the majority of fellow teachers, members of the school and the surrounding community. In addition, the female heads of schools were regarded positively by a few participants in this study, who commended them for being positive, effective and good at following rules and regulations. Kagoda and Sperandio (2009) confirm that female heads of schools are perceived positively by some members of school communities, who cooperate with them. Therefore, this suggests that Tanzanian society has started to accept female leaders in CSSs.

School community members' perceived relationships with female heads of schools

Female heads of schools were also perceived to have a poor relationship with members of the school community. They were perceived to lack interpersonal skills and neglected the social and economic needs of members of the school community and staff, and hence affected the cooperation expected from the community. Contradictory views have been reported in the literature on the relationship between female heads of schools and school

community members. While some have found that female leaders were highly caring individuals (Celikten, 2005) and that they have the ability to have good relationships with subordinates (Eagly & Karau, 1991), others show that parents cooperated less with female heads of schools (Makura, 2009). Similarly, the findings disagree with transformational leadership theory, which projects females as more relational beings, especially when it comes to considering the needs of their subordinates (Bass & Bass, 2008; Rosener, 1990). In addition, the findings are also contrary to the Tanzanian ETP aims, which insist that heads of school listen to and understand the needs, problems and difficulties faced by their staff and other members of society (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013b). Therefore, when heads of schools are perceived negatively, they should endeavour to attend to the needs of the staff. This will change the perception of the members of the community that the poor relationship with female heads of schools was due to their inability to solve the problems of members of the school community, and encourage women to participate in leadership.

Less accessible

The current study also reports that female leaders are perceived to be less accessible to their subordinates and other members of the school community, which means that these heads of schools did not know about their problems. The findings are similar to those of the United Republic of Tanzania (2013b), namely that leaders not being accessible leads to a poor relationship between the school leadership and the school community, so that members of the school community fail to support the school leadership. Similarly, the findings oppose both what Coleman (2000) observed, that female heads were available to their staff, and transformational leadership theory, which insists on the mutual accessibility of heads of schools, subordinates and the surrounding community (Bass, 1999). When leaders are accessible to their subordinates it indicates that attention is being paid to the relationship with the school community, which is very important for achieving school goals. When female heads of schools are not accessible to members of the community due to many official responsibilities, problems would have been solved by the deputy or other staff members on the basis of peer support or mentorship. It is important for heads of schools to have regular meetings at the school with parents, teachers, students and members of the school boards in order to have a common understanding. This is because, during meetings, subordinates or parents would be free to air their views and problems.

Lacked confidentiality

Another finding was that female teachers allegedly lacked confidentiality, which leads to misunderstandings with members of the school community. The respondents did not trust the female heads of schools, as they perceived them to be poor confidants and incapable of discretion. Females were also perceived to make decisions based on speculation rather than facts, leading to misunderstandings with the community. Similar findings were observed by Makura (2009) in Zimbabwe, specifically that female heads of schools acted on rumours, which then caused a poor relationship with their subordinates. Such views may discourage female teachers from aspiring to be leaders.

In the interviews, female heads disagreed with the view that they lacked cooperation with the surrounding society. They claimed to be accessible at all times, unless they were busy with official or more pressing engagements. They also claimed that they were solving the problems of their society in accordance with their ability. They stated that some members of society wanted female heads to perform duties that were beyond their jurisdiction or ability, and if they did not, they were, due to society's stereotypical and cultural beliefs, perceived as incapable, weak and unable to solve their problems. People believed less in female leaders, regardless of how good their work was, how accessible they were, and how effectively they related to others.

Therefore, although the findings reveal that the female heads had a poor relationship with members of the school community and failed to respond to their needs, I argue that, to some extent, the female heads of schools had a good relationship with the surrounding community. However, due to culture and patriarchy they were not easily accepted as leaders. This lack of support might have caused female leaders to alienate themselves from society. Therefore, to some extent, the lack of females in leadership was not caused by a poor relationship with society alone, but by a myriad of reasons emanating from the culture, tradition, religion and other considerations, which might cause females to work in a very challenging situation.

5.4. The challenges facing female heads that contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs

This is the third research question answered in this study. Based on the revelations of the respondents in this study, the challenges facing the present female heads of schools discouraged other females from working towards acquiring headship positions. These challenges were alleged deceit in marriage, the rejection of female heads of schools by members of the school community, the lack of authority to discipline misbehaving and unprofessional male teachers and students, balancing multiple roles, and insufficient funds and other resources to run the schools.

Alleged deceit in marriage

In this study, female teachers were discouraged from working towards acquiring leadership positions because of the challenge facing female heads of schools relating to alleged deceit in marriage, which meant that they had to prove to their husbands that they were innocent. Chabaya et al. (2009, p. 242) highlights similar findings, namely that “some men felt that their partners would have love affairs with other men if they got to be head of schools far away from them”. The present study observed that husbands were threatening their wives with divorce if they insisted on taking up leadership posts. This view is supported by Onsongo (2004), who found that some husbands divorced their wives (female heads) on the suspicion that they were having sexual relationships with male bosses or colleagues, which some females in the present study also experienced. Consequently, to cope with this, females are faced with the dilemma of either refusing the leadership posts to maintain their marriages, or to take up the leadership posts to the detriment of their marriages.

Some husbands might not allow their wives to participate in leadership obligations for their own interests, with the result that some female heads were opting for demotion so as to avoid quarrels with their husbands (Chisikwa, 2010). In the current study, female leaders were perceived as impossible to deal with and too authoritative. In addition, female heads of schools were busy with official responsibilities and so were perceived as disrespectful, and therefore their husbands were advised to marry other women or acquire a paramour. This discovery adds to what Chabaya et al. (2009) noted that women avoided working far from their families fearing that their husbands would establish relationships with other women during their absence. Indeed, the findings confirm those of Dorsey (1996, p. 30) who said that, “from an early age, daughters are groomed for their marriage roles of wife,

mother and food provider ... and they are conditioned from an early age to believe that a woman is inferior to a man and that her place is in the home". The results of this study are also in line with feminist theory, which states that women are sexually exploited and are in a secondary position in all societies (Lorber, 2001). The conditioned belief of subordination presupposes that females should be close to their husbands in the Tanzanian rural context. The possible explanation for this is the patriarchal system, which perpetuates the traditional view that women should support males or husbands and not to be involved in challenges that could hinder their work performance (Mbepera, 2008). This takes us to the conclusion that, in the context of this study, some women opted to give up leadership positions in favour of their marriages. The possible explanation for this is the traditional view that women should not live far away from their husbands.

Rejection of heads of schools by members of the school community

This study also found out that female heads of schools were rejected by members of the school community for gender-related reasons, thus causing them to be under-represented in senior leadership positions in CSSs. The findings reveal that female heads were assigned a number of stereotypical negative characteristics such as short temperedness and weakness in executing leadership roles. These findings, to some extent, are similar to what was found by Ntawubona (2013) in Uganda, who observed that females who were involved in leadership were perceived as stubborn. Mathipa and Tsoka (2001) also observed that female leaders are short-tempered, which causes them to have inconsistent performance and relationships with others. Women are also perceived to be weak and emotional leaders (Korchek & Reese, 2002). Similarly, Amos-Wilson (1999, as cited in Nkomo & Ngambi, 2009, p. 56) observed that "women were stereotyped as emotional, too soft and subjected to different standards of appropriate behaviour". This study observed that, due to these negative stereotypical characteristics, members of the school community reject female leaders. These findings are similar to those of other studies, which found that female heads of schools were rejected by the community and staff and isolated from them (Omboko & Oyoo, 2011), and are less accepted as leaders (Onsongo, 2004). This suggests that women have the challenge of fighting for acceptance by society by working harder to perform better in their leadership. Coleman (2002) and Eagly and Karau (1991) made similar suggestions that female heads have to work harder in order to smash the stereotypes and prove their value. This finding is a clear indication of gender bias in leadership, whereby women are culturally accepted if they fulfil their housework and family

caregiving and non-leadership roles. This therefore suggests that the rejection of female heads of schools by members of the school community discourages female teachers from climbing the leadership ladder. All they may wish for is to avoid the “hell” that the present female heads are experiencing. I argue that, although some members of the school community do not accept female heads due to culture and patriarchy, as observed in this study, currently there has been a significant change in how women leaders are perceived in Tanzania, as the number of women involved in leadership is increasing, especially in politics (Okwemba, Kayis & Ndlovu, 2011). Society has started to recognise and accept female leaders because of different affirmative actions and gender equality strategies, especially in politics, which could also change the perception of members of rural CSSs in Tanzania.

Lack of authority to discipline misbehaving and unprofessional male teachers and misbehaving students

While the findings of the present study report that female heads of schools have the challenge of disciplining male teachers involved in professional malpractice (such as sexual relationships with female students), which discourages female teachers from being involved in leadership due to the threats they get from these culprits, the findings of Samuel and Stephens (2000), Timmerman (2003) and Mulkeen et al. (2007) agree to some extent that male teachers indulge in sexual relationships with female students in schools. This situation has been observed by the Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA) in their 2010 study, which found that some male teachers, including heads of schools, were responsible for pregnancies, which stopped girl children from pursuing education to higher levels (TAMWA, 2010). This is against other researchers who state that teachers are among the most trusted members of society (Majani, 2010). The explanation for this behaviour could be that those teachers lack professional ethics and hence mistreat even female heads of schools when they intervene. Another explanation could be age, as the majority of teachers employed in secondary schools are very young and unmarried. Bennell and Akyeampong (2007) observed that young and inexperienced teachers are employed in primary and secondary schools in rural areas in sub-Saharan Africa. Coupled with the deteriorating moral values and ethics as a result of the internet and other forces of globalisation, this problem has become magnified. This therefore calls for the government’s intervention to intensify efforts to inculcate moral conduct and ethical behaviour through diverse strategies such as training teachers about professional ethics.

This study observed that female heads sometimes fear confronting unethical male teachers because they threaten them and sometimes encourage dissent among the staff. If the female heads of schools in question were unmarried, male teachers would regard them as being desperate for men (Mbepera, 2008). Therefore this challenge discourages female teachers from becoming involved in leadership, as the disciplinary committee appears to favour male offenders and indirectly blames female heads of schools for confronting the offenders.

Similarly, this study observed that *boy students* were reported to threaten female teachers and female heads of schools with rape, witchcraft and violence, such as throwing stones, when they disciplined them. Female teachers are hesitant to get involved in leadership for fear of having to discipline these students. These findings add to previous studies, which pointed out that students' misbehaviour is a threat to teachers in developing countries (Cheruto & Kyalo, 2010; Towse et al., 2002). This also confirms Murithi's (2010) observations that the challenges that face female heads of schools are due to the negative influence of society regarding their leadership and the misbehaviour of children in schools. Parents, the disciplinary committee and members of school boards sometimes do not cooperate with teachers and heads of schools to deal with the vice. This is probably due to the poor relationship prevailing between heads of schools and the school community, as discussed in section 5.3. This is similar to Murithi's (2010) finding that school principals were not getting support from parents for disciplining students. Even at the school level teachers may render less support to female heads in disciplining students. For instance, during the data collection I observed a situation in one of the schools headed by a female where the students were shouting during class time and running amok in and out of the classrooms in the presence of teachers, who did not say a word to arrest the situation. It therefore follows that the challenge of dealing with undisciplined students and the cold relationship between teachers and female heads discourages female teachers from taking leadership positions.

