

**A GENDERED ANALYSIS OF TEACHING
EMPLOYMENT IN PAKISTAN**

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research is to conduct a gendered analysis of teaching employment in Pakistan, principally comparing the reasons why women and men enter teaching and their evaluation of the quality of this employment along a number of dimensions, including, working hours, autonomy at work, pay, access to continuing professional development and career progression. The methodological approach is interpretative which aids a deeper understanding of teachers' experiences of employment in the education sector at different levels and within the broader cultural, political and economic context of Pakistan. The thesis also draws upon secondary data sources, including published research, statistical employment data and documentary evidence, to address state policy in relation to education provision and employment policies and practices in public and private educational institutions. The original data is collected through semi-structured interviews – 48 in total - with women and men school teachers in Lahore. This thesis has used individual level analyses and further developed it by attending to social relations and the role of the state regarding gender and employment in Pakistan. This research has contributed in giving teachers voice to share their perceptions and experiences and used their interpretations to analyse the wider occupational and social context.

One of the key contributions of this thesis is to analyse application of western gender segregation theories in the context of Pakistan in order to provide an indigenous conceptual framework. The framework shows that in Pakistan individual choice regarding employment is constrained by social relations and organisational practices which bear influence of the interaction between cultural norms, religion and the state policies and regulations. The findings demonstrate that employment decisions of men and women to join teaching are driven by social and economic relations, the state's policies regarding gender roles and education provision and school policies and practices regarding staffing. The changing gender composition of the teaching profession and inclusion of women within this is associated with the state's neo-liberal policies to expand the private sector, the sexual division of labour in households and gendered occupational segregation. Teaching employment in the private sector is female-dominated while the public sector remains male-dominated. Women and men teachers felt that teaching was respectable employment for women, which cohered with societal expectations of women and conserved the propriety of the household. Working hours

in the teaching profession were regarded as accommodative of women's 'homemaker' role and an incentive, for men, to hold multiple paid job-roles. The quality of employment and occupational status of teaching is associated with the extent of feminisation in respect to the level of teaching and sector. Pay, while commonly regarded as inadequate for teachers in general, was typically better in the public sector compared to the private sector. The public sector with standard pre-service credential requirements and career advancement opportunities is viewed as a better employer compared to the private sector. On the one hand, the inclusion of women in teaching depicts the gender segregation of the wider society while associating teaching with 'women's work'. On the other hand, it presents women with an opportunity to gain entry into a socially and culturally respected and accepted profession while empowering them to reduce their economic dependability.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|--|
| ADB | Asian Development Bank |
| APWA | All Pakistan Women's Association |
| B.Com | Bachelor of Commerce |
| B.Ed. | Bachelors of Education |
| BA | Bachelor of Arts |
| BISE | Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education |
| BPS | Basic Pay Scale |
| CAQDAS | Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software |
| CEDAW | The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women |
| CPD | Continuous Professional Development |
| CT | Certificate of Teaching |
| CW | Curriculum Wing |
| DAIs | Degree Awarding Institutions |
| DfES | Department for Education and Skills |
| DSD | Directorate of Staff Development |
| DTRC | Department Tenure Review Committee |
| EDO | Executive District Officer |
| EFA | Education For All |
| ESE | Elementary School Educator |
| ESR | Education Sector Reforms |
| EU | European Union |
| FBS | Federal Bureau of Statistics |
| GCE | General Certificate of Education |
| HSSC | Higher Secondary School Certification |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| LFS | Labour Force Survey |
| M. Ed. | Master in Education |
| M.A | Master of Arts |
| M.Sc. | Master of Science |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goal |
| NACTE | National Accreditation Council of Teachers Education |

| | |
|--------|--|
| NBTC | National Bureau of Curriculum and Text Book |
| NCSW | National Commission on the Status of Women |
| NEP | National Education Policy |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| PEC | Pakistan Examination Commission |
| PPP | Pakistan People's Party |
| PTA | Punjab Teachers Association |
| PTB | Provisional Textbook Board |
| PTC | Primary Teacher Certification |
| PTU | Punjab Teachers Union |
| PUASA | Punjab University Academic Staff Association |
| SED | School Education Department |
| SESE | Senior Elementary School Educator |
| SS | Subject Specialist |
| SSC | Secondary School Certification |
| SSE | Secondary School Educator |
| SSS | Senior Subject Specialist |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UPE | Universal Primary Education |
| WAF | Women's Action Forum |
| WPLA | West Pakistan Lecturers' Association |

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The focus of this thesis is to analyse gender and teaching employment in Pakistan. The study explores the reasons for women and men to join teaching and their evaluations of the quality of employment. The study analyses teachers' experiences and perceptions with attention to social relations, the policies of the state regarding women's status in society and education provision, and school practices in respect to staffing in the public and private sector. This chapter introduces the study and the structure of the thesis.

The Feminisation of Teaching

Teaching is a feminised occupation, predominantly employing women, in many countries around the world (Kelleher, 2011; Gaskell and Mullen, 2006). Anker's (1998) study of 41 countries found that teaching was one of the top ten feminised occupations. There is a vast literature on the feminisation of teaching in developed countries, in particular the English speaking countries the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, in addition to the UK. The 'feminisation of teaching' literature traces this trend from the late nineteenth through to the early twentieth centuries. Large numbers of women entered employment in school teaching, at elementary level at least, in the USA, as in most of the industrialising countries in Europe, (Acker, 1998; Fishman, 2000), although also in South America and parts of the Caribbean (Kelleher, 2011). The quest to identify common influences (for example, the emerging welfare state) is tempered by attention to context and difference in the processes of the feminisation of teaching. For example, during the nineteenth century the expansion of public education in Britain and in North America created a demand for teachers. The expansion of public education in America began earlier than in Britain, however, and was part of the process of establishing new communities for territorial expansion (Miller, 1992). Britain was a highly stratified industrial society and the expansion of education was less organised in comparison to the USA (Miller, 1992; Lortie, 1975). The main impetus in Britain came from endeavours to make education provision for working-class children (Miller, 1992). Despite similar factors influencing feminisation, the process does not follow a universal model; the national, social and professional contexts play a significant role in shaping it (Le Feuvre, 2009), factors that will be focus of this thesis.

Feminisation has been researched and its implications debated primarily in western countries with established education systems and a long history of women's participation in teaching. In contrast, the feminisation of teaching is less well-documented for developing countries – even

those with large numbers of female teachers (Kelleher, 2011) – and is a relatively recent focus for research in South Asian countries including Pakistan, which are still working towards the universal provision of education. This makes the study of teaching in Pakistan both relevant and necessary.

Kelleher (2011) argued that the countries that have achieved the goals of Universal Primary Education (UPE)¹, and Education for All (EFA)² and ensured quality and equity of education, have included high proportions of women in the teaching profession. In the developing countries, inclusion of women in the education sector raises similar questions of women's occupational status. Has feminisation integrated women into 'formal' economic activity and empowered them socially and politically? Has it limited occupational status and material rewards? Or is the feminisation of teaching a measure of women's exclusion from other professions?

Gender and Employment in Pakistan

Women's aggregate labour force participation in Pakistan was formally recorded to be 24% in 2014, which is one of the lowest rates among South Asian countries (Labour Force Survey, 2015). The official statistics are criticised by various researchers (e.g. Khan, 2007; Grünenfelder, 2013), principally because they ignore women's contribution in the 'informal sector', in home-based industry and informal agricultural work. In Pakistan, women's employment does not exclusively depend on their qualifications, abilities and skills. Studies show that a range of factors including social class, caste, religious beliefs and cultural norms determine the likelihood of women's participation in the labour force (Khan, 2007; Gazdar, 2003). Weiss (1998) argued that South Asian Muslim and cultural norms place extensive restrictions on women's actions. Decisions about employment for women are determined by cultural and religious norms, then by the social class of the family and later by the availability and access to job opportunities in the labour market.

Pakistan has a male-dominated society with a strong sex-division of public and private domains (Kabeer, 1997; Gazdar, 2003). Men are ascribed a productive role as bread winner and provider for the family. Women are assigned a reproductive role as home-maker and carer and reside in the household domain (Malik and Khalid, 2008; Pardhan, 2009). The practice of

¹ UPE is second of the eight United Nation's Millennium Development Goals.

² EFA is a movement initiated by UNESCO to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults

*pardah*³ strengthens the ideological demarcation of public and private spheres and male-domination (Mumtaz and Shahid, 1987; Mohiuddin, 1991; Ali, 2000; Asian Development Bank, 2000). It reserves the space for men and excludes women from public, economic and political life. Men control the entry of women into the public sphere. Women access the public sphere with the permission of the men of the household and permission is usually given under conditions of invisibility (*pardah*) and the company of other familial males (Gazdar, 2003). Therefore, women have restricted mobility which prevents them from making the decisions about their employment independently and competing for jobs on equal terms with men (Ali, 2000). The situation sustains the social and economic dependency of women, reproducing men's power over women (Asian Development Bank, 2000). Pakistani society is highly stratified and the cultural norms vary across social classes, regions and rural and urban divides. These variations impact on women's subordination and employment opportunities (Khan, 2007). In rural areas and among the lower social classes traditional 'cultural norms' allow men to control women's lives. Women are controlled by violence and they are exchanged, bought and sold in marriages (Asian Development Bank, 2000; Jacoby and Mansuri, 2008). In contrast, women who live in urban areas and who belong to the middle and upper classes may have greater control over their own lives. Yet the gendered division of public and private spheres remains strong (Asian Development Bank, 2000; Gazdar, 2003).

Social class status, based on the income of the household is one of the key influences on women's labour force participation in Pakistan. Hamid (1991) argued that there is a U-shaped relationship between the income level and participation of women in the labour market. Women's participation is highest among both low and very high income backgrounds. Either poverty pushes women into the labour force or women with access to higher education and other resources join the labour force. Additionally, women's access to education also depends on social class and the income of the household. Women's education attainment improves in higher social classes (Sattar, Yasin and Afzal, 2012). Women belonging to lower classes work in agricultural or manufacturing low-skilled and low-paid jobs, provide domestic services in the informal sector, or do home-based paid work, depending on the urban/rural divide and work opportunities in their local areas (Mohiuddin, 1991). In contrast, women belonging to the upper classes participate in politics or gain entry to some highly skilled professions. These women become a minority in the male-dominated public sphere but due to their social

³ *Pardah* literally means curtain or veil. It refers to the women's veiling when they have to step out of their private domain or interact with non-familial men.

background they have access to such positions. Left out are middle class women. Nevertheless, with the changing economic situation and high inflation rate in Pakistan's economy, the participation trend of middle class women is changing (Bibi and Afzal, 2012). To maintain or upgrade their social status and to meet families' financial needs, women tend to seek out paid work. The career choices for middle class women, however, are limited due to inherent gender bias, cultural constraints, restricted mobility, gendered household roles and family responsibilities (Asian Development Bank, 2000).

The education sector is an important employer for women who have themselves achieved access to education (Ali, 2000). Women's share of a rising employment total in school teaching increased in the decades after 1947, when Pakistan gained independence from British rule, and from the mid-2000s women teachers outnumbered men (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Yet there is variation across the levels of the education system and between the private and public sector schools. In the former, the workforce in aggregate is feminised while in the public sector schools the proportion of men and women teachers is still balanced. The patterns are not wholly unique to Pakistan. Nonetheless they demand attention in analysis of the causes of teaching's feminisation and evaluation of its consequences for gender equity and for teaching's status among the professions.

Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of this research is to conduct a gendered analysis of teaching employment in Pakistan, principally comparing the reasons why women and men enter teaching and their evaluation of the quality of this employment along a number of dimensions, including, working hours, autonomy at work, pay, access to continuing professional development and career progression. These aims have been achieved through the following research objectives:

- To evaluate the utility of western theories for understanding gender occupational segregation in Pakistan.
- To analyse gender and teaching in the context of Pakistan, with attention to social and economic relations at successive levels (societal to household), the policies of the state in relation to women's status and rights and in relation to reform of education provision, and schools' policies and practices in respect to staffing.
- To capture and compare the reasons why women and men enter teaching and the ways in which gender relations structure career choices and pathways for women and for men.

- To analyse the quality of employment in teaching in relation to teachers' knowledge, levels of autonomy, rewards and career progression, in the public and private education sectors.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis has eight chapters in total.

Chapter two explores a number of theoretical perspectives on women's paid work and discusses a context specific perspective to analyse gender and occupational segregation. It compares and contrasts different definitions of feminisation in the literature and how these are used to study central gender equalities issues. The chapter then turns to explanations for gender segregation from different research perspectives including individual 'choice', labour market structures and gender relations. It continues the review of theoretical perspectives to develop an understanding of the professions and discusses the concepts of *professional project*, *professional*, and *social closure*. Moreover, it discusses gendered professional projects and the state's role in relation to women's employment, *specialised knowledge* and the *autonomy* of professionals. Finally, the chapter deploys the concept of feminisation in relation to the teaching profession. It reviews processes of feminisation in western countries with emphasis on the relationship between the feminisation of teaching and the expansion of the education sector and with femininity. It further discusses the concept of professionalism in relation to teaching.

Chapter three provides the context for the interview data. The chapter analyses gender segregation theories in the context of Pakistan. It presents an historical overview of women's role and position in Pakistan and in relation to this it explores the interaction between the state and religious fundamental ideology. It introduces central and provincial government policies and practices in respect to the provision of education and oversight of public and private sector educational institutions. In addition, this chapter presents statistical data on women's employment in Pakistan with particular focus on women's participation in the education sector. It compares the pace and extent of the feminisation of teaching in the public and private sectors in Pakistan.

Chapter four presents the methodology informing the detail of the research design and choice of data collection methods. It opens with identifying constructionism as an epistemological assumption for this study. It goes on to explain the interpretivist research methodology which embraces qualitative analysis. The chapter delineates the types of data and sources tapped for evidence in pursuit of the research aims.

The findings from the interviews conducted in 2011 are presented in three chapters – five to seven. *Chapter five* explores the factors shaping men’s and women’s participation in the education sector of Pakistan and develops two key themes. The first is gender relations and the division of household labour. The argument presented is that the compatibility of teaching with the presumed domestic role of women, the association of teaching with feminine traits, and the segregated environment in which teaching takes place makes teaching an acceptable profession for women in Pakistan. The second theme is participation in teaching as a matter of economic need and of social class.

Chapter six draws on the interview data and secondary sources to discuss equality or its absence in teachers’ pay and career advancement opportunities. The first section argues that teachers’ pay is linked with gender segregation. Teachers’ pay increases with the level of education system (for example pay is lower in primary level compared to teaching at secondary level) but the participation of women is higher at the lower levels of the education system. For example, primary level teaching in the private sector is dominated by women where pay is lowest. Furthermore, this section compares women and men teachers’ perceptions regarding equality and fairness in pay and highlights, among other issues, that of the administration of pay. The second section discusses the similarities and differences of career advancement opportunities for private and public sector school teachers. It argues that the public sector offers better career paths for teachers than the private sector. However, women in both the public and private sectors encounter various difficulties in order to gain promotion.

Chapter seven concerns feminisation in interaction with the nature of knowledge and the autonomy of teachers. It looks at teachers’ knowledge in terms of their qualifications and education. The chapter provides a discussion of differences in the eligibility criteria and training for teachers in the public and private sectors. Its second section argues that teachers in general have limited autonomy in terms of determining their own aims, content, teaching methods and assessments. In the public sector, the national curriculum for schools, the

standardised syllabus and centralised examination system provide little room for teachers to develop content and assessments for their students. In the private sector, teachers' autonomy is affected by the control of school management and varies depending on the institution and processes of the school curriculum development, syllabus and assessments.

Chapter eight draws the analysis together by summarising the main findings to reach conclusions in respect to the research aims. This thesis suggests that in Pakistan individual choice to join teaching is driven by gender and social relations prevalent in Pakistani society, the state's policies regarding gender roles and education provision and school policies and practicing regarding staffing. The quality of employment within the education sector is associated with gender segregation patterns at different levels of teaching. It reflects on the strengths and the limitations of the thesis, its overall contribution to knowledge, policy implications and the directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Feminisation, Occupational Segregation and the Professions

Introduction

Women's labour force participation has increased in countries around the globe in recent decades. The trend is discussed as workforce feminisation. Yet feminisation as applied in the analysis of work and employment has not ensured gender equality. Rather it highlights gender segregation of paid work (Bruegel, 2000; Rich, 1995). The aim of this chapter is to review theories of increased women's participation in the labour force and to assess employment quality and occupational status of feminised professions, such as teaching. There are four sections. The first analyses and evaluates the feminisation debate which has mainly explained the process of women's inclusion in formal employment. The second section turns to theoretical perspectives on gender segregation in employment which persists, notwithstanding women's rising labour force participation. Considered are accounts developed within the perspective of orthodox economics, Marxist and socialist feminist theory. These bring to the fore individual choice and preferences and the structural constraints which impact on individuals' employment potential. The third section of the chapter focuses on gender and the professions, as the prelude to the focus on the feminisation of teaching in the final section.

Feminisation

'*Feminisation*' became a prominent theme in analyses of work and employment from the 1970's (Vosko, 2002). Influences include the insurgence of feminist scholarship and rising rates of women's labour market participation in developing as well as OECD countries. The idea of feminisation mainly refers to increase in women's labour force participation and it has generated debate about the political, economic and social factors responsible. Among the main developments discussed are 'deindustrialisation' and the shift to a service economy, employers' quest for flexibility and wage cost saving, technological change and the deskilling of jobs (making them 'women's work'), as well as changes in the structure of households (Cağatay and Özler, 1995, Standing, 1999; Morini, 2007). Feminisation signifies the increased presence of women in paid work but it does not necessarily imply women's access to power in the labour market. In what follows, it is argued that feminisation is a trend which often represents some form of segregation within or between different occupations (Rubery, 2015).

In the 1980s, through feminist studies of the changing structure of work in industrialised countries, the concept of feminisation was used principally in a quantitative sense, to refer to an increase in women's labour force participation. For example, Beechey (1987) argued that after the Second World War there had been an increase in women's workforce share. Some women had moved into male-dominated occupations but the majority worked in segregated jobs. There was unequal access to better paid work and unequal work sharing in the household (Ibid). Nonetheless, feminisation of the labour force had become a fact in the modern capitalist world.

During the 1990s, the 'feminisation of work' became a focus of debate with contributions identifying a 'cultural feminisation of economic life' with the transition to a service economy (e.g. Fondas, 1997). Adkins (2001) translated that the social nature of service work was reckoned to have changed the cultural relations of the workplace and service provision became associated with the personal qualities and social skills of the worker. There had been a growing number of jobs which were associated with stereotyped feminine attributes of serving and caring (Wajcman, 1999). In service economies, managers are expected to incorporate feminine traits, such as coordinating, facilitating, coaching, supporting and nurturing, in managing employees. Some argue that women are suited to managerial work because feminine qualities are part of the job description (Martin, 1993). In contrast, Wajcman (1999) criticised the idea suggesting that the feminisation of managerial work had not occurred and that women managers still had to neutralise aspects of their femininity and develop masculine characteristics. Service work has provided women with employment opportunities but as yet women have not been accepted on equal terms and as yet there has been no 'shattering' of the 'glass ceiling' (as *The Economist*, 2009 emphasised). The increase in women's participation in the service sector comes at the cost of vertical segregation resulting in low wages, part-time and insecure work, and poor working conditions (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990; Reskin and Ross, 1990; Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).

Further explanations of feminisation were provided by political economy accounts. The trend of women's rising labour force participation was examined in relation to change in the labour process, technology, other influences of globalisation and the advance of neo-liberalism (Standing, 1999; Cağatay and Özler, 1995; Morini, 2007). The feminisation of the workforce has been associated with economic growth periods (Cağatay and Özler, 1995; Anker *et al.*, 2002). Export-oriented industrialisation and Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in the Global South led to increase in the proportion of women in the labour force. An influential

and controversial account was presented by Standing (1999), highlighting trends of 'global feminisation through flexible labour'. He argued that there had been an increase in the 'secondary market' employment forms associated with women which are insecure, low-paid and irregular, alongside a decline in employment associated with men: regular, unionised, stable and skill-based work. The implication was a downwards harmonisation for men, converging on to women's terrain. However, the thesis of 'global feminisation' was criticised in feminist studies on a number of counts. Elson (1997:38) proposed, for example, that:

The restructuring of labour and the altering of job boundaries in the name of "flexibility" is in fact much more likely to take place in a gender differentiated way than to be a force for overcoming the sexual division of labour.

Vosko (2002) critiqued Standing's work for ignoring the sphere of social reproduction and the contribution of welfare state reform to gendered precariousness. There has been an emphasis on the employers' capacity to mobilise a female labour supply in the 'Global South' to meet the cost pressures in export-led industry. Yet Caraway (2007:2) pointed out that women were 'pulled' into a narrow range of industrial jobs, where their 'natural wastage' (e.g. leaving for childbirth) was valued alongside an assumed tolerance of low pay and difficult working conditions. Hence, workforce feminisation is not a 'seamless integration of women into men's jobs but rather a redrawing or reconfiguration of the gender divisions of labour that separate men's work from women's work'. Adkins (2001) argued that feminisation should not be analysed in a political economy framework, because of its varying meanings which tend to overload the concept and limit its analytical power. She focused on the concept of the gendering of jobs and rejected the idea that the gendering was fixed by explaining how it was made, remade and contested. She proposed there had been some de-segregation of occupations as 'principles of performance' displaced an 'ascriptive' gender order in organisational hierarchies. However, there was now a 'cultural feminisation' of work, elevating 'a new sovereignty of appearance, image and style' (Adkins, 2001: 674). Perrons (2009:9) referred to 'cultural boundaries' which she described as gendered behaviours deeply rooted and repeated to the extent of being naturalised. The embedded cultural practices stereotype identities of social groups and their suitability for high ranking or low ranking positions.

A common aspect emerging from the feminisation debate is the integration of women in segregated, 'flexible' and precarious jobs (Vosko, 2002; Wajcman, 1999). The meanings

attached to 'feminisation' capture the paradoxical nature of women's paid employment (Bolton and Muzio, 2008; Standing, 1999). The concept is commonly used to indicate a rise in women's participation in paid work (Bank, 2007) which suggests integration into 'economic activity', as conventionally defined. It also portrays the segregation of women into disadvantaged positions or occupations (Cağatay and Özler, 1995). Thus, feminisation often leads to new forms of segregation integrating women into areas of work different to men and at comparatively lower levels (Rubery, 2015). For example, numeric feminisation in the legal profession allowed women to enter into a male-dominated realm. However, women are more likely to be in stereotypical female specialisms such as family law where allegedly feminine traits of empathy and support are required compared to corporate law, where the emphasis is on masculine traits of ruthlessness and endurance. As expected this segregation impacts significantly on the status and income gap within the legal profession (Bolton and Muzio, 2008; Muzio and Tomlinson, 2012). Thus, the inclusion of women in paid employment is a beginning of the change process but to further analyse the status and quality of the role and occupation offered to women, it is important to examine theoretical explanations provided by gender segregation theories.

Gender and Occupational Segregation

The feminisation debate explains the processes and trends of women's entry into certain occupations. However, inclusion of women in the labour market is associated with horizontal and vertical segregation (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990; Woodfield, 2007). Horizontal segregation refers to recruitment of men and women to different jobs/occupations and vertical segregation refers to confining women to low level positions within internal labour market (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). While the feminisation debate implies an increasing presence of women in work, it does not provide a theoretical explanation of the questions such as why women are entering into segregated occupations? How are gender divisions formed within and among occupations? A variety of theoretical explanations have been proposed to account for gendered occupational segregation patterns. In this section, the range of approaches are loosely grouped as 'individual' and 'social' perspectives addressing the gender imbalance in different occupations. This classification reflects an underlying theoretical dichotomy of 'action' versus 'structure' (Ibid). The key focus of the debate is whether women's and men's labour market position and working patterns are a result of the

choices they make or are an outcome of domestic circumstances or a consequence of labour market structures and patriarchal relations.

Segregation and individual 'choice'

Gender segregation in the labour market, in some accounts, is proposed to be an outcome of 'choice' and the 'preference' of individuals. Broadly speaking, 'individual' approaches implicitly or explicitly assume that gender imbalance and women's disadvantaged position in employment is due to women's preference for a domestic role or a work focused role. The suggestion is therefore, that women choose to focus on their family, where they may optimise their desires, whereas, men focus on 'market work' to maximise their earnings (Becker, 1981; Hakim, 2000). Neoclassical economic perspectives attempt to fit an explanation of gender segregation within such a framework under the rubric of 'human capital theory' (Mincer, 1962; Polachek, 1981). Whereas, Hakim (2002), engaging a sociological perspective, presented a similar argument through 'preference theory'.

The neoclassical economic perspective proposes that individual 'maximising' behaviour or pursuit of self-interest along with market coordination achieves an efficient allocation of society's scarce resources. Women are alleged to have less human capital than men because of their position in the family and would therefore accumulate less work experience over their working lifetime. Women are paid less because of lower productivity as a consequence of supposed lesser achievement in qualifications and relevant work experience (Polachek, 2004). Investment in human capital is considered a matter of an individual's *rational choice*. The economic view of the price mechanism is assumed to be purely based on supply and demand, where jobs are not constructed as low-paid work or employers do not prefer less expensive female labour. It is assumed that both individuals and the labour market operate rationally and efficiently rather than around inherent bias towards men (Woodfield, 2007).

According to Hakim (2002), her analysis of gendered occupational patterns differs from human capital theory because 'preference theory' is developed on sociological grounds where preferences are revealed through behaviour. Nevertheless, the fundamental argument of preference theory suggests that gendered work patterns (women being overrepresented in low-paid and/or part-time jobs) reflect different lifestyle choices of women and are not a result of external constraints such as discrimination. In the articulation of 'preference theory,' Hakim argued that women should not be treated as a homogenous group because there are different preferences among women regarding their work and family life. She claimed that women

choose between adaptive, work-centred and home-centred lifestyles. An adaptive lifestyle is where women choose to combine employment and family without prioritising one over the other. According to Hakim, most women choose adaptive lifestyles and some occupations are more suitable for this lifestyle such as school teaching. Moreover, she suggested that women who make the transition from full-time to part-time work tend to be 'adaptive'. Work-centred women, on the other hand, are in the minority. Their family life fits around work and they are very much in the public sphere. For this reason, many women in this category may remain childless. The third lifestyle, home-centred, is where women are also in the minority and where they remain largely 'invisible'.

Individuals make choices of qualification and have preferences for their careers and family but these 'choices' and 'preferences' are not independent. They bear discrimination emerging from cultural and structural influences (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011; Stier and Yaish, 2014). Bradley (1996) critiqued preference theory by arguing that women's orientations towards work and family are fluid and subject to change with changing circumstances in their life-cycle and working patterns. Feminist theorists have critiqued individualistic perspectives for ignoring gender relations outside the public sphere or for simply referring to women's domestic responsibilities as 'choice' or 'preference' (Bradley, 1996; McRae, 2003). Individualistic perspectives ignore questions such as: why is domestic work considered women's responsibility? Why do women have to choose between work and family life?

In order to address these questions and further analyse gender inequality it is significant to analyse reproductive relationships within and outside the labour market. Bradley (1999) argued that these reproductive relations are assumed to be established on the basis of biological differences but it is actually the societal arrangements and perceptions around pregnancy, childbirth and childcare which create gender inequalities. Socio-cultural explanation of occupational segregation argues that women's assumed role in the household closely corresponds with their work in the labour market. As a result, women are segregated into jobs associated with feminine attributes such as caring and nurturing (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). In this perspective, work is not just a source of income but also a primary source of social identity (Crompton, 1997; Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). Hence, individual choices and preferences are not unfettered but rather cultural definitions and ascriptions concerning feminine and masculine roles shape the decisions made by individuals.

Another crucial feature which both human capital theory and preference theory ignore is social class difference which creates differential access to social resources such as education, healthcare and childcare. Human capital theory ignores the relevance of social class in providing explanations of gender segregation as a failure of women to invest in their education and work-related qualifications. This gives no acknowledgement to the effects of the perpetuation of elitism in schools and universities which is essential for the reproduction of the capitalist order (Bowles and Gintis, 1975). A similar critique is applicable to preference theory which ignores the influence of class relations on lifestyle preferences. McRae (2003) argued that Hakim has considered voluntary actions taken by women, regarding their work and family life, as their genuine choices and that this is a key weakness of preference theory. McRae (2003) further argued that due to social and economic constraints women with similar lifestyle preferences can have a variety of different work-life combinations. For example, some women with children might not have suitable childcare available thus they stay at home. Other women with the same lifestyle preference might accept part-time or low-status jobs to survive financially.

Explanations of segregation as a function of individuals' unrestricted choice is extensively critiqued for ignoring structural barriers and social relations (Reskin and Maroto, 2011; Rubery and Fagan, 1995). As Bradley (1999: 22) has highlighted:

gender differences are particularly diffuse: they include economic inequalities which derive from the organisation of the sexual division of labour both within the household and within employment, and from the organisation of reproductive relationships, which restricts women's entry into economic life.

To further understanding of individuals' crucial decision-making process about work which leads to gender and occupational segregation it is important to analyse individuals' agency along with structural and social constraints.

Segregation, labour market structures and gender relations

It is clear that 'individual choice' alone has not been able to explain occupational segregation and women's position in the labour market. Feminist theorists have extensively critiqued the individualistic perspective and argued that women's paid and unpaid work has generally been considered less important than men's. However, feminist research provides a debate on the extent to which women's segregation is due to labour market structures and/or is a matter of domestic gender relations.

The Marxist feminist account has suggested that labour markets disadvantage women because capitalism operates more effectively with a divided labour force (Bruegel, 1979). Marxian analysis of the industrial *reserve army* of labour is a major aspect explaining women's participation in certain occupations in the growth periods of the economy. Marx (1967) argued that, for the expansion of capital, there has to be a sufficient supply of labour to meet the demands of capitalism. The surplus population of labour which acts as a reserve army of labour is used to reduce the level of wages of already employed labour (Bruegel, 1979; Power, 1983). Women have thus become an ideal 'reservoir' of labour available to capital; men and women enter the 'reserve army' through different routes, men by leaving paid work and women by being attracted into paid employment (Braverman, 1974). Women's availability as a reserve army is a continuous process, in which women are pushed into the labour market because of the market's intrusion into the household.

Marxist feminist analysis has been critiqued for not recognising the independence of gender dynamics and having a narrow focus on capitalism which is unable to explain gender inequality in pre- and post-capitalist societies (Walby, 1990). Walby (1986; 1990) argued that capitalist and patriarchal structures work together to place women in segregated employment. The capitalist system gained an advantage by offering women lower paid jobs and this pay inequality hindered gender equality in both the public and private spheres. Lower paid segregated jobs assist in sustaining women's domestic role. Dual systems theory argues that it was beneficial for both patriarchy and capitalists to maintain gender segregation. The capitalist system gained an advantage by offering women lower paid jobs and this pay inequality hindered gender equality in both the public and private spheres.

Walby (1986; 1990) discussed two forms of patriarchy: public and private. To some extent, this division addressed the issue of universal male-dominance in patriarchy which rules out the possibility of any other form of power relations between men and women (Bradley, 2007). Private patriarchy refers to the domestic gender regime and dominance of individual patriarchy in the household and focuses on the strategy of exclusion of women from the labour force by limiting their access to the public domain. Public patriarchy is based upon the 'collective appropriation' in 'public sites such as employment and the state' (Walby, 1990: 24), and is concerned with the segregation of women with regard to employment; women tend to be segregated in low-paid and low-status jobs and occupations. Walby (1990) argued that in the twentieth century there was a shift from private patriarchy to public patriarchy due to the gradual erosion of male dominance in families. The shift was mainly occurring in western

countries and it is not a straightforward process. Rather, it is complex and during the transition process private and public patriarchy can exist at the same time. For example, women may have managed to venture out into the public domain but the decisions of where to work and career progression could still be restrained by their domestic responsibilities and their role in the private sphere.

The concept of combining two systems to explain women's oppression in the household and occupational sex segregation in the labour market has been challenged (Beechy, 1979; Young, 1981; Pollert, 1996; Acker, 1999). There is an inherent tension between patriarchy and capitalism and there is a conflict between the assumptions about both systems. The capitalist system exploits labour and a larger labour pool helps capitalists to control the market wage rate. Women's participation in the labour market gives an advantage to capital. However, the patriarchal system does not support women's work: it oppresses women by controlling them in terms of reproduction (child rearing) and separating the public and private spheres. Therefore, the utilisation of women's labour is at the expense of the time spent on household responsibilities. The Marxist framework dominates in comparison to the patriarchal framework because it provides a comprehensive and logical account of capitalism and the class system. Patriarchy, on the other hand, is unable to fully comprehend the power relations between men and women in different contexts and societies (Bradley, 1989). Pollert's (1996) critique of dual systems theory was that gender relations have been studied through class relations rather than through articulating two different systems. She argued that class relations are infused with gender, race and other social differences and to understand these complex relationships a dualist analysis is unhelpful. Acker (1999) agreed and emphasised that by explaining women's oppression through a patriarchal system, the role of class is overlooked in theorising gender relations in capitalist societies.

Combination of an independent *capitalist* and *patriarchal* system is also preoccupied with structuralist analysis divorced from human agency (Pollert, 1996). Capitalism is utilised as a material structure and its position is viewed as independent of individual actions. Patriarchy is seen as a system of interrelated structures through which men exploit women. However, this dualist analysis ignores women's agency and forecloses the possibility of struggle for change among women.

In contrast to structuralist analysis, Bradley (2007) argued that gendered employment patterns are influenced by gender relations in the family where men have historically taken the

dominant position. She argued that segmentation of social roles and the sexual division of household work assigned to either men or women influence how work is designated to men and women in the labour market. The biological reproductive function has been used to provide legitimacy to women's assumed responsibilities for childcare and domestic labour and also used to segregate the workplace in which "jobs are designated as men's work and women's work" (Bradley, 1997: 28).

Hence, women's and men's roles are shaped by prevailing notions of masculinity and femininity which are constructed through gender stereotyping at both the workplace and in the domestic sphere (Crompton, 1997; Bradley, 1997). These notions determine the 'suitability' of the occupation for each gender and create segregation in the labour market. Attribution of different characteristics to men and women can impact the organisation of work in a variety of ways (Beechey, 1987; Bradley, 1997). For example, the sex-typing of occupations and categorising of jobs as men's or women's work, distinctions between skilled and unskilled jobs, difference in working hours (full-time and part-time) has influence over women's and men's employment (Beechey, 1987). Gender has also been a central issue for rewards in different occupations. Crompton and Sanderson (1990: 6) highlighted that "gender affects not only what kinds of jobs people do but also the kinds of rewards accruing to the occupation in question".

It is difficult to determine to what extent women's segregated position in the labour market is a result of structures within the labour market or an outcome of the women's position in the family or domestic sphere. However, there is a consensus on the fact that gender segregation in paid employment persists and puts women in a disadvantaged position (Durbin, 2016). The way forward is to analyse how structural barriers and cultural notions of masculinity and femininity interact and influence the decision-making processes of individuals regarding work.

Gender and occupational segregation: A multi-dimensional approach

For a compelling analysis of gender and occupational segregation, it is important to embrace the debates on structure and culture, work and home, public and private spheres (Bradley, 1999) while analysing individual agency. It is significant to acknowledge that the occupational structures and hierarchies which are used to explain segregation change themselves along with the changing patterns of segregation and can only be understood within a specific occupational, social and national context (Rubery and Fagan, 1995). Similarly,

gender relations are socially constructed and reconstructed at different sites (Beechey, 1987; Acker, 2006) and operate differently in different contexts (Bradley, 1999). In this scenario, it is difficult to develop any one comprehensive theory which explains all aspects of social life (Bradley, 1989). According to Bradley (1989), the way forward is to understand and explain interactions of different relations within their social and historical context.

... to conceive social structure in terms of many sets of interconnected relationships (class, gender, ethnicity, politics, culture, etc.) and to analyse these within the context of their historical development (Bradley, 1989: 63).

The state's regulation and policies, which interact with organisational structures and cultures in the labour market, plays a crucial role in influencing women's preferences and position (Crompton, 1999). As Padavic (1992: 219) suggested, "gender is a multilevel system of differences and disadvantages that include socioeconomic arrangements and widely held cultural beliefs at the macro level". For example, countries with welfare policies that support women's full-time work through the provision of good childcare would influence women's work preferences. However, if this provision is not available then it is more likely that women would be concentrated on part-time work (Woodfield, 2007).

This thesis underlines the importance of experiences of individuals, how they consider their work options and how they are encouraged or hindered by labour market structures, social relations and the wider political context. It is crucial to capture a multi-dimensional analytical framework, covering *productive* and *reproductive* relationships, to investigate gender and occupational segregation which incorporates analysis of individual, structural and cultural factors along with the role of the state in explaining gender segregation of employment (Bradley, 1999).

Gender and the Professions

Theoretical perspectives on gender and occupational segregation have attempted to explain the unequal position of men and women in paid employment by emphasising gendered labour market structures and social relations within and outside formal employment influencing individuals' decision regarding work. However, to further analyse the role of gender in determining occupational status and quality of employment, it is important to consider the debate around the sociology of the professions. This identifies different strategies of social closure such as inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation to construct and retain gender

segregation in paid work (Bradley, 1999; Witz, 1992). For example, teaching is a classic example of an occupation where women's inclusion is encouraged. However, contemporary research categorises teaching as a 'semi-profession' because it has become dominated by women, at least at the lower levels of the education system (Bolton and Muzio, 2008; Cortina and Roman, 2006). Teaching is associated with presumed "innate feminine qualities" which may sit in a contradictory position to the requirements of professionalism (Cortina and Roman, 2006: 6). Such categorisations raise questions such as: What makes an occupation a profession? Does inclusion of women in certain occupations influence its professional status? Why are female-dominated occupations (such as teaching, nursing, social services) categorised as 'semi-professions'?

Differing forms of professionalism and the varying extent of women's inclusion presents interesting grounds for analysing gender and professions such as put forward in this thesis. To fully comprehend the concept of occupational status or professionalism, it is important to develop an insight into the concept of 'professions' and 'feminised professional projects', as is done in the following discussion.

Sociological analysis of the professions

It is difficult to enter into a discussion about professions and professionalism without evaluating the dominant traditions of the sociology of professions (Krejsler, 2005). This section reviews different theoretical perspectives on the 'professions' which have been linked with the sociological concepts of social closure, exclusion and stratification (Muzio and Krikpatrick, 2011).

The functionalist approach focused the analysis of the professions on identifying particular traits and special characteristics, in order to differentiate between professions and occupations (Etzioni, 1969; Greenwood, 1957). Under this functionalist perspective, many researchers have provided lists of traits which can assess the occupations (Barber, 1965; Abbott and Meerabeau, 1998). These characteristics focus mainly on the power of community and explicitly represent 'the common good' instead of the market, which is maximised through self-interest (Krejsler, 2005: 342). In essence, the main argument is that professionals provide expert services to society through their exclusive knowledge and competence, and in return, professionals enjoy generous material rewards and an elevated status in society. There is an inherent conflict in the functionalist approach to the professions due to its promotion of an ethos of altruism, collective orientation and community service. Professionals are concerned

to achieve maximum rewards for their services and to exercise their autonomy and power to create divisions in employment (Crompton, 1990). The dichotomy between 'self-interest' and 'community-interest' makes the functionalist approach flawed.

Furthermore, the functionalist approach characterises professionals by a number of attitudinal traits such as commitment to work, wish to carry out tasks with high ethical standards, showing affiliation with colleagues and sense of common identity that is developed through formal and informal associations (Barber, 1965; Caven, 1999; Krejsler, 2005). The functionalist position, consequently, simply points out the main functions of professionals and does not provide any understanding of *how* and *why* these traits are developed. In other words, the functionalist approach fails to explain the processes which operate to differentiate an occupation and a profession (Abbott and Meerabeau, 1998).

Within functionalist research, there has been a tradition of providing a classification of professions. Occupations are classified into various types based on the criteria of an ideal type profession. Carr-Saunders in 1955 suggested that there were four types of the profession: established, new, semi-professions and would-be professions (Abbott and Meerabeau, 1998) while Etzioni (1969) used a classification of professions and semi-professions and Bolton and Muzio (2008) established, aspiring and semi-professions. These varying stratifications of professions link back to the traits associated with certain professions.

The categorisations raise two main critical considerations. First, they do not share a universal approach and different researchers have used different criteria to announce the professional status of different occupations. For example, the rationale of Etzioni (1969) to categorise teaching as a 'semi-profession' is different to why Bolton and Muzio (2008) classified teaching as an 'aspiring profession'. One reason for these differences is that the *professions* or *professionalism* is not a static concept and it changes and evolves with the dialectical relationship with its environment (Hanlon, 1999). Professions interact with an external context including social relations and the political context which is neglected in the functionalist approach. However, some authors acknowledge this changing nature of the concept but still use a functionalist approach to categorise occupations (for example see Bolton and Muzio, 2008). Second, the majority of categorisations place female-dominated occupations such as teaching, nursing, midwifery, social services, in a marginalised position, whereas, male-dominated occupations such as law, engineering, medicine have been given the status of the established profession (for example see Carr-Saunders, 1955; Etzioni, 1969;

Bolton and Muzio, 2008). This classification suggests gender has a vital role in determining professional status.

The traditional functional approach ignored the interaction of professions with the external environment. Critical sociological approaches to professions have taken a more holistic approach (Krejsler, 2005). These approaches proposed that professions are based on capitalist interests (Crompton, 1990). This critical approach includes Marxist and Neo-Weberian theories of professionalism which integrate a class analysis. The Marxist perspective considers professions as an outcome of the capitalist system and focuses on two main issues: professions in relation to the state and the proletarianisation of professional occupations (Macdonald, 1995). Professional status emerges from the claim of specialist knowledge against the ignorance of the client (Johnson, 1972). Professionals gain power and autonomy with their exclusive knowledge and clients become socially and economically dependent on them. The power relation between professional and client increases social distance in terms of social class, gender, ethnicity, education and qualifications. Professionals assist the state in upholding the capitalist system and in return, the state permits the occupations to professionalise and exercise autonomy in society (Bianic, 2003). Johnson (1982: 189) explained that “the professions are emergent as an aspect of state formation and state formation is a major condition of professional autonomy”.

In contrast to the Marxian view of class position, knowledge and credentials, the Neo-Weberian approach highlighted the concept of ‘social closure’ which assumed that all individuals pursue their self-interest and form collective groups. To further their common interest these groups engage in social closure: they seek to control market conditions for their interest, by excluding others from their group (Macdonald, 1995). Parkin (1974: 3) defines closure as:

...the process by which social collectivities seek to maximise rewards by restructuring access to rewards and opportunities to a limited circle of eligible.

Social closure reflects the process of collective action to seek maximum advantage by creating hierarchies of power and establishing boundaries (Roscigno, Garcia and Bobbitt-Zeher, 2007; Parkin, 1974). The dominant groups create standards through collective action to preserve stratification. This occurs through establishing restriction of entry by introducing specialised training and qualifications, to limit the economic opportunities for others and to retain exclusive power.

Larson's (1977) neo-Weberian perspective viewed professions as 'projects' which have been organised by those who "attempt to translate one order of scarce social resources—special knowledge and skills—into another—social and economic rewards" (Larson, 1977: xvii). Professions create and maintain their authority and social prestige by possession of some kind of specialised knowledge and skills. Those who possess this knowledge become professionals and form professional bodies which regulate the knowledge base and interact with the state and society. The professional bodies established self-regulatory procedures to be in a better position to enter into a 'regulative bargain' and guard professions from the state intervention (Evetts, 2002; 345).

The state and the professions

The interplay between the state and the professions elucidates the political nature of the professions. The state and the professions are mutually dependent (Johnson, 1982; Willmott, 1986; Macdonald, 1995) as each party needs the support of the other (Willmott, 1986). The state actively contributes to the development of professions by acknowledging professional associations, providing opportunities for professions to become monopolies - through legislation, licences and credentials - and creates employment for professionals. In contrast, the professions support state formation by training and supplying skilled labour which contributes to state functions (Willmott, 1986).

The relationship between the state and the professions is not as harmonious and conflict-free as suggested above (Kirkpatrick *et al.* 2005). There is always an ongoing and changing struggle over control, regulation and the provision of public services. In this context, all professional groups are not equally successful in gaining the privileges of autonomy and control from the state. Kirkpatrick *et al.* (2005) provided the example of doctors in the UK as a strong professional group which secured a high degree of autonomy and control from the state whereas nurses struggled to achieve similar control over the processes of training and content of practice as doctors.

New Public Management (NPM) reforms and the shift from a welfare state have encouraged service re-organisation and private sector management (Ackroyd, Kirkpatrick and Walker, 2007) which has created a conflict for the image of professionalism (Kirkpatrick *et al.*, 2005). Professionals interacting with the ethos of public service in the welfare state focus on the provision of services on the basis of need rather than the ability to pay, along with technical knowledge. 'Commercialised professionalism' emphasises only technical and managerial

ability and economic rewards (Kirkpatrick *et al.*, 2005). The self-regulation of professions is challenged by a more corporatist state and replaced by external monitoring and audits.

The state aimed to control chiefly the economy and other institutions such as education by means of existing agencies. The regulative bargain continued, but the profession was now used as a channel for state action, especially controls (Evetts, 2002: 346).

The state became a sponsor of bodies to regulate professions to ensure service quality and to discourage monopolies. Moreover, economies are facing international forms of authority influencing the regulatory arrangements of professions and the state (Orzack, 1994). For example, one of the aims of the European Union (EU) is to standardise national regulations in Europe, regarding the provision of goods and services (Evetts, 2002). Similarly, in developing countries such as Pakistan, relations between professions and the state are influenced by international bodies and development agencies such as the World Bank, ILO and UNESCO. The *regulative bargain* of professions is shifting to external forms and the role of the state is pivotal in determining professional projects.

Gender and professional projects

Witz (1990; 1992) argued that the state is simultaneously patriarchal and capitalist and has shaped women's professional projects through mobilisation of the means of professional closure. The Nordic feminist critique of the welfare state highlighted that the state devalues women's professional projects particularly related to care work and gives it limited space in welfare policies (Henriksson, Wrede and Burau, 2006). Hence, gender plays a significant role in the analysis of professional status.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Crompton (1987) and Witz (1990; 1992) introduced issues of gender into the sociology of professions. The common theme in their research is the exclusion of women from the professions. Crompton (1987) argued that professionals engage in exclusionary closure through credentialising, a process which has itself been 'overlaid by gender exclusion'. Professions control entry by qualifications, certification or licencing to practice. The use of credentials empowers the profession to claim a monopoly of knowledge and to control exclusion of individuals. Additionally, exclusion occurs through the distinction between technical/objective skills and socially constructed skills and historical processes of sex-typing. The value of the skills varies depending on the culture of societies. Crompton (1987: 421) stated:

...the 'skill' of an occupation can be seen to rest upon the gender of the individual who characteristically performs the task. The low skill rating of 'women's jobs' reflects in part the cultural worth placed on women and women's tasks in our society. Occupational groups may contribute significantly to the definition of themselves as 'skilled' by restricting access to the skill and controlling how it is provided, and professional exclusion often provides good examples here.

Crompton (1987) also argued that skilled status is a significant indicator of the occupational ranking and financial and non-financial reward packages. If professional occupations with distinct skills are dominated by women, they will be ranked relatively lower and have lower material rewards. Hence, gender can play a vital role in this ranking. Witz (1990, 1992) presented a comparatively comprehensive model of gender and the notion of closure in professions. She emphasised that professional projects are embedded in and mediated by patriarchal structures within which male power is institutionalised and organised. She argued that:

...the generic notion of profession is also a gendered notion as it takes what are in fact the successful professional projects of class-privileged male actors at a particular point in history and in particular societies to be the pragmatic case of profession (1990:675).

Witz (1992) introduced four strategies to explain gender struggle over access to jobs in the labour market: exclusion, inclusion, demarcation and dual closure. Exclusionary strategies of closure have been utilised to exclude women from privileged rewards and opportunities in the occupational labour market. They work by limiting women's access to resources such as knowledge, technical skills and entry credentials, and consequently, women become ineligible for entering and practising in professions. Demarcationary strategies of closure are concerned with the mechanism of inter-organizational control in a division of labour. The dominant group controls the affairs of the related subordinate groups in the labour market. This mechanism does not exclude women but rather includes them in the related occupations which have been subordinated to the male-dominant professions in the division of labour. In the early twentieth century, the health sector in the UK perfectly elaborated exclusion and demarcation strategies, where men were dominant as professional doctors and women were subordinated as nurses and midwives. Inclusion and dual closure strategies incorporate the

response of groups, to contest exclusionary or demarcationary closure respectively in the labour market. Inclusionary usurpation describes the ways in which women do not comply with the patriarchal closure and struggle to gain access to positions in occupations from which they are excluded. Dual closure strategy is complex; it is a two-way exercise of power, in an upward direction as a form of usurpation and in a downward direction as a form of exclusion. In this case, women do not aspire to a position in male-dominated occupations as in the case of inclusionary strategies. Instead, women contested the demarcation strategies by exercising power upwards through showing resistance to the dominant occupations. They also employ exclusionary strategies by credentialising and promoting female professional projects. To achieve the aims, they employ either revolutionary or accommodating strategies of usurpation.

The literature regarding gender and the sociology of professions mainly highlights the closure theory and the *exclusion* of women from professional projects (Crompton, 1987; Witz, 1990). Yet some professions are now female-dominated such as teaching. Witz's (1992) strategies of social closure ignore employment quality and status in female-dominated occupations which are not subordinated to male occupations such as teaching. The demarcationary closure is significant in explaining gender inequality and women's subordination within related but distinct occupations such as nurses and doctors (Ibid). However, it lacks explanation of women's employment status in female dominated occupations such as teaching.

In contrast, researchers such as Davies (1996) have emphasised the *inclusion* of women to understand gender and professions. Davies (1996) explained the gendering of the professions and how historically and culturally constructed masculinities and femininities impact the gendering process. She suggested that women were only included in supportive roles whereas professional work still belongs to men and excludes women. Davies's (1996) view is easy to explain through Witz's (1992) work on the health sector. She argued that women were excluded from the medical profession but dominated the support role of nurses and midwives. The situation has altered to an extent. Bottero (1992: 330), however, referred to the entry of women into professions as a "hollow victory". Inclusion does not assure equal professional status to men. Healy and Oikelome (2011) highlighted the historical struggle of women to enter the medical profession and their increased presence within it, particularly in recent decades. The inclusion of women as doctors, however, has not assured equality and similar career paths for men and women. Further divisions based on gender are observed in medical

specialists. For example, in the UK many women doctors work as paediatricians, whereas men dominate the area of surgery (Ibid: 118).

There is a shift from excluding women from professions to inclusion in gender-typical roles (Davies, 1996). This leads to the question of whether women aspire to the professions which are more suited to their socially defined feminine characteristics or don't have much choice? This is a complex issue and cannot be explained by any linear cause and effect relationship. The research suggests, however, that female-dominated occupations struggle to achieve a 'professional' status (Abbott and Meerabeau, 1998; Davies, 1996; Bolton and Muzio, 2008). The feminisation of a previously male-dominated profession alters its status.

The gendering of the professions leads to a division between 'masculine professional projects' and 'feminine professional projects' (Bottero, 1992; Muzio and Bolton, 2006). The female-dominated occupations are highly associated with femininity and likely to be considered as semi-professions. Occupational groups such as teaching, nursing and social work are categorised as 'semi-professions' (Muzio and Bolton, 2006; Etzioni, 1969). These occupations are classic examples of occupations which are associated with feminine traits of nurturing, caring and empathy (Adams, 2005; 2010). The 'semi-professions' or 'aspiring professions' exercise exclusion strategies for continuing development of their profession. During the twentieth century, these professions raised the entry requirements by introducing specialised qualifications and training (Abbott and Meerabeau, 1998). Despite the claims of distinct professional knowledge and unique expertise, however, these occupations struggle to achieve a professional status and are unable to achieve the status of a 'profession' (Etzioni, 1969; Hallam, 2002; Bolton and Muzio, 2008). The common aspect in these female-dominant occupations is their association with 'femininity': they are often perceived as an extension of women's work in the domestic sphere. The work is considered in relation to supposedly natural female abilities of caring, nurturing and supporting. Femininity is considered a less prestigious feature of professional work (Davies, 1996) therefore female dominant occupations struggle to become 'professions'.

Inclusion of women and quality of employment

The analysis of the sociological approaches to professions, role of the state and issues of gender and professional projects have highlighted three main assumptions for this thesis. First, traditionally the term 'professional' only included white middle-class men working in fields such as law, medicine and engineering (Leathwood, 2005). Subsequently, the key

attributes and processes of being a 'professional' have embedded a notion of masculinity. For example, power, autonomy and control are core features of professions and of masculinity. Occupations are associated with masculinity and femininity and consequently ranked as professions and semi-professions. These attributes reinforce masculinity and highlight the power relations between 'men' and 'women' (Mills, 1998). Hence, according to the traditional sociological approach to the professions, female-dominated occupations would have never been able to achieve the status of the profession (Witz, 1992; Davies, 1996). This raises the question, are dominant forms of masculinity necessary for occupations to gain a status of the *profession*?

Second, the issues addressed by the researchers around gender and professional projects mainly emphasised the projects of closure (for example, Crompton, 1990; Witz, 1992). Closure theory accommodates the issues of gender in professions and explains the subordinated position of women (Witz, 1992; Davies, 1996). However, it is significant to explore further the issues of inclusion in female-dominated occupations. Feminisation debates show a growing number and wider acceptance of women in professions since 1970's (Vosko, 2002). The question to address is how a female-dominated occupation engages with the socially constructed masculine and feminine identities and consequent gender inequality.

Third, occupations are embedded in specific national and social contexts (Rubery and Fagan, 1995; Stier and Yaish, 2014). Countries vary in the structures of national labour markets, workers' characteristics such as participation of men and women in paid employment and education levels. Similarly, the notions of masculinity and femininity vary in different cultures along with the types of occupations dominated by men and women (Davies, 1996; Rubery and Fagan, 1995). From this perspective, there can be no universal definition or process of professionalism. The concern should not be to categorise occupations as *professions* or *semi-professions*, rather the emphasis should be on analysing the interaction of occupations with institutions, social relations and actors operating at different levels including the influence of the state and the international bodies on professional status (Evetts, 2006).

This research will focus on the issues around sociology of professions such as knowledge and autonomy of workers, pay conditions and career advancement opportunities for men and women. However, by analysing these issues, this study will evaluate the quality of employment rather than challenging or categorising the professional status.

Feminisation of the Teaching Profession

This section builds upon the discussion of feminisation and professions in relation to teaching. It draws from the literature on the factors shaping the feminisation of teaching in OECD countries and perspectives on the implications for the status of teaching and quality of employment.

The *feminisation of teaching* is largely used in a statistical sense to mean the number or percentages of women in absolute or in proportion to men (Wylie, 2000; Skelton, 2002; Griffiths, 2006). Le Feuvre (2009) considered feminisation as the entry of women into groups from which they were previously excluded. Some have not attempted to go beyond statistical analysis (Wylie, 2000) while others have included the cultural and political dimension along with numeric interpretation (Skelton, 2002; Griffiths, 2006; Le Feuvre, 2009). These dimensions analyse the impact of the teaching environment and educational policies favouring women in teaching. Feminisation has been explained as a product of ‘school ethos’, teaching strategies and education policy (Griffiths, 2006). The varying definitions of the term *feminisation* and differences in its application in the teaching profession indicate that the feminisation process does not follow a universal model (Le Feuvre, 2009).

Based on the definitions discussed earlier in the chapter, feminisation has been referred to as an increase in the number of women in previously male-dominated areas. Feminisation of work is defined by its associations with feminine attributes distinguishing between women’s and men’s work (Bradley and Healy, 2008). Feminisation has been seen as a structure of gender segregation which along with class dynamics puts lower value on ‘women’s work’ (Bradley, 1999).

Expansion of the Education Sector and Women’s Employment in Teaching

There is a large literature on the feminisation of teaching in developed countries including the USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Here women’s presence in the teaching profession – at elementary school level at least - was prominent by the late nineteenth century (Cortina and Roman, 2006). Of significance was the expansion of the state-aided education for the mass of the population as opposed to private education for the wealthy. Focusing on the USA, Lortie (1975: 8) explained that:

Thousands of schools were created as public education expanded during the nineteenth century, and it was not long before the schools were staffed primarily by women. By 1870, for example, there were 123,000 women teaching and 78,000

men; year after year thereafter, the proportion of women increased. By 1930 there were five times as many female as male teachers, and the men who did teach taught primarily in the higher grades.

In the UK, women's employment in teaching began in the late 19th century in early stages of public sector education expansion (Miller, 1992). In 1875, around 55 percent of elementary teachers were women and by 1901 they were already 70 percent (Kelleher, 2011). At that time, women taught only to young children or to girls who succeeded to secondary education. Despite the higher proportion of women, they were not equally represented in leading roles. Bradley (1989) pointed out that in 1914, women constituted 70 percent of elementary assistant teachers but only 56 percent of head teachers. In contrast, men constituted 33 percent of assistants but 44 percent of head teachers (Ibid: 207). After the Second World War the UK government launched an emergency teacher training scheme to ease the teacher shortage. It was mainly aimed at men. Subsequently, however, policy steps were taken to encourage mature married women to join teaching (Miller, 1992). This demand for women teachers coincided with the 'long post-war boom' and the expansion of public education which had a twofold significance. On the one hand, it paved the way for middle class women to join the profession and on other hand it attracted young girls from a working-class background to improve their education.

America developed a system of public education earlier and more quickly than Britain did. Nonetheless, it was the expansion of public education in both countries during the nineteenth century that – by vastly increasing the need for teachers, particularly teachers of younger children—was also responsible for increasing provision and demand for all forms of education for women (Miller, 1992: 1).

Similar patterns have been found in Canada (Richards and Acker, 2006). In the early nineteenth century teaching was dominated by men. Women's participation increased significantly as the system expanded in the second half of the century. At that time, however, women taught young children whereas men taught older children and occupied administrative posts (Kelleher, 2011).

In Canada, the UK and the USA, the expansion of education led to increased numbers of women in the profession. The context and the processes, however, were different. The social context, alternative employment opportunities for women, the structure of education (grade

systems, dame schools and one-room schools) and the role of the state made the feminisation process different in each country. For example, during the nineteenth century, the expansion of public education in Britain and America created a demand for teachers. The expansion of public education in America was achieved earlier and quicker than in Britain. In America, expansion of public schools was part of the process of establishing new communities for geographical expansion (Miller, 1992), whereas Britain was a highly stratified industrial society and the expansion of education was less organised in comparison. The main aim in Britain was the provision of education for working-class children (Miller, 1992). Despite similar factors influencing feminisation, the process does not follow a universal model and the national, social and professional context have significant impact in developing comprehensive understanding of the feminisation of teaching (Le Feuvre, 2009).

Studies indicate that the countries which have expanded their education sector and have achieved education for all are now experiencing concerns over feminisation of teaching (Kelleher, 2011). For example, in the UK these concerns include calls for more men in teaching, particularly at primary level, and improving the status of teaching to make it a desirable career choice for men. The feminisation of teaching is considered as one of the reasons for boys' underachievement due to lack of male role models (Carrington and McPhee, 2008). The emphasis of educational policies attracting men to the teaching profession is not challenging conventional stereotypes while appealing to wider social justice. Rather, these policy measures reinforce the notions of masculinity and femininity (Skelton, 2002). The feminisation patterns and trends in teaching point towards two key areas in relation to gender inequality: the gendering of teaching with issues of masculinity and femininity and the issues of teachers' professionalism (Kelleher, 2011).

The Gendering of Teaching

Gender differentiation is based on social processes that create new differences and define them as masculine or feminine traits. The gendering of work is associated with segregation in employment, horizontal and vertical, and refers to gender differentiation: the degree to which men and women do different work and how certain occupations, sectors and industries are deemed appropriate for a specific gender (Reskin and Padavic, 1994; Jacobs, 1995). This *gendering* is based on the association of seemingly feminine and masculine traits with the occupation and these assumptions can be different in different societies based on religion, traditions and cultural norms (Reskin and Padavic, 1994). Although gender differentiation is

powerful, its manifestation can shift over time (Oram, 1996). Teaching, like other occupations, has been structured, changed and organised by gender.

Historically, the teaching profession was considered an exclusively 'male profession' in some Western countries (Lortie, 1975; Schmuck, 1987; Jordan 2011). Teaching was considered as men's work because of its association with masculine notions such as career development, professional training, opportunities to exercise leadership and a profession only for people with academic capability (Oram, 1996). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, schooling became compulsory (Gaskell and Mullen, 2006) which stimulated the expansion of the education sector and improvement in women's education (Albisetti, 1993). The demand for teachers attracted young women to become teachers and their gradual increase in the profession gendered it in a complex way. Oram (1996: 14) explained:

Teaching was first of all a masculine profession, which involved notions of training, intellectual work, public service and some approximation to professional material reward. At the same time, teaching was associated with the feminine sphere of working with children and involvement in their nurturing and upbringing. Women teachers were public employees, but in a maternal role. Thus the woman teacher was in the unusual and contradictory position of being both a *woman* and a *professional*.

The combination of masculine and feminine traits made teaching attractive for women. It offered them the masculine privileges of undertaking public service and being paid for the work and of showing their intellectual abilities. At the same time, interaction with children made teaching feminine and socially respectable for young women. The shortage of male teachers during and after the Second World War provided opportunity for women to gain a larger presence in the profession, specifically at the primary level (Albisetti, 1993) and further developed the process of feminisation of the profession. In the second half of the twentieth century women were encouraged to participate in the labour market (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). However, domestic responsibility and child rearing was still considered to be a woman's 'real' work:

...messages being received by women regarding work and employment were contradictory. On the one hand, slow moves were in progress towards their treatment (in principle) as equal 'citizens' in the market place. On the other,

mothers (and most women are actual or potential mothers) were repeatedly being told that their real 'work' lay at home in caring for their children (Ibid, 52).

In this context, where women started to participate in paid employment but their 'real' work was still perceived to be care of their family, teaching was considered an ideal profession for young women. It was seen as an extension of their 'real' work that gave them opportunity to take part in paid employment and at the same time helped them in the preparation for motherhood (Strober and Tyck, 1980). It developed the social construct that the characteristics required to be a good mother – 'nurturance, patience and understanding of children' - made women better teachers than men (Strober and Tyck, 1980: 496). Therefore, primary teaching became synonymous with constructs of 'female' and 'mother' (Smith, 2004).

Contemporary research considers teaching as a feminised profession which attracts more women around the world and explores the way in which this profession is related to traditional female gender roles (Gaskell and Mullen, 2006; Drudy, 2008; Jordan, 2011). The teaching profession, particularly the teaching of young children, is now associated at cultural and societal levels with the feminine role of domesticity, care giving and nurturing (Kelleher, 2011). Studies provide evidence of the relationship between the increased participation of women in teaching and the impact of gender roles in different countries on teachers' recruitment.

Cortina and Roman (2006) argued that the expectation for women teachers to show their maternal qualities is underpinned by religious institutions. They compiled case studies of different Latin American countries and emphasised that the Catholic Church provides the foundations for the beliefs of social structures and traditional gender roles. Based on these beliefs, in countries such as Costa Rica and Mexico women are presumed to join teaching in order to contribute maternal qualities as a 'social mother'. The concepts of femininity and masculinity are strongly institutionalised in terms of career choice (Johnston, Mackeown and Mcewen, 1999). Views about the sexual division of labour remain strong even among the minority of men who choose to work in primary level teaching. They view primary teaching as suited to females and as a male they might have to confront societal negativity of working with young children.

The perception that primary teaching is a woman's job and related to the mother's role is a main issue for the low levels of men choosing to be teachers in the UK (Drudy *et al.*, 2005;

Drudy, 2008). There are studies that show that male teachers have to define themselves differently from their female counterparts. Therefore, to perpetuate masculinity, male teachers are viewed as disciplinarians, which is a highly valued attribute in teaching (Francis and Skelton, 2001; Hjalmarsson and Löfdahl, 2014). Despite teaching being female-dominated work, female teachers are not considered capable enough 'to meet children's needs of masculine coded values and actions' (Hjalmarsson and Löfdahl, 2014: 281). Hence, there is a rising need of male teachers which is visible through recent recruitment drives to attract male teachers in the UK (Brownhill, 2014). Warin (2014), however, argued that to change the employment pattern in teaching and to promote equality, the focus should be on the value of caring work. Instead of encouraging men to enter teaching the emphasis should be on giving due reward to early childcare and education so as to transform the dominance of hegemonic masculinity (Skelton, 2002).

There is an inherent paradox in the contemporary discussion of the gendering of teaching. On the one hand, teaching is associated with feminine traits and considered as 'women's work'. The female-dominance, however, is questioned and female teachers have been considered incapable of being role models for certain groups. On the other hand, men are encouraged to join teaching for their supposed masculine function complementing female teachers (Hjalmarsson and Löfdahl, 2014). Despite doing the same job, women and men teachers are supposedly required in the job for different reasons and have different employment experiences which raises questions such as how do they perceive their roles in teaching differently? Do the presumed gender differences influence the perceptions of women and men teachers regarding the occupational status of teachers?

Teaching and Professionalism

Professionalism is an important concept to discuss in relation to the gendering of work and the feminisation of teaching. It is significant to explore the occupational status of teachers and ultimately women teachers. There has been much research that discusses the status of teaching as a profession (Inlow, 1956; Drudy and Lynch, 1993; Drudy, 2008; Ingersoll and Perda, 2008) and categorises it as a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969; Grim and Stern, 1974; Bolton and Muzio, 2008).

Etzioni (1969) described teaching as a 'semi-profession' because it has tight external control, involves a caring role and attracts a high proportion of women. In contrast, it is argued that 'professionalism' requires a sufficiently developed knowledge base and specialised skills, and

that the practice of teaching possesses these characteristics to achieve the status of a 'profession' (Bruke, 1992; Ingersoll and Perda, 2008). Bolton and Muzio (2008) noted that teaching is different from the 'established' profession of law and the 'aspiring' profession of management. It will stay as a semi-profession because compared to other professions it offers low income, prestige and autonomy, which are prominent features of 'professionalism'.

.... without the attachment to the rational, objective, goal-centred masculine model of professional projects, teaching will remain a semi-profession and women teachers will remain consigned to the role of surrogate mother rather than that of the professional educator (Bolton and Muzio, 2008: 293).

'Professionalism' comes from occupational control and authority that some occupations do not exercise (Johnson, 1972). Similarly, 'professionals' are those people who apply considerable control over the services they offer. Teachers are controlled by management in comparison to other professionals such as doctors, accountants and lawyers, who have more control over their time, duties and income (Lortie, 1975; Drudy, 2008). Particularly school teachers are controlled by the administration through bureaucratic procedures and they are physically separated in their work from colleagues. Their work is mainly with students in their own classes. This can hold back their collective power and authority over administration and management (Drudy, 2008). According to this perspective, limited teachers' autonomy can influence teachers' professionalism.

Bolton and Muzio (2008) argued that the 'soft skills' that are required to be a successful teacher - particularly at the primary level - are assumed to be natural for women, making teaching a feminised professional project. The features of professionalism such as income, prestige and autonomy change in female-dominated and male-dominated areas of teaching. For example, in a majority of countries primary teaching is largely feminised with lower occupational status compared to the male-dominated arena of academia (Ibid: 292). Similarly, in China, the association of teaching with femininity is the main cause of its lower social status (Fu, 2000). The patriarchal society of China only attributes high social status and compensation to male-dominated occupations. As teaching is a female-oriented occupation it has low regard in society:

Chinese society is deeply influenced by traditional feudal culture; and the concept of "male superiority and female inferiority" is deeply entrenched in the minds of

many citizens. Subconsciously, they look down on the ways of life and habits of women, and particularly women's occupations (Ibid: 42).

Research that considers teaching as a 'semi-profession' fails to acknowledge that the categorisations of professions is based on a functionalist perspective and has been created and applied to male-oriented jobs. Following on from this, Witz (1992: 60) commented:

It is paradoxical that the functionalist paradigm of profession within which the semi-professions thesis is located has been largely displaced, but the semi-professions thesis lingers on.

The concept of 'ideal profession' and 'professionals' have been associated with masculine traits including control, authority, and achievement. Therefore, application of such concepts to a female-dominated occupation is complex. The characteristics of professions are based on the orthodox distinction of men's work in the public sphere and women's work in the private sphere (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). Hence, women are segregated into occupations associated with feminine attributes (caring work) with lower value. This development makes it important to pay attention to the association between the gendering of work in societies and the influence on occupational status perceptions. However, Lockwood (1986: 21) denied such association and instead argued that:

It is the position of an occupation within some hierarchy of authority that is decisive for its status and not the sex of the person who happens to be in it.

Lockwood's argument is true to a certain extent because it is not the sex but the socially constructed *gender* and associations of work with masculinity and femininity which impacts on an occupation's status (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). Occupations which have been stereotyped as 'female work', especially the 'caring' professions including nursing and the teaching of young children, have poor prospects and lower return and are considered lower in the occupational hierarchy (Ltimar and Ozga, 2010).

Feminisation of the teaching profession conveys a strong picture of occupational segregation based on gender (Bolton and Muzio, 2008). The trends of gender stratification are as old as the feminisation process and still prevail in the education sector in most countries (Acker, 1998). In countries including the UK, Ireland, Germany Hungary, Italy, Sweden, Austria, Czech Republic, Brazil, Argentina, Philippines, Russia and Israel, 80 percent or more of the teachers of primary level education are females. Secondary level education is more gender

balanced (OECD, 1998). For example, in the UK, women comprise 84 percent of teachers at primary level and they decrease to 55 percent at the secondary level (DfES, 2005). In contrast, post-secondary and college level teaching have better representation of men (Gaskell and Mullen, 2006). The status of the profession in terms of pay, prestige and autonomy also gradually improves with the level of teaching. This perpetuates the gendered division of labour, feminine role of nurturing young children and masculine role as an educator in academia (Bolton and Muzio, 2008).

Despite under-representation of men, at some education levels there is a hierarchical imbalance. Men dominate senior managerial positions at all levels of teaching regardless of levels of women's representation (Grant, 1989; Gaskell and Mullen, 2006; Bolton and Muzio, 2008; OECD, 1998). For example, in the UK only 15 percent of men work in nursery and primary level education whereas 37 percent of the school heads at this level are males (Department of Education and Skills (DfES), 2005). In secondary teaching, 55 percent of teachers are female. However, more than two thirds of school principals are male (DfES, 2005). Similar patterns are observed at other levels of education; men are more likely to occupy the top positions, men get the privilege of being in the minority and enjoy career progression faster than women (Coleman, 2002).

Unlike women, who struggle to be defined as 'women' in male dominated arenas or are offered 'glass cliff' positions with high risks of failure, men are treated as 'special', are given more challenging work, are offered more developmental opportunities and are thus able to ride a 'glass escalator' rarely available to women in either male or female dominated occupations (Bolton and Muzio, 2008: 292).

Teaching has become less attractive for men due to low wages as compared to other professions (Wylie, 2000) and it holds less prestige for men than women due to its association with femininity (Drudy *et al.*, 2005).

Teaching is considered a feminised profession in a majority of western countries and labelled as a 'semi-profession'. The 'semi-profession' thesis is based on a functionalist perspective on professions, which only considers male-dominated professional projects as successful professions. Witz (1992: 60) described this argument in a very simple way:

...because women are not men, 'semi-professions' are not professions.

The emphasis should not be on developing hierarchies or categories of occupations. Rather the focus should be on value associated with masculinity and femininity in society and its influence on gender inequalities.

In an attempt to explore the feminisation of teaching in western countries, this section has touched on both gender and social class issues while discussing the expansion of the education sector in the late nineteenth century, particularly in the UK, USA and Canada. Compared to these countries, the notion of the feminisation of teaching is relatively new in many developing countries where the expansion of the education sector has been more recent. Women's employment in teaching has recent origins in these countries. For example, in Sri Lanka, women started to join the teaching profession in the mid-twentieth century. However, after independence from British Rule and the Ordinance of Compulsory Education in the late 1940's, women's participation increased significantly. In 1971, almost 53 percent of teachers were female and the proportion increased to 60 percent by 1985. Currently, women make up more than 70 percent of teachers at primary and secondary levels (Kelleher, 2011). Similar trends are seen in other South Asian countries including Pakistan.

These studies of the feminisation of teaching have highlighted that despite similar trends of inclusion of women in teaching through expansion of the education sector and the gendering of teaching, the patterns, extent and impact of feminisation depend upon a number of issues. These include gender, social class, culture and political context. The interaction of these social relations should be analysed at successive levels (societal and household), as is done in this thesis, to capture their influence on women's employment patterns (Rubery and Fagan, 1995). The emphasis should be on the context while utilising the feminisation framework, because similar trends of occupational segregation can have diverse outcomes in terms of status, pay and career opportunities (Ibid: 233).

Conclusion

This chapter has set out a framework for the analysis of gender and employment, illuminating the dichotomies between individual choice and social/structural constraints. Hakim's (2002) suggestion that gender segregation is an outcome of women's lifestyle choices ignores gender relations within the household and beyond. In contrast, Bradley (1999) argued that gender differences in employment are driven from economic inequalities and reproductive relations. The issue for this thesis is the relevance of gender segregation theories, developed in western

socio-economic and historic context, in teaching in Pakistan. This problem has been addressed by some of the feminist literature in which emphasis is placed on analysing gender segregation in a wider context (Rubery and Fagan, 1995; Bradley, 1999). It has suggested that a multi-dimensional analysis is important to fully comprehend inclusion and exclusion of women and occupational segregation (Bradley, 1999; Evetts, 2000). Such analysis emphasises the agency of men and women and the decisions they make about their careers but analyses them in the wider organisational, social and political context. Moreover, the analysis should apprehend the interaction between individual agency, organisational barriers, social relations and the role of the state in determining men's and women's position in paid employment.