Balancing multiple roles

In my view, the majority of Tanzanians would expect females to take care of their families at home, irrespective of whether they had multiple roles. This study revealed what other studies (Chabaya et al., 2009; Coleman, 2003b) observed, namely that female heads of

schools face the challenge of balancing multiple roles. Female heads in this study were not only facing the challenge of balancing family chores and official responsibilities, but also societal responsibilities they had to fulfil as women. As a result of family, social and official responsibilities, the community perceived them as uncooperative and aloof. This has affected female leaders more than the majority of male heads of schools, whose wives would support them in balancing society and family roles. While previous studies, such as those of Coleman (2009; 2003b), Coleman and Glover (2010) and Visser (2011) differ from the current study, which found that some partners help their wives with family responsibilities, others have observed that female leaders without children have more time for school issues and less time for family activities (Ruijs, 1993). This study discovered that single female heads of schools without children still did not have time for leisure and holidays because of being occupied with office duties. This keeps other female teachers from working towards leadership positions.

Generally, the challenges faced by female heads of schools emanate from society's expectations and the gender roles in society. The findings are in line with the GOS approach, which posits that the role of males and females imposed by society affect women in different ways (Martin et al., 1983, as cited in Rowley & Yukongdi, 2009). It is true that balancing multiple roles is dependent on the context, i.e. rural or urban. While female teachers and heads in rural areas perform many chores, such as collecting firewood, fetching water, cooking, cleaning, washing, child rearing, taking care of husbands, monitoring their families, planning, budgeting and controlling their children's behaviour each day, female heads, on top of this, would supervise, guide and control both the school and the household, and be involved in social issues. However, in towns or developed countries, some of the household chores would be done easily by female teachers, for instance in urban locations where there is running water and electricity, more competent house helpers who could assume most of the daily chores, sometimes assisted by gadgets such as washing machines, and gas or electric cookers. Visser (2011, p. 42) concurs that the current company structures and the use of technology enable females in urban areas to combine work and home life in a more flexible way than ever before. The many complex challenges facing women leaders and teachers in rural schools mean that they need extra energy to cope with them. To lead successfully, female leaders need to manage their time well to balance conflicting demands (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). Thus, some female teachers avoid leadership because of these multiple roles.

Therefore, female heads and teachers in the area of this study face complex challenges because of the nature of the environment and culture. These challenges pose a dilemma to the women and force them to use more energy than women in developed countries and in urban areas like Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. I suggest that the government should provide social services in rural schools, like childcare centres, water and electricity. Also, family members (men and women) should acknowledge the burden female heads have and help them to cope with the challenges faced in performing their family responsibilities. Based on the area of this study, husbands and spouses should change their views and stereotypes that home chores are for women, who are not supposed to be helped, and they should understand that females are human beings. Therefore the whole society should be educated that house chores are not only for women, and that they can be performed by both sexes. Society should not discourage the few males who happen to support their wives.

Insufficient funds and other resources to run the school

Finally, this study found that female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs was influenced by the challenge of securing adequate resources like funds to run or support school activities. For example, the finding that heads of schools had to spend some of their own meagre salaries on managing and resolving some school problems indicates that the government funds were insufficient or delayed, thereby forcing heads of schools to use their own funds or borrow to buy certain necessities like stationery. This is evident from the findings of Wangui (2012) and Haki Elimu (2011), who found that the amount of money provided by the government for secondary schools is not enough and, more often than not, is delayed. For example, the Ministry of Education and Culture's (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b) report on SEDP II shows that a capitation grant of Tanzanian shillings 20 223 591 000 (equivalent to £ 7 408 205.7) is sent to all 3 508 government schools for teaching and learning materials. This amount provides an average of Tanzanian shillings 7 634 (equivalent to £ 2.8) per student per year, which does not meet the students' needs.

Among the challenges facing female heads of schools in this study was the reluctance of parents to make a financial contribution and volunteer for different activities, like building classrooms as instructed by the government. Heads of schools in this case were required to raise funds from the community to construct hostels and other things for the schools

(United Republic of Tanzania, 2010b), which was viewed as corruption by the majority of parents. Their refusal to contribute and their suspicion make it difficult for female heads of schools, who have to operate in this difficult environment. For example, because of this, many schools did not have reasonable administrative offices, staffrooms, books, laboratories or houses for teachers. For instance, during the data collection I observed that the majority of heads of schools and teachers used classrooms as offices. This situation has been observed to discourage female teachers from aspiring to become leaders in these schools to avoid the frustration of running a school on their low salaries. Men were reported to aspire to be leaders regardless of what they received as a salary, because their motivation was to obtain prestige, even if they did not get any other incentives. Male heads were also found to be good at lobbying and networking, since the system is dominated by males, which helps them to secure funds for running the schools. Females, for their part, were interested in positions that would create an environment in which to work and they were inspired by opportunities to achieve, not by prestige.

Therefore, the government of Tanzania should improve the working environment and provide adequate funds for schools so that heads of schools can run the schools smoothly in order to achieve the school goals effectively and efficiently, and eventually motivate more females to become involved in leadership.

5.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the data provided by the respondents in Chapter Four in relation to the theories and literature, especially those reviewed in Chapter Two. The main research questions explored factors for female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs, the perception of members of the school community of senior female leaders, and the challenges facing current senior female heads of schools that deter other women from being involved in school leadership. The findings from these research questions are summarised at four levels.

The holistic framework (looking at the phenomenon at the individual, societal and organisational levels) and challenges were used to gain an understanding of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. My argument is that a policy alone, which is not even in place in the area of this study, is not sufficient for promoting gender equality in school leadership, as individual, organisational, societal and

contextual challenges have a major influence on female under-representation in senior leadership. Norms and values influence the school culture, and women's socialisation determines their involvement in school leadership. The study adopted the GOS approach, and the liberal feminist and transformational leadership theories to explain female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. The discussions and findings based on the theories are presented in the conceptual framework section (see Figure 19).

The study found that individual, societal and organisational factors determine females' under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs. It was found that these factors were interconnected and influenced each other. It was also observed that senior female heads of schools faced challenges in their leadership, which discouraged other women from becoming involved in leadership. These challenges came from the community in which they live and the organisations in which they work. Figure 19 gives insight into the issues that were found to contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in the rural areas of Tanzania.

At the individual level, it was found that female teachers were seen by others to be satisfied with their status quo as classroom teachers. It was revealed that most of them perceived to regard school leadership posts as time-consuming and thus did not strive towards attaining them. The findings also show that most female teachers lack a degree, a prerequisite for promotion to school leadership, and were not working towards gaining the qualification. They were satisfied with their diplomas (Gupton & Slick, 1996; Iqbal et al., 2013), they valued their families more than their careers, they perceived males as breadwinners and thought that males were supposed to have a higher level of education than them. The study also found that husbands sometimes denied their wives permission to pursue further studies for fear that they would cheat on them with other men. However, these individual factors were induced by culture, religion and the socialisation of female teachers at the family and societal levels. They made women less aggressive to develop their career and compete for leadership positions in CSSs (Fagenson, 1990b).

Similarly, the study found that some female teachers turn down leadership posts in CSSs when appointed. Culture and socialisation largely contributed to this situation. The reasons for rejecting the posts have also contributed to realising why women are under-represented in leadership positions from a developing country's point of view. The poor working

environment and social services lead female teachers to reject the posts. Many of the secondary schools in rural areas lack water, housing and reliable transport. Furthermore, the early-instilled sense of insecurity also accounted for female teachers' rejection of the posts. Female teachers felt insecure in the new rural environment. These findings are in line with Sperandio and Kagoda (2009) in Uganda and Chisikwa (2010) in Kenya, that women promoted to leadership posts in remote areas were turning the appointments down. It has also been observed in the UK that teachers reject rural posts because they do not want to be far away from their family (BBC, 2008). Although the BBC's observation concerned contextual social and environmental factors, the UK's context is different from the one observed in this study.

Moreover, it was revealed that female teachers were not interested in striving for leadership posts because of the lack of rewards and responsibility allowance, and so perceived leadership as a burden. Heads of schools were paid a similar salary to normal teachers with the same qualification, age and experience. This is also noted in Bennel (2001), although Bennel did not deal with how it affects women's involvement in leadership, as observed in this study. Furthermore, the current study found that female teachers put less emphasis on teaching jobs and school responsibilities, because of the unsupportive social environment in which they live. Society also orients them to value their families more than their official duties. In this regard, the appointing committees recommend females for leadership positions less than their male counterparts.

Therefore, what appears to be interesting is that individual factors leading to female under-representation in senior school leadership are not actually individual factors. I found that they are induced by socio-economic and cultural factors. The female teachers, for example, were not interested in school leadership due to the lack of hardship and responsibility allowances. Although this looks like an individual factor, its underlying cause is the government's failure to provide incentives for teachers and heads of schools in rural areas. Similarly, the rejection of leadership posts due to the poor working environment and poor social services is not within women, but because of the government's failure to provide social services in rural areas, which could have attracted more women to take leadership posts. Moreover, the lack of confidence in females to take leadership posts in CSSs is also a result of family and society socialisation, as women are socialised to take care of their families and not to aspire to leadership. Culture and religion make a great contribution to

women's lack of confidence, as they are socialised to perceive males as breadwinners and the heads of families. Furthermore, female teachers' satisfaction with lower academic qualifications and posts, and valuing their families more than the profession, were found to be the products of socialisation and socio-cultural influences. Some husbands have power to control women's life and career, as they prohibit them from pursuing further studies, which indirectly leads to women being satisfied with their levels of education. Therefore, it appears that individual factors are secondary to social-cultural and organisational factors in influencing female under-representation in school leadership positions. This is because the obstacles female teachers and heads of schools face are from organisations they work in and from the society and families they live in, which have deep-rooted structures and social practices that do not value females.

At the *organisational level* it was found that recommendations and appointments to leadership positions were based on gender bias, nepotism and favouritism (Ruijs, 1993). The procedures for recommending and appointing teachers to leadership positions in CSSs were not transparent and the process for appointing heads of school was not made explicit to the teachers or the public. These procedures are different from the ones used in other countries, like Uganda and Kenya (Sperandio & Kagoda, 2009; TSC, 2007). This implies that female teachers were affected the most by these gender-biased procedures due to the culture, values and expectations of women by Tanzanian society. The practice is embedded in the organisational system, so that even the Tanzanian ETP of 1995 is not gender sensitive in relation to the appointment and recommendation of female teachers to senior leadership positions in CSSs. Powell (1990) found similarly that policies are not gender thoughtful. The appointing committees at the regional level in this study were all male-dominated during the time of data collection, and thus mostly encouraged gender bias in their activities. Surprisingly, no committee at the district or school level where recommendations were made included women, which gives us a picture of discrimination in a patriarchal society.

The findings of this study also revealed that sexual corruption and harassment at school locked female teachers out of leadership. It was found that some male heads would only recommend female teachers for leadership posts in exchange for sex. When such female teachers reject these advances, they were not recommended for the posts, irrespective of their qualifications. This is consonant with the findings of Bell et al.'s (2002) study, that

some male bosses use their titles to harass females. However sexual corruption in the workplace has not been documented in the Tanzanian literature, which needs to be seriously considered for equal opportunities and the fair treatment of staff.