The changing patterns of women's employment point towards the shift from exclusion to the inclusion of women in certain occupations which make it crucial to analyse the quality of employment in these occupations. For example, the expansion of the education sector in western countries created higher demand for teachers and paved the way for women to join teaching and the incorporation of so-called feminine traits. Historically and culturally developed notions of masculinity and femininity play an important role in sex-typing and the gendering of the professions (Davies, 1996). The interaction of professions with the state along with the gendering process shapes the hierarchical position of jobs or occupations and rewards. This chapter has highlighted limitations of the analyses of gendered professional projects and subsequent classification of 'established' and 'semi- professions'. Teaching has been variably ascribed profession and semi-profession status (Drudy, 2008; Bolton and Muzio, 2008).

While taking account of the changing nature of professions and their interaction with the external environment, such as national labour markets, social relations and workers characteristics, it is proposed to analyse the quality of employment rather than the professional status of occupations with an increasing number of women. Such analyses would allow incorporation of the evaluation of gender and its interaction with required credentials, autonomy of employees, pay conditions and career advancement opportunities without declaring an occupation a 'profession' or a 'semi-profession'.

The next chapter builds upon this discussion of gender and occupational segregation and feminisation of teaching in the context of Pakistan. It evaluates the application of western theories in the context of Pakistan and analyses changing patterns of women's employment, particularly in the teaching profession.

Chapter 3: Gender, Employment, and the Education Sector in Pakistan

Introduction

This chapter analyses women's roles in society, the economy, in education and its delivery in Pakistan and how these are influenced by the state, religion and gender relations. It further analyses the historic and political context of education provision along with gender and employment in the public and private education sectors in Pakistan. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section evaluates the application of mainstream western gender segregation theories (discussed in chapter two) to the context of Pakistan. It utilises a theoretical framework which is sensitive to some of the constraints on individual's employment choices posed by policies and laws, culture, organisational practices and gender relations. Following sections elaborate on the framework by suggesting the interaction between different actors and factors influencing individual employment choices. The second section focuses on the state and women's societal status in Pakistan, with attention to the influence of religious fundamental ideology in state policy. The third section provides an historical overview of the political context of education, the sector's nationalisation and the subsequent liberalisation of education provision. The fourth section discusses the trends of women's employment in teaching while highlighting the uneven feminisation of the public and private education sectors in Pakistan. The final section turns to the state's role in regulating educational institutions and matters of teachers' qualification and pay in the public sector. The chapter contextualises the interview data gathered among teachers in Lahore by providing an introduction to the structures, institutions and actors at the state and organisational levels which impinge on 'situated activity' at individual level (Healy *et al.*, 2006: 292).

Gender Segregation and Women's Employment in Pakistan

Horizontal and vertical gender segregation and lower wages for women, as in most countries, have been prevalent in the labour market of Pakistan (Strachan *et al.*, 2015; Ali, 2010; Khan, 2007). For example, more than half of the women with paid work are employed in agriculture or manufacturing and these two sectors mainly provide low-paid jobs for women. Women are involved in all agricultural activities but their participation is higher compared to men in repetitive and time consuming jobs near to their homes, such as plant weeding, seed cleaning, drying and storage of crops. Men tend to do tasks with pronounced physical labour such as

land preparation and distant activities such as marketing and transporting crops (Sadaquat and Sheikh, 2011). According to the Labour Force Survey (2015) the average monthly wage for women in the agricultural sector is almost one third less than the average wage for men in the same sector. With regards to manufacturing, Siddiqui *et al.* (2003) pointed out that the growth of female labour in the sector is taking place outside regular factory employment. Employers deliberately offer women temporary and contractual employment in manufacturing and exploit them with low wages and precarious work. In addition, Siddiqui *et al.* (2003) argued that female labour is concentrated in a few occupations and industries, those offering low pay. The pattern is linked with social class background. A majority of women from lower social class backgrounds with low literacy rates enter low skilled and low-paid jobs in agricultural and manufacturing sectors (Khan, 2007). The now female-dominated education sector also portrays segregation and a gender wage gap. The average wage for men in this sector is around Rs. 28,000 whereas for women it is approximately Rs. 17,000 (Labour Force Survey, 2015). This demonstrates male-privilege within the female-dominated occupations.

The evidence shows that the labour market in Pakistan is highly segregated and women are concentrated in low paid occupations (Nasir, 2005; Jafree *et al.*, 2015). This raises the question of whether women choose to work in underpaid occupations or are consigned to them. Is it the choice of individuals to select a suitable occupation or do other factors influence these choices? These questions have been raised and addressed by mainstream gender and occupational segregation theories (discussed in chapter 2). However, these theories have been developed and applied in western contexts and it is important to analyse the application of these theories in other contexts, particularly in a Muslim country such as Pakistan.

The *individualistic* perspective on work choices conceptualises that women's employment patterns are the result of their *preferences*. For example, Hakim (1996; 2002) classified women into three categories (home-centred, adaptive and work-centred) based on their work-life preferences. Preference theory has been substantially critiqued by many researchers even in the western context (see chapter 2). However, its application in the context of Pakistan has been problematic due to context specific issues. Hakim (1996) argued that a majority of women prefer an adaptive lifestyle and work part-time. In Pakistan, availability of job-sharing and part-time work in formal employment is limited. The Labour Force Survey (2015) shows that the mean average of working hours per week is 47 in Pakistan with men working around 51 hour and women 35 hours per week. Whereas, in urban areas, the difference between

men's and women's working hours is less with on average women working 40 hours per week. Although the average weekly working hours are lower for women than men, it is difficult to conclude that it is a result of women's unconstrained preference.

A number of studies show that there are various demand and supply-side factors impacting women's employment choices in Pakistan (Kazi and Raza, 1999; Khan, 2007; Nasir, 2005; Ali, 2000; Mirza, 1999). On the supply-side, culture and religion play an important role in determining men's and women's roles in society and the household, consequently shaping the employment choices of individuals and gender segregation in the labour market. On the demand-side, in Pakistan's labour market women are rewarded as secondary earners and as a result segregated into jobs which are low-paid and for which men have the least preference (Siddiqui and Hamid, 2003).

In the context of Pakistan, it is argued that education and qualifications play a vital role in determining the extent of occupational choice for men and women (Naqvi and Shahnaz, 2002; Nasir, 2005). To some degree the explanation is valid because of the uneven access to basic education and vocational training due to gender and social class. The literacy rate for women in Pakistan (50%) is much lower than men's (70%) (Labour Force Survey, 2015). Nasir (2005) argued that investment in human capital increases the chances for women to be paid and productive members of society. However, the studies developing a correlation between human capital and women's employment choices do not provide any explanation for gender disparity in terms of access to education. Why is the literacy rate higher for men than for women in Pakistan?

Many researchers in Pakistan have attempted to explain gender inequality in employment in terms of access to education and employment opportunities by highlighting male-dominance and patriarchal relations in society (Isran and Isran, 2012; Rashid, 2011; Azhar, 2009; Gazdar, 2003; Jejeebhoy and Sathar, 2001; Moghadam, 1992). It is argued that patriarchal structures and male-dominance in Pakistan stem from the interaction of religion, tradition and cultural norms (Gazdar, 2003; Isran and Isran, 2012). The two main aspects of patriarchal relations which restrict women's employment choices are gender segregation of spaces and the sexual division of household labour. First, separate worlds have been created for men and women through gender-segregated spheres or the public-private dichotomy (Gazdar, 2003; Syed, 2010). Women are supposed to spend most of their time in the private sphere or in other words the 'four walls of her house' and venturing out into the public sphere is mainly on

condition of invisibility (veil) (Gazdar, 2003). Female employment, particularly where women have to socially interact with men, has been considered disgraceful for the 'honour' of the male family members (Mirza, 1999). Second, the male breadwinner model still applies in the context of Pakistan. Although there has been a decline in the male breadwinner models in most of the western countries (Crompton, 1999; Lewis, 2001), the sexual division of paid and domestic work persists in Pakistan where men are deemed responsible for economic provision while women are responsible for unpaid domestic work (Isran and Isran, 2012; Ahmed and Hyder, 2008; Mirza, 1999).

The structuralist analysis of the patriarchal system in Pakistan restricts analysis of women's agency and changing context. It is important to analyse how traditional forms of gender relations interact with social, political and economic change and how the role of women in employment is evolving. There is no doubt that gender relations impact women's choices of paid work in Pakistan. The segregation of spaces and sexual division of work has an impact on the mobility of female labour. Ali (2000) argued that even highly qualified women remain unemployed due to scarce job opportunities within the close proximity of their residence. Women's lack of mobility is often related to their domestic responsibilities or proper travelling arrangements (Ibid). Moreover, to venture out for employment women have to seek permission from the head of the household, particularly their father, brother or husband (Isran and Isran, 2012; Syed, 2008).

Gender is one of the most powerful social relations which influences the everyday lives of men and women in Pakistan (Grünenfelder, 2013). However, gender relations correspond with social class, economic and political context and religious interpretations (Ibid). These factors influence the extent of women's autonomy regarding employment in Pakistan. For example, a U-shaped relationship has been established between the income level of the household and women's participation in paid work (Mohiuddin, 1991). This implies that participation in paid employment is higher for both women with elite and with lower socio-economic class backgrounds. Women from low income households have to work in order to meet their daily living needs and cannot afford to fulfil the ideals of veiling and gender segregation of spaces. Women from an elite social class background with access to higher education become a minority in the male-dominated occupations. It is women from middle class backgrounds who are less likely to participate in paid employment. However, more recent research shows that the latest economic crisis and the high inflation rate in Pakistan are influencing middle class women's participation in the labour market (Bibi and Afzal, 2012).

Gender relations in Pakistan are influenced by religious beliefs and practices (Gazdar, 2003). An Islamic society is never monolithic and there are various practices and interpretations of the religion (Mernissi, 1987). These variations have resulted in distinct concepts of female modesty and role in society (Syed, 2010; Syed, 2008; Shaheed, 1995). It is important to note that the state, culture and local traditions play an important role in the interpretations and enactment of Islam. Syed (2008) argued that Islam has a two-way relationship with politics and local culture. Islam influence politics and culture but in turn is also influenced by them. Hence, the interaction of religion, politics and culture and their impact on women's economic activity and employment choices are significant areas for investigation.

The influence of religion, culture and politics in Pakistan signifies that institutions and processes need to be analysed as these may vary in different countries and within countries. It is important to take into account the contextual differences in order to capture the interplay of structural and agentic level concerns of equality (Ali, 2013; Healy and Oikelome, 2011). Human agency is influenced and shaped by structured economic and social relations and the institutions which are product of structures. At the same time, agents potentially can act innovatively and use their structurally formed abilities to transform the very structures (Sewell, 1992). Healy and Oikelome (2011: 4) argued that:

...researchers should be sensitive to the effect of structural conditions on actions and motivations of actors and importantly, and interrelated, the way actors themselves act on and reproduce or transform structures at different levels.

As recommended by Rubery and Fagan (1995), this study proposes to analyse gender and employment patterns with an appreciation of societal context. This thesis proposes a conceptualisation to analyse the range of factors constraining individuals' employment choices in Pakistan. The framework emphasises the production and reproduction relations (Bradley, 1999) in a wider political and cultural context. Figure 3 summarises the interaction of social relations, structures and cultural factors constraining the employment choices of individuals in Pakistan. This conceptualisation can be analysed at the state and societal level analysis to the experiences of individuals. It addresses the questions such as: to what extent are women's choices and preferences driven by the political and economic context along with cultural norms and expectations? How do the state, cultural norms and religion interact with gender relation and organisational structures to influence individual's occupational choices?

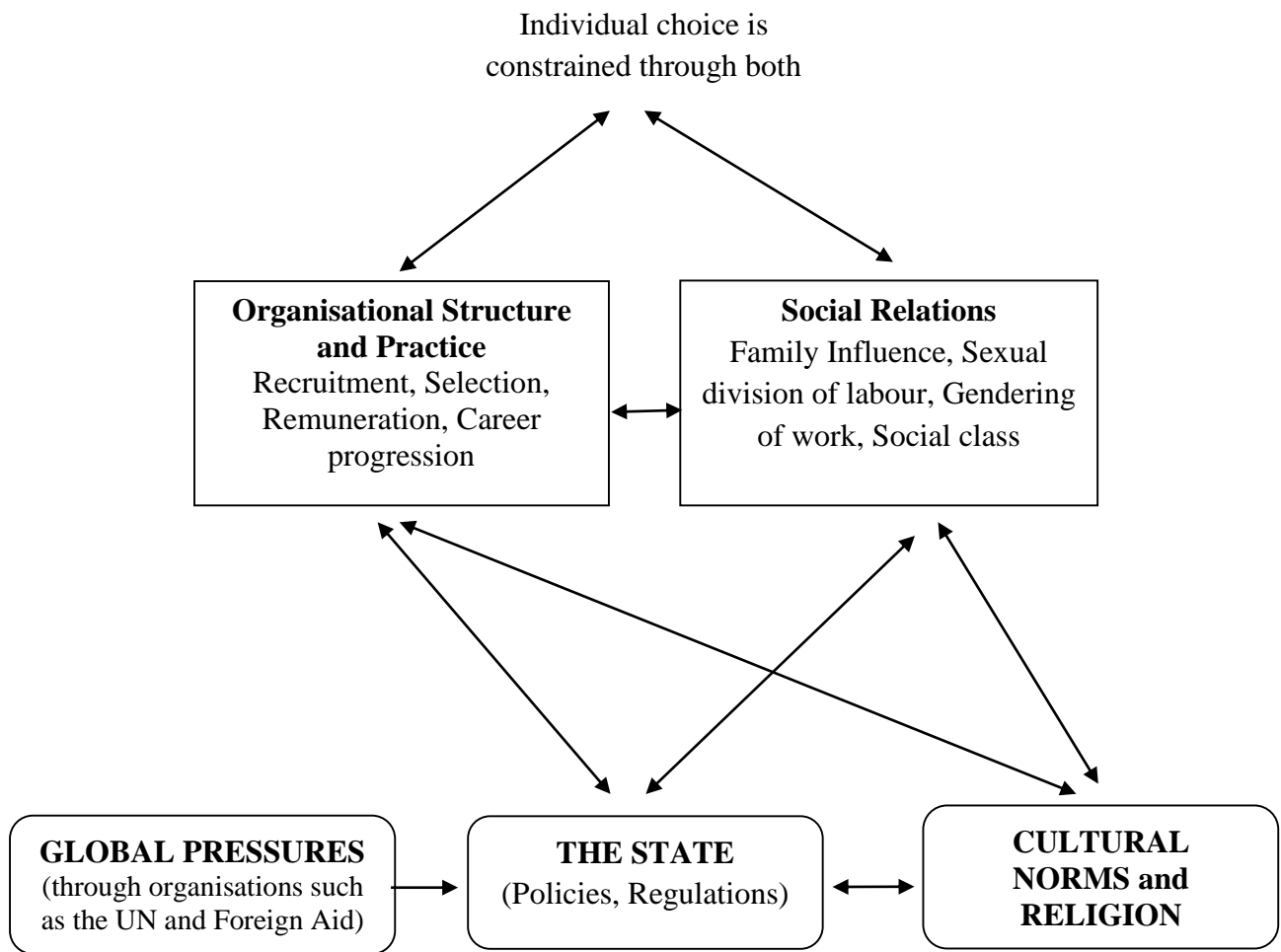


Figure 3: A conceptualisation of constraints on the employment choices of individuals in Pakistan

The following sections of this chapter elaborate on this conceptual framework, considering interactions between the state, cultural norms, religion, influencing gender relations within the household and the labour market.

The State, Religion and Women’s Agency

This section concerns the interaction at macro-level between the state and religion and how this influences women’s role in society and employment. Religion has a significant impact on women’s lives in Pakistan (Gazdar, 2003; Syed, 2008). The interaction of religion and the state has a direct impact on policies relevant for women’s participation in the public sphere (Ali, 2013). Since the independence movement, *Islam* has been used by the political leaders to advance political interests with direct impact on the role and visibility of women in society.

This section discusses how the state and religion influence women's social status and employment. In addition, it discusses the advancement of women's rights and women's agency in Pakistan.

Islamisation and the status of women

Major setbacks for women's rights were observed in the decade from 1977, during the rule of Zia-ul-Haq. During this time, a unique consensus was formed between Pakistan's army⁴, fundamentalist religious groups⁵ and the bourgeois⁶ in society. This coalition proved fatal for women's slow but steady progress towards gender equality. To legitimise his rule, Zia declared himself 'divinely ordained' to make Pakistan a pure Islamic state and he proclaimed the previous government 'un-Islamic' and subsequently hanged Z. A. Bhutto (Jalal, 1991; Jafar, 2005). He started the campaign of *Islamisation* (Jilani, 1986; Jamal, 2005), and to show immediate and visible 'return' to *Islam* he targeted women. He introduced various social and legal policies to combat supposed 'Westernisation' and 'un-Islamic' practices in Pakistan. The foremost issue was the visibility of women in the public sphere. Along with the rightist religious fundamentalist groups, Zia advocated the controversial policy of '*chadar aur char devari*' which can be translated as 'the veil and four walls' for women. The notion was to promote the mentality that women's real place is in the home within four walls and they are not capable of the same thoughts and rationality as men. They are dependent on men and their role is limited to housework and to please their spouses (Rouse, 1988). It suggested that women working outside the home was a Western and anti-Islamic practice and it took Pakistan back to the patriarchal social structure which women had fought hard to diminish. The government passed orders that all women working in the public sector had to wear the national dress⁷ with long sleeves and cover their heads with the *chadar* (veil). The women who refused to abide by the new dress code lost their jobs. The orders applied to the national television as well and overnight the accepted appearance of women changed all over the

⁴ Z. A. Bhutto, the 9th Prime Minister of Pakistan was ousted by the Chief of Army Staff General Zia-ul-Haq in a military coup

⁵ The religious fundamentalist political parties like *Jamaat-e-Islami* were previously politically active but have never been supported by the public to be elected as majority for the public office. Due to Bhutto's liberal approach towards Islam, religious groups resisted his policies. Zia's rule gave these religious group powers under dictatorship which these parties were never able to get under democratic rules.

⁶ The bourgeois lost their businesses due to preceding government's nationalisation policy and they developed alliances with Zia's government in order to claim back their assets. For example the current Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief became politically active in the late 70's in order to regain control of his family's steel industry which was nationalised under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime. He was proponent of Zia's regime and became the Chief Minister of Punjab in 1985.

⁷ The national dress for women was *Shalwar Kameez* (long shirt and loose trousers with big scarf). Zia not only banned western dress for women but also told women to discard the popular local South Asian dress *sari*.

country. Other social policies to *Islamise* the state and to make women victims of their own religion were the ban on women's sports teams participating in international leagues, the ban on women working for the national foreign services, and restrictions on banks' recruitment of women employees (Ghosh, 2007).

Zia in his public addresses urged people to reform themselves according to Islam and also reform their neighbours to achieve collective change. He created an atmosphere of communal vigilantism and the main victims were again the women visible in the public spaces (Jafar, 2005). Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987:72) argued that

...it appeared to be giving everyone the license to pass judgement on the "morality" of people in public spaces, the prime indicator of which seemed to be women's apparel and presence.

This situation extended and strengthened the patriarchal social structure. Traditionally men were only able to exercise their control and power over women in their family but Zia gave them authority to 'reform' any women visible in the public sphere and eliminate 'un-Islamic' behaviour in society (Haqqani, 2013). There were no limits to defining 'un-Islamic' behaviours. For women, it started from covering their heads and included any interaction with men, to be outspoken, to drive a car, to have a career, to disobey men or show difference of opinion to men in any matter was considered 'un-Islamic' (Jafar, 2005).

The victims of Zia's social reform were mainly upper and middle class urban women who were educated and actively participating in the labour market. The state did not enforce, the '*chadar and char devari*' policy, on poor rural women who were working hard in the agricultural sector alongside men. The *Hudood Ordinance*⁸, however, mainly affected women from lower social class and poor family backgrounds. The victims who were charged and sentenced under these laws mainly belonged to small towns or rural areas and had poor family backgrounds. Therefore, Zia's regime pushed women from different social backgrounds to come together and to protest against their oppression.

In 1981, the Women's Action Forum (WAF) was formed initially by middle class professional women, but later seven different women's forums endorsed it including the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) (Rouse, 1988). WAF formed a coalition with other women's

⁸ The provisions of the ordinance mainly covered offences related to property (theft and robbery), fornication, *zina* (adultery) and *zina-bil-jabr* (rape) and emphasised punishments such as amputating hands, public lashings and flogging to death (Jalal, 1991)

groups and struggled for basic human rights for all women in Pakistan. It worked for the right of physical security, education, employment, choice of marital status and to eliminate sexual discrimination (Rouse, 1988). WAF submitted to Zia-ul-Haq a petition based on issues impacting women. It was signed by 1000 women between October and December 1981. The cold response from the state led the WAF to organise symposia, workshops and awareness campaigns on a range of issues. These activities were conducted for women from various social backgrounds and covered issues such as inflation, law and women's rights, crime against women, women's health, education and employment (Rouse, 1988).

In February 1983, WAF along with the Women Lawyers' Association arranged a protest in front of the Lahore High Court against the discriminatory laws. It was reported that 300 to 500 women gathered to present a memorandum against these Laws to the Chief of Justice. The peaceful protest changed into a devastating incident when around 500 police men and women baton charged the activists. Many women were injured and arrested by the state police (Taimur-ul-Hassan, 2010). The protest showed that women would not silently accept the institutionalisation of sexual discrimination.

In Zia's reign women's activism had its consequences. After the major protest in 1983, state officials publically declared that women should seek 'God's pardon' for participating in the protest (Taimur-ul-Hassan, 2010). The religious leaders threatened that women should be charged for blasphemy because they were protesting against Islamic ideology. Some religious figures even threatened that these women could be declared non-Muslims and their marriages would be dissolved under such circumstances. Women's movement activists faced different consequences depending on their social class background (Shaheed, 1999; Jafar, 2005). Women from privileged social backgrounds were less likely to be affected by the consequences of activism than women from lower social backgrounds. Shaheed (1999:156) argued:

For less privileged women, losing jobs was a greater danger than for upper-middle-class activists who were better equipped to handle the consequences. If jailed, poorer women were more likely to be raped (by the police) than better connected activists.

Although many of the social policies and some of the legal policies were reversed by later governments, the damage was done particularly for women in Pakistan. The *Islamisation* process stopped not only the progress of women in the country but took it backwards and

women are still struggling to cope with the drastic impact. At present, many women in Pakistan face restrictions from their families which Zia introduced in his era, such as covering their heads, not leaving their home without a male family member, limitations on driving a car, sacrificing their careers and unconditionally obeying the gendered family structures in the name of *Islam* and physical insecurity of women in Pakistan (Siddiqui, 2010). In reality it is not purely religion driving these restrictions; rather the state has manipulated religion in Pakistan to assist the supremacy of men in society (Jalal, 1991; Syed, 2008; 2010).

Advances for Women's Rights

In the first three decades after independence in 1947, the state leaders had no intention to implement the Islamic ideology and the military and democratic leadership was generally liberal. The state, however, initially ignored the issue of women's rights. The high point of the relationship between the state and women came when the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 was passed. According to this law, women were officially able to inherit agricultural property. Divorce was made more difficult for men, for second marriage men had to seek permission from the first wife, and for the first time women attained the right to initiate divorce and a system was introduced to officially register marriages (Rouse, 1988; Jalal, 1991; Ansari, 2011). The provisions of the ordinance were not revolutionary in changing women's position in the society. Yet they showed that the state can intervene in the family domain and women can have legal rights. This ordinance was a result of effective lobbying by the All Pakistan's Women's Association (APWA) and other women's groups along with demonstrations by hundreds of women in front of the President's house and the National Assembly (Jalal, 1991).

Under the constitution of Pakistan presented in 1973, equality for all citizens was the main principle of its Fundamental Rights Policy. Implementation of the constitution remains a concern even at the present time yet the 1973 constitution encouraged women's presence in the public sphere and women had better access to education and employment. In the same year, for the first time, women were accepted as candidates for 'superior' civil services including the district management group and the foreign services. Additionally, 5% of seats in the provincial assembly and 10% of seats in the national assembly were reserved for women along with the open contest for the general seats (Jalal, 1991).

The UN declared 1975 the International Women's Year and Pakistan was one of the signatory countries. Women's issues were publicly acknowledged and the attitude of society towards girls' education and women's employment started to change (Rouse, 1988). Women started to

join professions in the fields of media, music, sports and arts. Although the number of women in these professions was relatively small, these developments improved the visibility of women, particularly on national television and in public offices (Ibid). However, these changes were short lived and faced severe resistance from fundamentalist religious groups and the measures were reversed during Zia's regime.

The *Islamisation* process posed major setbacks for women's rights in Pakistan and after Zia's regime the state faced a major challenge to reverse this process. In 1988, Pakistan became the first Islamic state to have a woman Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto. One of the first things she did as Prime Minister was to release hundreds of female prisoners (Weiss, 1990). A majority of these women were from poor households and had been arrested under the *Hudood Ordinance*. For the WAF, however, Benazir Bhutto was unable to deliver on promises and presented herself as a national leader rather than an advocate of women's rights.

After more than twenty-five years of various women groups' protests and campaigns, the state amended the *Hudood Ordinance* under the Women's Protection Bill 2006. Although women and human rights activists have always demanded repeal of the laws, the biggest achievement of the Bill was to move all provision in respect to rape from the jurisdiction of Sharia Law (Jamal, 2005). The Bill also acknowledged the offence of statutory and marital rape.

The National Commission on the Status of Women was formed and in 2002 the first national policy for advancement and empowerment of women was announced (Weiss, 2012; Noreen and Musarat, 2014). This policy initiated the process of change towards social, political and economic development for women. The Devolution Plan was announced in 2001 which encouraged women's participation in local, provincial and national government. It reserved 33% of seats for women in local government and 17% of seats in the provincial and national assembly (Naz *et al.*, 2013). The Ministry of Women's Development was formed independently in 2004; previously it was merged with the Ministry of Social Welfare and Education. The Ministry raised the quota for women in the government departments including the Central Superior Services from 5% to 10%.

In 2009, the Anti-Women Practices Bill was passed which acknowledged the sufferings of women by some local customs and officially made them illegal and punishable offences (Weiss, 2012). In the same year, the Protection against Harassment for Women at the Workplace Act required public and private sector organisations to develop an internal code of conduct to provide a safe working environment for all its employees (Ibid). Moreover, it

acknowledged that sexual harassment is not just limited to the workplace but includes any public places such as parks, bus stops and markets, and along with that provided the much needed penalties for sexual harassment of women in the public sphere.

In 2012, the government took measures to revive the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW). It was granted greater autonomy and funding to review laws, to make recommendations and work towards women's rights (Weiss, 2012). These measures improved the visibility of women in the public domain. The state appointed the first woman in South Asia, Dr. Fehmida Mirza, to the position of speaker in Parliament (2008-2013). Pakistan also had the first female foreign minister (2011-2013), Hina Rabani Khar, and the first female secretary of defence (2012), Nargis Sethi.

The State, Education and the Teaching Profession

This section illustrates state policies regarding education provision and its influence on teachers' employment. Following independence, in 1947, there was an immediate growth in the number of both public and private sector schools and school teachers in Pakistan (Memon, 2007). In the public sector, due to migration many non-Muslims vacated the area so there were positions available in the state educational institutions for teachers. At the same time, many Muslim refugee families tried to establish themselves in society by founding private sector schools, the growth of which contributed to basic education provision and was seen as a service for the community (Jones and Jones, 1977).

The teaching profession at that time gained status, improved remuneration and job security due to qualified teacher shortages (Ibid). In the 1950s there was a significant increase in the enrolment of students at all levels of education. Yet the quality of public sector education was deemed to have declined because of overcrowded classes and teaching staff shortages (Khan, 1997). The private sector expanded in the absence of more exacting government regulation, and hence commercial managers of privately-owned educational institutes were free to exploit their teachers in terms of pay and rewards (Jones and Jones, 1977). The public sector was the better employer. Private sector schools were formed on a business model and paid their teachers poorly in comparison with the tuition fees they charged for each student (Hussain and Haroon, 2014).

During this period teaching was a male-dominated occupation mainly due to women's lower labour force participation and low literacy rates (Khan, 1997).

Nationalisation

There is an argument that from the mid-1960s teaching in Pakistan was de-professionalised due to political interference (e.g. Khan, 2007; Hussain and Haroon, 2014). Traditionally, teaching as a profession lacked links with politics. Teachers' associations had no explicit political goals and did not support any political party (Jones and Jones, 1977). The situation started to change when the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was founded and led by Zulifkar Ali Bhutto who started to promote socialism and claimed that since the ruling class had control over education it was already a part of politics. Jones and Jones (1977: 584) argued:

As in other societies, this has inhibited teachers' associations from taking up explicitly political goals or acting in ways that might be labelled partisan. The emerging PPP ideology cut through such inhibitions by popularizing a pseudo-Marxist notion that ruling class control over education makes it *de facto* political.

With the encouragement of the PPP many teachers' associations expressed their political interest explicitly and started to take part in the anti-Ayub⁹ movement to support the nationalisation agenda. Private college teachers formed the West Pakistan College Teachers' Association (WPLA) and allied with various private primary and secondary schools' associations. The Punjab Teachers Union (PTU) was the only recognized union with the right to strike and to have regulated legal privileges (Jones and Jones, 1977). These associations and unions demanded nationalisation and became very forceful in the 1968-69 anti-Ayub movement.

The demand for nationalisation emerged principally because of the growth of private sector education. For example, by 1966-67 in Lahore the private sector share of primary schools was 74.6% and the private sector's share of colleges was 90% (Jones and Jones, 1977). In the private sector, financial exploitation of teachers was common with fake salary structures and recruitment of teachers without formal teaching qualification. It was common for teachers to be paid a salary below that agreed in the contract they had signed (Hussain and Haroon, 2014). The basic argument for nationalisation was to standardise the education sector, to ensure all teachers working in the public and private sector had equal pay and benefits and all students had access to the same quality of teaching. From 1972, under the regime of the PPP,

⁹ The army Chief General Ayub Khan became first dictator in Pakistan after military coup. The anti-Ayub movement was the campaign to force him to resign.

all educational institutions were nationalised, as were the banking and commerce sectors, heavy industry and later small and medium sized businesses (Bokhari, 1998).

The nationalisation policy proved to be a failure due to a lack of planning, resources and proper implementation (Ibid). Initially, the majority of private sector teachers had supported the policy in the expectation of gaining higher pay, job security and the status of public sector employees. That enthusiasm was dampened, however, by the costs of nationalisation, the slow pace with which it was implemented and corrupt bureaucracy. One of the issues was the integration of public and private teachers' pay scales: it proved difficult to allocate public servants' pay grades to (erstwhile) private sector teachers because of their over-or-under qualification (Jones and Jones, 1977). The alteration of teachers' grades was not only against the reason teachers had supported nationalisation but it also led teaching towards *de-professionalisation*. Teachers had demanded nationalisation to upgrade the status of members in the private sector but restructuring of their ranks reduced the status of all teachers as a whole. In May and June 1974, before the annual exam period, teachers' associations and unions reunited and called strikes which instigated a complete shutdown of educational institutions. The provincial governments across Pakistan started negotiations with each teachers' association and reached agreement with the majority of associations particularly in Punjab (Ibid).

Liberalisation

Zia-ul-Haq apparently opposed westernisation but he welcomed western neo-liberal policies into Pakistan (Bano, 2007). His government reversed the nationalisation policies introduced by Bhutto and offered former owners the return of their management of the establishments. In 1978, the government encouraged private investment in the education sector. Today's large private sector school chains - such as the Beaconhouse School System and The City School – date from that time. These schools currently have over 100 branches in various cities of Pakistan and also operate school branches overseas.

Along with liberalisation, during this period there was a drastic shift towards Islamic education through changes to the National Curriculum and through massive growth in the number of *Madaris* (religious schools) (Rouse, 1988). The Islamization strategy was introduced in the backdrop of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1976. The USA's attempt to gain an alliance with Pakistan provided Zia-ul-Haq with 5.6 billion dollars in economic and military assistance (Bonosky, 1985). The US administration also supported

Afghan *Jihadis* (Islamic warriors) through Pakistan's Army (Bonosky, 1985). Therefore, Islamist groups were officially supported by Pakistan's government. As part of the *Islamisation* process, the Zia regime reordered the education sector according to Islamic doctrines, and gave political and fiscal patronage to the *madrassa* sector. The religious schools expanded rapidly and for the first time government started to financially support them (Rouse, 1988). The significant change in the National Education Policy was the intensive introduction of Islamic thought in the curriculum. The aim of the policy was to raise profound and unshakable loyalty to *Islam* (Khan, 1997).

In 2000, under the leadership of the Federal Minister of Education, an Education Advisory Board was formed which proposed Education Sector Reforms (ESR). After the attack on the Twin Towers the link between international terrorist organisations and Pakistan's religious education system came under intense scrutiny (International Crisis Group, 2004). The failure of public schools to absorb the millions of children who are forced to join the *Madaris* for lack of a better alternative came into the lime-light internationally (International Crisis Group, 2004). An important agenda for the ESR reforms was to regulate the *Madaris* in order to turn Pakistan into a modern Islamic state. Once again the US Government provided almost one hundred million dollars over five years to support the ESR (US Agency for International Development, 2005). Other espoused aims for the reforms were universal education, progress towards gender equality and improvement in the overall quality of education (Kronstadt, 2004). To achieve the objectives one of the strategies was to encourage public- private partnerships. The government encouraged private sector investment in the expansion of the education sector, which created a demand for teachers. There was a significant increase in the participation of women teachers, parallel to the reforms and expansion of the education sector (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

In April 2010, the 18th Amendment of the Constitution of Pakistan was passed by the National Assembly. Along with other political amendments, a new article 25A was introduced which stated that it is the responsibility of the state to provide free and compulsory education to children from age 5 to 16 years. The education policies nonetheless remained focused on public-private partnerships to achieve the goals for the EFA. The amendment also led to devolution of the education sector by abolishing the Federal Ministry of Education and transferring the autonomy to provincial authorities (Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2011).

Since 1988, the state has encouraged private investment in the education sector under the neo-liberal policy agenda. As a consequence, every National Education Policy has promoted public-private partnerships as a policy action (Shami and Hussain, 2006). Yet the state has not been able to adequately regulate and monitor private sector education. In 1984, the Punjab Government introduced a Punjab Private Educational Institution (Promotion and Regulation) Ordinance. This provided the regulations for setting up a private institution and covered issues such as the registration of institutions, fee structure and teachers resourcing. The ordinance, however, does not prescribe any monitoring role for the state once the institution is set up and there is no clear system of penalties if a private sector institution has not been able to abide by the regulations. Hence, regulation and monitoring mechanisms are limited and ambiguous in the private sector (Fielden and LaRocque, 2008).

Collective Agency

The state and the trade unions have been in a bitter relationship particularly under the military regimes. All military regimes in Pakistan have developed close military and monetary ties with the USA government and international donor agencies, particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Such ties perpetuated anti-workers economic and political policies (NTUF, 2013). The first military regime of General Ayub Khan banned all political, student, professional and trade union federations under Martial Law Orders (Chandland, 2007). Similar bans were placed on teachers' unions. General Zia-ul-Haq's regime banned all primary and secondary teachers' unions (Afridi, 2013). In 2006, General Musharraf, under IRO (2002), banned all teachers' unions in the Sindh province (Khan, 2007). Teachers in Pakistan have always protested against the privatisation policies and the right to unionisation and these restrictions were to ensure the smooth implementation of the state's liberalisation policies.

Women in Pakistan have played a significant part in the independence movement and campaigned strongly against Zia's *Islamisation* policies. In contrast, women's participation in the trade unions is not very promising. According to the National Trade Union Federation (NTUF), in 2007, the total number of unions was 7530 with approximately 1.3 million memberships and an ILO (2012) press release claims that women constitute only 2% of membership of the trade unions in Pakistan. One of the major reasons for women's low participation is the lack of unionisation in informal sectors where women's labour is concentrated. Moreover, it is argued that trade union leadership has ignored women workers and has not prioritised their needs (Qadir, 2002). For example, in 2013, women were barred

from voting in the All Teachers Union polls in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The teachers' panels restricted women to vote in the election because it could considerably increase the security risk and militants against women's participation were more likely to target the teacher union polls (Afridi, 2013). It shows that instead of pressing the state to provide adequate security to female teachers, the union leadership decided to exclude women union members.

Teachers' unions are relatively strong in Punjab compared to other provinces with almost 0.6 million teachers as members (UNESCO, 2013). There is, however, limited data available in terms of the number of women members. Public sector teachers are much more organised compared to the private sector and men predominate in the public sector (see figure 3.3). The Punjab Teachers Union (PTU) is the oldest public school teachers' union with 450,000 members (Ibid: 46). Other unions in Punjab are organised in terms of teachers' positions (for example Head Master Association Punjab), subject specialisation and level of teaching. In Punjab, women teachers have actively participated in protests organised by unions, particularly PTU, against performance related pay, temporary contracts and non-academic duties (Teacher Solidarity, 2012; 2013; 2014).