It has further been observed that the leadership style (autocratic) used by female heads discourages people from trusting them in their leadership, which in turn discourages females from aspiring to be leaders. In the Tanzanian context, female leaders' use of the autocratic style of leadership is a likely counteraction to the inferiority complex imposed on them by culture and socialisation. In addition, the use of this style is probably because of the dominant leadership styles used by most male leaders¹⁴. As regards transformational leadership theory, the findings of this study are contrary to the theory, as the majority of female heads used the autocratic leadership style. This is contrary to the theory, which assumes that female leaders use the participatory leadership style by involving subordinates, insisting on good relationships and resolving subordinates' problems (Rosener, 1990).

In addition, it was found that female teachers lacked the support and encouragement of the school leadership due to the culture and the patriarchal system in society. Women are considered incapable of mastering high-level posts and making decisions in schools, and hence are less supported. It is worth remembering that men make up the majority in top educational leadership positions in Tanzania and they tend to prefer fellow men to women in educational leadership (Kanter, 1977). Surprisingly, even the few women in educational leadership observed in this study did not unreservedly support and encourage fellow women to strive for educational leadership. I argue that female teachers are less interested in leadership due to culture and socialisation. Therefore, because of the lack of support of their leaders and the gender-neutral education policy in recommendation and promotion, it is likely that these factors will continue to lock women out of educational leadership in Tanzania. Consequently, factors at the organizational level also appear to be influential in explaining the under-representation of female teachers in school leadership, although they

¹⁴ Styles used by Tanzanian female leaders are likely to be different from those used by female leaders in other countries like the UK. Coleman (2005) reports that female leaders in the UK use the participatory leadership style. This is probably due to different culture found in the country.

are, to some extent, influenced by the social-cultural and patriarchal system in the Tanzanian context.

At the *societal level*, early marriages for girls (due to their parents' desire to get the dowry to alleviate poverty), socialisation, culture and norms cause the majority of girls to lack education and the prerequisite qualifications for being appointed to leadership posts. Early marriage leads to some girls losing their lives during delivery, which implies that the nation is deprived of future human resources and leaders. Moreover, it was observed that society (friends, colleagues and other members) do not encourage and support women to become involved in leadership and higher studies, and this continues to lock women out of the leadership system.

Moreover, belief in witchcraft and superstition psychologically terrifies female teachers from taking posts. The views of some respondents indicated that some heads of schools and teachers claimed to have been bewitched by villagers in some areas in Tanzania. Ibadi (2012) also observed the presence of witchcraft in rural schools in Tanzania, although he did not relate witchcraft to female teachers' rejection of posts, as observed in this study.

In relation to perception, it also was found that the negative perception of female heads of schools by members of the school community discourages other female teachers from seeking leadership positions. Female leaders were perceived as being weak, incompetent to lead men, inaccessible and incapable of resolving the problems of members of the school community. This resulted in a poor relationship with members of the school community. Stereotyping and culture were found to be the main causes of this tendency (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). Overall, the societal influences observed for females' under-representation in school leadership were the function of patriarchy, cultural beliefs and societal perceptions.

In relation to *challenge* it was found that the husbands believed that their wives, as female leaders, were using the leadership title to become involved in love affairs with their bosses, and this was among the challenges to women's involvement in leadership. Hence female leaders were observed needing to find means of proving to their husbands that they were innocent. However, this was observed to put female teachers off from being involved in leadership and some female leaders opted to rescue their marriage at the expense of

leadership. Another challenge observed was the rejection of female heads by members of the school community. It was observed that members of the school community preferred male to female heads of schools. This was attributed to the culture of not valuing females in the context of the study. Furthermore, the challenge facing female leaders of having to discipline male teachers scared fellow female teachers from aspiring to leadership posts. The study found that there always was a quarrel when a female head intervened when male teachers were involved in love affairs with female students. It was also found that female heads got little support from the community when dealing with such male teachers due to the dominant culture and patriarchal system. Most schools had young male bachelors who had no sense of guilt about having love affairs with their students. I argue that this behaviour suggests the lack of moral and professional ethics among teachers. I suggest that there is a need to give training that is more professional to such teachers to abide by teaching morals and values. This, in turn, would motivate more females to become involved in leadership.

Similarly, the challenge of balancing multiple roles by female heads of schools (school leadership, society and family responsibilities) deters other potential female teachers from striving to become school heads. Like the rest of the women in rural areas, female heads have to collect firewood, fetch water, cook, take care of children and relatives and take part in social events, alongside their administrative and teaching roles at school. It also is true that female heads of schools in rural Tanzania not only face the challenge of balancing family and office responsibilities, but also societal responsibilities. It was observed that, in the context of this study, female heads were isolated from and alienated by society if they did not attend events like burial ceremonies and other social gatherings taking place in society. Some of the challenge of multiple roles experienced by rural African female heads of schools are not experienced by female heads in urban areas or in developed countries. As Visser (2011) notes, in these areas they have childcare centres, household work like washing is done by machines, cooking is by gas or electricity, or they can buy ready-made food from the supermarket.

Heads of schools were also observed to face the challenge of running schools with insufficient funds and learning and teaching materials. The participants reported that heads of schools used their salaries to run the school (to pay for stationery, seminars, examinations, etc.), which discourages other women from being involved in leadership.

This challenge is observed to face more women than men, as they lack networking and lobbying skills.

Therefore, the modified framework in Figure 19 summarises the findings on female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. The framework includes previous ideas from the literature and new ones observed in this study. Thus, the modified model emphasises the contextual factors that affect women's involvement in leadership. These are beliefs in witchcraft and superstition that discourage women from taking rural posts, an aspect that is new to the literature, and the non-transparent procedures used in Tanzania for recommending and appointing leaders in secondary schools, which are different from those in other countries and which were observed to encourage gender discrimination. During the process of recommending teachers for leadership positions, sexual harassment and corruption was observed, whereby male heads of schools use their power to corrupt women. Moreover, the balancing of multiple roles in the rural context also was found to contribute to females' under-representation in leadership.

Generally, based on the above discussion, women are under-represented in school leadership in CSSs because of individual, organisational and societal influences that interact with each other. The challenges facing female heads of schools also are among the influences. Society's norms, culture, rules and values are to some extent the most dominant factors for female under-representation in school leadership, as they affect all levels. Using these levels of understanding and how one level affects the other, I suggest that members of society, parents and heads of schools, DEOs, REOs, teachers, policymakers and other educational professionals should be aware of how individual, organisational and societal factors contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural areas in Tanzania in order to address this problem. Also, they should understand the challenges facing women in leadership.

The next chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the thesis, recommendations for practice and further studies, personal reflection and the conclusion.

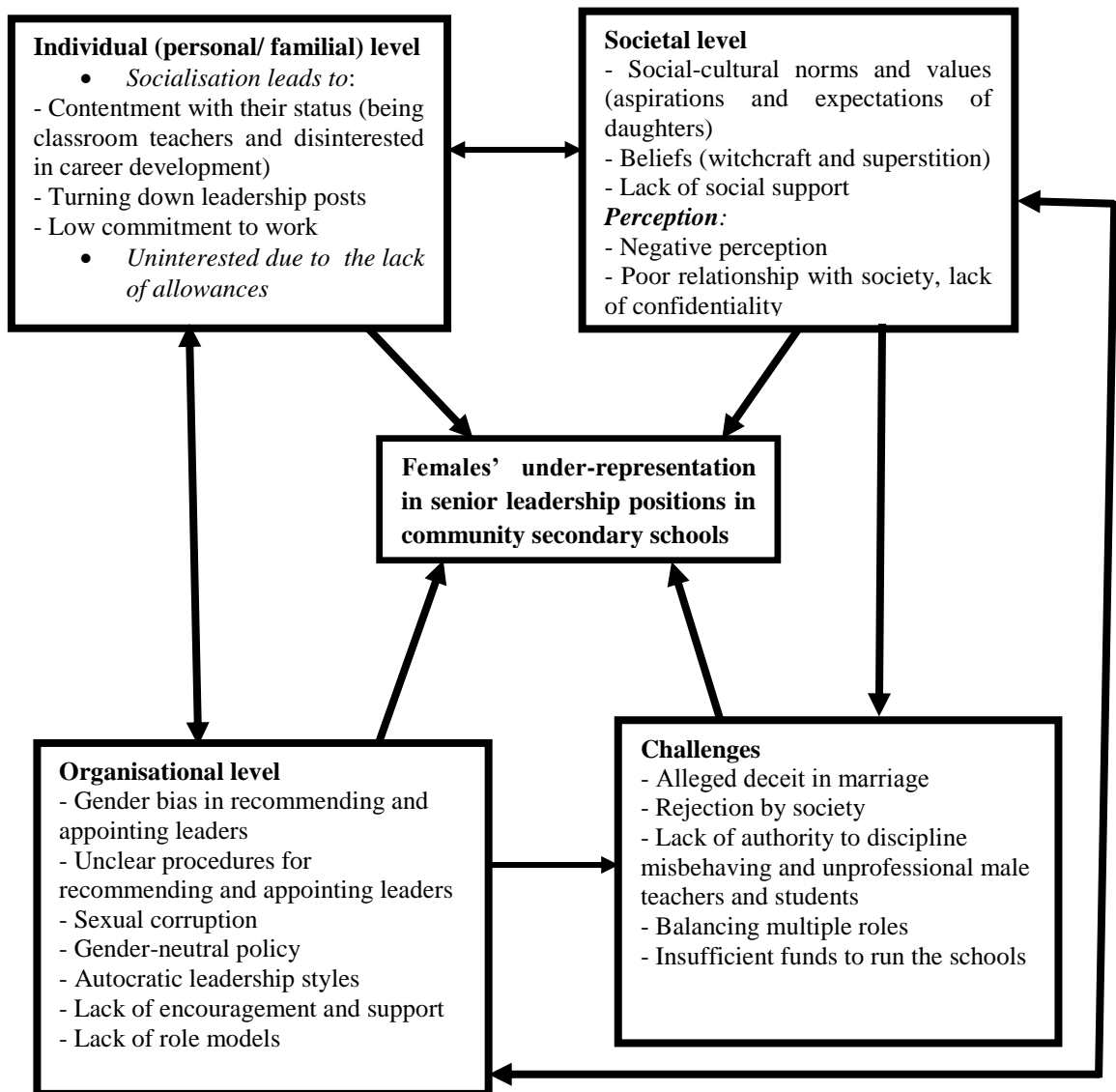


Figure 19: Modified framework for female under-representation in school leadership in rural Tanzania

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of the study

This chapter gives an overview of the objectives of the study, the methodology used and the main study findings. The chapter further provides policy suggestions and implications, research arguments, theoretical implications, recommendations for action, suggestion for further research and the conclusion. As presented in Chapter One, the main aim of the study was to explore the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania.

The study was inspired by the researcher's personal experiences, and the shortcomings in the literature and studies on women in educational leadership in Tanzania (Bandiho, 2009; Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003; Omboko & Oyoo, 2011), which have not explored the influences of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. There are very few women in senior leadership positions in CSSs, despite affirmative action to bring about gender equity and equality in Tanzania (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003). In this regard, the study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What factors contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs?
2. How do members of the school community perceive senior female heads of schools and how does this affect other women participating in senior leadership positions in CSSs?
3. What challenges face current female heads of schools and how do they deter other potential female teachers from participating in senior leadership positions in CSSs?