Gender Composition of Teaching

This section focuses on changes in the gender composition of the teaching workforce in Pakistan. Historically, teaching has been a male-dominated occupation in Pakistan and women have been under-represented (Figure 3.1). Since 1947, there has been an increase in both female and male teachers but the gender gap remained high. The major reason was a low share of women's participation in paid employment. For example, in 1951, women comprised just 3.1% of the total civilian labour force and although the proportion increased to 9.3% in 1961 (Shah, 1983) around 90% of women in the labour force were working in the agricultural sector (Baqai, 1971). Another major reason for women's under-representation in teaching was the lack of provision for women's education. The literacy rate for the female population recorded in 1962 was 7.6% (Baqai, 1971). Women's participation remained low compared to men in teaching until the early 21st century.

Since 1947, women's employment in the education sector has been increasing but it became almost equal to men from 2000 (Figure 3.1 and 3.2). Figure 3.2 shows that male and female teachers were almost equal in number in the years 2000-1, but since the years 2003-4 the

number of women has been increasing rapidly compared to men. In the years 2007-08¹⁰, women comprised 55% of the total number of teachers in the public and private education sectors of Pakistan taken together. The pattern indicates the numeric feminisation of teaching. Further distribution of women and men teachers in the public and private sector, however, portrays an uneven pattern of feminisation in teaching in Pakistan.

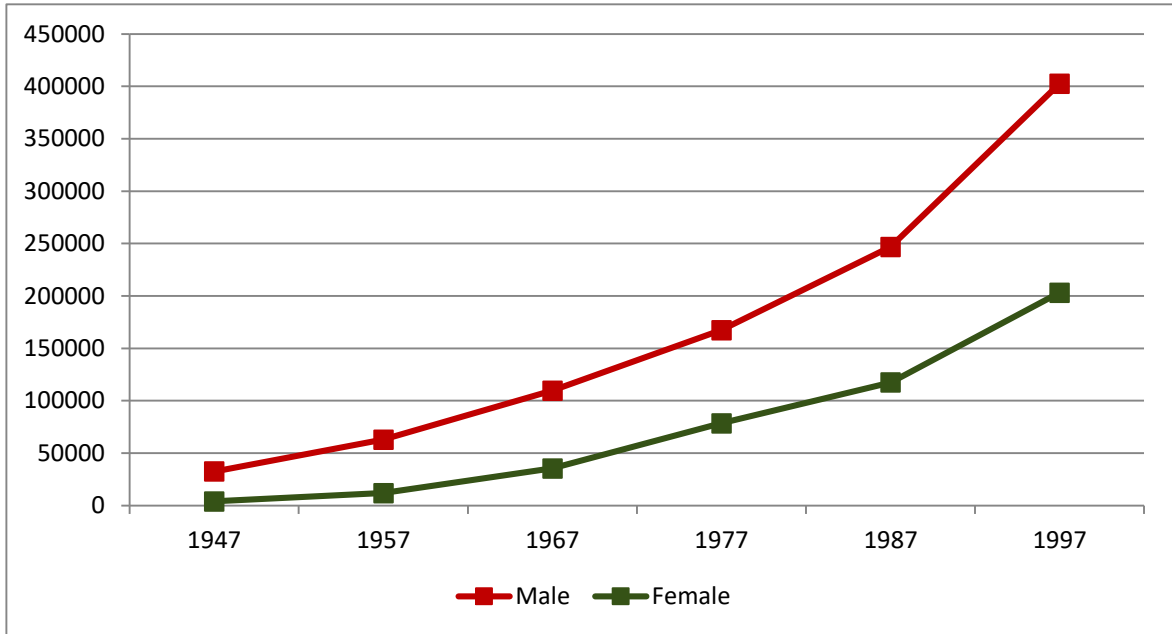
The rise in women's employment in teaching is simultaneous with the expansion of the education sector under a neo-liberal policy agenda and Education Sector Reforms. The analysis of the distribution of public and private sector teachers indicates that the number of female teachers has increased significantly in the private sector compared to public sector schools (Figure 3.3). Forty-seven percent of the total teaching work force is employed in the private sector where the number of female teachers is almost twice the number of male teachers (UNESCO, 2013). The private sector is feminised to a greater extent than the public sector in Pakistan. Figure 3.3 shows that women are concentrated in the private sector whereas public sector teaching remains male-dominated, although there is a high demand for women in the public sector, particularly in deprived areas. The state has taken measures to recruit women; the Punjab government has in particular encouraged female teachers at the primary level in boys' schools (Ibid: 17). It raises an obvious question of why women are concentrated in the private sector despite a demand for female teachers in the public sector.

There has been an increase in the number of both women and men in teaching in the private sector since 2003-4 which happened simultaneously with the increase in private sector schools. Figure 3.4 shows that there has been a gradual increase in the number of public sector schools but the number of private sector schools increased rapidly, particularly in the period 2003 to 2005. The growth in private sector schools created a demand for teachers which was filled by pulling in the available female labour supply. The growth in the number of public and private sector schools is part of the policy to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Education for All (EFA). Education Sector Reforms (ESR) by the government in 2001-2003 and the National Education Policy 2009 have aimed to achieve these standards and to develop access and the quality of education at all levels and thereby improve Pakistan's literacy rates. To achieve the goals government promoted the expansion of the education sector by establishing public-private partnerships and encouraging private

¹⁰ The data on the education sector is mainly collected from the 'Compendium on Gender Statistics'. The compendium is published every five years by the government highlighting a gender perspective. The latest compendium was published in 2010; hence, the latest data is available up till the year 2008.

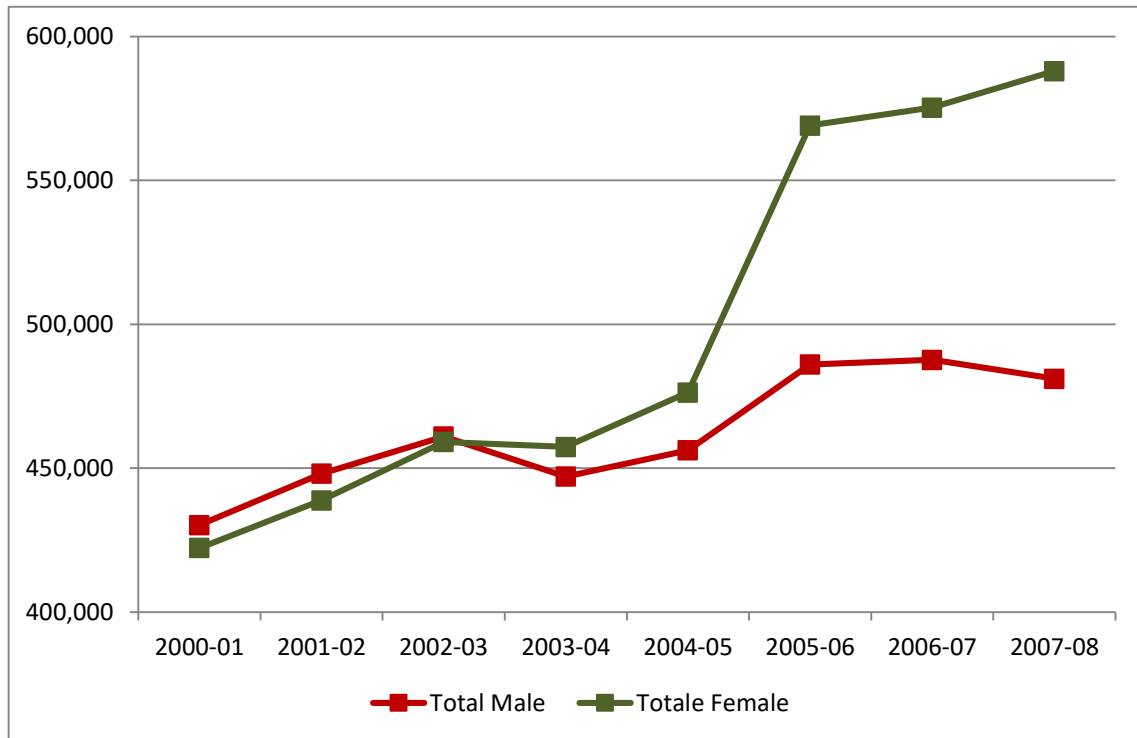
sector schools (Ministry of Education, 2006). The national and provincial authorities have introduced various mechanisms (such as vouchers schemes, financial aid grants, covering cost per students etc.) to provide funding to the private sector in return for improved access to education (UNESCO, 2013).

Figure 3.1: The Total Number of School Teachers by Gender (1947-1997)



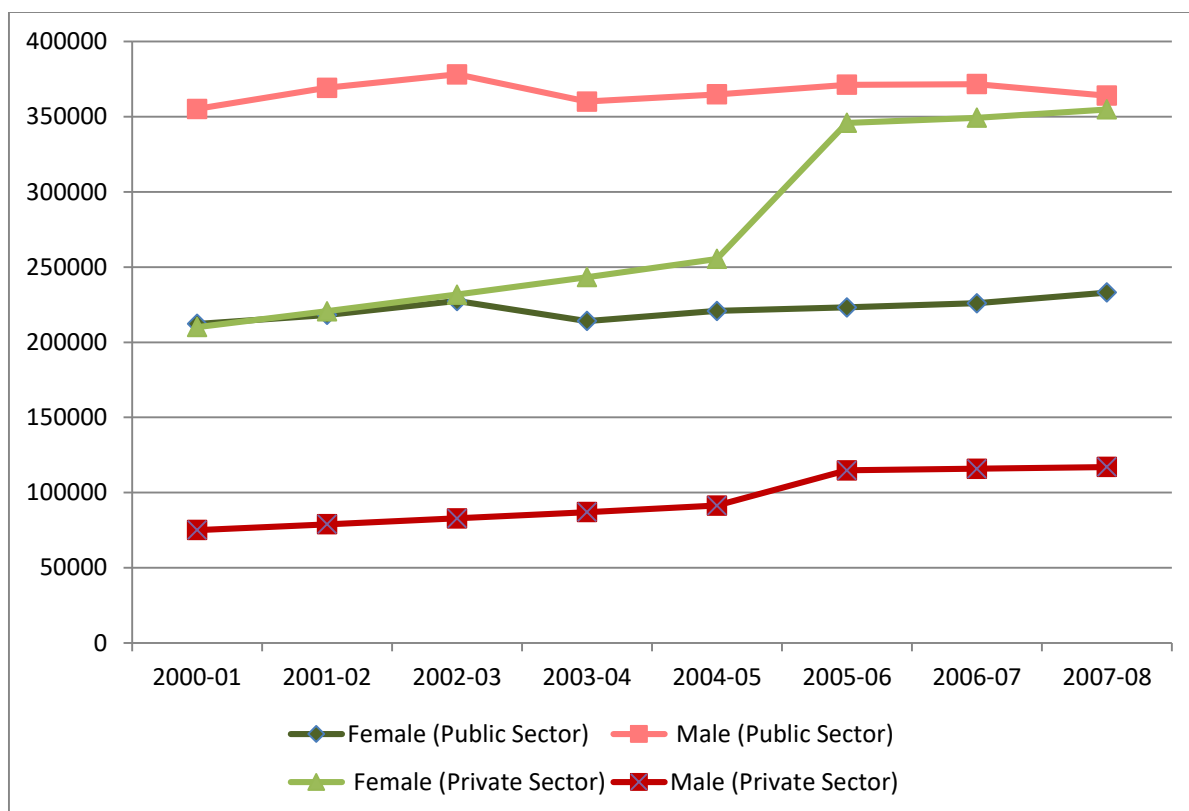
Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics (1998)

Figure 3.2: The Total Number of School Teachers by Gender (2000-2008)



Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics (2010)

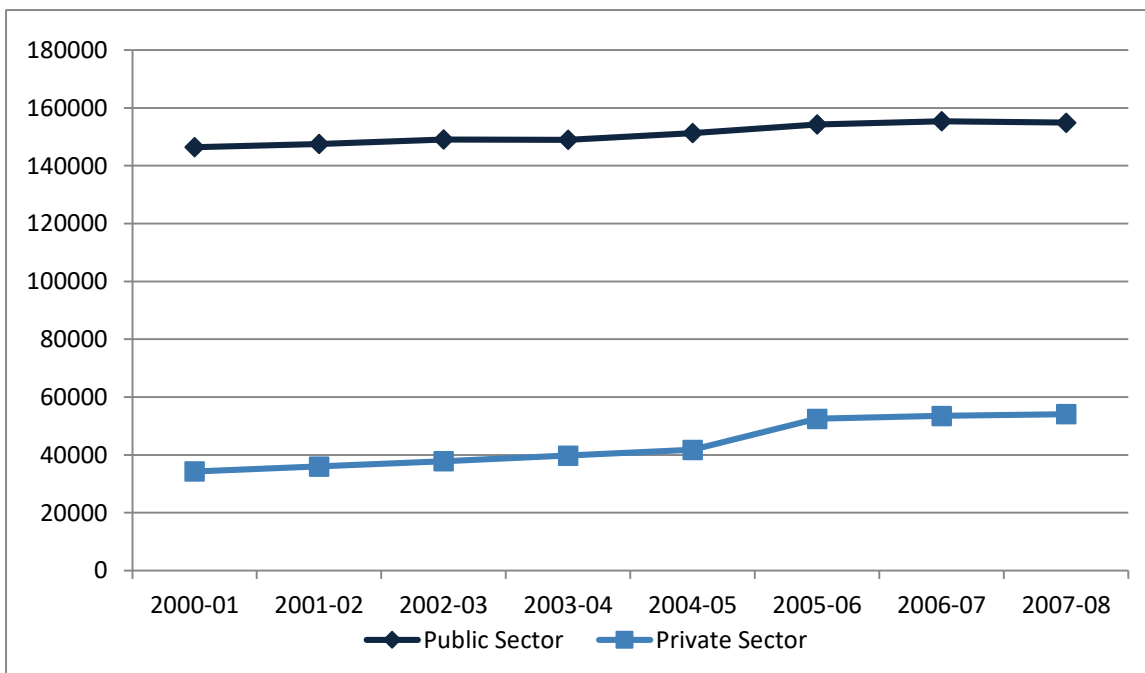
Figure 3.3: The Number of Public and Private School Teachers by Gender



Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics (2010)

Note: For the private sector, data excluded teachers from Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas. Teachers in mosque schools are included in the public school.

Figure 3.4: The number of Public and Private Sector Schools in Pakistan



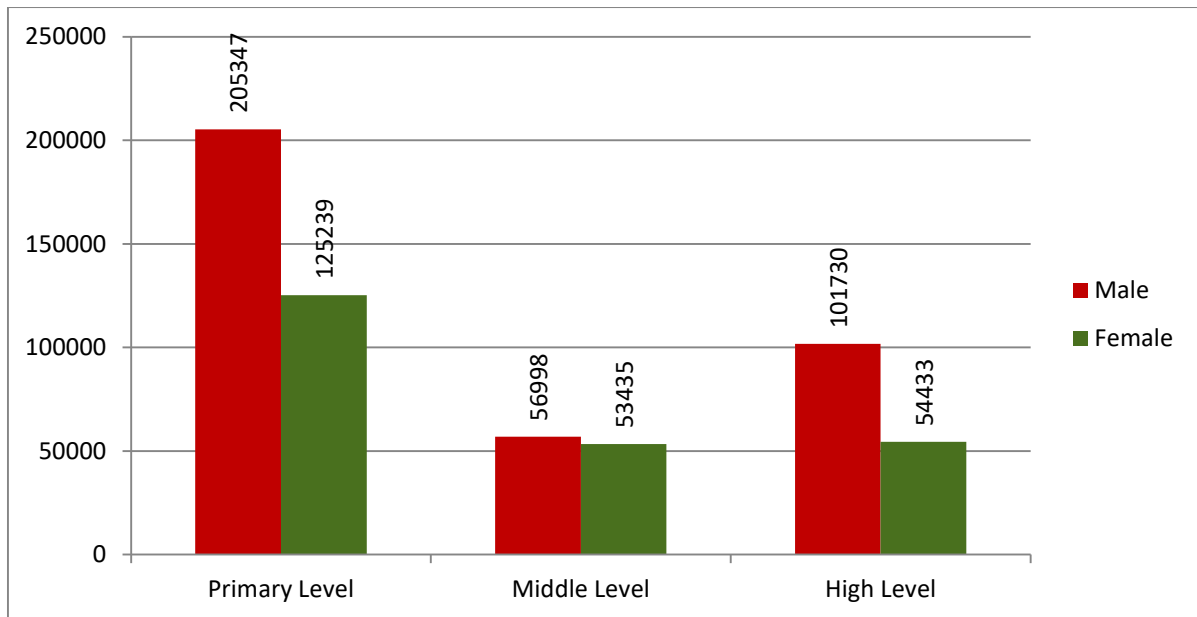
Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics (2010)

Note: For the private sector, data excluded schools from Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas

In the last decade, women's employment in the education sector has increased steadily at primary, middle and secondary school levels (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010) which is in contrast with the pattern in most countries around the world where women are represented in particular at primary level (Skelton, 2002, Kelleher 2011). Figure 3.5 shows that women's share of teaching employment at primary level is lower than men's in the public sector: 46% in 2007-08. The most obvious reason is that there are two parallel education systems in Pakistan. One is the *Deeni Madaris* or Religious/Mosque Schools and the other is the education system which was adopted from the time of British colonial rule. Government statistics include the mosque schools in the statistics for primary level education, because completing mosque school is considered equal to completing primary level education in a 'modern' school (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). After completion, a mosque school student can apply for admission at middle level in the modern schools' system. The mosque schools are strictly gender segregated and women teachers can only teach in all-girl schools, which are very few in number. Hence, primary level teaching in Pakistan overall remains male-dominated in the public sector. In private sector schools, however, the pattern is different. Figure 3.6 shows that the number of women is higher at all levels compared to men which is a clear contrast to the public sector

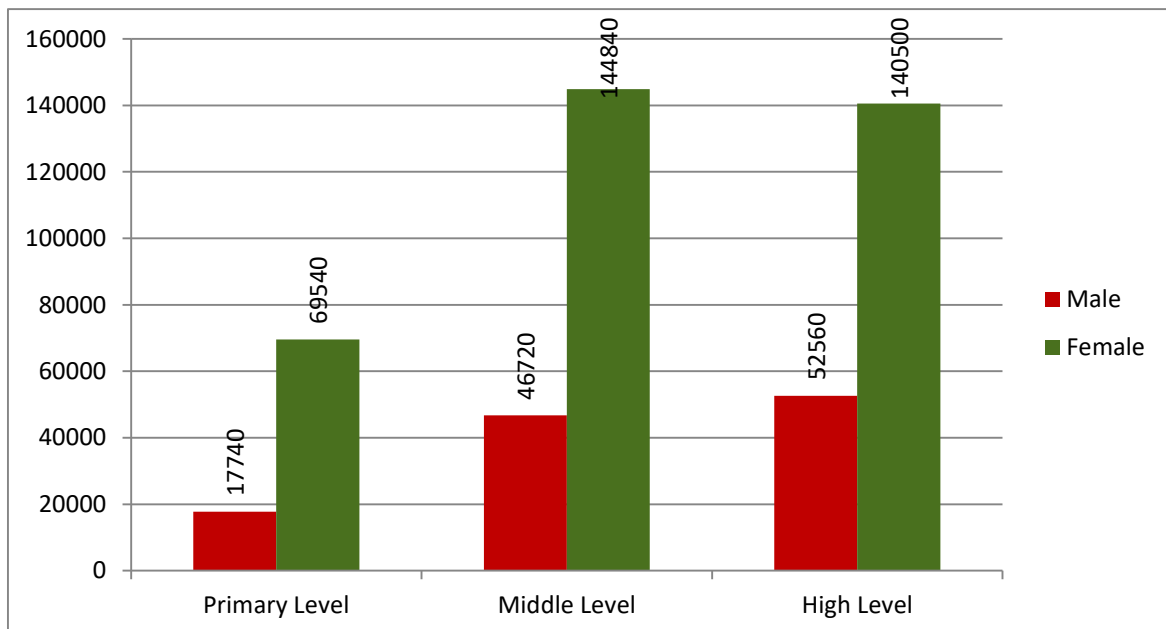
Another important aspect of the uneven pattern of the feminisation of teaching in Pakistan is its varying extent in different geographical regions. Figure 3.7 shows that Punjab is feminised to a larger extent than other provinces. With a population of more than 72.5 million people Punjab employs 55% of the total number of teachers in Pakistan (UNESCO, 2013). Sixty-five percent of all teachers in Punjab are women. One of the major reasons for the higher participation of women in teaching in the Punjab is that 65% of all private sector institutions are based in this province (Institute of Social and Policy Science, 2010). Along with the Punjab, only Sindh and Islamabad Capital Territory have a higher number of female teachers. The remaining areas still have a male-dominated work force in teaching (Figure 3.7). The uneven feminisation of the public and private sectors makes it compelling to explore the contextual factors influencing men's and women's choices to join teaching in their respective sectors.

Figure 3.5: The Number of Public School Teachers by Gender and Level of Teaching (2007-08)



Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics (2010)

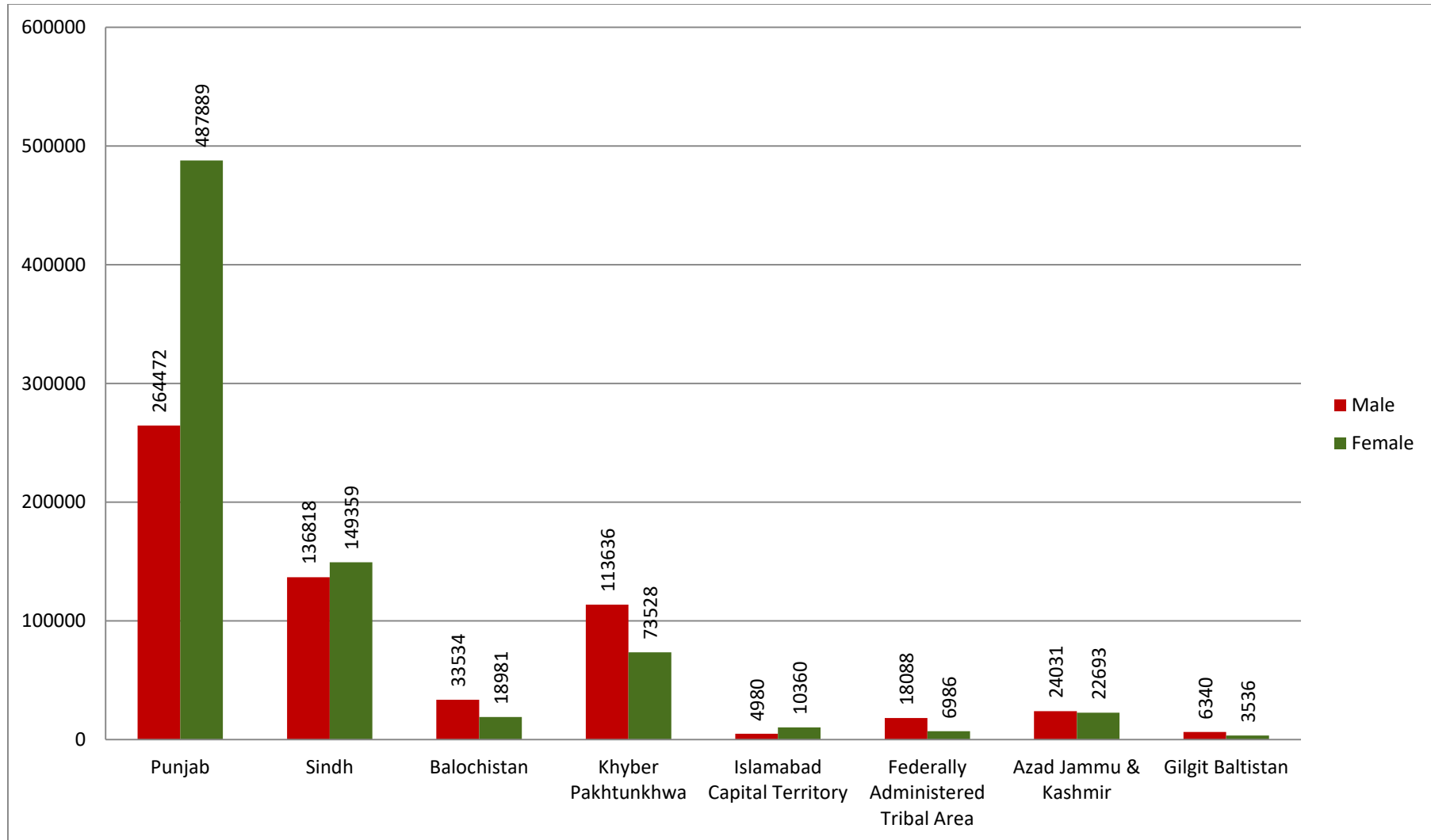
Figure 3.6: The Number of Private School Teachers by Gender and Level of Teaching (2007-08)



Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics (2010)

Note: For the private sector, data excluded teachers from Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas

Figure 3.7: The Number of School Teachers by Gender in Administrative Units of Pakistan (2011-12)



Source: UNESCO, (2013)

In the last decade, there has been a gradual increase in the number and proportion of women joining teaching in Pakistan, making it relevant to understand the structures and relations shaping the feminisation of teaching and to explore the extent and pace of feminisation, its influence on women's and men's teaching experiences and perceptions of occupational status. The growth in Pakistan's education sector has been a significant factor in the feminisation of teaching. Despite the similar association between the expansion of education and the feminisation of teaching to western countries, however, the scenario in Pakistan is different. While the extension of public education was the context for women's entry into teaching in increasing numbers in the UK and USA (Miller, 1992; Lortie, 1975), in Pakistan teaching in the private education sector is relatively more feminised than teaching in the public sector (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). The state is relying on the private sector to provide universal education in Pakistan and is promoting the private sector, under a neo-liberal policy agenda (National Education Policy, 2009). Hence, the growth and expansion of private sector schools is higher compared to the public sector (Khan, 2007).

The Structure and Management of Pakistan's Education Sector

So far it has been established that the participation of female teachers is higher in the private sector compared to the public sector in Pakistan (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). This section contains the differences between the structure and management of the public and private schools in Pakistan. It analyses the recruitment, remuneration and career prospects of teachers in both sectors. The aim of this section is to analyse how these organisational level policies and practices are formed and altered. It further explains the curriculum development and assessment mechanisms in the public and private sectors.

Teacher Resourcing

In Pakistan, the approach to teacher resourcing varies between public and private sector schools. There are further variations within the private sector based on the size and quality of the school. To become a public school teacher there used to be two types of school teacher certifications: the Primary Teaching Certification (PTC) and Certification of Teaching (CT). The duration of the PTC was one year and it offered courses in basic subjects, methods of teaching and child psychology. In addition to the PTC and CT, the public and private sector universities offer Bachelors of Education (B.Ed.) and Master in Education (M.Ed.). According to the National Education Policy (2009), to improve the quality of education the

policy action should be to raise the minimum requirements of teaching jobs. A graduate degree along with a B.Ed. should be the minimum requirement to become an elementary level teacher and this should be achieved by 2018. Qualifications such as the CT and PTC are no longer available and should phase out by encouraging existing teachers to improve their qualification (National Education Policy, 2009).

| Table 3.1: Minimum Entry Level Qualification of School Teachers in the Public Sector | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| Name of Position | Academic Qualification | Professional qualification |
| Elementary School Educator (ESE) | BA/BSc/BA(Honours)/ BSc (Honours)/ BS (Honours) | B.Ed |
| Secondary School Educator (SSE) | MA/ MSc./MS | B.Ed/ M.Ed |

Source: Recruitment Policy (2013), National Education Policy (2009)

Since the Ministry of Education has been abolished and its powers transferred to the provincial governments, each province now has its own recruitment policy. According to the Recruitment Policy 2013 of the Punjab Government, in addition to the prescribed hiring criteria in the National Education Policy 2009 (see Table 3.1), every candidate applying for a teaching position has to undertake an entry test and interview (Recruitment Policy, 2013). On the one hand, the new recruitment policy has upgraded the standards of entry requirements in order to improve the quality of education. On the other hand, it has changed employment terms and conditions so that teachers would be hired on a five-year contract which might be renewed, dependent on performance, for the next five years. Therefore, it could be more difficult to enter the teaching profession and teachers still would not have job security and benefits (such as pension and housing schemes) which was the major advantage for public sector teachers. The recruitment policy bound teachers to perform all kind of duties in the public's interest (Recruitment Policy, 2014). These duties vary in provinces but in general include election duties, compiling electoral rolls, participation in vaccination drives and collecting census information (Azhar *et al.*, 2014). Teachers' associations and unions have taken a strong stance against temporary contracts and these additional responsibilities unrelated to teaching (Teacher Solidarity, 2013; 2014; Azhar *et al.*, 2014).

In private sector schools the criteria for hiring teachers depends on the type of schools. According to the amendment introduced in 1995 in the Punjab Private Educational Institution (Promotion and Regulation) Ordinance, 1984: "The institutions shall employ on a regular basis a qualified Librarian, a Director of Physical Education and staff qualified as M.A/M.Sc.

with B.Ed. /M.Ed. or MA Education." However, there is a gap between the regulation and actual practice. As discussed earlier, the ordinance is not comprehensive and does not state any actions or penalties if any school is not meeting the minimum requirements in teacher's hiring. In elite private schools one of the main hiring criteria is spoken English skills with a graduate degree (Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2008). No relevant teaching qualifications are part of the minimum hiring criteria. For other low cost private sector schools, there is no standard teacher's hiring criteria. The minimum requirements depend on the policy and standard of the school (Memon, 2007; Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2008).

Teacher education has been part of provincial government's responsibility and each province has its own body for teachers' development. In Punjab, teachers' pre-service training and professional development is the responsibility of the Directorate of Staff Development (DSD) (Ministry of Education, 2006). However, there is no regular allocated budget for these activities and each province has to fund teachers' training from its development budget. Due to limited resources government heavily relies on international donors to provide funding for in-service teacher training. Therefore, it depends on the donors when, where and how to offer trainings. The lack of consistency and coordination among the donors leads to limited and random teacher training opportunities (Khan, 2007). As a result of these inconsistent training opportunities, the processes to attain training have been politicised (Lynd, 2007). The mechanism to provide in-service teacher training in private schools is different to the public sector and varies depending on the type of school. The elite private schools have better opportunities of learning and training compared to low-cost private sector schools which usually have a short term focus and lack sufficient resources to invest in teachers' development (Khan, 2007).

In public sector schools, the pay is determined according to the Basic Pay Scale (BPS) of the civil servants (see Table 3.2). The net pay of teachers, working on these pay scales, is little more than the minimum wage and it is almost equal to low-skilled workers' monthly earnings. Therefore, the total reward package of public school teachers is not adequate compared to living expenses and inflation in the country (Khan, 2007). Additionally, with neo-liberal reforms, the Punjab government has imposed pay deductions for teachers if they are unable to retain 100% student enrolment and produce good student results. PTU has been engaged in protests against neo-liberal reforms and performance-related pay.

| Table 3.2: Teachers' Position and attached BPS of the Civil Servants in Pakistan (2011) | | | | |
|--|------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Name of Position</i> | <i>BPS</i> | <i>Minimum (Rs. per month)</i> | <i>Maximum (Rs. per month)</i> | <i>Increment (Rs. Per year)</i> |
| Elementary School Educator (ESE) | 9 | 6,200 | 17,600 | 380 |
| Senior Elementary School Educator (SESE) | 14 | 8,000 | 26,300 | 610 |
| Secondary School Educator (SSE) | 16 | 10,000 | 34,000 | 800 |
| Subject Specialist (SS) | 17 | 16,000 | 40,000 | 1,200 |
| Senior Subject Specialist (SSS) / Deputy Headmaster/Mistress | 18 | 20,000 | 50,000 | 1,500 |
| Headmaster/Mistress | 19 | 31,000 | 63,000 | 1,600 |
| | 20 | 36,000 | 68,900 | 2,350 |

Source: Government of Pakistan (2011), Recruitment Policy (2013), Khan (2007)

Along with seniority and experience, continuous improvement in professional qualification is required to achieve promotion to higher scales (Ministry of Education, 2006). Attaining these qualifications is totally the individual's responsibility and the management does not fund further education for teachers. Teachers have to utilise their personal time and money in order to become considered for promotion (Khan, 2007). Therefore, there is a possibility that a teacher who started at BPS 9 retires at the same grade if they lack the time or resources to invest in their career.

In private schools the pay and promotion structure is ambiguous and varies. There are no government regulations regarding teachers' pay in the private sector and pay determination is up to the school owners or management. It is often reported in newspapers that some private schools do not even comply with the minimum wage law and teachers are underpaid (Daily Times, 2009; The Express Tribune, 2012a; The Express Tribune, 2012b; Khan, Noreen and Ahmed, 2012). The school management either does not issue the appointment letters and teachers are hired on an informal basis or sometimes even the schools are not registered formally (The Express Tribune, 2012b). In private schools there are very limited career advancement and professional development opportunities (Khan, 2007).

Curriculum Development and Assessments

In compliance with the 18th Amendment in the constitution of Pakistan, the Federal Ministry of Education has been abolished and responsibility for curriculum development and syllabus formulation has been shifted to the provinces with effect from 30th June 2011 (Khan, 2011). The impact of devolution has yet to be assessed. However, it has raised a debate regarding equity and quality of education in all provinces. Now curriculum development is the responsibility of the provincial government, therefore the Federal Ministry of Education and Federal Bureau of Curriculum have been abolished. There is no mechanism to set the minimum standards for each province and hence there is a chance that in the future there will be five uncoordinated and different curriculum frameworks that drive a divide in the education sector of Pakistan.

While the public sector schools adhere strictly to the national curriculum and syllabus, private sector schools usually only meet the compulsory standards of the national curriculum (Hoodbhoy, 2007). In the majority of elite private sector schools, students pursue the University of Cambridge endorsed General Certificate of Education (GCE), Ordinary Level and Advanced Level examinations, organised by the British Council Pakistan. The curriculum

in Pakistan offers indigenous subjects of Pakistan Studies, Urdu Language and *Islamiyat* (Islamic Studies). These subjects are compulsory at O-Levels as per the requirements of the national curriculum. However, they are offered as optional at A-Level. Teachers at secondary level in elite private schools follow the Cambridge University syllabus and students take standardised examinations. The medium and low cost private sector schools either replicate the elite private school's curriculum or follow the government's prescribed curriculum, syllabus and text books.

In Pakistan, each provincial government is responsible for student assessment at secondary and intermediate levels and for this purpose they have a Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE). To cover the region of Punjab, a total of eight examination boards are working at present. The prescribed role of these examination boards is to conduct fair and unbiased examinations at secondary (9th and 10th Grade) and intermediate levels (11th and 12th grade). All public and private school students following the local system appear for these examinations (BISE, 2013). The students of elite schools following the British system appear for international O/A Level examinations.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed gender segregation and constrained career choices particularly for women while highlighting a historical background to the interplay between state policy and women's societal status in Pakistan. This chapter has proposed a conceptual framework to analyse gender segregation and women's employment in teaching in Pakistan. It emphasises that influence of social, political, cultural and religious formations must be considered alongside and in interaction with gender and social class. It has also analysed the state policy context and structure and management of the education sector. The state, social class and religion have been key influences on women's status in society. Religion has been used for advancing political agendas and women have been presented by the state as a symbol to showcase Muslims' identity. Women have borne a major burden of *Islamisation* policies and legislation. The *Islamisation* policies, however, affected women differently depending on their social class background, among other factors.

Pakistan is still behind in achieving the goal of universal primary education. Since Independence successive governments have shown keen interest in improving education in the country. With the exception of the National Policy of 1972, policies have encouraged the

neo-liberal agenda and have promoted private sector investment and public-private partnerships to enhance education quality. The expansion of the private education sector has created demand for teachers and feminised the private sector compared to the public sector teaching. This thesis aims to explore the reasons behind the uneven pattern of feminisation by examining the role of the state and gender relations on gender segregation in employment in Pakistan, specifically in relation to women's and men's decision making process to join teaching profession. It further compares the rewards of teaching for women and for men in different sectors of education and at different levels of education and evaluates and interprets the influences on teaching's status among the professions. The next chapter will further discuss the research approach and data collection methods used to achieve the research aim and objectives.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter examines the methodology informing the research approach, the detail of the research design and choice of data collection methods. First, the chapter discusses the research approach of the thesis by elaborating epistemological assumptions, theoretical perspective and research methodology. The chapter then turns to the research methods. It highlights the data sources used to develop a context for this study and to draw on analysis presented in chapters five to seven. The sources include published research on state policy in relation to religion, women's rights and education provision; statistical data on men and women employment in teaching and pay; documentary evidence on public and private sector schools' policies and practices in respect to the curriculum development, student enrolment and teachers' resourcing. The primary research evidence was collected through 48 semi-structured interviews with male and female school teachers in Lahore, the capital of Punjab province, during six months' fieldwork in 2011. The rationale for qualitative data collection, the structure and content of the interviews and the approach in data analysis are discussed together with issues relating to research access, sampling and research ethics.