Chapter Two discussed the empirical studies and theories on female under-representation in leadership. The literature on women and leadership sheds light on the global view of the phenomenon. Mainstream literature showed that women are globally under-represented in leadership, although the degree of alienation differs from one place to another due to contextual differences (Bullough, 2008).

Transformational leadership theory, liberal feminist theory and the GOS approach gave the study a holistic picture of females' under-representation in leadership in Tanzania. Liberal feminist theory explains that female teachers are under-represented in leadership posts because of biological differences being used to discriminate against women in different

opportunities, regardless of their abilities. The theory demands that women should be given equal opportunities in all respects. Transformational leadership theory, on the other hand, describes the nature of the relationship between female heads and the community, how leaders act as role models, and how they motivate and encourage subordinates to be involved in decision making. The theory describes further how heads of schools lead and resolve the problems of members of the community under their leadership. The GOS approach describes the individual, societal and organisational factors that hinder women from participating in leadership.

Chapter Two also reviewed empirical studies on the influences of female under-representation in leadership. The review was based on the reasons for female under-representation in leadership and gender differences in leadership. The review shows that leaders differ in their leadership, in that males more often are authoritative and task oriented, while female heads are participatory and less hierarchical (Eagly & Carli, 2007). The review also looked at factors for female under-representation in leadership based on internal, organisational and societal factors. Internal barriers observed were lack of confidence, submissiveness and docility among females (Shakeshaft, 1989). Organisational barriers were observed to be gender bias in appointing heads of schools, the lack of role models and mentors, and policy issues. In addition, the review highlighted the fact that members of society have different perceptions of female heads of schools. Furthermore, it was observed that society prefers to educate boys than girls, which leads to the majority of girls lacking education. The challenges facing female heads of schools were also reviewed. The challenges observed were balancing dual roles and disciplining students.

Chapter Three presented the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the study. The constructivist philosophical perspective and interpretive paradigm were used to construct and interpret the knowledge. The study mainly applied the qualitative approach, triangulated with the quantitative approach, to ensure the credibility and validity of the findings (Creswell, 2009). I employed interviews, FGDs and questionnaires to collect data. Interviews and FGDs were chosen because of their effectiveness in eliciting the perceptions and beliefs of participants. They clarified issues that had not been properly expounded by the questionnaire respondents. The interviews and FGDs were recorded with the consent of the respondents and transcribed later. The study involved 259 participants (the REO, DEO, 20 heads of schools, 160 teachers, 35 members of school

boards and 42 parents). The study used purposive sampling to select heads of schools, the REO, DEO and parents, and simple random sampling to select teachers and members of school boards. Qualitative data were analysed using thematic analysis. The process involved sorting the data into codes while identifying common themes, as suggested by Creswell (2009). The quantitative data obtained from the questionnaires were analysed using SPSS. The findings were presented on the basis of themes and figures resulting from the research questions.

While Chapter Four presented the findings from the field based on the research questions, Chapter Five discussed these findings in relation to previous studies, the theoretical framework and the methodology.

Based on the GOS perspective, the main findings discussed in Chapter Five are summarised in Figure 19. When responding to the first research question, individual, organisational and societal factors were the most reported themes. Moreover, the other main theme that emerged from the participants' views while addressing research question two was perceptions. The other main theme was the challenges, which also emerged from the participants' views when addressing research question three. All of the above are summarised in Figure 19 to detail issues that were observed in this study to influence female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs. The study found that all three main themes were inter-related and, together, contributed to female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs.

The findings show that, at the individual level, female teachers were seen by others to be satisfied with their status as classroom teachers rather than becoming leaders, most female teachers lacked qualifications, and they valued their families more than their careers due to culture and socialisation. Furthermore, females were satisfied with their husbands' income and so did not strive to develop themselves professionally and academically. Females' satisfaction with the status quo was caused by the culture and beliefs in Tanzania, which socialise females to accept low-status opportunities and to regard themselves as being inferior to males. Because of the patriarchal system in the Tanzanian context, which leads to women doing all the household chores without support, female teachers were less committed to their work in the workplace because of being overwhelmed with familial roles, and hence were not recommended for leadership. The study also discovered that female teachers' lack of confidence and the location of the schools, which lack social services like water, transport, housing and electricity, caused women to reject rural

leadership posts. The rural environment was observed to be so discouraging that women would not take posts there, especially when they were young and had children. Moreover, female teachers were observed not to be interested in leadership due to the lack of remuneration and allowances (responsibility and hardship) for heads of schools. However, male teachers were observed to be interested in the post because of prestige.

I argued in Chapter Five that, although these findings are observed to be individual, in reality the underlying causes are external factors, such as the society, which socialises females to accept low-status jobs and to be submissive to males. This socialisation causes females to display such behaviour even at the school level. Also, factors like not being interested in leadership due to the lack of remuneration seems to be an individual factor, but what I see is that it is caused by the government being unsupportive to the extent that it fails to recognise the contribution of heads of schools in such harsh environments.

At the organisational level, the study revealed that gender bias, tribalism and nepotism in recommending and appointing heads of schools, and unclear procedures, which implicitly discriminate against women in appointments, influence female under-representation in senior leadership in CSSs. The findings show that the procedures used for recommending and appointing heads of schools in Tanzania are not explicit and transparent. Due to patriarchy, these procedures in the context of this study have been observed to cause gender bias and discrimination, from the school level, where recommendations start, to the regional level, where final appointments are made. At the school and district levels there are no committees to make recommendations, which has been observed to lead to a high level of gender discrimination and bias. The appointments committee was observed to exist only at the regional level, and only men are involved.

Furthermore, the appointments procedure is related to the educational training policy of 1995. The policy has been observed to be less considering of gender equality as regards the recommendation and appointment of teachers to senior leadership positions in CSSs. The weakness of the ETP in such a patriarchal community puts women in a disadvantaged position in terms of their involvement in leadership.

Similarly, the study discovered that sexual corruption and harassment of female teachers by male heads of schools affects the promotion of female teachers to senior leadership positions. Some male heads of schools use their power to seduce those female teachers

who are interested in leadership. They promise to recommend them for leadership in exchange for sex. Those who refuse are not recommended, despite being qualified.

Furthermore, at the organisational level, most of the participants considered female leaders to be autocratic in their leadership, and this discourages the expected trust between female heads and the school community. The study attributes this attitude to the patriarchal system dominant in the district, which necessitates female leaders using the leadership style used by the majority. However, the female leaders considered themselves to be more participative than autocratic, as they reported involving subordinates in making different decisions through meetings and the school baraza¹⁵ and communicating with them through memos. In addition, the findings show that the lack of role models, social networking, support and encouragement from the school leadership also are factors for female under-representation in school leadership.

Furthermore, *at the societal level*, societal factors are grouped together with the findings on perceptions. This is because the findings from the perception question revealed that all the perceptions were society dependent, hence easy to understand, and so are grouped together. Societal factors observed in this study were culture, religion and poverty, which discriminate against girls in education and subject them to early marriages, which deprive most of them of the chance of having an education and a career. Furthermore, witchcraft and superstitious beliefs were also observed to scare female teachers away from taking leadership posts in rural area. Additionally, the lack of social support from members of the school community for women to participate in decision making and education was also observed to influence female under-representation in senior leadership positions. The findings reveal that women are discouraged from being involved in leadership, as it was observed that highly educated females were not respected and had fewer chances of getting married.

In relation to *perceptions*, the findings show that, because of culture, members of the school community perceived female leaders as less able to lead. In addition, women were perceived to have a poor relationship with members of the school community, were poor problem solvers, were less accessible to members of the school community and made decisions based on rumours. However, the female heads perceived themselves positively,

¹⁵ A public meeting with heads of schools, students and teachers.

said that they strived to maintain harmonious relationships and were accessible to members of community when they were free.

The findings relating to the *challenges* facing female heads of schools are observed to originate from society and the organisation. The challenges observed were that female leaders were alleged to be deceitful in their marriages, which required them to prove to their husbands that they were innocent and not involved in sexual relationships with other men. This has been observed to cause some women to face the dilemma of either opting out of leadership or sacrificing their marriages, hence discouraging other women from being involved in leadership. Furthermore, it has been observed that senior female leaders face the challenge of rejection by the members of the school community, and so they have to work hard to be accepted. Additionally, it has been observed that, being rural female heads of schools, these heads face the challenge of balancing multiple roles in the family, society and school. Female heads in rural schools face acute challenges compared to those in urban schools, as they were observed to search for water and collect firewood, besides their official and societal activities, while those in towns use gas, electricity and tap water, which save time.

Lastly, insufficient and the untimely release of funds by the government, and the lack of other resources, sometimes cause leaders to use their salary to run the schools. It was observed that this situation discourages females from aspiring to be leaders.

6.2 Policy suggestions, practice and implications

The study observed that the under-representation of female teachers in senior leadership positions in CSSs is caused by various issues, from the familial, societal to organisational levels. To achieve gender equality in senior leadership positions in CSSs I make several policy recommendations to policymakers and the government.

Review of educational policy

In relation to the policy implications, a policy that extends the theoretical underpinnings is a gender policy for the appointment of heads of schools (Bond, 1996). However, the evidence from this study points out that the ETP of 1995 is silent on gender equality in leadership in CSSs. Therefore the Mo EVT should review the ETP of 1995 to stipulate gender balance in the appointment of heads of schools. The theoretical argument for this

justification suggests the need for educational policy that would consider gender equality to guide the appointment of senior leaders of CSSs in Tanzania.

Policy or legislation on promotion

There is a need to develop a policy that emphasises that women with qualifications, who are willing and capable of being leaders, are promoted to leadership positions to achieve gender equality in secondary schools. The government should introduce a law that, if the head of a school is a male, the deputy should be a female and vice versa, as practised in Uganda (Kagoda & Sperandio 2009), provided that they have the qualifications and experience.

Review of the Marriage Act

The current Law of Marriage Act of 1971, which allows girls to get married at the age of 15 with the consent of their parents, should be reviewed because the findings show that girls are getting married at an early age, which deprives them of their right to education and other opportunities, like being future decision makers. This Law affects rural girls more than urban girls because, as mentioned in earlier chapters, the majority of parents are poor, uneducated and are dominated by patriarchal beliefs concerning girls' education.

Sexual corruption and harassment policy

The government and policymakers should establish a policy that will help to discipline those in power when they misuse their power, as well as teachers who engage in sexual relationships with female students. Despite having a code of conduct for public servants (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998 (see section 5.2.2 under sexual corruption and harassment), this study observed that male heads of schools still use their power to sexually harass female staff and students. Therefore, more effort should be made by the government to severely punish misbehaving leaders and teachers.

Policy on women's and girls' education

It has been observed in this study that, because of policy weaknesses, culture, socialisation, norms and values, very few women are in senior leadership positions compared to men. Although the findings show that some women reject posts, the statistics show that few women qualify for leadership positions. Therefore, females should first put emphasis on developing their career and should not reject posts when appointed. Women also need to demonstrate confidence, which will be built by their families, society and organisations.

Because of poverty, women are less educated and boys are more privileged and given more consideration. Village leaders, NGOs and activists could help in this regard through workshops in rural communities and through radio programmes, which reach the majority of the rural population. Therefore the government should develop a policy to reduce school/tuition fees for female students to encourage them to advance academically and qualify for leadership posts. Although there are initiatives to increase the number of women in education, such as scholarships for females from e.g. SIDA/SAREC and NORAD, which support female graduate students through special female scholarships, only a few and mostly urban women benefit, while those in rural areas are not even aware of such opportunities and, even if they were, they may not get the chance because of nepotism and favouritism.

Other recommendations

Sensitisation of rural community to the importance of gender equality

The government should put emphasis on rural communities, which are home to more than 80% of Tanzanians, and the majority of these are uneducated and dominated by patriarchy and the hegemonic system. It has been observed that most members of the community in rural Tanzania are not aware of gender equality and do not adequately value the contribution of women in society. The available national gender policy and activists in the country concentrate mostly on changing women's welfare in urban areas rather than in rural areas. The gender activists' research, such as TGNP and TAMWA, does not adequately reach rural people, the majority of whom cannot read or write, and the few who can do not have a reading culture. Also, most of the workshops on gender equality take place in urban areas, and so rural communities are less informed. I therefore propose that sensitisation programmes be embedded in the education curriculum so that children can develop a sense of gender equality in their childhood. People in rural communities also should be sensitised about gender equality at different opportunities at the family, societal and organisational levels. Society should be sensitised to the fact that both men and women can be good leaders. In other words, the negative attitudes of members of society towards female leaders should be discouraged. Members of society should accept female leaders and encourage women to get into leadership positions. Society also should build the confidence of women rather than destroying it. Society should be educated that there are no differences between male and female leaders. Society also should be educated to encourage girls to value their careers or professions, and give them good posts rather than inferior positions from the family to society level. This should be done through awareness

campaigns such as workshops, seminars and media like radio, which reach the majority of rural dwellers.

However, even if the proposed programmes are in place, they will have no impact on people in rural communities if they are not implemented and closely followed up. That is, if the programmes do not reach the people in rural areas to raise the awareness of women and of the community in general, it will take a long time before there is gender equality in leadership. This is because society has norms and values that are deep-rooted, and to uproot them will take a long time if concerted efforts are not made by the government and other stakeholders.

Improvement of infrastructure and social services

The school environment in this study was observed to be harsh and uncondusive, causing many female teachers to reject rural posts. Therefore, the government should seek to improve social services in rural schools, such as providing clean water, housing, transport and electricity. The improvement of infrastructure should also go hand in hand with improved teaching and learning resources, human capital development and the provision of continuing professional development for all teachers, and for school leaders in particular. These improvements are likely to retain female teachers in CSSs and encourage them to take leadership positions in rural areas.

Provision of responsibility allowance

With regard to the lack of hardship and responsibility allowances, the MoEVT should provide rewards in the form of hardship and responsibility allowances to heads of schools and teachers to attract and retain female teachers and heads in leadership positions in rural schools. As suggested by Bennel (2011), heads of schools should be paid significantly higher wages and allowances than classroom teachers because of their extra responsibilities, as is done in Mozambique and Lesotho, where teachers in rural areas are given hardship and responsibility allowances (Mulkeen, 2005).

6.3 Research argument

I argue that female under-representation in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania has been influenced by factors such as traditional beliefs and culture. In rural Tanzania, based on my experience of being born and educated in a rural area, women's behaviour is shaped by culture from the family to the school level. It was observed, in the

context of this study, that culture plays a major role in rearing children, which later affects their career development. This was my perception when I started to write this thesis. Therefore, after reading the literature and policies and holding discussions with the participants in this study, it could be observed that not only do culture and social beliefs influence female under-representation in senior leadership positions, but also factors that are within the females themselves, and organisational factors. Therefore, the combination of these factors makes the situation very serious for women in rural areas. This calls for serious affirmative action if we are to bring about positive changes. However, my argument is that culture, social values and belief are the source of all these problems, as an individual is socialised in society where the culture and beliefs are practised, and those who make decisions in organisations also come from the society. In this case, the school leaders, the REO, DEO and policymakers are likely to behave and act according to the culture and beliefs that dominate in a society. Therefore, there is a need to change the society. In order to unlock¹⁶ the hegemonic culture that dominates in society, we need teamwork, involving individuals, society itself, the government and civil society. At the same time, the government will need to assume a leading role in sensitising, funding, coordinating, monitoring and evaluating progress and the ultimate results.

My second argument is that it will mean nothing if there are many women in leadership, but they do not make an effort, work hard, help other women, support each other, act as role models, involve others and have a good relationship with the community around them. My argument here is that those women who are given opportunities should pave the way for other women to be involved in leadership, and they should work hard to prove society wrong in relation to its negative perception of female leaders.

6.4 Contribution and theoretical implications of the study

The findings in this study make an important contribution to knowledge, given the lack of leadership research on the African continent overall, and the very small research base in relation to Tanzania in particular. The study was to some extent influenced by the question raised by Oplatka (2006) on the necessity of carrying out more research on women in leadership in developing countries to bridge the existing gap. Therefore the findings from the current study supplement the existing literature and provide further understanding of female under-representation in leadership in Tanzania, and in Africa in general. Therefore,

¹⁶ To remove the historically rooted culture, which discriminates against women in rural communities.

the findings of this study add knowledge about female under-representation in leadership from the perspective of a less developed country.

The findings of this study potentially test both the limitations and strengths of existing theories and make a case for their contextualised reading in the particular area of rural Africa. For instance, the study strengthens liberal feminist theory in that there is gender inequality in leadership in CSSs in Tanzania due to culture and biological differences.

The findings also contribute to the existing knowledge on factors relating to females' under-representation in senior leadership positions in that the procedures for appointing and recommending heads of schools for leadership positions in the context of this study were observed to increase gender bias and discrimination. Other countries, like Uganda, the UK and Kenya (see section 2.4.3) have been observed to have clear procedures in terms of which posts are advertised and interviews are conducted, unlike in Tanzania, where qualified teachers are recommended from the school to the district and then to the regional level. The process is observed to encourage discrimination and bias in making recommendations due to the lack of transparency, as observed by the teachers, individual heads of schools and the REO.

Furthermore, in the context of this study it was observed that the issues of culture and belief in witchcraft were dominant. These contextual factors scare women from taking posts in rural areas. In relation to the context of this study, the working environment is too harsh and mixed with cultural beliefs for those women used to living in town to accept leadership posts. This differs significantly from the context of most developed countries, and so this study has contributed to uncovering the contextual challenges influencing females' under-representation in leadership positions, which has not been studied in Tanzania before. Although previous studies observed the presence of witchcraft in Africa (Pelgrim, 2003; *The Reporter*, 2012), they did not investigate how it affects female teachers' involvement in leadership. In this case, this finding has revealed how the belief in witchcraft scared women away from taking leadership posts in rural areas, which I consider to be a contribution to the knowledge based on contextual rural factors.

Sexual harassment and corruption among heads of CSSs has also contributed to the body of knowledge, as those women who aspire to take the posts but do not succumb to the unfaithful behaviour of their bosses are not recommended for leadership posts. Previous

studies have discussed sexual harassment in the workplace (Mlama, 2005), but not in relation to sexual corruption, as viewed in this study.

Regarding transformational leadership theory, the findings of this study are in contrast to the theory. The present study found that the majority of female heads mostly used the autocratic leadership style. This is in contrast to transformational leadership theory, which assumes that female leaders use the participatory leadership style by involving subordinates, insisting on good relationships and resolving subordinates' problems (Rosener, 1990). The findings also differ from the transformational leadership theory because of the differences in context and culture. In this case in Tanzania, the leadership style used by female leaders in the context of this study depends on socialisation and the culture in which the school and society are located. Schools are dominated by the patriarchal system, which forces women to use the predominant leadership style used by the majority of males. Furthermore, the findings differ from the theory in so far it was observed that female heads have minimal interaction with the community, hence the relationship is not good, which contributes to female teachers not wanting to be involved in leadership in CSSs. However, the findings are similar to those of other researchers, such as Kariuki (2004) and Arar and Abu-Rabia-Queder (2011).

Balancing the multiple roles of family and office responsibilities has been observed in previous studies (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003; Burke & Mattis, 2005; Chabaya et al., 2009; Coleman, 2002; 2009; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Moorosi, 2007). However, these studies did not find additional challenges faced by female heads of schools in rural areas. For instance, this study has observed that, on top of leadership roles, female heads have to fetch water, collect firewood, wash clothes by hand and attend social events, while those in towns mostly have tap water, cook using electricity or gas, some of them wash clothes using washing machines, and attending social events is voluntary and does not lead to raised eyebrows from community members if they do not attend. I consider this to be new knowledge.

6.5 Recommendations for further research

Further studies could refine the present findings by using a larger sample of the population. A new study could employ in-depth interviews and group discussion with more female heads of schools and female teachers. As mentioned in Chapter Three, it was not possible to carry out an extensive study due to time and financial constraints. Hence, similar

research could be done using a larger sample in a wider area than this study. Related research could also be done in urban secondary schools to compare the findings with those from rural secondary schools. Comparative research could also be conducted between two regions or districts to find similarities and differences, if any.

Furthermore, a similar and larger scale study could further explore similarities and differences between men and women. The current study found a large similarity in views among the sexes. This could be further tested and explored in future research.

Further study should also be undertaken by including gender intersectionality theories and other feminist theories that potentially could provide a fuller picture of any cultural differences.

6.6 Personal reflection

My PhD journey gave me ample time for personal reflection. I have learnt that studying for a PhD not only deals with answering the research questions in order to achieve the research objectives, but is also about discovering yourself. This research journey has made me more conversant with research approaches. It has given me the chance to learn about the theoretical framework in research, and philosophical perspectives like constructivism, ontology, positivism, pragmatism and epistemology, which widened my horizon. Furthermore, at the beginning of this journey I was conservative in terms of using the qualitative approach but, through reading articles and journals, I changed my mind and used the mixed methods approach for validity, reliability and the triangulation of the data.

Moreover, during the process of data collection I encountered several challenges. The journey to the study area, for instance, took more than two days from Dar es Salaam because of poor transport. The schools are scattered and located in very remote rural areas. I risked my life travelling on a motorcycle from the municipality to the schools (more than 40 kilometres), passing through forests and bush. The areas have no accommodation or electricity, which was very hard to cope with. I had to travel daily from the municipality to the rural schools to collect data. In this situation I learned that the rural environment in Tanzania differs from one region to another. For instance, my home village is quite different from the research area in terms of transport, social services, beliefs and culture. I learnt that being a female in such an environment is more challenging than being a male

because of the lifestyle and culture. I learnt that more research was needed on girls' education in such an environment because of the marginalisation imposed by its culture.

Being in the rural area and having observed how people interact and how women are treated strengthened my belief in the feminist theory that women are discriminated against and there is gender inequality in rural society. The reaction of male staff to female heads of schools also deepened my understanding of the GOS perspective, namely that the society's norms affect the organisation.

6.7 Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusion is drawn. Women generally are under-represented in senior leadership positions in CSSs in rural Tanzania. Despite the individual barriers resulting from culture and socialisation that keep females as classroom teachers with low-level educational qualifications, the ETP of 1995 and the school organisation also do not seem to support qualified females in acquiring leadership positions. In other words, women face obstacles in all spheres – at the family, societal and organisational levels.