Research Approach

In an attempt to develop a research approach for this study Crotty's (1998) work has been used as a framework. Crotty (1998) identified four basic elements of any research process: epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods. *Epistemology* is the branch of philosophy concerned with knowledge, its nature and scope and is referred to as 'the theory of knowledge'. Central is the question of how to ascertain reality and in turn the relationship between the knower and the would-be-known (Ibid). *Theoretical Perspective* informs methodology and provides context and basic assumptions for the research process. *Methodology* is the overall orientation of a study and the approach taken to sustain the link between the philosophical assumptions of the paradigm informing it and the processes and tools used for collection and analysis of data (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006). The significant role of methodology is to select appropriate research methods and to establish the connection between methods, epistemology and theoretical perspective (Crotty, 1998). *Research methods* are techniques, tools and procedures used to gather and analyse data.

This thesis attempts to understand the uneven feminisation of teaching in the public and private sector and how men and women ‘chose’ teaching as their profession and their satisfaction with the quality of employment by engaging with the research process outlined in figure 4. The following sections elaborate each element of the research process and provide justification for using this approach.

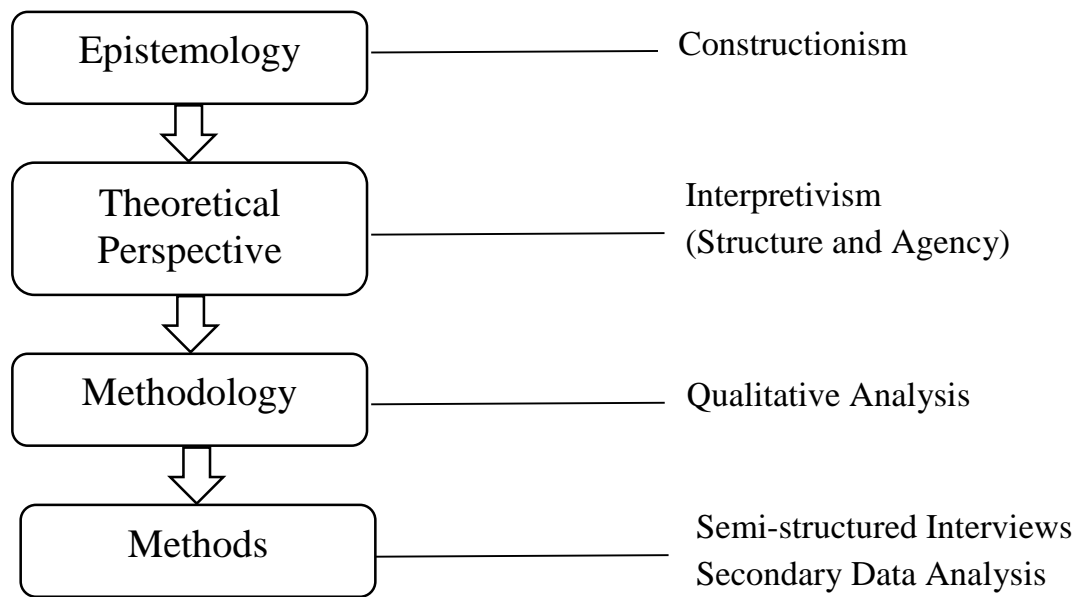


Figure 4: Research Approach
Adopted from Crotty (1998)

Epistemology: Constructionism

This section compares the epistemological assumptions of objectivism and constructionism and identifies constructionism as the epistemology for this study.

Objectivism rests on a belief that there is an existence of one reality or in other words objective truth which can only be obtained through scientific process (Crotty, 1998). To maintain objectivity, it is important that the researcher maintains a distance from the participants and is neutral. It exhibits a tendency for the inquirer to view events from the outside with no concern to interpret the meaning of the observations (Bryman, 1984). The objectivist position is not viable to achieve the research objectives of this study which concerns male and female school teachers’ interpretations of their employment to analyse them in their social, political and economic context. Such analysis will unfold subjective views opened for interpretation.

In contrast to objectivism, much social science concerns the meaning of phenomena in the specific contexts in which they occur and as ‘manifestation of important social trends, forces and conflicts’ (Behling, 1980: 488). Constructionists perceive reality as being socially constructed through interaction between human beings within an essentially social context (Goles and Hirschheim, 2000; Saunders *et al.*, 2003). In this scenario, the role of the researcher is to understand, reconstruct, analyse and critique respondents’ perceptions in order to construct meaningful findings (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). This research has favoured constructionism as an epistemological stance as it allows us to understand and construct “reality” from different perspectives. This study recognises the experiences of men and women school teachers working in the public and private sectors while acknowledging perspectives of other stakeholders such as the state and organisations in which these individuals work. For this study individuals will provide a lens to analyse labour market structures and social relations influencing ‘choice’ of profession and quality of employment.

Theoretical Perspective: Interpretivism

Theoretical perspective as defined by Crotty (1998: 3) is: “the philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria”. A research methodology has a particular set of assumptions which constitute the theoretical perspective. Interpretivism has been considered as a suitable theoretical perspective for this study because this approach “looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (Crotty, 1998: 67). The objective of this research is to analyse individuals’ experiences while examining the context. This study has been set out to develop an interpretive understanding of the intersection of societal and individual level issues influencing gender segregation and the quality of employment in the education sector of Pakistan.

One of the salient constructivist debates to emerge (or re-emerge) in the 1980s, and which involves issues of epistemology and theoretical perspectives, revolves around ‘structure’ and ‘agency’. The former is recognised by most social science research approaches, yet its exact meaning can be ambiguous (Sewell, 1992; Hays, 1994). Social structure is often defined by contrasting it with other concepts, notably agency. For example, Hays (1994: 57) proposed that:

...structure is systematic and patterned, while agency is contingent and random; ... structure is constraint, while agency is freedom; ... structure is static, while agency is active; ... structure is collective, while agency is individual.

In this contrast, structure has appeared as an opposition to human agency which is also a fundamental dichotomy between positivist and interpretive ontological assumptions. Reality from the positivist perspective is formed through objects and structures. The interpretive approach is at the other end of the spectrum and argues reality is socially constructed through human agency's subjectivism. Yet it is possible to understand the interdependence of structure and agency. On the one hand, human agency is influenced and shaped by structured economic and social relations and the institutions which are product of structures. On the other hand, agents potentially can act innovatively and use their structurally formed abilities to transform the very structures. As Sewell (1992: 4) argued:

Structures shape people's practices, but it is also people's practices that constitute (and reproduce) structures. In this view of things, human agency and structure, far from being opposed, in fact presuppose each other.

The debate around 'structure' and 'agency' has been prominent in some feminist research approaches. Structural feminist approaches to gender segregation urge that social organisation should be the focus of research, on the principle that it is social organisation which imposes structural constraints on individuals to create the phenomenon of segregation (Wharton, 1991). An obvious critique is that structural approaches provide an account of human actors 'as passive objects, pushed and shoved by impersonal macro-level forces or supinely being manipulated by management' (Simpson cited in Wharton, 1991: 377). Similarly, structural approaches tend to ignore collective agency and action or understand it in a functional sense.

Socialist feminist perspectives have attempted to combine structure and agency, or to avoid determinism and also voluntarism (freedom in choice of response to the structures encountered). Borrowing from Marx, Walby (1997: 25) argued:

Women make choices, but not under conditions of their own making. Women choose the best option that they can see, rationally, though usually with imperfect knowledge, but only within the range of options open to them.

Walby's dual systems theory, however, has been criticised for combining unlike systems, patriarchy and capitalism, to elevate the former to 'the theoretical status of a "semi-autonomous structure' and as a consequence to 'come down heavily on the structure side of the agency – structure tension of social analysis'" (Pollert, 1996:4).

In order to effectively combine structure and agency, it is important to understand the interplay between social relations, structures and social actors - individuals and groups. As Healy and Oikelome (2011:4) discussed:

...researchers should be sensitive to the effect of structural conditions on actions and motivations of actors and importantly, and interrelated, the way actors themselves act on and reproduce or transform structures at different levels.

This study aims to comprehend the interaction of 'structure' and 'agency'. This thesis attempts to understand the feminisation of teaching in Pakistan and its uneven 'progress' – as between public and private education sectors and levels in the education system – through the interpretations of social actors, in particular teachers themselves, women and men. Their accounts of how and why they 'chose' their profession, their satisfaction or otherwise with terms and conditions and their own career prospects, provide a lens into the social, cultural, economic and political structures gendering teaching work and employment, the ways in which these are sustained and the potential for challenge.

Methodology: Qualitative Analysis

Crotty (1998:3) defined research methodology as:

The strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes.

Methodology is informed by theoretical perspective and provides an account of rationale or the choice of methods. This study adopts qualitative analysis which has been aligned with the feminist perspective (Oakley, 1998). Qualitative analysis has been very important for research studies designed to seek social equalities, to enhance women's voice and influence in society and to understand meaning through experiences (Gregon, 2007). It allows interpretations of experiences in their rich contexts (Ibid). Qualitative approach has been used to achieve the

aims of this research because of its focus on experiences and interpretations of individuals while taking account of broader context.

In investigating ethnicity, migration and diversity at work in health care delivery in three countries, Healy and Oikelome (2011) emphasised the importance of a context-sensitive approach analysing institutions, processes and experiences in their historical, political, and cultural context. Similarly, in setting out a framework for understanding gender, work and employment relations, as experienced and interpreted by the workers involved, Healy, Hansen and Ledwith (2006:291) stressed the importance of context and analysis at different and interrelated levels. They argued:

...it is not possible to fully understand the mechanisms that come into play in a particular setting, if cognisance is not also given to both context and level of analysis. The allocation of material and power resources at the macro level (e.g. material goods and services, status, authority and power) will also shape conditions at the levels of setting and situated activity and the interrelationship between culture, structure and agency.

There is an extensive literature on the feminisation of teaching in western countries which is attentive to the history of institutions including the family, social class and direction of state policy in respect to education and welfare state expansion and later, contraction (Drudy, 2008; Gaskell and Mullen, 2006; Acker, 1998). This thesis aims to capture and compare women teachers' and men's experiences and interpretations of their employment situation, extent of career choice and evaluation of the quality of attained employment. It focuses on the individual level analyses but develops it by attending to social and economic relations within the household and in the labour market. It attends to the state's role in education policy and provision and in sustaining the ideology of 'the ideal Pakistani woman'; to the policies of public and private sector education providers in respect to student enrolment, curriculum content and the recruitment, remuneration and management of teachers; and to the experiences and interpretations of women and men teachers of expectations of them at work and with regards to their household roles.

Research Methods

The choice of research methods is influenced by theoretical perspectives and methodological stance. This research draws on multiple data sources. They include published research on the

role of state and religion and its impact on the lives of women in society. Data from the Federal Bureau of Statistics of Pakistan has been used to analyse women's and men's employment in the education sector. This research has drawn on documentary evidence including websites of the Ministry of Education, the School Education Department, and private sector schools to analyse the recruitment policies and wage structures for teachers and enrolment, curriculum development and assessment processes for students. It has also included documents and reports prepared by international bodies such as the UNESCO and UN. The sources consulted help to understand the structure and management of public and private sector educational institutions and the role of government (federal and local) in the regulation of the education sector. Finally, primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews with men and women teachers in public and private sector schools and higher education.

Primary data: Semi-Structured Interviews

The primary data for this research was gathered in the first six months of 2011 through semi-structured interviews – 48 in total¹¹ - with women and men teaching in schools in Lahore, capital of the Punjab province.

Qualitative interviewing is defined as an interaction or communicative act between the interviewee and interviewer which aims to construct meaning (Kuzmanic, 2009). Webb and Webb (1932:130) explained the method of interviewing as 'a conversation with a purpose'. Kvale (1996) described modern social science in-depth interviews through a 'miner metaphor': the role of the researcher is to dig the valuable meaning out of respondent's experiences.

Knowledge is understood as buried metal and the interviewer is a miner who unearths the valuable metal...The knowledge is waiting in the subject's interior to be uncovered, uncontaminated by the miner. The interviewer digs nuggets of data or meanings out of a subject's pure experiences, unpolluted by any leading questions (Kvale, 1996: 3).

Semi-structured interviews tend to combine structure with flexibility. Such interviews allow the interviewer to delve deeply by giving respondents the chance to share their perceptions,

¹¹ In fact, 70 interviews were completed in total but it was decided not to include 22 interviews, conducted with higher education faculty, in this thesis. This study only concerns interviews with male and female school teachers.

beliefs and experiences of the relevant issues in their own way, without much interruption from the interviewer. At the same time, however, semi-structured interviews offer a broad range of topics to cover and open questions to keep the interviewee in the direction valued by the researcher. The objective is rich and valid data. The use of probing and follow up questions allows the researcher to fully comprehend the underlying reasons, feelings, beliefs and opinions which respondents attribute to their experiences (Leegan, Keegan and Ward, 2003). The interactive nature of these interviews makes them preferable to a questionnaire survey or to mixed methods, given the aims of the research. This study aims to understand the relations and structures influencing and shaping men's and women's employment in teaching. To achieve this aim, rich qualitative data was required to develop understanding by exploring teachers' experiences and perceptions. Moreover, qualitative data was required to explore the differences and similarities between the experiences of male and female teachers in order to assess the perceptions of the teaching profession's status.

Interview Content and Structure

The interview schedule (see Appendix II) contained open questions and further sub-questions to probe the interviewee's responses and was divided into four main areas.

The first part related to respondents' current job. Respondents were asked to discuss their current role and responsibilities. Further questions were about working environment, gender composition of the school's workforce and of students, and autonomy at work. The main purpose of asking these questions was to develop an understanding of the structure, hierarchy and working environment of the institution. It also helped to learn about the role of individual respondents, their position in the overall hierarchy, interaction with colleagues and autonomy at work.

The second part of the interview focused on the respondents' education and professional training; where they received their formal education and how they started their career, how their education, background and experience led them towards their current teaching job. These questions assisted in understanding teachers' education and qualifications required for appointment and for promotion. They explored respondents' choice of subjects at school and/or university, their career aspirations and how these aspects influenced their decision to join the education sector. It also explored family background and family influence on making career choices. Overall the main aim in pursuing these questions was to explore the factors

which influenced decisions to join teaching and whether these factors are similar or different for men and women teachers.

The third part covered questions related to rewards. It included questions regarding the pay determination process, the value of pay in the interviewee's life and their satisfaction with the financial rewards at work. The aim of this section was to understand the rewards system, processes of pay determination and how, if at all, teachers participated in that process. Alongside questions on working hours, it helped to develop an understanding of satisfaction with teaching, extant grievances if any and interviewees' commitment to remain with teaching or the particular school and any proposals they had for improving terms and conditions.

The final part of the interview schedule addressed family responsibilities and division of labour in the household. It included questions on working hours and the intensity of work and responsibilities beyond the workplace and respondents' satisfaction or otherwise with the balance between paid work and other commitments. A main objective was to explore roles and responsibilities in the household, gender difference and the influence on the decision to join teaching and in respect to career aspirations and evaluation of the opportunities for progression in teaching.

Piloting

Pilot testing assists in identifying any flaws and limitations in the interview design (Kvale, 2007). It gives an idea of whether the interview schedule is adequate for gathering information relevant to the research aims and objectives. It also helps in practical issues such as whether the guide is too long or short, identifying weaknesses of interviewing skills and to determine whether the interview questions are easily understandable or not (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011).

The interview schedule was piloted among higher education faculty members. Two male and two female lecturers were interviewed at a Pakistani public sector university to test the interview schedule and length of time. Piloting also helped in developing the requisite interviewing skills. The pilot proved to be valuable and a stimulus for amendments to the interview guide (a revised sequence of some questions and the inclusion of new or further sub-questions). The findings of the pilot interviews are not part of this study.

Research Access and Selection of Participants

The research was conducted in Lahore, capital of the province of Punjab which is the second largest province in Pakistan and home to more than half of the population. Punjab and Sindh are two of the four main provinces in Pakistan where women teachers' proportion is higher than men (UNESCO, 2013). With 65% female teachers, Punjab is feminised to a higher extent compared to any other province in Pakistan (Ibid: 17). The aim of the study was to develop a context-sensitive analysis rather than generalisation. A focus on the province of Punjab allowed better contextualisation of, for example, the provincial government policies regarding education provision and teachers' recruitment.

In this study, for comparison and analysis, the education sector was divided into two parts based on the level of education:

- Primary level Education (Elementary school to Class 5)
- Secondary level Education (Class 6 to Class 10 or O/A Levels)

Comparison of these two levels included workforce gender composition and the relationship with the perceived status of teachers – according to the evaluation of the teachers and with reference to other data - in terms of autonomy, pay and career progression opportunities. Further comparisons were developed in the dissertation, based on public and private sector teachers working at these educational levels. The purpose of collecting data from different levels was to analyse the varying extent and pace of feminisation and to assess the influence of feminisation on the teacher's occupational status.

Access to conduct research from the educational institutions was gained through personal contacts. This entailed some arbitrariness into the populations of schools and teachers included in the research but was unavoidable (the only means of achieving access). The initial negotiations for access started in September 2010. School heads and relevant Government Ministry officials were contacted by phone, from the UK with the aim of explaining the research aims and arranging scheduled appointments before travelling to Pakistan. The main fieldwork extended over January to June 2011.

A main aim was to achieve interviews with men and women teachers at each of the levels of education – pre-primary through to higher secondary– and inclusive of teachers in public sector and private sector schools. Table 4.1 shows the number of interviews by sector, level of education and gender.

| | Public Sector | | Private Sector | | Total |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|------|----------------|------|-------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | |
| Pre-Primary and Primary | 8 | 0 | 10 | 4 | 22 |
| Secondary and Higher Secondary | 8 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 26 |
| Total | 16 | 3 | 17 | 12 | 48 |

Note: See detailed lists of respondents in Appendix I

There are different categories of schools in Pakistan. The broad divide is between public and private sector. There are a total of 1244 (593 Girls Schools and 651 Boys Schools) public schools in Lahore (School Education Department, 2012). Data about the number of private sector schools in Lahore is not available. Within each sector, schools are further divided. The data were collected from seven schools in total (three public and four private). The public schools were single sex (two girls' and one boys' school) with both English and Urdu as the medium of instruction. The private schools were two elite and two non-elite¹² institutes, but all schools were considered as English medium. The reason for selecting public and private schools was to explore varying 'quality standards' of education in Pakistan and to understand how the sector and standard of a school influence the gendered employment of teachers. In total 48 interviews were conducted in the selected schools.

Interview length, recording and transcription

The interviews were the principal method of primary data collection. On average their duration was 75 minutes. They were tape-recorded (audio recording with digital recorder) and forty of the 48 interviews included in the data analysis were fully transcribed and summarised transcriptions were developed for the remaining eight interviews. The interviews were conducted in two languages, English and Urdu, depending upon the comfort of the respondent. However, because of the large amount of time involved in translation alongside transcription (and absence of any budget to 'outsource' the work), eight interviews were 'read' directly from the recording (a summary in English was completed for each interview, covering the main data from each interview so as to provide my supervisors with insight into their content).

¹² This study has used the divide of the elite and the non-elite schools in the private sector. Elite schools cater to the students from upper to middle social class family background with relatively high tuition fee and claim to provide international standard education. The non-elite schools have low tuition fee compared to the elite schools and cater for students with lower social class backgrounds.

Alongside the interview each respondent completed a short demographic questionnaire (see Appendix II). It included questions related to the respondents' formal qualification, length of service, current employment status, number of promotions received in their career, age, marital status, family members and monthly income. This information helped further to analyse the data and draw comparisons.

Issues in Translation of Interviews

This section describes the methodological and practical challenges faced while translating the data from Urdu to English. Translation issues are influenced by the epistemological position of the study (Temple and Young, 2004). For example, if research is conducted from an objectivist perspective then the main challenges in translation of data are elimination of bias and to ensure validity of the data (Edward, 1998). In contrast, if the study is based on the constructivist epistemology then the translation process is part of knowledge construction and challenges arise from the acknowledgment that people using different language may have a different way to construct and view social reality (Temple and Young, 2004). Translation involves converting views expressed by one social group in a different language for another social group, which requires a process of cultural decoding (Halai, 2007; Torop, 2002). As Simon (1996: 130) argued:

The solutions to many of the translator's dilemmas are not to be found in dictionaries, but rather in an understanding of the way language is tied to local realities, to literary forms and to changing identities. Translators must constantly make decisions about the cultural meanings which language carries, and evaluate the degree to which the two different worlds they inhabit are "the same."

In this scenario, the relationship between language, researcher and translator is a crucial issue (Temple and Young, 2004).

Most of the 48 male and female interviews with school teachers were conducted mainly in Urdu. I consciously decided to conduct interviews in Urdu as teachers were more open and willing to share their experiences. Even in the elite private sector schools where teachers were only allowed to speak in English with students, they were more relaxed to share their experiences mainly in Urdu. Although interviews in Urdu posed difficulties in the analysis stage, not least in terms of the time involved in translation and transcription, it was vital to use

this language to put respondents at ease and to gather rich data. However, there a lot of English language was used during the interviews. There were two main reasons for the switch between languages. First, most of the respondents and I were fluent in English. Second, there is a trend of using English words and phrases mixed with other languages such as Urdu (Kachru, 1992; Halai, 2007). Many English words are now part of Urdu language and can be found in Urdu dictionaries such as ‘teacher’, ‘university’ and ‘blackboard’. Some English words are frequently used in Urdu language, such as ‘computer’, because there are no comparable words available. The respondents for this study have used English words and phrases frequently such as *pay, respect, work-life balance, source of income, career, opportunity, colleagues, admission, expensive, examination, curriculum, syllabus, promotion, teaching, family, education.*

Interviews produce rich data which is embedded in the culture of the place and while translating, the translator should keep the social context in mind (Halai, 2007). Being a researcher and translator, I had an advantage as I belonged to the same culture and had some of the teaching experience as the participants. Therefore, while translating I was able to understand the culture and context in which the interviews were conducted. However, during translation I had to think about my target readers as they can belong to a different social setting. The challenge I faced was to translate and interpret the data in a way that represents the cultural context of interviews but at the same time is understandable by readers from different social contexts. In is important to note that the readers’ understanding also depends on their own experiences and perceptions of the discussed concepts and debates (Temple and Young, 2004).

In my view, qualitative data is generated by the researcher and the participants collectively. It is not ‘out there’ to be discovered; rather it is constructed and the translation process is a part of knowledge construction.

Personal Experience

A constructivist epistemology asserts that the researcher and the participants construct reality and meaning emerges through their interaction (Koch, 1999). In my view, the researcher cannot fully grasp what is in the mind of the participants. However, if the two have some common dimensions such as gender, race, language, work experience, then it helps to enhance openness and trust. Oakley (1981) argued that the researcher and the research subject should

interlock and the researcher needs to invest their own experiences and position about the topic under question. The aim of inquiry through interview is best achieved when:

the relationship of the interviewer and the interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship (Ibid: 41).

My position as a Pakistani woman has affected my research and has enabled me to examine the complexities of the dynamics involved in interviewing. I was born and raised in Lahore (where I have conducted my interviews) and attained my education (in both public and private sector) from pre-primary to university level. Before joining university for my undergraduate studies, I worked as a teacher assistant in a non-elite private sector school near my house for few months. After completing my first degree, I have worked in higher education for couple of years in Pakistan. Through this shared identity, I was able to comprehend the reality through the experiences of other Pakistani women and men. I felt that the lives of the participants in some ways reflected my personal experiences and the lives of those with whom I have close contact, such as my relatives, aunts, cousins and friends living in Pakistan. I would describe myself as an advocate of gender equality and the idea to work on this research topic was derived from my personal and professional experiences. However, being too familiar with the research area has its own disadvantages. When the researcher and the respondents share a similar background there is a tendency to overlook some issues or take certain aspects for granted (Merriam *et al.*, 2001). I have noticed that for some issues there was a silent understanding. Many respondents, particularly women have used the phrase '*as you know*' in their conversation. Familiarity with the research area can increase the risk of ignoring important details. Hence it was very important to strike a balance between building a rapport to maintain trust and keeping a distance with the participants in order to encourage in-depth account of their experiences (Bhopal, 2000).

I felt that the power dynamics between myself and the participants shifted during the interviews. Sometime it was evident that I had the power because I was asking questions, probing and tape recording the interviews. But in other instances, the respondents had the power because they were able to choose what they wanted to share with me and they could quit the interview anytime. I have also noticed interesting gender differences while conducting interviews. I have noticed that women were more accessible, open, trusting and wanted to share their personal and professional experiences. Almost all of the women were very friendly

and appreciated the fact that someone was willing to listen to their voice. They expected me to understand their perspective as they were able to identify with me. However, in some instances there was a conflict between our perspectives. In some situations, women were not able to see themselves in a disadvantaged position in comparison with men which I felt as gender discrimination. In such situations, I have tried to maintain a distance and avoided imposing my own opinion.

In contrast, male respondents were hard to reach and reluctant to share details of their experiences but I am able understand the reasons of their hesitation. In my view, men were not comfortable talking to a strange woman about their personal and professional life. Particularly in single-sex boys' schools, the presence of a woman on the school premises was not common and the principals were reluctant to give me access. The challenges of obtaining information from men by a female researcher in itself portrays the strong gender segregation in Pakistani society. I felt that it would have been helpful in terms of obtaining access and information if the interviews with male respondents had been carried out by a Pakistani male.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is a continuous process of arranging, systematically searching and understanding the data (Creswell, 2002). LeCompte and Schensul (1999) described data analysis as a process to reduce data to a narrative and its interpretation. Patton (1987) identified three phases of the data analysis process. First is the organisation of the data. Second is the reduction of the data through categories and summaries. Third is identification of the patterns and themes that are linked to the theoretical models (or conceptual framework). Researchers have identified various approaches and methods for qualitative data analysis. Merriam (1998) presented four approaches to the analysis of qualitative data: ethnographic, narrative, phenomenological and constant comparative analysis. Bernard (2000) introduced six approaches including interpretive analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, grounded theory, content analysis and cross-cultural analysis.

The approach used for the analysis of this research is thematic analysis, which is a flexible approach to provide a rich and detailed account of data gathered (Braun and Clarke, 2006). There are three main ways to identify patterns or themes in thematic analysis. The inductive (Frith and Gleeson, 2004), deductive (Boyatzis, 1998; Crabtree and Miller, 1999) and hybrid (Fereday and Muir-Cocrane, 2006) way of coding and then development. The inductive thematic analysis, or bottom up method means the themes emerge from the data. It is similar

to grounded theory where themes are not attached to any pre-existing theoretical concepts. The deductive thematic analysis, or top down approach, is similar to template analysis where the researcher analyses the data with pre-constructed theoretical categories and themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The hybrid approach of qualitative thematic analysis incorporates both the data-driven inductive way and theory-driven deductive way.

The hybrid approach of thematic analysis was used to analyse data in this research. Merriam (1998) explained the analysis as an intricate process of going back and forth between data and concepts, between description and interpretation while using both inductive and deductive reasoning. The analysis process of this research was iterative and reflexive and utilized inductive and deductive reasoning in identifying codes, categories and themes. This approach was suitable to draw analyses from all interviews.

This research followed the six phase process of data analysis introduced by Braun and Clarke (2006). The first stage is familiarisation with the data which for this study started with the data transcription. The analysis process in qualitative research sometimes starts parallel to the data collection process. The more formal or explicit data analysis process is initiated after the accumulation of a substantial body of data (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999; Bryman and Burgess, 1994). The process of transcription and summary of interviews assisted familiarisation with the data.

The second phase was generating initial codes and categories through an inductive and deductive approach. The initial ideas and codes were developed through analysis of the transcriptions and summaries of interviews. The data was revisited and in this phase all interviews were 'read' directly from the tape to develop codes. Then, the initial codes from both processes were compared and merged to develop a comprehensive list of codes and to ensure consistency. The approach of analysing the data directly from tape and through transcriptions was used to avoid potential limitations of translation. The process to identify codes was iterative.

The third phase was searching for themes and started with analysing the codes and creating categories and sub-themes for the identified codes. The data was revisited several times (transcriptions, summaries and tapes) using inductive and deductive approaches. The analysis then involved the identification of patterns and organisation of the findings into themes.

The fourth and fifth stages involved reviewing the themes and defining them. The final stage of analysis was interpretation of themes and writing up of the analysis process. Although data analysis is presented as a step by step process, in reality it was a more iterative and complex process. In order to improve the quality of analysis and reduce the limitations of translation, the data have been continuously reviewed to cross-reference themes and to investigate the meaningfulness of the emerging patterns.

Since the 1980s there has been an increase in the availability of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) such as Nvivo (Bringer, Johnston and Brackenridge, 2004). The main advantages of using such software compared to manual methods are organisation and security of data (Richards and Richards, 1991). In manual methods it is time consuming to develop duplicate copies of all transcriptions, to label/highlight text, and to get quick access of the whole data for coding (Bringer, Johnston and Brackenridge, 2004). Others have commented that use of CAQDAS can distance the researcher from the data and create a homogeneity in methods across social science (Barry, 1998; Welsh, 2002).

For this study, I opted for a manual data analysis process. The reason for not using Nvivo was that despite attending a training session, I was not very confident that I have acquired the skills required to use the software effectively. Richards (2002) has argued that the benefit of CAQDAS depends on the skills of the researcher. I felt that using Nvivo is a very time consuming process. One has to give substantial time to “master” the software but still the technology does not reduce the amount of time spent on reading, coding, conceptualising and analysing data (Bringer, Johnston and Brackenridge, 2004). In my view, Nvivo is a data management package rather than data analysis and not using Nvivo has not impacted on the outcome of the study.

Ethical Considerations

This research does not involve any potentially contentious issues that might affect the physical, psychological or emotional wellbeing of the research participants. It highlights, however, two main ethical concerns: informed consent and confidentiality and anonymity of institutions and individual respondents (Mason, 2002).

The ethics of research demands voluntary and informed consent. The researcher must ensure that the relevant information is available to the respondents and the respondents decide to

participate in the research without any pressures (Gregory, 2003). As discussed previously the access to institutions was gained through personal contacts.

I was assured that the respondents participated in this study voluntarily and I made clear to each respondent that the interviews were strictly confidential and not linked with the individual's or institution's performance or to any government office.

While conducting this research all respondents were given relevant information about the topic of the research. I had a discussion with each respondent before the interview informing them about its scope and focus and why it was important. All respondents had signed the consent form (see Appendix II) which included a brief description of the topic. All participants were clearly informed that they had no obligation to participate and they could end the interview any time without giving any reason. I asked their permission to tape record the interview and assured them of the confidentiality and anonymity of the data. I explicitly communicated to the respondents and management of the participating institutions that I would be the only person to know the identity of individuals and institutions. To maintain the confidentiality and anonymity I have given pseudonyms to the individual participants and have also assured the anonymity of the participating institutions. The interview recordings and the demographic questionnaires were stored securely and only handled by myself.

Evaluation of the research

The aim of this research is to understand the gendered construction of teaching employment. The focus of this study was to achieve the aim through analysing social and economic relations influencing men's and women's employment experiences. The primary data was collected through a qualitative approach. The strength of the chosen approach was that it enables to analyse men and women teachers' experiences and perceptions in the context of the level of education (pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher secondary), practices of the sector (public and private) along with wider historical and political context.

Practical considerations of time and access have influenced the decisions about choosing educational institutions to interview teachers. Although the study attempts to include teachers from different sectors, levels of education and gender, there has been a limitation on access particularly to interview male public sector teachers. The study only includes three male teachers from the public sector which put some limitations on the research design. The

findings from these three interviews provide insight about men's experiences but the arguments remain inconclusive due to the small number of respondents.

In qualitative research, the notion of knowledge changes from a mirror of reality to a social construction of reality (Kvale, 1994). It stresses the interpretation of the meaning while including the local context. This study views validity as a process (Flick, 2002; Kvale, 1994) and argues that there are two stages in the research process which are the most crucial for judging validity (Kuzmanic, 2009). The first is the data gathering stage and the second is the data interpretation and presentation stage. The qualitative approach used in this study allows depth and probing of answers which is crucial in validating qualitative research. The analysis of this research presents as much of the quotations from the primary data as possible to represent the experiences of the respondents and create a narrative. This research attempts to validate the research by focussing on all stages of the research process and further details about the selection of interviewees and data analysis which were provided in the research design section of this chapter. Reliability is concerned with the replication of research and leads towards the concept of external validity or generalisability. In this research the intention is to understand the experiences of men and women within a specific context.

Overall, this research engages in a multi-level analysis, to understand women teachers' experiences of employment in the education sector at different levels and those of male teachers within the broader cultural, political and economic context of Pakistan. As with all research there are limitations to the design and its strategy. In conclusion, this chapter has examined the rationale for qualitative data collection, the structure and content of the interviews and the limitations faced during the data collection and analysis process.

Chapter 5: Why Men and Women in Pakistan become Teachers

Introduction

The theoretical perspectives on occupational segregation have portrayed the dichotomies between individual preferences and constrained ‘choices’ to explain the increase in women’s employment. On the one hand, women’s occupational choices depend on their lifestyle preferences. A majority of women prefer a balance and consequently choose occupations which allow them to combine their work and family role (Hakim, 2000). On the other hand, it is argued that occupational ‘choices’ are constrained by structural barriers and social relations (Bradley, 1996; McRae, 2003). The segmentation of the labour market and employer demands, exclude women from certain occupations and ‘push’ them towards occupations which are undervalued (Stier and Yaish, 2014). These occupations are linked to femininity and stereotyped as ‘women’s work’. Thus, women’s ‘choices’ are constrained by the labour market structures and gender relations in society.

This chapter explores possible reasons why men and women join the education sector in Pakistan as teachers. It is suggested that in order to explain gender segregation it is important to analyse social relations within the household and also within wider society. To capture these dynamics, the chapter draws upon interview data that captures the socio-cultural and economic factors that shape the choices of men and women when joining teaching. The interview data is organised around two main sections. The first section is based on the theme of *gender relations and the division of labour*. It explores issues such as the sexual division of labour, the gendering of the teaching profession and the segregation and seclusion of women based on the division of the public and private spheres. The aim is to analyse these issues and assess their impact on the choice of career by men and women. The second section focuses on the theme of *economic need and social class*. It explores how women’s participation in the teaching profession is explained by their social class. It also highlights the differing situation of men and women in terms of economic need and choice of teaching as a career.

Gender Relations and the Division of Labour

The Sexual Division of Household Labour

Hakim (2000; 2002) has argued that the majority of women prefer the 'adaptive lifestyle' and occupations, such as school teaching, which provide opportunities to balance work and family life. The findings of this study contradicts Hakim's argument and shows that women are attracted by the short working hours and flexibility to take work home but their 'choice' is constrained by gender relations.

In the context of Pakistan, traditionally the male breadwinner model has applied within a strong gender hierarchy, where men have exercised more power over women due to social, cultural and religious factors (Malik and Khalid, 2008; Pardhan, 2009). With the changing economic situation and inflation in the country, women have started to join the labour market (Kazi and Raza, 1991; Bibi and Afzal, 2012). Women's employment has, however, a very limited impact on the traditional sexual division of labour and, in Pakistan's culture, men are commonly seen as breadwinners and women as 'house-makers'. Early research by Shaheed and Mumtaz (1981) showed that working women faced the problem of dual work. The study showed that in Pakistan home-based women workers spent almost six hours working outside the home and another six to seven hours on their domestic responsibilities. Similar results were highlighted by Khattak (2001) for women working in the urban manufacturing sector. She argued that household work remained women's responsibility. However, the study showed that if a household had both working women and non-working women who were not participating in the labour market, then the domestic work is delegated mainly among the latter. Therefore, it does not matter whether women participate in the labour market; the domestic responsibility remains with women, employment doubles their work burden and does not alter the role of men in the household (Kazi, 1999; Siddiqui, Hamid and Siddiqui, 2006; Khan, 2007).

The interview data from my own study confirms the sexual division of labour and underlines its impact on women's choice of career. With the dual responsibility of paid and domestic work for women, the teaching profession in Pakistan provides an opportunity for women to accommodate their household responsibilities. The main factor drawing women towards teaching is the flexibility to take work home, particularly in the private sector. The working times of both public and private schools are similar and determined by the state. The Schools Education Department is responsible for notifying and regulating the school timings in Punjab

(SED, 2014). The interview data shows that the official working hours in schools are short compared to other jobs and considered as a half day job which gives women some room to accommodate for their domestic role in Pakistani society. The opening time for schools varies between 7.00 a.m. and 8:30 a.m. and the closing time usually varies between 1p.m. and 2:30 p.m. depending on the season. After concluding work responsibilities at school, women have the flexibility to concentrate on their domestic role. The short working hours sustain gender relations and the expected role of women. As Farhat, a female Public Sector primary school teacher commented:

I always come back home before my husband finishes work. This gives me enough time to clean and cook and most importantly my husband doesn't like if he comes home and I am not around.

Women with school-age children have the added benefit as their work hours match their children's school time and they do not have to arrange for childcare to cover extra hours. Tahira, a female private sector primary level teacher, who is a qualified nurse, but after marriage changed profession, commented:

I use to come home while picking my daughter up from school and then have enough time to cook, clean and complete other stuff before my husband used to come home. [...] I think this is a big advantage of this job. Even in nursing you have to spend the whole day in hospital and sometimes they can call you at odd times which are very stressful to manage with the family life.