I also conclude that the women who are in leadership posts also are to blame for female under-representation in leadership. It was observed that female leaders discourage fellow women from being involved in leadership. It also was found that they are less cooperative with the school community and drag their feet in solving the problems of members of the school community, which put off other women from becoming involved in leadership.

Although individual, societal and organisational factors are interconnected and all are responsible for female under-representation in leadership at a deep level, society's culture, norms and values are to some extent the most influential factor. That is, culture and social beliefs, like belief in witchcraft, affect the individual in terms of accepting posts in rural areas. Society's culture, values and norms affect the rules and regulations for recommending and appointing heads of schools. Society has low expectations of women, which influences the minds of those who practise bias along gender lines. Similarly, society socialises women to be less confident, to put more emphasis on the family, to feel inferior and to be in inferior positions. Therefore, a holistic view of society, organisation and individuality should be used to gain an understanding of female under-representation in school leadership in rural Tanzania. That is, for more females to participate efficiently in CSSs leadership, the barriers and obstacles must be overcome at all levels.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview schedules for heads of schools

1. How many teachers by gender in your school?
2. What are the aspirations of female teachers to developing their career?
3. In your experience, do you think female teachers have aspirations to be heads? If yes, how? If no, why?
4. How do female teachers respond when appointed to leadership? Give reasons.
5. What are the benefits emanating from leadership? Does it encourage or discourage female teachers from being involved in leadership? Why?
6. How do you appoint or select heads of schools? What criteria are used?
7. What are your comments on the appointment process?
8. Do you have any suggestions for improving the appointment process?
9. Is there any gender policy which guides you in recommending/appointing heads of school? If no, why and how do you appoint heads without a gender policy? If yes, how does it work?
10. In your experience, can you tell me the commitment of female teachers to their daily school work?
11. To what extent do you support and help female teachers to achieve their goals (like career development and others)?
12. Statistics show that there are many more male heads of secondary schools than female; why is it so? What is your opinion on this?
13. Are there any other factors that impede females in leadership? What are they?
14. How do you lead the schools? Are members satisfied with your leadership?
15. What are the aspirations and expectations of parents of their daughters' education?
16. How does society perceive female heads of schools? How does this affect females who want to be involved in leadership? How does it discourage or encourage females' participation in leadership?
17. What is the perceived relationship between female heads and members of school society? How does this affect female teachers' participation in school leadership?
18. How do female heads show concern for the needs, expectations and problems of the followers? Do you strive to assist in solving them?
19. What other challenges face female heads of schools that deter female teachers from participating in leadership?
20. Have you found anything particularly difficult on your way to the top position?
21. Do you have any additional information or explanations?

Appendix 2: Interview schedules for REO and DEO

1. What are the aspirations of female teachers to developing their careers and profession?
2. In your experience, do you think female teachers have aspirations to be heads? If yes, how? If no, why?
3. How do female teachers respond when appointed to leadership? Give reasons.
4. What are the benefits emanating from leadership? Do they encourage or discourage female teachers from being involved in leadership? Why?
5. How do you appoint or select heads of schools? What criteria are used?
6. What are your comments on the appointment process?
7. Do you have any suggestions for improving the appointment process?
8. Is there any gender policy which guides you in recommending/appointing heads of school? If no, why and how do you appoint heads without a gender policy? If yes, how does it work?
9. Statistics show that there are many more male heads of secondary schools than female; why is it so? What is your opinion on this?
10. Are there any other factors that impede/favour females in leadership? What are they?
11. What are the aspirations and expectations of parents of their daughters' education? Why?
12. How does society perceive female heads of schools? How does this affect females who want to be involved in leadership? How does it discourage or encourage females' participation in leadership?
13. What is the perceived relationship between female heads and members of school society? How does this affect female teachers' participation in school leadership?
14. What challenges face female heads of schools that deter female teachers from participating in leadership?
15. How do female leaders lead the schools?
16. Do you have any additional information or explanations?

Appendix 3: FGD guiding questions for teachers

1. What are the aspirations of female teachers to developing their career and profession?
2. In your experience, do you think female teachers have aspirations to be leaders? If yes, how? If no, why?
3. How do female teachers respond when appointed to leadership? Give reasons.
4. What are the benefits emanating from leadership? Do they encourage or discourage female teachers from being involved in leadership? Why?
5. How are heads of schools selected? What criteria are used?
6. What are your comments on the appointment process?
7. Do you have any suggestions for improving the appointment process?
8. According to your experiences, can you tell me the commitment of female teachers to their daily school work?
9. To what extent do heads of schools support and help female teachers to achieve their goals (like career development and others)?
10. Statistics show that there are many more male heads of secondary schools than female; why is it so? What is your opinion on this?
11. Are there any other factors that impede/favour females in leadership? What are they?
12. How do female leaders lead the schools? Are you satisfied with their leadership?
13. What are the aspirations and expectations of parents of their daughters' education? Why?
14. How do you perceive female heads of schools? How does this affect females who want to be involved in leadership? How does it discourage or encourage females' participation in leadership?
15. What is the perceived relationship between female heads and members of the school society? How does this affect female teachers' participation in school leadership?
16. What challenges face female heads of schools that deter female teachers from participating in leadership?
17. Are you involved in school decision making? If yes, are your opinions valued?
18. How do female heads show concern for your needs, expectations and problems? Does she strive to assist in solving them?

Appendix 4: FGD guiding questions for parents

1. To what extent do heads of schools solve parents' problems?
2. Statistics show that there are many more male heads of secondary schools than female; why is it so? What is your opinion on this?
3. Are there any other factors that impede/favour females in leadership? What are they?
4. How do female leaders lead the schools? Are you satisfied with their leadership?
5. What are your aspirations and expectations of your daughters' education? Why?
6. How do you perceive female heads of schools? How does this affect females who want to be involved in leadership? How does it discourage or encourage females' participation in leadership?
7. What is the perceived relationship between female heads and you as a member of the school society? How does this affect female teachers' participation in school leadership?
8. What other challenges face female heads of schools that deter female teachers from participating in leadership?
9. How often do you hold school parents' meetings with the heads of schools?
10. Are you involved in school decision making? If yes, does the head of school value your opinion?
11. How do female heads show concern for your needs, expectations and problems?
Does she strive to assist in solving them?

Appendix 5: Questionnaires for teachers and members of school boards

Name of school: **Date:** **Sex:** **Level of education:**

Please, kindly respond to the following questions by circling the one you think is the correct option.

1. Are female teachers satisfied with their level of education (diploma)?
 - i. Are dissatisfied
 - ii. Satisfied
 - iii. I do not know
2. Female teachers reject the post when recommended and appointed to leadership.
 - i. Frequently
 - ii. Rarely
 - iii. Never
3. Female teachers are committed to work
 - i. More committed
 - ii. Less committed
 - iii. Uncommitted
4. There is gender bias in recommending and appointing heads of schools
 - i. Agree
 - ii. Disagree
 - iii. Undecided
5. Styles of leadership used by female leaders
 - i. Autocratic
 - ii. Participatory
 - iii. Laissez-faire

Any other (please specify).....
6. Female teachers get support and encouragement from top leadership to participate in leadership and career development
 - i. Always
 - ii. Rarely
 - iii. Never
7. Female teachers get support from staff and top leadership to reach the top.
 - i. Always
 - ii. Sometimes
 - iii. Never

8. Female teachers and students lack role models and mentors
 - i. Agree
 - ii. Disagree
 - iii. Undecided
9. The relationship of female heads of schools with members of school society
 - i. Good
 - ii. Neutral
 - iii. Poor
10. If poor, give reason.....
 If good, how.....
11. Whom do you prefer to be your leader?
 - i. Male
 - ii. Female
 - iii. Both
 Give reasons for your preferences.....
12. More challenges faced by female leaders than males when appointed to headship in rural schools
 - i. Definitely yes
 - ii. Probably
 - iii. Probably not
 If definitely yes, mention them.....
13. The way in which heads of schools show concern for teachers' needs, expectations and problems; and strive to assist in solving their personal and school problems.
 - i. Satisfied
 - ii. Neutral
 - iii. Dissatisfied
14. The head of school tries hard to create a conducive working environment in the school
 - i. Frequently
 - ii. Rarely
 - iii. Never
15. The head of school insists on good and harmonious interpersonal relations and treats teachers as her work mates.
 - i. Frequently
 - ii. Rarely

iii. Never

16. Involved in decision making on matters pertaining to the management of the school.

i. Frequently

ii. Rarely

iii. Never

17. I seek advice from the head of school.

i. Frequently

ii. Rarely

iii. Never

18. The responses to various responsibilities and directives given by the head of school

i. Obedient

ii. Neutral

iii. Disobedient

19. How do you perceive female heads of school?

i. Positively

ii. Negatively

iii. Neutral

Explain why if your answer is positive or negative.....

20. What are parents' perceived aspirations for their daughters?

21. Heads of school face the challenge of getting funds to run the school.

i. Yes

ii. No

If yes, how do they solve the problem?

Appendix 6a: Research clearance letter



UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM

OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
P.O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

Ref. No: AB3/12(B)
Date: 17th May, 2012
To: Regional Administrative Secretary,

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Ms Joyce Mbepera** who is a bonafide student of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref.No.MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, a successor organization to UTAFITI.

I therefore request you to grant the above-mentioned member of our University community any help that may facilitate her to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for her to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with her research.

The title of the research in question is **"The Determinants of Females Under-Representation in Community Secondary Schools (CSS) Leadership Positions in Tanzania"**.

The period for which this permission has been granted is **May, 2012 to December, 2012** and will cover the following areas/offices: **Community Secondary Schools in** _____ **District**

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise her as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information, please contact the Directorate of Research, Tel. 2410500-8 Ext. 2087 or 2410743.


Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE-CHANCELLOR

Direct +255 22 2410700
Telephone: +255 22 2410500-8 ext. 2001
Telefax: +255 22 2410078

Telegraphic Address: UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
E-mail: vc@admin.udsm.ac.tz
Website address: www.udsm.ac.tz

Appendix 6b: Research clearance letter

**THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE AND LOCAL GOVT.**



Regional Commissioner's Office

Ref. No. DB.122/467/02/80


25th May, 2012

District Executive Director,

**RE: UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENT RESEARCH CLEARANCE
MS. JOYCE MBEPERA**

This is to introduce to you Ms. Joyce Mbepera who is a bonafide student of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is allowed to do an academic research on "The Determinants of Females Under-Representation in Community Secondary Schools Leadership Positions in Tanzania".

Please accord her the necessary assistance to facilitate her research in your Districts effective from 27th May to December, 2012.


H. A. L. Sungita

For REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

Copy to:- District Administrative Secretary,


:-

:- Ms. Joyce Mbepera,
C/o University of Dar es Salaam,
P. O. Box 35091,
DAR ES SALAAM.

Appendix 6c: Research clearance letter

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA 1
[Barua zote ziandikwe kwa Mkurugenzi Mtendaji (W)]

WILAYA YA
FAX SIMU: 626-2360103
026-2360103
E-mail: kdc/@habari.co.tz



Ref. No. KDC/E.10/SEC.GNR/Vol.II/18 28th May, 2012


Headmaster/Mistress,

**RE: UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENT RESEARCH CLEARANCE
MS JOYCE MBEPERA**


This is to introduce to you Ms Joyce Mbepera who is a bonefile student of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is allowed to do an academic research on: "The Determinants of Female Under – Representation in Community Secondary Schools leadership Positions in Tanzania."