The education sector in Pakistan offers short working hours compared to full-time work in both the public and private sectors. This scenario suits women's home maker role. Short working hours, however, do not imply that teachers have less of a workload compared to other professions. The range of responsibilities of teachers includes tasks beyond the classroom as teachers have to prepare lesson plans, check student notebooks, develop and mark assessments and attend administrative meetings with head teachers and school monitoring teams (Azhar *et al.*, 2014). A majority of teachers interviewed in both the public and private sectors highlighted that they have to work on average an extra two hours at home, mainly on lesson planning and marking. Soha, a female higher secondary teacher at a private school commented:

I would not say teaching is a part-time job but it has flexibility. I think the hours we (teachers) work are more than a normal 9am - 5pm day. [...] I only need to be there (in school) to take my classes. But for the other responsibilities, such as lesson planning and marking, I don't have to be there. I can do that when my children go to bed.

In addition to the teaching responsibilities, public school teachers have to participate in non-teaching activities. Public school teachers form the largest single group of civilian government employees. The state utilizes this group to perform duties which require a large number of personnel for limited time periods (Azhar *et al.*, 2014). For example, the Recruitment Policy (2014) for a teacher in Punjab states that teachers are liable to perform non-teaching tasks in the public interest authorised by competent authorities. As discussed in chapter five, non-teaching activities include election duties, assistance in collecting census data and participations in vaccination campaigns. These duties increase the workload of public school teachers and impact the standard of the regular teaching activities. There has been a strong resistance from teachers' associations and unions, particularly the Punjab Teachers Union, on imposition of such responsibilities which adversely affect students (Teacher Solidarity, 2014).

The extra time spent at home in relation to teaching activities and non-teaching duties of public school teachers clearly demonstrates that the workload of teachers is equivalent to that of other professions but also that it is flexible in relation to when certain tasks can be performed. However, this means that women are bearing the dual burden of paid, external employment and unpaid domestic responsibilities.

Conversely, my data also demonstrate that flexibility and short working hours do not motivate men to join teaching and the majority struggle with achieving a work-life balance. Interviewees explained that as 'breadwinners' for their families, they cannot survive while teaching at one institution only and that they usually have to work extra hours compared to men working in other professions. Therefore, they get less time to spend with their families. Overall, from my own analysis, the working hours are equal for men and women in teaching. However, the multiple jobs make it harder for men to balance their work and family life. As a male public sector higher secondary school teacher, Khalil explained:

For women, teaching is a very manageable job because they come home early and look after the children and do other household work. But for men this is not

the case. For example, I and many of my male colleagues, do multiple jobs. [...] I get free from work around 9pm at night and after that you know I get so tired that I literally eat and go to bed. My wife mainly takes care of the children and does the housework. I only get time on weekends to spend with my family and friends.

This study therefore highlights women's paid employment does not reduce their domestic responsibilities but that short working hours give women with the opportunity to combine their double burden of household and paid work. It does not imply less workload in paid employment but the flexibility for women to perform some work activities from home, such as lesson planning and marking students' homework or exams. Men and women are working an equivalent number of hours but men's work tends to be focused outside of the household, usually through a number of teaching jobs.

The Gendering of Teaching

The sexual division of labour and gendered production and reproduction leads towards the sex-typing and gendering of work. The gendered production and reproduction view is that "making things and making things happen, is masculine; caring for people, especially reproducing the next generation, is feminine" (Brush, 1999: 161). The cultural beliefs of masculinity and femininity play an important part in gender-based occupational segregation (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990).

Teaching is not considered by some as an *established profession*. It is referred to as a *semi-profession* (Etzioni, 1969) or *aspiring profession* (Bolton and Muzio, 2008). Gender is a significant factor in determining the status of occupations. The 'professional project' or 'professionalism' is associated with culturally developed masculinities, whereas it represses the qualities culturally developed in femininity (Davies, 1996). Teaching is perceived to be linked with femininity which features emotional, empathetic and caring behaviour (Davies and Thomas, 2002). As Bolton and Muzio (2008: 291) argued, "teaching has historically been numerically dominated by women and its ethos of vocationalism, dedication and nurturance delineates it as 'women's work', drawing on the stereotypical notion of the 'caring' female". Similarly, in Pakistan, teaching is featured as a 'woman's job' and considered as the extension of women's responsibilities. Uma, a female public sector secondary teacher suggests:

Teaching becomes a preference because it is assumed that we (women) are good at it, at least at the primary level.

With the changing economic situation, it has been difficult to uphold the traditionally gendered public and private divide (Bibi and Afzal, 2012). As a result, women's participation in the labour market has increased in the past two decades in Pakistan (Labour Force Survey, 2015). To maintain the traditional power structure and male dominance, the occupations are classified as 'women's work' and 'men's work' based on the cultural beliefs of masculinity and femininity (Ali, 2000). The interview data confirms that the association of teaching with stereotypical feminine characteristics makes it a suitable occupation for women. Moreover, it is easier for women to get permission to work from families if they choose to work in segregated occupations. The majority of professions in Pakistani society are male-dominated and labelled as masculine and men's work. The perception prevails in society that all jobs are not appropriate for women because of physical strength and cultural norms. Therefore, it indicates the limited occupational options for women due to inherent gender bias and social constraints (Sadaquat and Sheikh, 2011). Women have to choose a career keeping in mind these perceptions and social acceptance of the work they do. Rizwan, a male middle school teacher said:

There are limited occupations suitable for women in our country due to our culture and religion [...] Women have a responsibility to raise their children which gives them a natural ability to take care of children. This makes school teaching a very suitable job for women.

Teaching has often been associated with the motherly nature of women (Drudy *et al.*, 2005). The reproductive role of women is often underlined as helpful in teaching. It is argued that there is a natural link between mothering and teaching (Pinnegar *et al.*, 2005). There are certain characteristics common in mothers and teachers and these traits are very helpful in handling children (Ribbens, 1994; Stokes, 1997). Farida teaches young children in a private sector school and expresses that children need a motherly figure to feel comfortable outside their homes:

Women are attracted to teaching because they have a motherly instinct. Children come to school by leaving their mother at home, especially small children, women can understand their feelings better and can attach to them quickly compared to men. For example, although children love their fathers but their mothers take care of their needs and know better how to comfort them. Similarly, in schools, young children feel more protected with women and

consequently there are more female teachers especially in early year teaching around the world.

Bolton and Muzio (2008) argue that in teaching, particularly in teaching of young children, significance is given to relational or soft skills over technical skills and knowledge. The soft skills are assumed to be part of a natural and fundamental aspect of being a woman. However, the connection of teaching and feminine traits has not been limited to the primary level and below, rather, a similar connection is developed in teaching of higher secondary and college level students. Soha, a female teacher of O/A Level students commented:

I think it's a more caring profession. Generally, I think women are more expressive. They are more interested in people's feelings and they are more interested in the bonds we develop with our students. I know for myself and many other teachers we become very close to our students. Actually even when they leave school we maintain lifelong communication with them. [...] And there is a big role of society and culture in it. I think it is the whole idea that you know we start with kids who are very young and the teacher almost is like a motherly figure. We don't think of men in the home being able to give young child everything they need. In the same way we don't think men would be able to nurture the very young child at school in the same way.

Teaching is not only regarded as women's work, it is not considered a suitable career for men. Male teachers have to face stereotypical behaviour from society. Irfan, a teacher of O/A Level students, expressed gendering as one of the reason for the increased number of women in this occupation and behaviour of society towards male teachers. He said:

Teaching is considered similar to women's work at home. They are perceived as caring and have the ability to communicate with children. Therefore, they are considered more suitable for this job than men. As a male school teacher, I have some personal experience, where just because I am a teacher, people assume either I am not very serious about my career or I am unable to find a better job. They can never think that I like teaching and do it by choice.

The interviewees demonstrate that both men and women teachers embody the prevailing gender identities. A majority of male and female respondents argued that women are better able to teach, particularly to younger students, due to their apparent feminine characteristics.

This finding highlights that teachers themselves contribute towards the gendering of teaching, perhaps without conscious realisation that a feminine professional project can undervalue the occupational status (Bolton and Muzio, 2008).

Segregation and seclusion of women

In Pakistan, culture and tradition plays an important role in the choice of profession, particularly for women (Ali, 2000). The sexual division of public and private space have a significant impact on women's lives. Gazdar (2003) argues that the social division of spaces is gendered: the place for males is in the public domain and females belong to private spheres. Despite observable variations in the gender division with regards to demographic factors such as age, social class and geographic location, they exist in some shape or form. The state in Pakistan had played a significant role in strengthening these divides through the *Islamisation* process initiated in 1977, discussed in chapter three.

The gendered division of society has a very contradictory impact on women's employment. On the one hand, it discourages women's work outside the home and discourages their productive role in society (Rashid, 2011). On the other hand, there is always a demand for women in particular occupations such as teaching and medicine to maintain the segregation in the society (Ali, 2000). This has a twofold impact. First, it supports the traditional view and females only interact with the same gender in order to receive health and education services. Second, it provides limited and segregated options for women who want to participate in the productive role. Naima, a female public sector secondary school teacher said:

I think our society is more accepting if we chose to become a doctor or a teacher compared to taking up male-dominated jobs [...] From our early ages we are raised in a way that that we give priority to what others want from us rather than actually doing what we want to do.

To participate in the labour market, women have to venture out into the non-familial or public domain. To access the world beyond their supposed domain they have to seek the permission of their family. In the case of unmarried women, it is mainly the father who grants permission but for the married women the husband or his family give approval (Gazdar, 2003). Rehana a public sector secondary level teacher said:

For us (women) employment is not seen as a natural step after completing education like men. So if we (women) want to work we have to convince our families and choose the occupation they approve.

Women's employment or career has not been considered a primary concern generally in Pakistani society. Rather marriage, family, and motherhood have significant power in determining women's lives (Ali, 2000). For an unmarried woman and her family, a main worry is their prospect of marriage and the acceptance of work by their husbands and in-laws. In traditional Pakistani culture, marriage, particularly of females, is a foremost priority of the families and they give little or no focus to a woman's career. For married women, the major focus is on the reproductive role as mothers and taking care of their family. Therefore, the choice of career for women is more like a family decision and women have to seek social acceptance. Soha, a female higher secondary teacher at a private school explained the choice of career for women:

Women tend to choose professions which are more culturally accepted. By culturally accepted I mean what the society approves for them, their parents or close relatives' advice or allow them to do. The focus of a majority of parents is finding a right husband for their girls rather than the career. So they try to equip their daughters with the career which would be acceptable for their future husband and their families.

The reproductive role of women is very much embedded in the norms of society and the nurturing of females. The gender based social expectations are so strong in the society that sometimes women are inclined to accept the gendered roles rather than to challenge them. Women do not give priority to their productive role unless they face economic constraints or explicit support from the family. Rubina, a secondary teacher, shared her views:

I have never thought about or wanted to be a teacher in my life. In fact, I never thought of working or having a career, my only plan was to get married. My family was very concerned about my marriage and I never got a chance to think about anything else.

She later explained how she joined teaching on her husband's suggestion:

I started teaching when my younger son started school. We saw an advertisement in the newspaper about a vacancy in the same school and my

husband suggested that I should apply for it. We thought that the kids go to the same school and I have some extra time so it is manageable. My husband suggested that I should utilise my qualifications and we will get our kids' education free.

Another major issue is acceptance of women's employment after marriage. If parents allow their daughters to join certain professions, after marriage they have to seek permission again from their husband and in-laws. If women are, however, allowed to work after marriage then teaching has proved to be a preferred occupation even in comparison to other female-dominated fields such as medicine. In medicine women are encouraged to specialise in the field of gynaecology where they would predominantly interact with females. Tahira, a female primary level teacher in a private school, shared her experiences of changing occupations and the family's permission:

Actually, I am a trained nurse and used to work in a hospital before getting married and my family had no problem with it. But my in-laws do not like working ladies so I had to stop working after getting married. Almost after five years of marriage, when my daughter started school, I tried to convince my husband that I wanted to work and I have spare time. He allowed me to work as a teacher. He thinks nursing is not an appropriate job because I have to interact with male doctors and patients. So, in this way I joined teaching.

The interview data has shown that families of women teachers' have been supportive of their work but they still have concerns about the choice of job and it depends on the cultural and social acceptance of the occupation for women. This social acceptance is based mainly around the segregated work environment with limited or no interaction with the opposite sex and compatibility with household duties. The gendered division of space for men and women in Pakistani society has been very strong due to its attachment with religion. Islam as a religion does not restrict women to the private space and there are many examples where an important place to women is given in public life (Mernissi, 1987). It is still, however, considered that it is better for women to stay home in the private sphere or work in a segregated environment with minimalistic interaction with males. The boundary between religion and culture is blurred and many customs seen as part of religious beliefs to maintain the credibility, whereas they do not have any link with religion (Syed, 2010). Therefore, to uphold such social norms and yet provide employment opportunities to women, the labour market reflects this gender-

based segregation. One of the main reasons behind teaching as a socially acceptable job for women is the seclusion of women within the public domain. As a teacher, women have limited encounters with men. Single sex schools further give prospect to work in all female environments. Tahira, a female primary level teacher in a private school explained:

The biggest benefit of this school is that all teachers are females. [...] My husband would not allow me to work if I had to interact with males. Similarly, a majority of teachers prefer to work in this school because their families only allow them to work in a female only environment. [...] I have a very low salary compared to teachers of schools with both male and female teachers. But I cannot move to those schools and I am stuck here.

Soha, a female higher secondary teacher at a private school similarly explained:

Then there are restrictions on females in our society, most schools have largely female teachers or largely female staff. I think if you think about women who are married for example, I think their husbands would be happier for them to be in teaching in schools as opposed to working in banks or offices. I think some of the husbands feel that it is going to be better for their wives to work in a largely female environment because of the chance of extra-marital relations being reduced. [...] They might or might not want their own working environment to be very mixed but not for their wives definitely.

Despite being a segregated occupation, a majority of female teachers interviewed consider teaching as an opportunity. Teaching is an occupation which provides women a chance to become visible in the public sphere and utilize their skills and abilities in formal employment. Teaching is considered as a step forward to reduce gender inequality in Pakistani society. It provides women employment and also assists in reducing gender disparity in education of young children. Soha, a female higher secondary teacher at a private school teacher commented:

I think it is an opportunity for women who would not be able to go out and work, if it wasn't for teaching. [...] because of social restrictions women cannot choose their career and end up in teaching. But it is useful; to getting them out of the house, giving them their own independence, letting them face the

challenges. I think teaching is intellectually challenging. And I think it is very important for women to be able to stand on their feet and secure their future.

Rehana, a public sector secondary level female teacher expressed:

I see this (teaching occupation) positively; at least there is some work which is respectful and empowering for women at the same time. [...] I think this is a way forward because teaching provides us opportunities to educate young girls and boys and change the mind-set in society.

To summarise, the gendered social roles assigned to men and women in Pakistan have significant influence on the feminisation of teaching in Pakistan. The division of household work, gendering of teaching and gendered divide of public and private spaces contribute towards the decision of men and women to become teachers. The analysis in chapter three highlighted that the state had played a significant role in shaping social attitudes and religious beliefs which conceptualised the status of women and their work (Grünenfelder, 2013). The state's social policies such as '*chadar aur char devari*', dress codes for working women and banning women to work in certain occupations have promoted the gendered division of space and gendered social roles of men and women in Pakistan. Although it can be argued that the state no longer supports such policies but it has certainly contributed towards the contemporary perceptions of individuals about the religious beliefs and the status of women in society. Therefore, with the gendered division of household work, sex-typing of teaching and gendered segregation of public and private spheres in Pakistan, teaching is a 'constrained choice for women. Women chose to join teaching because of various social limitations posed by gender relations of Pakistani society. Women, however, consider teaching as an opportunity of employment which is socially and culturally accepted and respected. Teaching employment empowers women and improves their visibility in the public sphere which can lead to acceptance of women in other occupations as well.

Economic Need and Social Class

Women's disadvantaged position in the labour market has often been associated with their 'choice' to invest in their human capital (Polachek, 2004). Application of this argument, in the context of Pakistan, has some limitations due to gender disparity in terms of access to education. Women's empowerment, their education and employability are directly related to the social class structure of society in Pakistan (Mohiuddin, 1991; Bibi and Afzal, 2012;

Sattar, Yasin and Afzal, 2012). On the one hand, women in Pakistan have acquired important political positions. Pakistan is the first Muslim country to have a woman as a Prime Minister and the current Speaker of the National Assembly, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador of Pakistan in the USA were all women during the PPP government from 2008-2013. However, if examined more closely, women who have reached such positions have influential political family backgrounds with strong financial support (Bano, 2009). On the other hand, many women in Pakistan face discrimination in terms of access to education and employment opportunities.

Pakistan has not yet achieved free and compulsory primary education and the literacy rate is 70% for males and 50% for females (Labour Force Survey, 2015). Access to education opportunities is tied to the class structure of society and the availability of schools in the local area (Sattar, Yasin and Afzal, 2012). However, achievement of universal primary education by 2015 with special emphasis on providing access to marginalised groups, particularly girls, is one of the main priorities of Pakistan's Government (National Education Policy, 2009). Despite the increase in the enrolment rate of boys and girls in the past years the proportion of girls' and boys' schools reflects the earlier government practice of one girls' school to two boys' schools (Lloyd, Mete and Sathar, 2005). As public sector schooling in Pakistan has mainly been single sex particularly at the secondary level, the number of public sector girls' schools is less than the number of boys' schools (SED, 2014). In this context, teachers in Pakistan, particularly women, belong to families that not only encourage girl's education but also have access and income to attain the required qualifications. Therefore, the socioeconomic background has an important impact on women's education. A female public sector secondary school teacher said:

I graduated in 1984 [...]. At that time a woman graduating was a big thing. I was able to do it because I belonged to a wealthy family and we had resources and land. (Naima)

When asked about education and qualifications a female private sector O/A Levels teacher highlighted the keen interest of her parents in her studies:

My parents have always given significance to the education of all of their children [...] My mother and father both were practicing doctors [...] they sent us to very good private institutions and never compromised on our education. (Humaira)

Sidra, a private sector primary level teacher with a MSc in Computer Sciences explained why she had chosen to teach, although her degree was not related to the field:

When I finished my graduation, my parents were not able to find anyone suitable to marry me. And at that time they didn't allow me to do a job. I could not sit at home idly and they had the resources so I started a masters and computer science was a very popular subject in those days.

While this may initially appear contradictory, it is important to highlight that some women join the teaching profession to change their working class background. With the changing trends towards women's education in Pakistan, young career oriented women join particularly public sector teaching to improve their earning power. This counters the argument that women are more likely to get education if they have strong socioeconomic background. The findings indicate that comparatively young public sector school teachers belong to working class families and join the teaching profession to improve their earning power and lifestyle. Families of these women have been supportive of their education and want them to earn their living in a socially respectable way. The important factor in this scenario is extra effort and hard work on part of both women and their families. Suhana, a 23-year-old public sector primary school teacher said:

I am the oldest one and have three sisters and we don't have a brother. My father works in a factory and my mother is a tailor and works from home. [...] I can see they have worked hard to send all of us to school and now they are very proud that I have a government job.

Fozia, aged 20 years, recently joined teaching as a contractual primary teacher in a public sector school. While talking about her motivations to join teaching, she mentioned:

I am from a single parent household and an only child. My mother used to work as a domestic helper in different houses from morning till evening. Where I live many women in the area used to do the same work and take their young daughter with them for help instead of sending them to school. But my mother decided to send me to school so I never had to work like her. It was not easy financially and sometimes she took loans to pay my fees. [...] I think it is because of my mother's determination and prayers that I have started a very respectful job.

The evidence to support this argument is limited to young primary level teachers in public sector schools. Yet it may indicate the changing trends in women's education and in schools' employment practices. It shows how families' preferences are changing regarding women's education and indicates that joining the teaching profession is simple and there is relatively easy access to attaining required qualifications. Another important fact to notice is that these women have joined primary level teaching instead of any other level. Acquiring qualifications to teach at the primary level are more easily obtainable and require limited economic resources compared to any other level of teaching in the public sector. Asma, a 24-year-old public sector primary school teacher identified resources and training time to be the most important factors when choosing teaching as a career. She said,

After matric (10th grade) my family didn't had enough money to send me to college in the city because at that time we were living in a village and there was no girls' college in that area. I was good in studies and wanted to be a doctor but my school teacher guided me that it is much easier to become a teacher than to be a doctor. It takes less time and financial resources. She arranged my fee and registered me to do PTC (Primary teaching course) through the Open University. It was a one-year course and after that I was able to start teaching at the primary level.

Despite the increase in women's participation in the labour market, there is a clear demarcation in men's and women's work in order to run a household. The traditional model of the male as 'breadwinner' and female as 'house-maker' strongly prevails in Pakistani society (Malik and Khalid, 2008). Men are considered the provider of the family and have responsibility to bear all household expenses. In contrast, women are responsible for domestic work, childcare and elderly care. Consequently, even in dual career couples, the earnings of male family members are the primary source to fulfil household expenses, whereas female earnings in the family are considered supplementary. With this contextual background, the respondents highlighted that teaching is not a very lucrative job in Pakistan and it is suitable for women because it is only a source of additional income and benefits for the family. One of the major motivations for women to join or to remain in the teaching profession is free or subsidised education for their children. The private schools in Pakistan benefit their teachers by giving free education to their first child and subsidise half the tuition fee for the second child. Some private sector schools have very high tuition fees, particularly targeted at students with middle or upper class family backgrounds. Women teachers are providing extra financial

support with their pay to support their family earnings and creating opportunities for their children to attend schools which they would not be able to attend otherwise. Tania, a primary level teacher at a private school commented:

My kids are studying in this school and to be honest, we would not be able to afford the fee of this school otherwise. I don't care that much about my pay now because I am here for the better future for my kids.

Maria is a mother of two children and teaches at the secondary level of a private sector school. She said:

The biggest advantage is that I go to school with my children and come home with them, I know their teachers and I can keep a close eye on their school performance and most of all I don't have to pay full fee. Both of my kids go to the same school and I only have to pay half of the tuition fee for my youngest one.

Similarly, Humaira, a female O/A Level teacher said:

Although teaching is not a very well-paid job, the fact that your child will not only easily get admission in an elite private school but will have a full fee concession is not ignorable.

Teaching is a low paid profession and it is very difficult to meet an average family's expenses. For this reason, most of the respondents perceived that men do not find teaching very attractive. As the breadwinners, they have to financially support their family and if they choose to teach it is difficult to fulfil their role as provider. On the contrary, for women teaching provides an opportunity to bring additional income to the home. Rubina, a female secondary level private school teacher said:

Males have no charm in teaching because of its low pay. They have to run a family and the starting pay in teaching is very low compared to entry level positions in other graduate jobs. Therefore, it is never in their priority to join teaching. But teaching is very suitable for women in our society. We don't have to run a household but some extra income is always helpful. Moreover, it is better than sitting idly at home and the timings are compatible with our household work.

The interview data show that women are motivated to join teaching as it provides the household with an additional income and in the private sector free or subsidised education for their children. Men as breadwinners of the family do not consider teaching as their first choice of profession particularly at school level. Public sector teaching, however, remains male-dominated. While acknowledging the small sample size of male teachers interviewed for this study, it is difficult to draw any consistent inferences. 14 of the 15 male school teachers interviewed for this research, however, consider that teaching was not their first or preferred choice when they started their professional careers. They joined teaching because it was easy to get a job in the education sector and they were unable to join other occupations despite various attempts. The main argument drawn from the interview data is that men join the teaching 'profession' because of the pressing economic needs and fewer barriers to become a teacher. It is easy to become a teacher compared to joining other professions where the required qualifications are similar. Naveed, a male O/A Level teacher in private sector school said:

I started teaching in a private academy in the evenings when I was a student myself. I was not very serious about it, I just started it to get some pocket money. Then, after finishing my studies I searched for different jobs. I wanted to work in industry and looked for a suitable job for more than a year. Meanwhile, I continued to teach part-time to financially support myself. But then I got very upset and one of my colleagues in the academy told me that there is a morning job in a school and he can recommend me. I applied for that job and got it and since then I am teaching.

Rizwan, a male middle and secondary level private school teacher said:

I joined teaching because I had no option. I used to work in a private firm as an IT assistant but after a year they restructured the department and I lost my job. I had to financially support my family so I applied for a computer teacher job in a private school. The pay was low but I thought that I can temporarily do this job until I find a suitable one.

Imran, a male primary level music teacher in a private sector school shared his experience of joining teaching as a career:

My Father wanted me to join the banking sector because he used to think that the financial sector had higher remuneration. [...] I took admission in B. Com. (Bachelors of Commerce), but I was not very good with numbers so I could not pass it. [...] My family does not have any background in music but my father had interest in it. So, me and my brother took training in classical music. Meanwhile, I passed the exams of the BA (Bachelor of Arts). After that I started to perform in small family functions with my brother. But when I got married, I wanted some stable income. Doing small concerts is not a predictable job, sometimes we have work and sometimes we don't. It is difficult to raise a family on such income. This way, I decided to join teaching because it could provide extra fixed income with short working hours and at the same time it was very easy to get a job in a private sector school. So, this was the situation in which I joined teaching and now I teach music in the morning and sing at different places in the evening and earn my living.

Male teachers showed the concerns that as a main earner of the family it is difficult to manage on one teaching job. In order to meet their family expenses, they have to take up extra work. They often work at different institutions or teach students privately at home. A majority of male teachers have to take up multiple jobs to generate an acceptable earning. Khalil, a higher secondary school teacher, shared his experience of multiple jobs. He said:

A house cannot be run on just a school salary. In order to cover all expenses, I have to work at different places. I work from 8am till 2pm at the school. Then from 2:30pm till 5pm, I teach at a private academy. After that I go home and then a few students come home for tuition. From all this, I get free around 9pm. Even after adding all these jobs, I think my income is hardly equal to a corporate professional working 9am – 5pm in an office environment.

Similarly, Irfan, an O/A Levels teacher contributed:

Along with teaching at school I work in the academy in the evening. It is important to do two jobs because first I get free early so, I have time to do it and secondly and more importantly, I have to earn more in order to meet my family's expenses.

The inequality in access and means to education and low literacy rate for women in Pakistan indicates that women who join teaching belong to certain social class backgrounds. A majority of these women had economically stable family backgrounds through which they were able to afford education. The interviews, however, have also indicated that some of the families of the teachers have worked hard to support them to become teachers, particularly in the primary level public school teaching. The private sector attracts women by enabling them to access better education for their children. The economic need and social class along with the policies and practices of private educational institutions contributes towards the feminisation of teaching.

Conclusion

This chapter has contributed to understanding of the processes and factors impacting the decisions of women and men to join teaching. It was guided by the research objective to analyse women's and men's decision making processes when deciding to join teaching.

The findings of this chapter partially contradict Hakim's (2000; 2002) argument that a majority of women *prefer* an adaptive lifestyle and choose an occupation which allows them to combine their employment with their family demands. Although interview data shows that women in Pakistan are attracted to the teaching profession due to its working hours and flexibility to take work home their 'choices' are shaped by social and economic relations. The sexual division of labour, sex-typing of work, gendered division of public and private spheres, social class background and economic conditions constrain 'choices' of individuals.

Bradley (1989) suggested that gender segregation is understood by combining the concepts of *production* and *reproduction* which involves the structural constraints and gender relations but operates differently in different contexts. This chapter confirms that the differences in socio-cultural and economic context alter the processes and explanations of gender segregation. In the context of Pakistan, these structural and relational constraints interact with the state's social and legal policies impacting women's and men's status and role in society. Social implications of the state's role have been powerful than the legal implications in altering public beliefs and enforcement of religion, which has led to women's control and segregation (Grünenfelder, 2013). The findings suggest that the sexual division of labour, gendering of work, and interpretation of religion interacts with the structuring of professions (in terms of providing segregated environments, working hours and flexibility) to limit the

employment options for women. A majority of the women teachers perceive the teaching profession as an opportunity for them to work in the labour market because alternatively they would not be permitted to participate in paid work. Teaching provides a segregated environment and compatibility with domestic responsibilities. It is perceived as an 'honourable' and accepted occupation for women, because of its association with feminine traits and a women's role in society. These factors assist women to gain their families' permission to work. Therefore, on the one hand, teaching provides a chance for women to be able to work and empower themselves. On the other hand, however, it creates segregation in the labour market. The teaching occupation works as a barrier for women to join other professions.

The focus of this chapter was to highlight the changing traditions and cultural practices which influence the decision-making of men and women in choosing teaching. Traditionally, men used to control women by making them financially dependent and not allowing them to take part in economic activities outside the home (Gazdar, 2003). However, with the changing economic and social scenario women are participating in formal employment (Bibi and Afzal, 2012). This study suggest that women are, however, segregated to jobs considered as an extension of and compatible with their domestic role and have no or limited interaction with men. Teaching has been associated with feminine attributes such as a motherly nature, caring, nurturing and being part of women's natural responsibilities. Both men and women perceive teaching as a suitable job for women and one of the reasons for attracting women into the education sector. Therefore, the teaching occupation provides a chance for women to participate in formal employment but is not considered as a suitable profession for men. The interview data suggest that the teaching occupation is not a first priority for men, it is not perceived as a lucrative job by the men interviewed for this study, due to their ascribed role as breadwinners. They have to occupy multiple jobs in order to support their families.

Having determined the reasons why the male and female interviewees in this study 'chose' to pursue a job in teaching and the constraints that have driven these 'choices' the following two chapters further explore the quality of teaching employment in relation to teachers' pay, autonomy and career advancement opportunities from a gender perspective.

Chapter 6: Pay and Career in Teaching

Introduction

The previous chapter explored women's and men's motivations for pursuing a career in teaching. The interview data offered insights into prevailing gender norms in Pakistan and their manifestation in gendered roles within the household. Women and men referred to teaching as offering employment that cohered with societal expectations of women and conserved the propriety of the household. Working hours in the profession were thought to accommodate women's 'homemaker' role – or second shift after income-earning. Pay, on the other hand, while commonly thought inadequate for teachers in general, was typically discussed as a deterrent to higher levels of male recruitment to teaching or as an incentive for male teachers to hold multiple paid job-roles.

Teaching has been considered a 'semi-profession' due to its association with feminine attributes, low pay and tight external control (Etzioni, 1969; Bolton and Muzio, 2008). The findings of this study discussed in the previous chapter have confirmed that teaching is stereotypically considered as 'women's work' due to women's assumed 'natural' abilities. This chapter now turns the attention to the occupational status and quality of employment in teaching by focusing upon teachers' pay, career advancement, knowledge and autonomy in order to evaluate the quality of employment within teaching. While this chapter focuses on pay and career advancement opportunities in teaching, chapter 7 examines the levels of knowledge and autonomy amongst teachers.

It is important to examine financial rewards and career advancement opportunities for teachers in order to assess where teachers stand in relation to the broader career prospects in Pakistani society (UNESCO, 2013). Another significant reason to analyse rewards is to examine the influence of government policies and the economic context in relation to gender equality within teaching. The uneven feminisation of teaching in the public and private sectors, at different levels of teaching, provides interesting ground to compare and contrast rewards in teaching in these sectors and levels. The chapter sketches pay setting for public and private sector school teachers and presents evidence of pay and income disparities between men and women, before turning to teachers' perceptions of the fairness of their rewards. The comparisons are drawn with the pay attained in other professions and within teaching; that is women teachers' opportunity to raise their income compared to men's. In

relation to this, the chapter's second main theme is promotion and the opportunities for career advancement for women and men, taking into account some important distinctions between the public and private schools sector in respect to promotion criteria and scope for career progression. In addition, the issues of pay and career advancement highlighted by teachers are analysed while taking into account the role of the state and social context.

Teacher's Pay

It is relevant to recall that the Government in Pakistan is committed to the expansion of education provision, in the interests of the economy's development, the redress of poverty and (nominally at least) the closure of gender disparities in literacy rates (UNESCO, 2013). The government subscribed to the *Education for All* initiative and *Millennium Development Goals* launched in 2000. In 2010, it amended Pakistan's Constitution to 'guarantee' a Right to Education for all five to sixteen-year-old children. There was an expansion in education provision over the 2000s; the number of schools, number of school teachers and enrolment of students increased (Ibid: 18). On a range of indicators, however, the rate of progress was judged alarmingly slow (UNESCO 2013; Rawal, Aslam and Jamil, 2013). This was in respect to the quantity of education (e.g. participation rates) and quality of education (education outcomes).

In the policy-oriented academic literature there has been criticism of Government, for diverting inadequate share of GDP to the development of education and, in relation to this, to the improvement of teachers' pay and working conditions (Rawal *et al.*, 2013). The research literature on teachers' job satisfaction, motivation and performance has grown (Khan, 2004; Nadeem *et al.*, 2011). Successive reports on the *Status of Teaching in Pakistan*, UNESCO (2013:39) has warned of (male and female) teacher shortages in relation to provincial governments' education sector plans, formed in accordance with federal government education targets. The shortfall was estimated to be 62,000 teachers in the Punjab province in 2012. To reiterate, however, there was an expansion of provision in the past decade and the expansion of capacity in the private sector schools (number of schools, number of school teachers) was especially pronounced.

For Pakistan overall, the teaching workforce is now distributed evenly between private and public sector schools -47 % and 53 % respectively (Ibid: 18), but the geographical spread is uneven. In the Punjab province there are fewer private than public sector schools, but the

proportion of teachers in the private sector is now above that of the public sector (Ibid:19). Women's share of teaching employment is substantially higher in the private school sector in comparison with the public sector; in 2009, the Ministry of Education estimated for Pakistan as a whole that women made up 71 % of private sector school teachers. Punjab is one of three regions where women now predominate among teachers as a whole; they represent 65 % of the total according to UNESCO (2013: 17) although unevenly distributed between urban and rural areas. As detailed in chapter three, the expansion of the private school sector has been supported by state policy. Of significance is also that in parallel with prescriptions to improve teachers' pay and conditions, comes the advice to government to extend private sector schools' management practice to the public schools' sector, so as to achieve education provision targets (e.g. World Bank, 2014). The interviews with teachers for this research captured some evidence of nascent new practices, detailed in later sections.

Pay Setting

Public sector teachers' pay and employment terms and conditions in Pakistan are in essence those used for civil servants (Recruitment Policy, 2013). Teachers' pay is determined by their employment grade on the Basic Pay Scales (BPS). As discussed in Chapter three (and illustrated in Table 3.2), the BPS improves with the level of education at which teachers teach. For example, the BPS for primary teachers is lower than for middle or secondary teachers. Over and beyond the basic pay, teachers are entitled to a number of allowances such as house rent, conveyance allowance, medical allowance and ad hoc relief allowance (Khan, 2004; Appendix III shows a salary slips with the basic pay and benefits).

After the devolution of the education sector under the 18th amendment of the Constitution of Pakistan, since 2012 it is a responsibility of the provincial government to set the pay scales for teachers. The Punjab government, however, has made no changes to teachers' grades and BPS. Although the provincial government has changed the policy to hire teachers on temporary contracts and raised the minimum entry qualifications, but has made no improvement in the BPS (Recruitment Policy, 2014). Moreover, the workload of teachers is not limited to academic activities; rather, teachers are liable to perform various duties entrusted by the relevant authorities (Ibid, 30). The public school teachers in Punjab have long been campaigning against the non-teaching activities through unions and associations. The bureaucracy, however, have defended their policy by pointing out that public sector employees have to perform any government duties delegated to them (Ali, 2013).

In Punjab, the pay scales are uniform across the teaching workforce, although there are differences in pay since there is vertical segregation; women are concentrated in lower-graded positions due to cultural expectations, gender norms and their relationship to the domestic sphere (Recruitment Policy, 2013; Khan, 2007). In the public sector of Punjab, the number of male secondary level teachers is greater than the number of female secondary level teachers and there are fewer men than women in middle or primary level education (School Education Department, 2012). Public sector schools are not responsible for the administration of pay and benefits for teachers which is centralised and the responsibility of the Office of the Accountant General (AG) of the province. Therefore, any issues related to the pay of teachers in Punjab are reviewed by the AG Office in Lahore.

In the private school sector, pay determination is decentralised and may be largely under the control of the school's owners or managers, at least within the constraints of having to recruit and retain teachers and enrol students. Small and medium-scale private schools are often reported as paying teachers less than the minimum wage (Daily Times, 2009; The Express Tribune, 2012a; The Express Tribune, 2012b; Khan, Noreen and Ahmed, 2012). They may not concede any annual increment or summer and winter holiday pay, despite charging full fees from students (Dawn, 2010; Siddiqui, 2011). The situation of teachers employed in the elite private sector schools is better; their pay is higher than teachers' elsewhere in the private sector and indeed the public sector (taking level of teaching into account) and they may have relatively generous paid leave and benefits; for example, access to reduced school fees for their own children, as reported in chapter five. These schools, however, also lack standard and consistent policies regarding teachers' pay. A main reason for the lack of standard pay structure is the limited regulation of private schools exercised by government (Khan, Noreen and Ahmed, 2012). In addition, the lack of established unions for teachers in the private sector compared to the public sector (Khan, 2007).

Gender, Pay and Income

The public sector offers a transparent pay structure based on the BPS scales. The findings of this study show that in the private sector, a school teacher's pay is a function of the level of education at which they teach and also the type of school in which they are employed: elite, medium, or low-income. Common across the public and private school sector, however, are pay differences related to gender segregation. In the public sector women are proportionately

over-represented in lower graded teaching positions (see figure 3.5). In private sector schools, male teachers are most visible in roles and positions that are relatively well paid (Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2008).

From interviews with forty-eight school teachers in Lahore conducted for this study, it is possible to determine pay and earnings. Both the highest and lowest monthly pay was reported by the 29 teachers in private sector schools. The lowest monthly pay rates were cited by the pre-primary and primary level teachers in the two small scale private schools. The teachers interviewed indicated that these schools hire only female teachers and do not employ male teachers in order to provide a comfortable environment without any risk of sexual harassment (Siddiqui, 2012). It was among staff teaching at O/A Level at the elite private sector schools that the highest monthly pay was indicated and the data gathered at these two schools showed that men were employed in the majority were working in the schools' O/A Levels section.

Evidence of the lowest pay was recorded in one of the private sector schools where teachers were earning less than the national minimum wage. This finding is consistent with many newspaper reports (Daily Times, 2009; The Express Tribune, 2012a; The Express Tribune, 2012b; Khan, Noreen and Ahmed, 2012). It was reported by the interviewees that at the time job offers were made, the schools' management informed applicants that if they wanted the job they would have to sign a contract stating higher pay than that they would actually receive. The schools take advantage of the lack of oversight or regulation by the state. Teachers, particularly women, accept such conditions when their options are constrained, for example by a need to work close to home and lack of alternative teaching jobs in the vicinity. Farida, a female primary level private school teacher commented:

We have to sign a contract when we start the job which has a different salary figure than what we are actually given. We were told that if we need the job we have to accept it. [...] This is common knowledge but something which is not discussed very openly.

Ruby, another primary level teacher at the same school said:

Pay determination here is not a very transparent process. The school owners wrongly take advantage of teachers and pay us less than they declare. You must

have understood the concept; they actually maximise profits by paying low salary as well as taxes.

The concentration of women in the lowest paid level of teaching is influenced by political governance issues and social relations. The state's liberalisation policy and promotion of private investment in education provision allows limited intervention in the reward management of private school teachers (Siddiqui, 2010). Moreover, poor implementation of existing legislation and the state's lack of proclivity to monitor the private sector have allowed this sector to hire teachers at pay below the minimum wage (Siddiqui, 2010; Khan, Noreen and Ahmed, 2012). Taking advantage of the lack of regulation, the private sector schools aim to maximise profit and exploit women teachers. These schools present their policies of hiring women only as teacher-centred: to provide a secure and comfortable working environment. It is questionable, however, whether the policies primarily reflect such concern or the aim of attracting cheap and 'compliant' labour. The reasons why women accept wages below the formal contract can include economic need and the absence of practical (close to home) and approved (culturally, and by the head of the household) alternative employment.

In contrast, the elite private sector schools offer the highest pay for teaching at O/A Level. This is recorded in other studies (e.g. Khan 2004), but of interest in the evidence amassed in Lahore was the higher earnings potential of men teaching at this level compared to women. Seven women and eight men among the 48 school teacher interviewees taught at O/A level in elite private sector schools. A clear pattern of earnings difference was observed, and related to the types of employment contract held and male teachers' multiple job-holding.

The lowest monthly income (through single or multiple teaching jobs) among the 15 research participants was in the range Rs. 21,000 – Rs. 30,000¹³ whereas the highest was Rs. 500,000 or above. Seven of the eight men reported monthly incomes higher than those attained by any of the seven female teachers. Two of the eight men had monthly incomes above Rs. 500,000 which was the highest monthly income recorded in this study, including the higher education sector. Five of the eight men had monthly incomes between Rs. 200,000 – Rs. 500,000, still higher than the pay of any female O/A Levels teacher. Only one of the eight men earned around Rs.110, 000 which was the highest income reported by any of the female O/A Levels teachers. Although based on a small sample, this data shows the size and significance of the

¹³ In 2011 when the interviews were conducted, the £1 was almost equal to Rs. 140. According to this exchange range Rs. 21,000 would have been equal to almost £120 and Rs. 500,000 would have been equal to around £3,570.

income gap. In comparison, all female respondents were performing single paid employment. Three of the seven female teachers earned between Rs. 21,000 – Rs. 30,000, the lowest at this level. Four of the seven women teachers reported monthly earnings of between Rs. 40,000 – Rs. 60,000 (See Table 6.1).

| | | Male Teachers | Female Teachers |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Non-Elite Private Schools | Primary Level | — | 4,000 – 8,000 |
| | Secondary Level | 21,000 – 30,000 | 10,000 – 25,000 |
| Elite Private Schools | Primary Level | 110,000 – 500,000 | 21,000 – 110,000 |
| | Secondary Level | — | 15,000 – 32,000 |
| Public Sector Schools | Primary Level | 51,000 – 60,000 | 41,000 – 50,000 |
| | Secondary Level | — | — |

Note: The data is based on the monthly income of the individuals through single or a range of teaching jobs

The main sources of difference in income for men and women O/A Levels teachers were men’s multiple teaching jobs, subject specialism and contract type. Four of the eight men interviewed had full-time employment in elite private schools and also taught in the evening at academies. Although their monthly pay in regular employment in elite schools was on average equal to their female counterparts, they were able to increase their earnings because they had the freedom to take up multiple jobs. The women’s ‘double burden’ of employment and unpaid domestic work or childcare precluded this option for them.

Four of the eight ‘high earner’ men held part-time contracts in elite schools. They were subject specialists who taught in the elite schools, evening academies and tuition centres. That is to say, rather than having full-time employment with a single employer their preference was part-time work in a number of institutions. Despite being on *short-term contracts*, these teachers sometimes received higher monthly pay for a single job than teachers in ‘regular’ full-time/permanent employment. These teachers were able to negotiate their pay on the basis of their previous performance, popularity with students and in turn the pressure on schools exerted by parents demanding their continuing employment. It shows that the elite private schools follow a ‘headhunting’ recruitment strategy to hire subject specialists. Imtiaz, a private sector A Level teacher and Headmaster of an O/A Levels section said:

We also hire the best teachers on contract so these teachers only come to take particular classes. For example, if a mathematics or physics teacher is very well known and in demand by our students or their parents and has a very good record in terms of their students' result then we hire them to provide the best coaching to our students. [...] The pay of these teachers is very competitive and different from our regular teachers. It depends on the subject they teach, what they are ready to accept or sometimes we have to match or make a better offer than they are getting from other schools.

This finding, that the highest earners among the 48 school teacher interviewees were men with 'non-standard' and non-permanent contracts, is in contrast to the general argument that flexible, contract based and/or part-time jobs are feminised and low-paid (Standing, 1999). However, the high earnings of the male contract teachers are a function of their individual bargaining power and in turn their specialist skills – including, although not confined to, subject specialism, their capacity (or willingness) to build reputation for results-focused teaching (exam passes), and the context of schools managed with particular receptivity to the opinion of customers/parents. School owners and managers may also be pleased to concede high pay for short teaching inputs (relieving the fixed overhead of permanent staff numbers).

Contract teaching comes with some costs. These teachers only come to school for teaching hours and other than that they are not available to interact with students or colleagues. Six of the seven permanent female teachers interviewed, teaching at O/A Levels, had lower monthly earnings and the additional responsibilities of, for example, pastoral care. Siddiqui (2010:87) refers to 'touch-and-go teaching' where *visiting teachers* work in usually three to four institutions. He argued that such teachers are unable to build a working relationship with the students which impacts on the quality of the teaching. Contract teachers are successful in terms of students' results because they focus on exam preparation rather than students' development. They develop guided notes and exercises for students based on past exam papers, so that students learn how to manage the exam rather than become familiar with the recommended text books and the syllabus as a whole. For Siddiqui (2010), such teaching practices are a principal example of the *commodification of education* under the state's neo-liberal agenda. His criticism is reiterated by teachers' unions.

The for-profit private sector educational institutions have been operated on a business model to maximise profits. That has not been the model for the state sector, at least not until

recently. Nonetheless, there has been a transposition of private sector teacher employment practices. Khan (2004) described the government's introduction of a new contractual appointment strategy to meet education targets, conserve the budget and inject private sector disciplines in the state schools sector. The ostensibly temporary contracts, pending the teacher's 'promotion' to regular employment, have in many instances proved more permanent. Teachers' unions have protested in the Sindh province and in Punjab; the Punjab Teachers' Association (PTA), the oldest of the established teachers' unions, staged a sit-in in front of the Civil Secretariat in May 2011 to press demands for a salary increase that keeps pace with inflation, as well as for permanent contracts for teachers (Ali, 2013). Women teachers working in what were publicly funded 'railway schools' on desperately low pay demonstrated in Lahore in December 2012 to achieve regular contracts. More recently, the focus of PTA campaigns has been against proposals for performance pay, related to students' exam performance and use of the 'Discipline and Accountability Act' to penalise teachers for student under-performance and, more broadly, the importation of private sector practice to the state school sector at what is thought the behest of 'foreign advisers' to government (Teacher Solidarity, 2014).

Certainly the World Bank (2014) has advised that its survey research of the lowest performing schools in three districts in Punjab finds it is teacher performance (not as might be intuited, school resourcing or location) that is accountable for varying degrees of student learning. The finding, it is said, is consistent with the thesis that variable teacher performance is a function of weak schools' governance and accountability. The same World Bank news feature proposes that the recent expansion of low cost private schools in Pakistan has made them a viable alternative (to state schools) for 'even the poor'. Studies of these schools, it is suggested, 'have found that student learning is higher and teachers perform better, although teachers are paid less and are often less educated than their counterparts in government schools'. The effort is to convince World Bank (2014) news feature readers that 'knowledge or degrees alone do not ensure good teachers. It is incentives for good performance and disincentives for shirking responsibility that drives behaviour and resultant performance'.

Teacher's perception of fairness and equality of rewards

The majority of the school teachers in Lahore who participated in this research (41 of the 48) expressed low levels of satisfaction with their pay and benefits. The public and private sector teachers interviewed perceived their pay to be unfair in two main respects. First, the rewards are considered unsatisfactory in the context of inflation and rising living expenses; male

Teachers need to have dual jobs to meet the expenses of their household. Second, a majority of teachers perceive their pay to be low when compared to other professions. A substantial body of research lends credence to that perception (Khan 2004; Nadeem *et al.*, 2011; UNESCO 2013).

The deteriorating economic situation in Pakistan in recent years and the rising rate of inflation (Jalil, Tariq and Bibi, 2014) make it difficult for the majority of teachers in the public and private sectors to manage the cost of living on their income. Khalil, a public sector secondary level male teacher expressed in his views that:

The inflation rate is on average 16% whereas the annual increments are not even 2%, who could be satisfied with the pay in these circumstances? Every year despite the increments it is impossible to meet the basic living expenses in this pay.

Farhat, a public sector primary level female teacher argued:

The yearly increment we get is nothing compared to the inflation rate in the country. I think all occupations are suffering due to problems in the economy but teachers have always been a neglected group and economic crisis have made thing worse for us.

Teachers working for twenty years or more in the public sector highlighted that while the pay had been satisfactory in the past, in the current context and notwithstanding increments, it was difficult to manage their expenses on their pay. Kiran, a female secondary level teacher working in the public sector for twenty-two years said:

In the past I used to contribute equally as my husband in the household expenses. But now my salary is not enough to even cover half of our expenses. Every year it is becoming difficult to survive and manage our basic expenses like bills, rent and food for the family.

Similar views were articulated by private sector teachers, particularly women. Unaiza, a female O/A level teacher in a private sector school teacher said:

Comparatively, my pay is better than the primary or middle level teachers but if I compare it with my household expenses then I believe it is not sufficient unless someone else is earning and contributing towards expenses.

Hina, a private sector primary level female teacher thought:

My pay is fine just for one person but it is practically impossible to raise a family on it.

These observations demonstrate that few men or women teachers were satisfied with their pay. Teaching is considered relatively low-paid work by my sample of teachers and, as suggested, many commentators on teaching in Pakistan (UNESCO, 2013; Khan, 2007). Women may be pushed into the labour market by changing economic conditions that make a single, male breadwinner an untenable option for the household. At the same time, their options in the labour market have been circumscribed and confined to work ascribed as appropriate for their gender and class. In this scenario, their work is undervalued; the skills that were unpaid in the private sphere become the excuse ('natural assets') for under-payment in the employment spheres they are permitted to inhabit. A majority of women have to continue to rely on other earning members of the family to manage the household expenses. Therefore, women teachers are not considered as main earning members of the family and their pay is seen as an extra income for the household. The presumption of their economic dependence is the employer's excuse for extending offers of low paid work (Beechey, 1977).

The 15 male teachers interviewed indicated dissatisfaction with the pay they attained as 'the main breadwinner' of the household (in practice or potential). Unlike women, however, men are not designated prime responsibility for domestic and care work, and are able to take multiple jobs to achieve a better income. Among the male teacher interviewees working in either the private or the public schools sector, most had a second or even multiple paid jobs. Most taught in small private tuition centres/academies and/or gave private tuition to students after school hours. All three male respondents working in public schools perceived their pay inadequate despite multiple teaching jobs. Rizwan, a private school secondary level male teacher said:

I don't believe teachers are rewarded fairly. I am doing two jobs and I have to work long hours and still I struggle to meet my household expenses. Teaching is a very demanding job; we have to prepare for our classes, deliver them and then the marking - it seems like a never-ending job with inadequate rewards.

Doing second jobs might for World Bank (2014) researchers be the equivalent of *shirking* but as the testimonies of the teachers' quoted here show, it is the corollary of relatively low-pay in

the main teaching job for men that have been ascribed ‘breadwinner’ status in Pakistan’s society and culture.

Andrabi *et al.* (2008) argued that there is a substantial difference between public and private sector teachers’ pay, the former out-performing the latter. Most commentators emphasise the tremendous variation in pay in the private sector schools (UNESCO, 2013). Nonetheless, it is fairly safe to say that on average private school teachers are paid less than public school teachers and this was certainly the view of the majority of the 19 public school teachers interviewed. Many emphasised better pay and benefits and it has been the case that public school teachers have enjoyed the job security of civil servants, although as indicated earlier, there has been encroachment of this. Ammara, a female public sector primary teacher said:

Here, pay and benefits are much better than private sector schools. The major advantages in the public sector are job security, pension scheme, and regular increments in pay. All these incentives are missing in the private sector.

Tariq, a public sector secondary level male teacher said:

Government definitely pay better than private sector school owners. In the private sector, the main objective is to get profit so the majority of schools pay less to teachers compared to public sector.

Moreover, public school teachers *on fixed contracts* compared their pay with colleagues’ with ‘regular’, permanent status. The former are not entitled to any benefits and yearly pay increments. The usual length of the contract is five years and the teachers remain on the same pay for this time period despite inflation and economic situation. All contract based teachers participated in this study were young, single women who have recently joined primary level teaching. Fozia, a female primary level teacher in a public sector school said:

My pay package is different from a permanent teacher. It is a fixed pay contract and I do not receive any benefits and pay increments although my work is exactly the same as the permanent primary teacher.

Comparatively, pay in the private schools’ sector is inconsistent and depends on school type, although discrepancies also reflect gender, subject and level of teaching. The interview data indicate that pay is on average better amongst the public school teachers compared to the private sector. As has been emphasised, the private sector’s expansion has been pronounced

over the past decade (see figure 3.4). Its workforce is significantly more feminised than that of the public school sector and it could be said that women's labour supply has been 'mobilised' to achieve the sector's growth, while private sector approaches in pay and contracts (with some assistance from government) have begun to impinge on the public sector.

Teaching is considered a low paid job compared to other professions such as medicine, law, and management (Wylie, 2000; Ingersoll and Merrill, 2011; Nadeem *et al.* 2011). In this study both public and private sector teachers compared their pay to various occupations and a majority of the respondents perceived teaching as low-paid and less reputable than other professions. Farid, a boy's public school Headmaster said:

Anyone who wants to join the army, CSS (Central Superior Services) or any reputable profession would have been taught by teachers. But unfortunately pay and benefits for teachers are nowhere near these professions.

Uma, a female public sector secondary teacher said:

The difference is clear if we compare teacher's pay and benefits with other public services. Take the example of bureaucrats, their status and living standard is totally different compared to a mere teacher.

In the private sector, teachers considered their pay low compared to the pay of their family members and friends in other occupations. Rubina, a female secondary private school teacher compared her pay with the pay at a private telecommunication company and said:

My son has recently joined a private multinational telecommunication company at entry level position and his pay is almost the same as me. But I have achieved this pay after twenty-five years of service and he is getting the same just after finishing his graduation.

Yousaf, a private sector primary level male teacher who performs part-time in music shows, said:

The pay is minimal in the private sector schools. Although teaching is my main job, I can almost earn my two months' pay by doing one music show at a private party. The only advantage of my school pay is consistency.

In this study, the male school teachers working at the O/A Levels section of the elite private schools showed higher satisfaction with their pay compared to the teachers teaching at any other level in the private and public sectors. As discussed earlier, male teachers teaching at O/A Levels had the highest monthly income despite working part-time in multiple private sector schools. Farhan, a male part-time teacher working in multiple elite private sector schools and academies commented:

I am satisfied with the return I get on my effort. I believe teaching is very rewarding if you know how to do it. I have to spend long hours and it is hard work but at the end I am satisfied with my income.

Farhan and other elite school male teachers aside, this study found a good deal of dissatisfaction with the pecuniary rewards of teaching, occasioned in part by macro-economic conditions, although also a sense that teaching has sunk to a low status among the professions, notwithstanding the emphasis on quality education in government policy statements.

Problems in the administration of pay

Before turning to the issue of access to promotion opportunities, it is pertinent to highlight some of the grievances among the teachers in respect to the administration of pay - particularly in the public sector. Teachers in the public sector commonly face issues in the administration of pay due to red tape bureaucratic procedures. Sometimes teachers are not paid at all for months, particularly at the beginning of the service and when their pay is revised after promotions and change in pay grade or increments. Teachers' unions and associations in different areas of Pakistan have protested strongly against this trend (The Express Tribune, 2012a; Teacher Solidarity, 2013; 2014). Sixteen of the 19 male and female teachers interviewed in public schools had faced issues in the administration of their pay. The interview data show that it can take two months to a year to receive the first salary payment and even longer to receive an accurate salary after upgrade through promotion. The issue of poor pay administration is faced both, by male and female school teachers. However, the interviews suggested male teachers were more assertive in pursuing the problem. Female teachers lacked the networking to influence on authorities to resolve these problems. As Naima, a female public sector secondary school teacher said:

When I got a new grade in 2007, they missed my one increment, now it is 2011 and I have not received it yet. I try to resolve issues through my school and then

the school complains to the AG office about problems in pay. But if you have influence or time to go directly to the AG office then things can speed up.

On the contrary, Tariq, a male public sector secondary school teacher resolved a similar issue in six months through constant interaction with the relevant authorities.

The red tape of administration and constant delays in getting paid and receiving pay increments can amplify the sense of teaching as a 'semi-profession'; one that cannot provide a full wage for men (obliged to take additional jobs) or women (obliged to remain dependent on other family members). Despite the sense of security that payment would eventually be made, the administrative issues signalled an unprofessional attitude towards teachers, or lack of respect for their welfare and worth. Late payment of promised pay rises has been frequently the focus of teachers' unions' industrial action or demonstration.

In the private sector, the issues related to administration of pay and benefits are different from the public sector and there is a further divide within the private sector based on elite and non-elite schools. In the private sector pay determination and administration is decentralised to the level of the school. In the small scale private schools, teachers raised two main issues regarding pay. First was the lack of pay increments. Second, the teachers are not in receipt of paid summer holiday time. Tahira, a female primary level private school teacher said:

We do not get any pay for the summer holidays although schools charge students full fee in advance for the summer break.

The elite private sector schools do offer annual increments on teachers' pay. The interview data, however, shows that there is no clear practice followed by the two elite schools regarding such payments. The schools lack transparency in terms of administering the increments. In the interviews primary level teachers outlined the lack of consistency of increments. Sidra, a female primary level teacher in an elite private sector school said:

I am not sure how the pay increments work here. There is no communication about the issue from management. It is a random thing and if we are lucky we get the increment.

In the private sector, the problems of the lack of pay increments, summer vacation pay and transparency in pay administration are reported frequently through research and local media (Sidiqi, 2011; Dawn, 2010; Chughtai and Perveen, 2013). Without consistent and transparent

compensation policies in the private sector and efficient administration of pay in the public sector, it is difficult to view teaching as a financially viable occupation in Pakistan. These issues contribute towards the negative perception of teaching as a 'semi-profession' (see for example, Etzioni, 1969; Grim and Stern, 1974; Bolton and Muzio, 2008).

Teachers' Career Advancement

Social, occupational and national context shape the occupational division of labour based on gender and the role of men and women within occupations (Rubery and Fagan, 1995). The findings of this study confirm that career advancement of women in teaching jobs is dependent on the occupational structure as well as their domestic role outside the labour market. Although they have moved into the public sphere of work, women remain constrained by their relationship with the private sphere and domestic responsibilities. Vertical segregation in employment can be sustained by length of service promotion criteria, relevant credentials, qualifications and experience. Women, despite having all these attributes, have been denied access to advanced levels due to organisational and cultural issues. Cultural assumptions about the division of public and private spheres, household labour and beliefs about men's and women's roles in society impact on women's employment choices and their career progression (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990).

In Pakistan, career advancement structures and opportunities are different in the public and private sectors as discussed in chapter three. The promotion of public school teachers is based on seniority, performance and improvement in qualifications (Promotion Policy, 2011). The promotion translates into the higher BPS and teaching at advanced level of education. For example, an Elementary School Teacher at BPS 9 after promotion would be entitled to BPS 14 and would become a Senior Elementary School teacher. Hence, the next promotion would take the primary level teacher to secondary school teaching and BPS 16. The responsibility of improving qualifications lies with the teacher and the school management. The government does not provide financial support. Therefore, if a teacher is unable to invest time and resources in improving their qualifications they may retire at the same grade on which they started their career. The interview data shows that the most important factor impacting promotion in the public sector is the availability of suitable vacancies. Teachers' promotion is dependent on the availability of a position. Despite meeting the promotion criteria, teachers cannot get promoted if a vacancy is not available. Moreover, in Punjab the responsibility of teachers' promotion and professional development lies with the School Education Department

(SED) rather than the public school heads. The SED forms the Departmental Promotion Committee (DPC) which provides recommendations for the appointments by promotions (Promotion Policy, 2010). The findings indicate that in the private sector the likelihood of promotions is very low. Grading structures are flatter and there are no government regulations to monitor teachers' careers.

The interviewees suggested that there are limited opportunities for career development in teaching. Out of 48 interviews with public and private school teachers, 41 respondents had never been promoted or had been promoted just once in their career. Generally, there are fewer opportunities for progression in teaching but these appear particularly low for women: only one-woman interviewee had been promoted twice in her career compared to six men. The hierarchical structure of career progression is better in the public sector compared to the private sector.

Career advancement of teachers in the public sector

A total of sixteen female and three male teachers were interviewed in public sector schools. The small number of male respondents means some caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. Yet all three had been promoted at least twice in their teaching careers in the public sector. Only one female teacher had been promoted twice, seven of the female teachers had been promoted once in their career and eight of the female teachers had never been promoted. Half the women interviewed had been promoted, yet their progression seemed incommensurate with their years' of service. For example, Naima, a female public sector secondary teacher said:

After five years, I see myself at the same position. I would consider myself very lucky if I get promoted once more before retirement. But I have no hope. [...] I have served the education sector for almost twenty years and only one promotion is not justified even according to rules and regulations.

In contrast to Naima, Farid, a male Deputy Headmaster of a boy's public school had four promotions in terms of grades in his career of almost twenty-five years. He joined as a primary teacher in 1986 and had his first promotion in 1990 and became the Deputy Headmaster in 1996 through the Public Service Commission. Since then he has been working in different public schools as a Deputy Headmaster and is looking forward to another promotion in the near future.

The main reason for gender differences in promotions that emerged in this study relates to the mobility of female teachers and availability of suitable positions. The interview data shows that women teachers had been offered promotions but it was accompanied with a transfer to a different school where a vacancy existed. In Pakistan, women's mobility is limited due to seclusion of women and gendered social norms (Ali, 2000; Hakim and Aziz, 1998). Interview data shows that for women it is very difficult to relocate and move to a new place, in some cases a new city. Family members may be unsupportive, fearing security issues or disruption to household routine. It is particularly hard for married women with family responsibilities to relocate with their husband and children. Women teachers usually refuse to take promotion if there is no position available in their current school or nearby. Therefore, female teachers have to wait longer for promotions compared to men. Farhat, a female public school primary teacher refused to accept a promotion and continued working at the same position because of the transfer to a different city. She said:

My promotion has been due for the last four years but I am still working on the same scale I joined in. Two years back I was offered a promotion but with transfer to a remote area. I have not even told my husband about it because I knew he would not approve it.

Similarly, Kiran, a female public school secondary level teacher decided not to take a promotion. She said:

I have not taken the promotion because they were changing my school. It is in the same city but it would be so difficult for me to arrange transportation as it is quite far from my house.

Farid (a male public school Headmaster), despite having a comparatively stable career progression admitted that there are many issues in the public sector education system in terms of teacher's promotion, particularly female teachers. He commented:

The problem with public education is that it has been neglected by the government for so long. There are no hard and fast rules for promotion in practise. There is no system that tells when a teacher will get promoted. Actually what happens is, after two to three years, government revise the available positions for teachers and 33% of the seats are filled through a selection process and 67% are filled through promotion. However, the number of available seats (positions) is always

disproportionate to the number of teachers ready for their promotions. I had my last promotion after ten years whereas some of the new teachers have been promoted after five to seven years. There is no time scale for teachers, I know teachers, particularly women, who have been waiting for a promotion for fifteen to twenty years.

In comparison, male teachers accept promotions and transfers. They seem less affected by the transfers, change of school and city. Tariq, a public school secondary level male teacher said:

I have been promoted three times and now I am Subject Specialist. During my career I have worked in quite a lot of schools in this city and outside.

In-service teacher training is another important aspect influencing the promotion opportunities for male and female teachers. The public sector schools provide haphazard training opportunities and lack a systematic approach to providing training to eligible teachers. Only two of the sixteen female public school teachers interviewed have attended in-service teacher training provided by provincial government. The majority of the teachers interviewed have never participated in any training programmes. The interview data shows that public school heads/principals encourage teachers to improve their qualifications, but no financial support is available. Moreover, teachers have to utilise their private time to pursue the qualifications essential for promotion and do not get any paid time off work. Asma, a public sector primary level female teacher said:

I have never received any training in my career. Although our Headmistress encourages us to improve our qualifications in order to get better incentives and chances of promotion I have to utilise my personal resources and time to do it.

Two of the three male teachers interviewed in the public sector schools have attended in-service training during their teaching careers. Unlike female teachers, male teachers seem to be aware of the aspects significant to get selected for in-service training. They highlighted that networking with school management along with availability of any training programmes are the key factors in getting access to such in-service training opportunities. Tariq, a public school secondary level male teacher said:

It is difficult to enrol yourself in teacher training programmes. It depends on many factors. You have to be at the right stage of your career, you need to be good at

networking so the Principal or Headmaster knows you are eligible to get training and most important of all, the availability of any training programmes.

In addition to the issue of female teachers' mobility, availability of positions and in-service training opportunities, there are several administrative issues in the promotion process for public school teachers. The interviews showed the process was not well structured and transparent. There is room for promotions which are not based on merit. To get timely promotion, it is important to not only perform the job but also to be visible to the management/administrative staff. Teachers have to be very involved in the process, starting from the formulation of their Annual Confidential Report (ACR), then making sure that whenever the positions are available their documents are sent to the DPC on time and then teachers should have the right connections to make sure that their file is on top of the pile. Therefore, teachers' networking skills are more valuable than their performance. Khalil, a public school male secondary teacher thought:

It is very important to be active and visible to authorities in order to get timely promotions and it doesn't matter whether you are performing well or not in your job. As you know it is so hard to get anything done in Pakistan without the right connections and networking.

The promotion process is not supervised by the head of the school, rather, it is the responsibility of the DPC, which have separate offices and structures. In this situation, the school Heads have very little power to influence the decisions of the DPC. Shagufta, a Headmistress of a girl's public school said:

The promotion process is very ambiguous and it has no timescale. Some teachers retire in the scale they started their job in. I have examples in my school but unfortunately I cannot do anything. The promotion decision is made by the Promotion Committee.

A majority of female teachers who participated in this study have not been to the offices of DPC and the few who went to the government offices regarding issues had unpleasant experiences. Kiran, a public school female secondary teacher divulged that:

The culture of nepotism and favouritism is very common and it is very hard for us (women) to visit the government offices and make our presence felt. It is not just difficult to go there but the government office is male dominated and the

environment is very hostile towards women. You enter the office and they start giving you the impression that you are a big ‘problem’.

A similar account was provided by Huma, a primary level female public school teacher:

I have been to the government office regarding the issue of my promotion. But I don’t think it is going to help me in any way. It was full of men and they don’t want to listen to us as if whatever we have to say is meaningless.

The public sector provides a clear structure and pre-requisites for the career advancement of teachers. However, the system does not acknowledge cultural and social constraints for women teachers. Promotion is only available to men and women teachers when and where the vacancy is available. Gender relations in the private domain restrict women’s mobility and consequently their chances of promotion. Men have greater freedom to move to different locations and cities in order to avail themselves of promotion opportunities. In contrast, women, due to social family structures, are unable to relocate with their families to achieve promotion. Women teachers may refuse promotion and spend their whole career in the same position due to restrictions on their mobility. Another important factor creating gender differences in career advancement opportunities is networking. Despite standardised pre-requisites of promotion, teachers have to be vigilant about the availability of positions and performance review processes. Teachers have to network with the management to ensure timely and fair career advancement. Women with limited mobility and facing challenging cultural norms of expected behaviours are unable to develop networks with male-dominated administration staff to achieve fair promotions. Hence, while it appears the public sector offers similar promotion opportunities for male and female teachers, in practice gender relations limit women’s career advancement in both domains.

Career advancement for teachers in the private sector

There is no one standard procedure of promotion that applies to the private sector as a whole, leaving the decision-making with each individual school. However, the interview data shows that compared to public schools, the private sector has fewer career advancement opportunities for teachers. Private sector schools do not have a clear structure to offer teachers higher classes on the basis of experience or qualifications. The promotion process is ambiguous and among research participants only a few had attained promotion. A majority of teachers were working in the same position they had been recruited to when they joined the school. Twenty-one of the 29 male and female teacher interviewees working in the private

sector had never been promoted in their career. While the private sector workforce is substantially feminised, men's chances to attain a promotion seemed higher than those of women. Six of the 12 men interviewed had received promotion compared to only two of the 17 women interviewed in the private sector. This finding lends support to the argument that men gain advantage from being a numerical minority in teaching (Gaskell and Mullen, 2006; Bolton and Muzio, 2008).

In the two elite private sector schools, teachers have limited options to progress in their career. The only path to promotion is to take up an administrative role and leave teaching. However, the administrative career path can only be offered to a few teachers in the school. Additionally, there is no timescale or any specific criteria to promotion. It depends on the discretion of the Head and availability of positions at different levels to choose teachers for promotion. Naveen, the Headmistress of the pre-primary section in the private sector school explained:

I usually look for sense of responsibility and leadership qualities. Then, I change their class and give them different classes so they have experience and can observe all levels at pre-primary. Then I put them on the administrative path. First, they become Coordinator, then Senior Mistress and then Headmistress. However, this path is not for all teachers, it is only for those teachers who have potential and ambition to do something.

School progression is only available if the teacher is willing to take administrative responsibilities. If teachers are not keen on administrative roles, then there is no other option to move forward in their career. Sumra, a private school middle level female teacher commented:

I think there is no further way in terms of promotion because I don't want to take up administrative work. I love teaching and interaction with students and would never give up this role for promotion.

In the elite schools there is no formal mechanism to promote teachers to higher classes. Teachers teach in different classes within their sections (e.g. a primary teacher will teach classes from grade 1 to 5). Tania, a private sector primary level female teacher was pessimistic:

I don't think there are any chances of promotion. They don't promote teachers to higher classes. I have been a class teacher of the same grade for the last four years and more or less every year I teach English or Social Studies to third and fourth graders.

This study shows that in the elite schools at pre-primary, primary level and middle level, all of the teachers are female with the only exception of the male Physical Education and Music teachers. Therefore, at these levels, the administrative roles are automatically acquired by women teachers. However, the scenario is different at the O/A Level sections of elite private schools. At this level the male teachers are more numerous. Therefore, women teaching at O/A Level face difficulty in terms of getting promotion compared to men. Similar to the pre-primary and primary level, promotion is dependent on the discretion of the Head of the Section. With a male Head of the Section it can be relatively difficult to network for women due to their exclusion from informal networks of male teachers. The gender segregation norms of society are replicated in these elite private schools. The male and female teachers have segregated staff rooms to spend breaks and for other activities when they are not in the classrooms. With a male head of the section it is certain that he interacts more with his male colleagues than with his female ones. Humaira, a private school O/A Level female teacher said:

Our Head is currently male and I think it might impact on the promotion opportunities for women. For example, he is more social with male colleagues. They spend time together in breaks or even after school. For example, Saturday and Sunday is off for all teachers but my male colleagues are often asked to come in on Saturdays and help with administrative jobs, whereas they do not ask women to come. Ultimately, they are more involved and will get promotion easily.

This research shows that in comparison to the public sector, the elite private sector schools provide better opportunities of in-service training to their teachers. These training opportunities, however, are mainly available at the O/A Levels teachers compared to primary and middle level teachers. The teachers willing to take up in-service training have to apply for it. This is a voluntary process as these trainings are not compulsory for all but better remuneration and career advancement is attached to such training. The majority of female teachers shared their concern that they wanted to apply for these training courses but could not do so because of their family responsibilities. Humaira, a female O/A Levels teacher said:

I am keen to apply for training programmes but my kids are at school age and I cannot leave them here and there is no option to take them as well.

Therefore, it is more likely for men to avail the in-service opportunities compared to women teachers. Imtiaz, a private sector A-Level teacher and Headmaster of O/A Levels section said:

Sometimes our female teachers don't apply for these trainings because of their family issues; sometimes they are not comfortable in going out of the city for these training programmes.

The male O/A Levels teachers in the elite private schools shared similar concerns of limited progression opportunities but saw no issues in their career advancement if they chose to take up the administrative career path. Aftab, an O/A Levels male teacher commented:

It is a sort of a job where before even joining you know there are not many options of progression. However, in the next five years, if I remain in this occupation, I would see myself in an administrative position.

The issue of limited career options persists for male teachers if they do not wish to pursue an administrative career. However, the perception of career progression is broader and they do not view it in terms of promotions. They aspire to be independent in one way or another. As highlighted above, the majority of male teachers hold more than one job. Their career aspirations are not limited to just their day job. Naveed, an O/A Levels male teacher conveyed where he would like to see himself in the next five years:

I will be establishing my own evening academy. I need to find an economically and commercially viable space and set up my own academy. I think I am at a stage in my career where I have established my name in my subject area so I think this would be the right move towards a career progression.

Similarly, Jamal, an O/A Levels male teacher explained that his career advancement would be to become a freelance teacher:

In the future I would like to give up this full-time teaching in one school and would prefer to teach the O/A Levels Physics in different schools and academies. I know few teachers who are working like this and they decide their own pay and every school would like to have them because they guarantee results. But for this I need to have a very good track record of my students' results. Once a teacher is

known for his number of students getting 'A' grades or if his students get top positions in Pakistan or in the world then you can work on your own terms.

Moreover, in these schools it is very unlikely that a pre-primary, primary level or middle level Headmistress/master gets the post of Vice Principal or Principal. These major top positions are usually taken by the teachers of the O/A Level section or through external hiring. Therefore, despite higher numbers of female teachers in schools, male teachers have comparatively better chance to acquire the top positions.

Interviewees suggested that in the non-elite private sector schools there is no concept of career advancement, a majority of teachers worked in the same position to which they joined teaching employment. The non-elite private schools from which teachers participated in this research did not provide any in-service teacher training. An important point to note in terms of gender is that the small private sector schools usually have all female teachers and do not hire male teachers. Teachers can attain variations in the subject or class they teach but it is not linked to promotions. Usually, the schools are small scale with only one or two administrative positions. The position of the Principal or the Head of the school is usually occupied by the owner of the school. Therefore, there is no obvious path to move forward in the teachers' career. Nimra, a female secondary level private school teacher thought:

Usually teachers remain in the position they joined the school because there is no formal hierarchy. All of the teachers in this school report directly to the Headmistress and we have a very friendly environment which is not competitive.