Please accord her the necessary assistance to facilitate her research in your School effective from 27th May to December, 2012.

Yours,


A.A. Mfikwa
For: DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Copy to: Joyce Mbepera,
C/o University of Dar es Salaam,
P.O. Box 35,
DAR ES SALAAM.



Appendix 7: Participant information sheet

Research Title: An exploration of the Influences of Female Under-representation in Senior Leadership Positions in Community Secondary Schools (CSSs) in Rural Tanzania

Information for: heads of schools, teachers, parents, regional educational officers, district educational officers and member of school boards.

Please will you help with my research?

My name is Joyce Mbepera. I am a PhD student at UCL Institute of Education. I am carrying out a study on the influences of female under-representation in leadership positions in community secondary schools (CSSs) in Tanzania. The research will mainly collect data for establishing reasons why females are under-represented in leadership in secondary schools. The findings might help the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) and the government at large to introduce gender-specific programmes that will improve equality in school leadership.

Moreover, it is part of my research training equipping me for a future role as a researcher in my community. With this leaflet, I therefore intend to inform you what to expect as a way of persuading you to take part in the research by supplying information.

What will happen to you if you take part?

If you agree, I will tape record the sessions and type them up later. I am not looking for right or wrong answers, only for what everyone really thinks.

Could there be problems for you if you take part?

I hope you will enjoy talking with me, but if you feel upset talking about some topics and you want to stop talking, we will stop. If you have any problems with the project, please tell me or contact me.

I hope you will enjoy helping me.

Who will know that you participated in the research?

Nobody else will be informed that you are taking part. I will not mention the names of the participants and schools so that no one will know who said what, and I will not tell anybody. The recording will be kept out of reach, as after each interview and discussion I

will transfer the information from the tape recorder to my laptop where it will be protected by a password. I will keep the data until my PhD examination is completed.

Do you have to take part?

If you agree you can choose to withdraw at any point during the research or choose not to answer particular questions. Kindly let me know if you will take part in the study by signing the attached consent form.

How will your data be used?

The data will be used for my PhD studies and future publications.

Will you know about the research results?

I will send you an executive summary by early 2015.

Thank you for reading this leaflet.

Appendix 8 Consent form

I _____ have read and understood the nature of the research study on females and leadership and what my role is as a participant.

I also understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I am free to decline answering any particular questions during the interview or to withdraw. I also understand that the identity of my institution and all information obtained will be kept strictly confidential and that I shall remain anonymous when quoted. I also agree for my interview to be taped recorded.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 9. Interview transcript: Female Head from School A (FHoS-A)

Questions	Answers	Key ideas emerged
<i>How long have you been working as a classroom teacher?</i>	I have been working as a normal teacher for 20 years from 1979 to 1999. I started as a primary school teacher, and then was promoted to teach in secondary school after I developed my career (from grade A to diploma). I have been a head of school since 1999 to date and I was the first woman leader in this district, five years ago we were only two female leaders in this district. At least now the number has increased to seven.	-Experience
<i>What leadership experience did you have before appointment?</i>	I was a deputy head from 1989 to 1999.	-Leadership experience
<i>Ok. Was your top leader act as a role model to you?</i>	I had no role model I was under male heads, some of them were not cooperative, were not always in the office and when they left the office they did not delegate work, sometimes they may have had appointments with parents; when they came to the office I had no idea and they thought I was not helping them. So to some extent under male heads of school I was working in a difficult situation and I didn't learn as much.	-Lack of role model

<i>How many teachers by gender do you have in your school?</i>	I have 10 teachers. Three females and seven males	-Teaching staff
<i>Why so few female leaders in this district?</i>	Mmm! This district is very difficult to work or live in because of religion, witchcraft/superstition and patriarchy. Many females are refusing the post if appointed to be leaders in this district. Headship in secondary school in this district is like punishment. Those who take the post do so because of devotion. If you do not like to teach or be head of school from your heart, you will not be motivated to be a leader or a teacher in this district. Those who develop their careers and aspire for leadership – I think it is for the sake of knowledge gain or employment in private schools and few may have a patriotic feeling for their country like me. The salary of normal teachers is equivalent to that of heads of schools; and sometimes normal teachers have higher salaries than the heads: depending on the level of the scale one is in, no responsibility and hardship allowances, this demotivates teachers to aspire for leadership, and for female teachers it is worse because they are not many; the system is among the reasons for some females to reject the post. Sometimes we heads use our funds to run the school or to borrow, sometimes we go to stationery shops to borrow stationery like materials for teaching (manila card, marker-pens, papers, etc.), then we pay it back when we get money from the government. For women it is difficult to hold, unlike males, for whom it is a matter of prestige to be leaders.	<p>-Witchcraft/superstition and patriarchy, religion</p> <p>-Females are refusing the post if appointed to be leaders</p> <p>-Devotion</p> <p>-Lack of motivation to leadership</p> <p>-Salary/differences</p> <p>-Lack of responsibilities and hardship allowances</p> <p>-Use our funds to run the school or to borrow,</p>
<i>Thank you very much of your answers, can you please tell me more</i>	You know, women are satisfied more easily than males. I have females in my school who are capable to be leaders but when I propose to recommend them to headship they reject because of their marriage, saying they will not be able to manage. Some females are easy to satisfy with their husband's income and do not consider themselves to fight for higher studies or aspire for	<p>-Satisfied more easily than males</p> <p>- Reject the posts in favour of marriage</p>

<i>about what makes females reject the post?</i>	<p>leadership. Mmm!! You know they don't think that the husband can die or get a problem. Imagine if I were a mother without a job, I lost my husband four years ago, now I can feed my family through my salary.</p> <p>You know women they don't believe themselves that they can lead and be good leaders. They think more about their families than their career. They fear the multiple roles and responsibilities the current female leaders face. Unfavourable environment with poor social services and lack of water, sometimes no water at all, imagine sometimes I buy water from town to use here, very challenging, that is why women dislike taking a post in this area. Also, there is no proper hospital here, imagine if you are sick you have to travel more than 50 km to get good doctors, mmmm! Really it is very hard to be a head here.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lack of confidence -Care much about the family -Multiple roles and responsibilities -Unfavourable environment with poor social services
<i>Thank you for your clarification. You mentioned the issue of witchcraft, could you please tell me more about it?</i>	<p>Yaa, Mmmm!! My daughter (nodding her head), many female teachers hesitate to be leaders or teachers in this district because of witchcraft beliefs. For instance, women are raped in the night magically, it is terrible. For instance there was a story in this district two years ago that a female head of school (mentioned the name) was lamenting that she was magically raped through witchcraft (African magic). This district is dominated by this belief, especially in the remote areas. When I was posted in this area I was warned about it, I was so terrified.</p>	<p>-women are raped in the night magically,</p>
<i>Question: Oh my God. It is interesting and terrible. Do male teachers and heads experience this?</i>	<p>Answer: No! Male teachers do not experience such a thing.</p>	

<i>Why?</i>	I have no idea because mostly female teachers and heads are complaining about this situation. I do not hear about males, although they acknowledge the presence of witchcraft in this district	
<i>What other factors challenge females in this area?</i>	Muslims are the majority in this district; they trust women less and believe that women should not lead males. This is a big challenge to us female leaders. We are not accepted by the parents. But we have to force things. We get less support from the community; they say women are socialised to be good wives, not to lead. This situation discourages female teachers to aspire for leadership.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Religion, women leaders are less trusted -Not accepted -Less support from the community -Women are socialised to be good wives
<i>I can see! So what other challenges do you get which may discourage other females to aspire for leadership?</i>	My daughter! (Laughing), there are many challenges I face, but I pray to God always before I tackle the challenges and God helps me. This district is difficult to lead, as I said, because of religion, tribalism and the patriarchal system. There is a stereotype that a woman cannot be a good leader, a woman should not talk in front of males, women are less accepted and they believe that they cannot make rational decision without males' support. For example when I was posted to this school, I was perceived as one who could not make my own decisions, without depending on my male deputy head. During meetings, I show them that I am their head and the last decision maker. I have the authority of leading the school. If you are not strong, those members of the school community play with you. When I do so, they say that I am a strict leader, do not listen or care about them; everything a female head does is perceived negatively. This situation discourages females from being involved in headship and that is why we continue to be a few in top leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -There is stereotype that a woman cannot be a good leader - A woman should not talk in front of males - They believe women cannot make rational decision without males' support -Negatively perceived

<p><i>Yaa! Really it is challenging. Do you have more to say about challenge?</i></p>	<p>Yes. Some teachers, especially males, are stubborn and do not listen to me because I am a woman leader. They sometimes even mobilise other teachers to go against me. Male teachers are stubborn in schools headed by females, sometimes some of them have relationships with female students and if you ask them about it they hate you and label you as an authoritarian leader. I have a big challenge dealing with male teachers, as some of them disobey my orders; for example, at the end of each week I plan to check the lesson plans and schemes of work, but some of them refuse to be checked by me because I don't have a degree and after all I am a woman who has no power to intervene with males – it is really challenging.</p>	<p>-Challenge from stubborn male teachers - Some have relationships with female -Some male teachers disobey my orders;</p>
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Appendix 10. Example of codes and themes from the interview with heads of schools (HoS)

S/ N	Preliminary codes	Final codes	Frequencies of respondents by gender Heads of schools		Total frequencies/codes with similar responses (combined)	Description	THEMES
			Males	Females			
1	Interest to leadership <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female teachers aspire less to leadership as they want to be normal teachers They want to teach more than to lead They are happy in teaching Because of hectic leadership work they want to be classroom teachers rather than to be leaders Want to free from leadership responsibility Leadership will hinder their participation in other social activities Leadership is time consuming and stressful/hectic 	Less aspiration to leadership	/////////=10	////////=7	17/20 HoS	Majority of female teachers were observed to be happier to remain normal teachers than leaders; they do not have aspirations to leadership and developing their career	Individual factors - Contented with status quo
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female teachers have high aspirations to leadership Not satisfied with teaching, but barred by culture and family from jobs 	High aspiration to leadership	///=3	-	3/20 HoS		
	Career development: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female teachers are not interested in developing their careers Males have to provide more for their families than females Males being breadwinners causes females to be satisfied with their educational level 	Less interested in career development	////////=7	////=4	11/20 HoS		

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Less satisfied with their education• Are hindered by jealous husbands• Family responsibility• Marriages	Highly interested in career development, but obstacles block them	//////6	///=3	9/20 HoS		Because of various factors, female leaders reject the post when appointed to leadership	- Turn down the leadership post when appointed
2	Refuse to take the post <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Poor environment discourages women from taking the posts due to lack of:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• water• transport• hospitals• housesb. Reject posts as they lack confidence	Reject the leadership post when appointed	////////=8	//////6	14/20 HoS			
	c. They are perceived to be unable to lead , less ability	Perception	////=5	/=1	6/20 HoS			
	Leadership benefit <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. No benefit due to<ul style="list-style-type: none">• lack of allowances as motivation for leadership post• no differences in salary• same salary	Reject the posts due to lack of allowances	//////////12	////////=7	19/20 HoS			
	b. There are benefits like networking and exposure		/=1	-	1/20 HoS			
3	Societal factors <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Patriarchy, cultural and stereotypes• Witchcraft is dominant in this area• Stereotypes	Societal factors	//////////13	//////7	20/20 HoS	Culture, superstition and witchcraft scared female from taking posts	Female teachers lack social support and encouragement from the society around them to become involved in leadership	- Social support and encouragement
	• Lack of support and encouragement	Societal factors	//////////10	//////6	16/20 HoS			
	• Have support and encouragement	Societal factors	///=3	/=1	4/20 HoS			

4	Organisational factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Procedures for recommendation and appointments are started by recommendation from schools to DEO then forwarded to REO 	Organisational factors	//////////13	//////7	20/20 HoS	Gender bias in the whole process of recommending and appointing heads to leadership in community secondary schools	Organisational factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender bias in appointment of heads of schools - Lack of role models and mentors - Policy that does not consider gender equality in recommendation and appointments to leadership
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appointment procedures to leaders are not followed Gender bias Inappropriate procedures Bias in promotion process Individual bias, stereotypes, favouritism 	Organisational factors	////=5	////=4	9/20 HoS		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Females are recommended to for leadership because of harassment and sexual corruption 	Organisational factors	////=4	///=3	7/20 HoS		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No gender bias in recommendations and appointments 	Organisational factors	////=4	-	7/20 HoS		
	Role models <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of role models at schools 	Organisational factors	//////////13	//////7	20/20 HoS	Female teachers lack role models and mentors due to hostile environment in rural areas	
5	Policy for recommendation and promotion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We do not appoint heads based on gender equality Policy does not direct to appoint heads based on gender equality 	Organisational factors	//////////13	//////7	20/20 HoS	Policy on recommendations and appointment is not based on gender equality	

Appendix 11. A summary of participants' views on individual factors that contribute to female under-representation in leadership in CSSs

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents						Description
			HoS		Total	GTFGD	Others		
Contented with the status quo	Contented with being normal teacher	Very contented: because leadership is time consuming and stressful	M 10/13	F 7/7	17/20	15/20	REO	DEO	Female teachers were perceived to be happier to be normal teachers than leaders
		Less contented	3/13	-	3/20	5/ 20	-	-	
	Satisfied with own qualification	Very satisfied: family responsibilities and males are breadwinners	7/13	4/7	11/20	12/ 20	REO	DEO	Female teachers were satisfied with their qualifications
Less satisfied		6/13	3/7	9/20	8/20	-	-	Dissatisfied but hindered by jealous husbands	
Turning down leadership posts	Social and environmental confidence	Poor environment and social services and lack of confidence	9/13	5/7	14/20	16/20	REO	DEO	Female teachers rejected the post when appointed
	Ability to lead	Inability to lead	4/13	2/7	6/20				
Reward for leadership	Remuneration	Disinterested in leadership due to lack of allowances in the post and salaries similar to those of normal teachers	12/13	7/7	19/20	17/20	-	DEO	Lack of responsibility allowances and small difference in salary between heads of schools and normal teachers of the same age with the same qualifications discourage females from participating in leadership
		Benefits available like exposure	1/13	-	1/3	3/20	REO	-	There are leadership benefits like exposure and networking
Commitment	Less committed	Inactive, false apologies and less volunteering	11/13	5/7	16/20	14/20	REO	-	Female teachers were not recommended for leadership due to being less committed to work
	More committed	Active at work with more volunteering	2/13	2/7	4/20	6/20	DEO	-	

HoS – Heads of schools; GTFGD – Group of teachers in focus group discussions

Note: all HoS were 20 (13 males and 7 females)

Appendix 12. A summary of organisational factors contributing to female under-representation in leadership in CSSs

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents									Description
			HoS			GTFG D	Others			REO	DEO	
			M	F	T		GPFGD					
							M	F	Total			
Gender bias	Gender bias in recommendations and appointments	Inappropriate recommendation and appointment procedure	5/13	4/7	9/20	12/20	-	-		REO	-	There is gender bias in the whole process of recommending and appointing heads to leadership
		Recommendation based on sexual corruption	4/13	3/7	7/20	7/20	-	-	-	REO	-	
	No gender bias in recommendations and appointments	Appointments based on criteria and qualifications	4/20	-	4/20	1/20	-	-	-	-	DEO	There is no gender bias
Policy	Gender neutral policy	Silent on gender equality in appointments	13/13	7/7	20/20		-	-	-	REO	DEO	Policy on appointment is not sensitive
Leadership style	Autocratic	Less collaborative and defensive	10/13	-	10/20	16/20	6/7	4/7	10/14	-	-	Leadership styles used by female teachers
	Participatory	Caring, collaborative, supportive and problem solving	3/13	7/7	10/20	4/20	2/7	2/7	4/14	REO	DEO	
Encouragement and support	Lack of encouragement and support	Jealous, lack of leadership skills	7/13	7/7	14/20	17/20	-	-		REO	DEO	Female teachers lack support and encouragement from leaders
	Presence of support and encouragement	Committed to increasing number of females in decision making and career development	6/13	-	6/20	3/20	-	-	-	-	-	
Role models	Lack of role models and mentors	Few females take rural posts	13/13	7/7	20/20	20/20	-	-	-	REO	DEO	Female teachers lack role models and mentors due to hostile environment in rural areas

Key: HoS- Heads of Schools; GTFGD- group of teachers in focus group discussions, GPFGD- group of parents in focus group Discussions

Note: All HoS were 20 (13 males and 7 females); All groups of parents were 14 (7 for females and 7 for females)

Appendix 13. A summary of societal factors that contribute to female under-representation in senior leadership

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents											Description
			HoS		Total	GTF GD	Others	MoSBQ			GPFGDs			
			M	F				M	F	Total	M	F	T	
Aspirations & expectations of girls' education	Get married early	Poverty, religion and culture, lack of knowledge	11/13	7/7	18/20	19/20	DEO, REO	3/13	5/19	8/32	4/7	6/7	10/14	Members of society want their daughters to get married after completing primary school
	Graduate and get married	Knows the importance of education	2/13	-	2/20	1/20	-	10/13	14/19	24/32	2/7	2/7	4/14	Members of society want their daughters to get married after they graduate
Social support and encouragement	Lack of social encouragement and support	Females are not for leadership	10/13	6/7	16/20	18/20	DEO, REO	11/13	17/19	28/32	6/7	6/7	12/14	Female teachers lack social support and encouragement
	Presence of support and encouragement	Values females' contribution to society	3/13	1/7	4/20	2/20	-	2/13	2/19	4/32	-	2/7	2/14	Females get support and encouragement
Cultural beliefs	Witchcraft and superstition	Scare female teachers	13/13	7/7	20/20	20/20	DEO, REO	-	-		6/7	7/7	13/14	Superstition and witchcraft are not considered a myth
		Do not scare female teachers	-	-		-	-	-	-		1/7	-	1/14	Witchcraft and witchcraft are considered a myth

Key: HoS-Heads of schools; GTFGD- groups of teachers in focus group discussions; MoSBQ-members of school boards in open ended questionnaires; GPFGD-group of parents in focus group discussions

Note: All HoS were 20 (13 males and 7 females); All groups of parents were 14 (7 for females and 7 for females)

Appendix 14. Participants' views on the perceptions of members of the school community of female heads

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents								Description of the themes
			HoS			GTFGD	Others	GPFGD			
			M	F	Total			M	F	Tatol	
Perception	Negative	Less risk taking, lack of confidence, very frustrated, lack of transparency, lack of leadership skills	13/13	7/7	20/20	16/20	-	6/7	4/7	10/14	Members of school community have negative perception of female heads of schools due to their culture
	Positive	Less corrupt, honest, follow rules and regulations	-	-	-	4/20	DEO REO	2/7	2/7	4/14	Members of school community perceive female heads positively
Relationship	Poor relationship	Poor problem solvers, rarely accessible, lack of confidentiality make decisions based on speculation	13/13	7/7	2020	16/20	DEO REO	5/7	4/7	9/14	Members' of school community relationship with heads of schools
	Good relationship	Solve problems, listeners, humble, polite and caring	-	-	-	4/20	-	2/7	3/7	5/14	

Key: HoS – heads of schools; MoSB – members of school boards; GTFGD – groups of teachers in focus group discussions; GPFGD – groups of parents in focus group discussions

Note: All groups of parents were 14 (7 for females and 7 for females)

Appendix 15: A summary of participants' views of key challenges facing female heads of schools and deterrents to other female teachers

Themes	Sub-themes	Reasons	Respondents											Description of the themes
			HoS			GTFGD	Other s	MoSBQ			GPGFD			
Alleged deceit in marriage	Female efforts to prove their innocence in marriage	Allegation of involvement in love affairs with their bosses and divorce threats	M	F	Total	16/20	REO DEO	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	Husbands suspected female heads of having love affairs with their bosses
		-	7/7	7/20	-			-	-	-	-	-		
		No allegation of involvement in love affairs with their bosses; and no divorce threats	13/13	-	13/20	4/20	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Rejection and acceptabil ity of female leaders by school communit y	Rejection of female heads by school community	Incapable of leading, short tempered, and slow in solving problems	11/13	7/7	18/20	10/20	DEO	-		-	6/7	6/7	12/14	Members of school community reject female leaders
	Acceptability of female heads by school community	Confident, cooperative, strong and courageous, more responsive and accountable	2/13	-	2/20	5/20	-	-	-	-	1/7	-	1/14	Members of school community accept female heads
	Acceptability of both female and male heads by school community	Similar or equal leadership qualities in both sexes	-	-	-	5/20	REO	-	-	-	-	1/7	1/14	Members of school community accept both (male and female) leaders
Lack of authority	Lack of authority to discipline misbehaving and unprofessional male teachers	Powerless to restrain unethical male teachers from being involved in love affairs with female students	8/13	7/7	15/20	14/20	DEO REO	9/32	18/32	27/32	-	-	-	Female heads face the challenge of disciplining unethical staff involved in love affairs with female students
		Observation that no unethical male teachers were involved in love affairs with female students	5/20	-	5/20	6/20	-	3/32	2/32	5/32	-	-	-	Members of school community confirm that there are no unethical staff involved in love affairs with female students
	Lack of authority to discipline misbehaving students	Powerless to control and discipline students abusing drugs and truanting	13/13	7/7	-	20/20	DEO REO		-	-	1/7	-	1/14	Female heads face the challenge of disciplining some students abusing drugs, who misbehave and play truant
		Observation that students behave well, and do not abuse drugs			-				-	6/7	7/7	13/14		
Balancing of multiple roles	Pressing familial, social and official responsibilities	Pressure of culture, norms, official and other contextual demands	-	7/7	7/20	15/20	-		-	-	-	-	-	Female heads face the challenge of balancing multiple roles
	Relaxed responsibilities	Relaxed culture, norms, official and other contextual demands	13/13	-	13/20	5/20	-		-	-	-	-	-	Do not face the challenge of multiple roles
Access to resources	Insufficient funds and other resources	Insufficient funds from government and other sources	13/13	7/7	20/20	18/20	DEO REO		-	-	-	-	-	run schools with limited resources

Key: HoS – heads of schools; FHoS – female heads of schools; MHoS – male heads of schools; GTFGD – groups of teachers in focus group discussions; MoSBQ – members of school boards in open-ended questionnaires; PFGD – groups of parents in focus group discussions; Note: All groups of parents were 14 (7 for females and 7 for females)