The small scale private sector schools cater for a limited number of students and have few teachers. There are not many positions available into which to be promoted. Maryam, a private school female primary teacher explained:

I have never been promoted. This is a small primary school and I think I will be teaching second or third grade as long as I stay in this school.

Similar issues of lack of career advancement opportunities in the small scale private sector schools were presented by Huda, a private school female primary teacher. She said:

If I want to progress, then I have to change my school because there are no options here. As you know it is just a primary school and it is not possible here to think of having any sort of promotion.

The private sector schools lack standardised career structures for teachers. The non-elite schools employ mainly women and offer few career advancement opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to have skills flexibility through teaching in different classes but it is not connected to any promotion opportunities. These schools lack the hierarchy and structure required for promotions. In comparison, elite private schools have better career advancement opportunities. The progression, however, is available in administrative roles. The primary level in such schools, which is highly feminised, offer promotions based on skills and willingness to progress towards an administrative career path. In the secondary level in these schools where visibility of men is higher, informal networking is an additional factor influencing career advancement. With generally male heads and segregated staff rooms, it is relatively difficult for women to get involved in the administration. Moreover, female and male teachers at this level view career progression differently. Men with multiple jobs perceive career progress in the sector rather than getting promotion in one school. They view progression in terms of establishing their own private educational institutions or becoming independent teachers working in different institutions rather than working full-time in one school. Women in comparison prefer to work full-time in one school due to their double burden of employment and domestic work.

Conclusions

This chapter has explored pay and career progression for women and men in teaching in public and private schools. The study provides evidence highlighting the complexities and variability of pay and career progression in the education sector. The small number of interviews conducted in diverse educational institutions of Lahore makes it precarious to draw conclusions on the dynamics of feminisation. But this study enhances the understanding of the experiences and views of men and women teachers about their pay and career progression in the public and private sectors.

Since 1978, the Pakistani state has promoted public-private partnerships between educational institutes and private investment under the neo-liberal policy agenda (Shami and Hussain, 2006). Education provision in the private sector has emerged as a 'business' with the aim of

profit maximisation (Siddiqui, 2010). In this context, private sector education has feminised to a larger extent and offers lower rewards and less career prospects compared to the public sector. The failure of the state to regulate the private sector has created polarised pay patterns, with women in a disadvantaged position. The non-elite primary level private schools are highly feminised with less than minimum wages for women teaching at this level. In contrast, the highest pay is recorded for the O/A Levels teachers, which is a male-dominated level, with further gender segregation based on the perceptions of feminine and masculine subjects.

The delays due to red tape bureaucracy in the administration of pay and promotion of teachers in the public sector and non-standardisation of rewards and career prospects in the private sector influence the perceptions about the occupational status of teaching as a profession. Women with the triple burden of employment, domestic work and segregation norms or *purdah* (Khan, 2007) are in disadvantaged positions in both the public and private spheres. The dual responsibilities of paid and domestic work restrict women from taking up multiple jobs to improve their income. Hence, despite participation in economic activity, women's pay is only considered as an additional source of income for the household meaning the male 'breadwinner' model persists in Pakistani society. The issue of mobility due to the gender segregation norms of society restrict the career progression of women, particularly in public sector schools. The segregated environment in private schools hinders networking opportunities and influences women's career progression opportunities negatively.

Chapter 7: The Knowledge and Autonomy of Teachers

Introduction

This chapter explores levels of knowledge and autonomy amongst teachers in the public and private sector and how this may impact the occupational status of the profession. These issues are important in relation to debates on the professions and particularly in analysing the concept of ‘social closure’ in the professions. The neo-Weberian approach linked access to the occupations with the status of profession (Parkin, 1974; Macdonald, 1995). Some professionals attempt to close access to occupations by developing and controlling the specialised body of knowledge and long periods of training required for understanding and applying professional knowledge. In this way, a profession creates a monopoly of knowledge and practice and maintains or upgrades the position and status in the occupational hierarchy (Larson, 1977; Macdonald, 1995).

The framework of ‘professions’ in chapter two is utilised to operationalise the concepts of professional knowledge and autonomy. The aim of this section is not to examine whether teaching can be categorised as a ‘profession’ but rather to understand the levels of knowledge and autonomy required and practiced amongst teachers. The approach taken here is to understand the nature of the issues of knowledge and autonomy as part of teachers’ work. These are crucial and interrelated concepts for the debates around teaching and education (Hoyle and John, 1995; Robson, 2006). The discussion of these issues is organised into two sections, based on the interviews with school teachers about the required levels of knowledge and their own autonomy in their day to day jobs.

Knowledge in Teaching

According to Larson (1990), professionals attempt to develop and control the specialised body of knowledge and utilise it to seek economic rewards. To develop a specialised pool of knowledge, it is important to codify such knowledge and translate it into credentials. The use of certifications and credentials empowers professions to claim monopoly of knowledge and control individualistic exclusion (Crompton, 1987), which ultimately assists in determining the status of a profession. Applying the concept of professional knowledge to teaching is complex (Hoyle and John, 1995). In teaching, dual sets of knowledge are involved: acquiring the specialised knowledge of the subject area and obtaining the knowledge of how to teach

(Robson, 2006). It is difficult, however, to apply the duality of knowledge at all levels of education. At primary level, the focus is more on the ways of teaching than the subject knowledge. As the level of education increases, the significance of subject knowledge along with the ways of teaching becomes significant (Robson, 2006).

In Pakistan, formerly a Primary Teaching Certification (PTC) and a Certification of Teaching (CT) was required to become a primary level and secondary level public school teacher respectively (Recruitment Policy, 2011). These were one year certifications which were gained after completing matriculation or intermediate studies. The Punjab government has changed the teachers' hiring criteria in 2013 and new recruitment policy requires public school teachers to attain academic qualifications such as the B.Ed. and M.Ed (Recruitment Policy, 2013). The existing teachers have to update their qualifications in order to maintain this standard. The Directorate of Staff Development (DSD) has responsibility over training and development of public school teachers in Punjab, although regular funding is not available (SED, 2012). The in-service teacher training is dependent on international donors or each province has to utilise their development budget. The lack of sufficient resources impacts the consistency and availability of in-service teacher training in the public sector (Khan, 2007; Lynd, 2007).

The Punjab Private Educational Institution (Promotion and Regulation) Ordinance provides general guidance in terms of required qualifications for private school teachers. The ordinance is ambiguous regarding qualifications required to teach at different levels of education (Promotion Policy, 2011). For example, there is no clear difference presented between the qualifications of primary level and secondary level teachers. Furthermore, the ordinance lacks in providing penalties for the private sector schools for any deviations in hiring teachers according to the required criteria.

The interview data demonstrate that the different types of schools in terms of education quality and the public and private sector divide makes entry level qualifications complex. Hence, the entry qualifications required to become a teacher depends on the nature of the school. There is a standardised criterion to become a public sector school teacher. This standardisation is missing in the private sector schools. The weak legislation and lack of government regulation and the business objective of profit maximisation of the private sector allows private sector schools to hire teachers without relevant education. In public sector schools, sixteen female and three male teachers were interviewed for this study and all of

these respondents had relevant teaching qualifications. This clearly shows that amongst my sample, the criterion to hire public school teachers is consistent. In comparison, seventeen female and twelve male private school teachers were interviewed with diverse qualifications. Only one male and two female teachers had relevant teaching qualifications i.e. B.Ed. or M.Ed. Levels of formal knowledge therefore vary between the public and private sectors.

Entry Qualifications in the Public Sector

According to the Recruitment Policy (2011; 2014), the public sector schools follow standard criteria and all teachers have relevant qualifications. The interview data, however, show that it is relatively easy to attain these qualifications. The education required to become a public school teacher is available in distance learning style and comparatively costs less than regular university education. One major public sector Open University in Punjab offers all the required courses with a reasonable fee structure. Although the same courses are available in regular universities and professional education institutions, the majority of the respondents had chosen to study it through the Open University. This style of learning is particularly suitable for women, because they can study from home with fewer resources. 15 of the 16 female public school teachers interviewed had attained essential qualifications through distance learning.

The interview data show that women decided to attain teaching qualifications through distance learning due to two main reasons. First, the fees for teaching qualifications are lower through distance learning as compared to other qualifications such as medicine, engineering and law. Asma, a female public sector primary school teacher said:

I was good in studies and wanted to be a doctor but my school teacher guided me that it is much easier to become a teacher than to be a doctor. It takes less time and financial resources. She arranged my fee and registered me to do PTC through Open University.

Similarly, a female public sector primary teacher, Ammara, said:

After finishing college, I was free at home because my parents didn't have resources to send me to university. Then, one of my mother's friends advised me to do B.Ed privately. We just had to pay the registration fee for the exam which was very reasonable.

Second, it allows women to study from home, which supports the gendered public and private space dichotomy. Distance learning provides opportunities for women to study from home which is appreciated and supported by their families. Farhat, a public sector primary level female teacher said:

It was more convenient for me to take admission in B.Ed. than to pursue a Master degree after graduation. My family allowed me to do it because I don't have to leave the house and I can manage my family responsibilities with it. It would have been difficult if I had to attend regular classes at university.

Similar reasoning was provided by Uma, a public sector secondary level female teacher:

It was very easy for me to do my B.Ed. through an Open University. It is less expensive and could be done at home. I did not have to worry about arranging conveyance or who is going to drop me or pick me up from university.

In total, three male teachers were interviewed from public sector schools. Lower representation of male respondents in this research does not allow any substantial comparisons with women. All three of the male teachers, however, had not used distance learning before starting teaching in the public sector schools. Two of the respondents attained their initial qualifications (B.Ed.) to become a teacher by attending regular full-time university. Both of the respondents at that time used to work for private sector schools and their regular qualifications were sponsored by the school where they were employed. Khalil, a male higher secondary level public school teacher said:

I started my teaching career from the Cathedral School in 1988. Later, they sent me to do B.Ed. from the Punjab University.

Farid, headmaster of a public sector boys' school said:

I did my B.Ed. in 1982 while I was teaching for a private school. [...] Actually they encouraged me to do it and also paid my fee.

Moreover, the majority of the male and female respondents who have improved their education while working as teachers preferred distance learning so they could manage their studies according to their work schedule.

The distinct and uniform entry requirements to become a teacher in the public sector promotes ‘closure’ as it excludes individuals who have not acquired the particular skills and knowledge necessary to become a teacher. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the recent recruitment policy of the Punjab Government has upgraded the qualifications to become a teacher and the state governed body, the National Accreditation Council of Teachers Education (NACTE) is responsible for accrediting and regulating the higher education institutions offering teachers’ professional degree programmes to ensure the National Professional Standards for Teachers (NACTE, 2009). Moreover, the international bodies such as USAID and UNESCO are deliberating with the NACTE to introduce the licensing of teachers in Pakistan (UNESCO, 2013; USAID, 2013). The aim of the licensing initiative is to ensure that teachers in Pakistan are professional, knowledgeable and skilled while improving the social status of teachers. The teachers’ licensing mechanism will primarily be implemented in the public sector and later the private sector will be included (UNESCO, 2013).

While such initiatives promote ‘social closure’ and claim to improve social status of teachers, the unions have a contrary stance. Along with upgrading the professional qualifications of teachers, the recent recruitment policies have also introduced contract-based employment, performance related pay and mandatory non-teaching duties (Recruitment Policy, 2013; 2014). Teachers’ unions have actively protested against such reforms (Teacher Solidarity, 2013; 2014). On the one hand, the state and international agencies want to promote higher social status of teachers by upgrading the qualifications. On the other hand, this ignores the fact that improving professional status of teachers is associated with higher rewards and job security.

Entry Qualifications in the Private Sector

The private schools attract teachers from various educational backgrounds. The interviews were conducted in two elite and two non-elite schools. The interview data shows the clear difference in the hiring process of the elite and other private sector schools. In the elite schools, all teachers are required to at least have a graduate degree with good spoken English skills. At primary level the emphasis is given more to the language skills rather than relevant academic education. As the level increases, importance is given to the relevant subject knowledge for the specialist subject teachers. These schools do not require any relevant teaching qualifications covering the pedagogical knowledge.

In the two elite private schools, all teachers at pre-primary and primary level were females with the exception of one male music Teacher in each school, and one male games (Physical Education) Teacher in one school. All teachers interviewed at the pre-primary and primary level had at least graduate level qualifications and one female teacher held a B.Ed. The majority of teachers mentioned that their school gives high priority to spoken English when hiring teachers. A private sector primary school teacher Hina said:

When I applied for the job I was waiting for my BA results but after the interview they offered me the job straightaway. I think more than qualifications they want teachers who are fluent in English.

In the same schools, teachers at middle and O/A levels had better qualifications and as the level increases the participation of men also improves. The majority of the male teachers work at the O/A Levels section of the school. A majority of the male and female teachers interviewed at this level had a postgraduate degree relevant to the subject they had been teaching. Five out of seven female O/A Levels teachers interviewed had postgraduate degrees in subjects such as Biology, Psychology, English and Public Administration. Two female teachers had graduate degrees in Mathematics and Biology. A total of eight men were interviewed teaching at O/A Levels in the elite private schools. All of them had postgraduate degrees in subjects such as Mathematics, Economics, Accounting, Physics, Chemistry and Business Administration. Additionally, two of these men also had professional teaching qualifications of B.Ed. All of these male and female teachers were teaching subjects related to their academic qualifications. A distinction, however, can be drawn on the basis of the subjects they teach and the rewards attached to it as discussed in the previous chapter. The subject division in teachers reflects the traditional stereotypes where men chose subjects in the fields of science, computing and business, while women tend to choose stereotypically feminine subjects such as languages and psychology.

The interview data shows no visible pattern of required entry level qualifications to become a teacher in non-elite private sector schools. In two such schools where this research was conducted, all teachers were female. The main reason was that one school was a single sex, female only school and the others were mixed sex primary level schools with a policy to only hire women. Since there is no particular academic background required in these private schools, the teachers had various qualifications. These schools are highly feminised, lack state

monitoring and work on a business model to maximise profit. In this context, the objective is to save costs by hiring teachers without relevant qualifications.

The interview respondents from these schools were all women and had teaching qualifications starting from intermediate (F.A/FSc./A Levels) or graduate degrees in different disciplines. Few of the teachers had postgraduate degrees in subjects such as Islamic Studies, History and Economics. Along with academic education, few teachers had professional qualifications as well such as nursing or certification/diplomas in different subjects such as IT and English language. In some cases, academic and professional qualifications of teachers had relevance to the subjects they were teaching, but this had not been consistent with all teachers.

In these two schools, the hiring of teachers was mainly conducted through word-of-mouth or through reference from existing teachers. Hence, in non-elite schools, there are no formal recruitment policies. The teaching positions are not advertised anywhere; teachers do not need to submit resumes or job applications. The whole hiring process is informal and whenever a teacher is required in the school, the principal asks existing teachers if they know anyone who can fill the position. The lack of formal hiring processes contributes in having varying entry level qualifications of teachers. Tahira, a female trained nurse joined the primary level private school through her neighbour. She said:

My neighbour used to work in this school and one day she just asked me if I like to join the school as they needed another teacher. She said she can talk to the principal if I want to do it.

Similarly, Farida a primary level female teacher shared her experience of the hiring process:

My cousin introduced me to the principal of the school and I had an informal chat with the principal. She asked me a few questions: why I wanted to teach? For how long I wanted to do it and when can I start?

Private sector teaching does not attempt to form 'occupational closure' through specialised knowledge and qualifications of teachers. Kirkpatrick *et al.* (2005) argued that service provision through the private sector under new public management reforms create a conflict for the image of professionalism. The professionalism in the public service focuses on the needs of the public whereas in the private sector the focus is on the ability to pay. In Pakistan, the state aims to achieve the UPE and EFA by promoting the private sector for education provision. The focus of the state is to provide a 'free market' for the private investor. The state

allows them to hire teachers without standardised qualifications to maximise their profits. This interaction between the state and private sector along with the feminisation of the private sector to indicates the exploitation of women in teaching and consequent negative impact on the teaching's status.

The public sector is better regulated by the state, which put public sector teachers in better positions than private sector teachers in terms of perceptions of the teaching status. The standardised policies and practices of pre-service qualifications in the public sector affirm that specialised knowledge is required to become a teacher. In contrast, the private sector lacks in establishing exclusionary strategies.

Easy access to entry level qualifications of public sector schools and a lack of standard qualifications required for private sector schools makes it difficult to create social closure in this occupation. The private sector has no particular requirement of specialised knowledge. Only the O/A Levels teaching requirements focus on specialised subject knowledge of the teacher, and this teaching level has the highest visibility of men in the private sector. In contrast, the public sector is feminised to a lesser extent but has standardised qualification requirements for teachers' recruitment.

Autonomy in Teaching

Autonomy refers to the control teachers have to determine their own aims, content, teaching methods and assessments in classrooms or lecture halls (Hoyle and John, 1995). It should be the responsibility of teachers to set the objectives and then exercise their autonomy to decide how to use, control and develop their knowledge to attain the aims (Helsby and McCulloch, 1996). The autonomy of teachers is subject to various constraints. The issues of curriculum development, choice of text books and teaching style are not often teachers' individual choice rather these issues are tied in with the overall policies of institutions and are part of the institution's autonomy (Hoyle and John, 1995). In this situation it is important to know the extent of consultation and participation of teachers in formulating these policies and practices. The national curriculum is another factor that impacts teachers' autonomy. The centralised curriculum and assessments reduce the autonomy of teachers and limit their ability to influence the objectives of education, content to deliver and evaluation of students (Hoyle and John, 1995; Robson, 2006).

In Pakistan, all schools are required to follow a uniform curriculum developed by the Federal Ministry of Education (Hoodbhoy, 2007). Since June 2011 due to the Devolution of education under the 18th Amendment, the curriculum development and syllabus formulation has been the responsibility of each provincial government (Khan, 2011). Public sector schools strictly follow curriculums, syllabi and text books developed and recommended by the state. Private sector schools usually just meet the minimum requirements of the state's prescribed curriculum, for example, including the subjects of Islamic Studies and Pakistan Studies. Otherwise, the elite private sector schools follow the syllabus designed by Cambridge University. The low cost, non-elite private sector schools usually replicate the curriculum of elite schools or follow the curriculum, syllabi and text books prescribed by the government.

Each provincial government arranges a centralised assessment system. All of the public sector schools follow the centralised exam system of Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE). The BISE held examinations at 5th grade and then from 8th- 12th grade. All students of the public sector schools have to do these examinations (BISE, 2013). The private sector schools follow the British system and prepare students for the international O/A Level examinations. The private sector schools following the government prescribed syllabus had to prepare their students for the BISE examination.

The interview data demonstrate that the perceptions of teachers regarding their autonomy and control over their work varies depending on the level of education and whether they are employed in public or private sector institutions. The common element, however, is that all of the school teachers interviewed for this research follow a set curriculum, syllabus and text books and have very limited opportunity to alter this at their discretion or to provide feedback to improve it. Moreover, in terms of choosing the teaching style and method, the public school teachers have more autonomy compared to the private school teachers. The lack of adequate resources in utilising appropriate teaching methods, however, hinders teachers to exercise comprehensive autonomy in the public sector schools.

Teachers' Autonomy in the Public Sector

All 19 male and female public school teachers interviewed mentioned the lack of autonomy in curriculum development, syllabus formulation and choosing the text books for students. Three male and four female respondents have shown satisfaction with the autonomy in choosing the teaching style. Twelve of the female teachers have, however, raised the issue of resources in exercising the autonomy of choosing their own teaching style.

The interview data suggests that the role of a teacher in public schools is reduced to covering the set syllabus in the given time with no autonomy over the teaching content and material due to the centralised curriculum development and assessment systems. All of the public school teachers interviewed were never consulted nor provided any input into curriculum development. The role of the teacher is to follow the set curriculum and cover the syllabus and prepare students for board examinations. Khalil, a public sector secondary level male teacher commented:

Autonomy in teaching at this level is very limited. We (teachers) are not part of the curriculum development process, preparing syllabi or choosing the text books. Everything is already there because of the centralised exam system. We just get the illusion of autonomy in terms of delivery of the content.

The education system does not involve teachers directly in the process of curriculum development and assessments. Teachers do not have any proper mechanism to provide feedback or raise their concerns on these issues. Afsheen, a public sector secondary level female teacher, expressed her views about the lack of opportunity to provide feedback:

Because of the board examination we are bound to teach whatever is in the syllabus. I believe some of the text is very outdated and it would be better if we introduce students to new writers and poets to develop their interest in subjects like Urdu literature. But unfortunately we have no autonomy to change the syllabus. We even have no formal mechanism to provide feedback on the existing curriculum.

The respondents highlighted that the lack of control over the syllabus and choice of text books impacts on the quality of teaching at all levels of school education. The teachers have no control over the content and they have to cover the syllabus in limited time without any consideration of how much of the material students are actually learning. Faiza, a public sector primary level female teacher expressed her views as:

We are so concerned with completing the syllabus that we cannot give time to think about the actual aim of education. We bombard our children with information but do not develop their skills to analyse it and use it in a constructive manner.

Similar issues of a lengthy syllabus and less control to alter the content of the course was raised by Tariq, a public sector middle and secondary level male teacher. He said:

We are forced to cover a large number of topics in each term and the focus is on quantity rather than on the quality. Due to the board exams we don't have autonomy to change the syllabus according to the capacity of the students.

Education in Pakistan is strongly examination-driven and clearing exams seem to be the main objective of studies (Hoodbhoy, 2007). This creates immense pressure on both students and teachers to attain good grades. The interview data shows that the focus on testing rather than learning negatively impacts the quality of education and teachers have no control and autonomy to alter the situation. Furthermore, the government provides incentives to schools and teachers of students who obtain top positions in the Board Examinations. Rehana, a public sector secondary level female teacher explained:

The central idea of school management is that our students produce good results in the Board examination. If the school performs well in the Board exams and our students take some prominent positions, then management can put pressure on government to meet their demands. In this whole process we have actually forgotten the real purpose of education.

The examination system in Pakistan dictates the teaching approach and forces teachers to follow the curriculum and syllabi, despite the compromise on the quality of education. Farid, a public sector school Headmaster explained:

Our education system promotes rote learning and teachers cannot do anything about it. The only emphasis on teachers is that their students get good grades and no one cares about real development and learning in children.

Furthermore, the interview data demonstrates that the majority of female public sector teachers raised the issue of lack of resources, which in turn contribute towards the reasons for the lack of autonomy. There is no obligation by the government in terms of how to teach. Despite the centralised curriculum and assessment system, teachers are free to choose their teaching methods and style. The tight budget constraints and lack of additional resources often restricts teachers to freely choose their teaching methods. Teachers have to work with limited resources and adopt the teaching techniques according to the available resources. Huma, a public sector primary level female teacher shared her example:

Although we have to follow a set syllabus but in principle we have been given autonomy to choose our own style of teaching. The problem is that we don't have appropriate tools to exercise that autonomy. For example, I wanted to buy a big world map and globe to show my children different continents particularly on the globe to help them understand the location of continents. But my request was refused and the explanation was that we don't have enough resources and the text book has a map so the students can use the text books.

Afia, a public sector middle and secondary level female science teacher raised the similar concerns about the lack of resources:

I have autonomy over my teaching style and methods but it is difficult to utilise this autonomy if you are bound by the syllabus and resources. I believe that children would understand better and learn more if they do projects and experiments rather than just memorising the concepts. But because of the limited resources our science lab is only for 9th and 10th grade students. I have also tried to come up with some activities which do not require lab or excessive resources [...] but then we have time constraints. I have to cover the contents on time and doing activities and projects needs extra time and effort.

In public sector schools, male and female teachers at primary, middle and secondary levels have highlighted a lack of autonomy in curriculum development. Teachers do not have any freedom in setting the aims of education, choosing or developing appropriate text and assessing students in an appropriate way. The main reasons are centralised curriculum and assessment systems along with the lack of resources to provide teachers appropriate tools to complement their teaching style. There is no apparent difference in the autonomy of men and women teachers. The state centralised policy of curriculum development and examinations is the main factor impacting the autonomy of public sector teachers. Men and women seem to have equally low levels of autonomy in the public sector, a sector where men dominate. Teachers' unions have opposed the neo-liberal education reforms which have supported standardisation of assessments and scripted teaching which reduces the input of teachers and promotes deskilling of teaching (Teacher Solidarity, 2013).

Teachers' Autonomy in the Private Sector

A total of 29 interviews with seventeen female and twelve male teachers were conducted in two elite and two non-elite private sector schools. The interview data shows that in the private sector the teachers' autonomy is different than in the public sector. In the public sector teachers' autonomy is influenced by the centralised control of the federal or provincial government through the standardised curriculum and assessment system. In the private sector teachers' autonomy is affected by the control of school management. Thus, it varies depending on the institution and processes of school curriculum development, syllabi and assessments.

In the two elite private sector school chains, there is a curriculum development team which is part of the school management. The team is based in the head office of the school which is located separately to the school branches. The role of the team is to develop the curriculum for schools according to international standards and the requirements of the government. In addition, the team is responsible for preparing syllabi, choosing text books and developing lesson plans for teachers to follow. The same standards are followed by all the branches of the school in the country. The teachers of these schools are not part of this curriculum development process. However, they have regular meetings with the Head Teachers in order to share their progress and communicate any issues related to the curriculum and daily lesson plans. Naveen, a Headmistress of the pre-primary section in a private sector school said:

The curriculum is designed by the management of the school at the head office. Every school receives the same curriculum which helps to maintain the standard in different branches. [...] Teachers are not part of the curriculum team. But we conduct regular meetings to involve teachers and to monitor their weekly progress.

In these private elite schools, the autonomy of teachers is very limited, particularly at the pre-primary and primary level where the teachers have to follow daily lesson plans prepared by the school management. All five female primary level teachers interviewed at elite private schools talked about limited autonomy. It is not part of their role to decide about the content and style of teaching. Sidra, a female primary level teacher of private sector school said:

I have been given a full term plan. It has everything in it. For example, which alphabets or numbers I have to introduce each week and how I have to conduct different activities, crafts and games with children to carry on the theme of the

week. [...] It is all activity-based learning and developed while keeping in mind children's psychology and attention span. When I joined teaching I was not expecting that I would be given everything so rigorously planned and my job would just be to execute that plan.

In these elite private sector schools another important factor limiting teachers' autonomy is the language of communication between teachers and students. The medium of instruction in these schools is strictly English and teachers have been instructed not to communicate with their students in any other local language in the classrooms or outside. The teachers have a challenging job of teaching students' new concepts in a language they do not fully understand. Therefore, teachers have no authority to teach in a language of their choice. They have to communicate in English with students whether they understand it or not. Maliha, a private sector primary level teacher explained:

I think this school gives very limited autonomy to teachers in terms of developing the contents or in terms of using our own teaching methods to deliver it. [...] For example, I am not allowed to speak any language other than English with students. Sometimes I feel that they (students) would be able to understand the mathematical concepts quicker if I am allowed to use dual language. Because when I am teaching, they (students) are focusing on two things, first, understanding the English language and then understanding the actual mathematical concept I am trying to teach.

Tania, a private sector primary level female teacher expressed her concerns:

Anyone who is good in handling children and speaks an acceptable level of English could become a teacher. They (school management) do not utilise the intellectual abilities or brains of teachers, it is all about following the instructions in an effective way.

To monitor teachers' performance, the Heads of Pre-Primary and Primary-level Sections conduct weekly meetings with teachers along with surprise visits to the classes. Through these measures the Heads ensure that teachers are following the lesson plans and relevant standards. Moreover, the head office team also visit different branches to observe teachers' performance and monitor the quality and standards of teaching. Naveen, Headmistress of the pre-primary section in private sector school said:

It is very important to maintain the same standards in all the classes. [...] It is the responsibility of School Heads to monitor teachers' performance. It is also monitored by the head office. They usually send a team to visit schools and observe teachers.

This research shows interesting findings about the autonomy of male teachers at the primary level of the elite private schools. First, it is not common to find men teaching at primary level in both public and private schools. Second, the only male teachers at primary level are either music or physical education teachers. A total of four male primary teachers (three Music Teachers and one Physical Education/Games Teacher) were interviewed in elite private sector schools. In these schools, it is a relatively new trend to introduce Music as a subject at primary level. Music is not part of the curriculum in the public sector or small private sector schools. Furthermore, all the music teachers that participated in this study (three private schools participated in this research offered music as a subject) are male and belonged to a Christian minority of society. Usually schools have only one or two music teachers who teach all the classes starting from *pre-primary* until 5th grade in different branches of the school. Music and physical education teachers have a greater degree of autonomy and they are not bound by the international or national curriculum or the school management in any way. Imran, a private sector primary level male music teacher said:

I teach in different branches of this school and follow the same syllabus in each course. I have full authority over which poems and songs I pick to teach students. I do have to develop an outline in the beginning of the school year to inform the management what I will be covering in each term.

Yousaf, a private sector primary level male music teacher identified the reasons of having autonomy. He said:

I have full autonomy in terms of what and how I teach my students. The main reasons for this are: I am the only music teacher in the school so no one else knows what to teach in this subject. I think music in Pakistan is still not taken very seriously as a subject; it is added as a recreation or entertainment of children so nobody cares what a music teacher is doing.

A total of five women and eight men were interviewed teaching O/A Levels students in two elite private sector schools. O/A Level teachers enjoy higher levels of autonomy compared to

primary level in the private sector and all levels in the public sector. It is significant to highlight that the proportion of male teachers is much higher at this level compared to the primary level. The teachers follow the curriculum, syllabus and examination system of Cambridge University. Men and women teachers, however, have autonomy to prepare their students for these qualifications in the way they choose. Soha, a private sector secondary level female teacher said:

At this level I think we have been given autonomy. We have the Cambridge endorsed syllabus and our students appear in GCE exams so we don't have autonomy in terms of developing curriculum or conducting exams. Other than that we have been given considerable autonomy in how to plan our classes, what to cover and in choosing our teaching methods. We have a prescribed syllabus and from there we do things pretty much the way we like and no one interferes.

Similar views were voiced by Waqar, a private sector secondary level male teacher:

We have the syllabus and it's our job to decide how we are going to prepare students for the O/A Levels exams. I make my own plan on how to finish the course content, develop my quizzes and mock exams etc. They (school management) don't tell us what to do daily in our classes.

A total of seven female teachers were interviewed from two non-elite schools. The small private sector schools benchmark the curriculum and teaching practices of elite private schools. The main idea of these schools is to target the parents who want similar standard of education as elite private sector schools but are unable to financially afford it. These schools have lower tuition fees but they follow the same curriculum, text books and assessment methods. Most of the private elementary or primary schools often advertise themselves as preparatory schools to get admission in elite private schools. They claim their students are more likely to get admission in elite schools. A Vice Principal and a joint owner of a private elementary school, Saima said:

Our school follows the syllabus of ABC school (elite private sector chain of school). So, we try to cover the same content, activities and work sheets. This assures parents that their children are learning the same things they would be learning in a renowned school. And most of our students later join these schools.

In these schools, teachers are directed to develop syllabi which are very similar to the elite private schools. Teachers have the responsibility of developing material but with limited autonomy to introduce new ideas. Ruby, a female teacher of a private primary school commented:

We prepare the worksheets, lesson plans and activities for our classes. But we have very specific instructions to follow the syllabus of ABC School. Our Principal has given us all the required material and our job is to copy it with little changes and use it in our classes.

The private schools following the local system and preparing students for the examination of Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education have similar issues regarding the autonomy of teachers.

Overall, the private sector teachers have limited autonomy towards curriculum development particularly at the primary level which is highly feminised. Men working at primary level have better autonomy compared to women teaching at the same level due to their subject areas. At the secondary level, particularly the O/A Levels teachers have comparatively higher autonomy. The gender difference is not apparent in terms of teacher's autonomy in the public sector. In contrast, in the private sector, autonomy of teachers is linked with the extent of feminisation. The highly feminised primary teaching level put higher restrictions on the autonomy of teachers, whereas, the O/A Levels, which is feminised to a lower extent, provide relatively higher autonomy to teachers.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the levels of knowledge and autonomy of teachers in public and private schools. Some professions strive to develop and control specialised knowledge to maximise economic rewards (Larson, 1990). For this purpose, occupations require credentials and specialised qualifications to enter the profession. In Pakistan, the knowledge of teachers is not standardised across public and private sector schools. The public sector hires teachers with relevant qualifications and the National Education Policy (2009) further endeavours to improve these standards and encourage existing teachers to attain new qualifications. The easy access to these credentials allows particularly women to gain these qualifications from home without facing issues of lack of resources or mobility.

In private sector schools, there are no particular credentials and knowledge required to enter teaching. The diversity of the private schools (elite and non-elite) and lack of the state regulations allows the private sector to hire teachers without specific teaching qualifications and experience. In comparison, however, the public schools have been better in 'exclusion' than the private schools which could be a contributing factor towards the higher extent of feminisation in the private sector compared to public schools. The variation in teacher's qualification and inability of the state to enforce minimum qualifications required for teaching in the private sector schools makes this occupation open for anyone. To maximise profits, private schools hire women with diverse qualifications. Furthermore, the lack of standardised in-service teacher training particularly in the private school sector diminishes any chance of developing specialised knowledge within the occupation. In this scenario, it is unlikely to form a specialised pool of knowledge and professionals who can perform this job to the exclusion of others.

The state has a centralised system for curriculum development and assessments, which gives no autonomy to teachers in public sector schools to provide any input regarding syllabi and assessments. In addition, lack of adequate resources hinders the choice of appropriate teaching methods. Teachers have limited autonomy and control to determine the syllabus, teaching methods and assessment for students. The reasons of lack of autonomy vary between the public and private sector. In the private sector instead of being subject to national control, the teachers are subjected to the control of their school management. The O/A Levels teachers have higher autonomy compared to any other level. This is important as professionalism is associated with the autonomy and control of professionals to utilise their knowledge (Macdonald, 1995). The lack of teachers' autonomy impacts negatively on the occupational status.

The findings discussed in this and previous chapters clearly suggest that the quality of employment in terms of pay, knowledge and autonomy is comparatively better at the sector and level of teaching which are not yet feminised. The public sector, which is still male-dominated, offers better pay and standardised employment policies and procedures whereas, the private sector, which is female-dominated, has non-standardised and precarious employment practices. The findings highlight the exception in the O/A Levels of teaching in the private sector which pays highest with focus on knowledge and autonomy of teachers but this particular level in the private sector employs more men than women.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This thesis has focused on gender and teaching employment in Pakistan. The country has one of the lowest (formally recorded) rates of women's labour force participation in the world (Labour Force Survey, 2015) but women's participation in teaching is increasing since the mid-2000s (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). The education sector is a major employer for women, or at least those who have gained access to education themselves, accounting for the third largest share of the total number of women in paid employment, outside the home, after agriculture and manufacturing. At the same time, teaching also accounts for a much smaller proportion of men's employment, although the male employment rate remains higher than that for women (Labour Force Survey, 2015).

This thesis has analysed gender and teaching in a broader social context in Pakistan. It has reported upon, analysed and compared the reasons why men and women enter teaching. It also evaluates the quality of teaching as a form of employment and career choice. In a broader social context, the thesis has also engaged with the role of the state, its policies for education provision and as a site of struggle in relation to women's rights and position in the polity, society and economy (Grünenfelder, 2013) as well as central and provincial government regulation of the school curriculum, entry qualifications for teachers and their pay and conditions. The relative freedom of private schools in relation to recruitment and teachers' remuneration in comparison to the public sector has also been an interesting finding.

There are other recent studies of the feminisation of teaching (Khan, 2007, Rawal *et al.*, 2013) but to date, few have drawn upon qualitative research to gain insight into the experiences of male and female teachers in Pakistan. This concluding chapter considers the main findings from the study, contribution to knowledge, policy implications, limitations of the study and future research directions.

Feminisation of Teaching in Pakistan

The debates on the feminisation of teaching have dominated in OECD countries over a sustained period of time (Wylie, 2000; Skelton, 2002; Griffiths, 2006; Le Feuvre, 2009). Central issues have been the causes of and consequences of workforce feminisation for the teaching profession and for gender equality more generally. Analyses of the feminisation of teaching in developing countries are less common, even though there are high numbers of

female teachers at secondary and primary level in the education system in countries such as India and Sri Lanka (Kelleher, 2011). This is changing gradually, in part because UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Education for All (EFA) have created expectations of progress monitoring to reach global education goals (Ibid).

The thesis has contributed to and developed analyses of the feminisation of teaching in Pakistan and how this varies across the education sector. This has been achieved by, drawing on Federal Bureau of Statistics data, a broad range of secondary sources and important insights from the interviews with school teachers. The feminisation of teaching is associated in most countries with the expansion of education provision (Kelleher, 2011). This thesis has addressed the trajectory of state education policy in Pakistan. From the first National Education Conference in 1947, every government's education policy and five-year development plan had a goal to achieve Universal Primary Education (Bengali, 1999), in the interests of social justice and equality and of economic development. However, the goal has as yet to be achieved, literacy rates have improved only slowly and there are sizeable gaps between the male and female rates (Labour Force Survey, 2015).

In the 1970s in response to the unions' nationalisation campaign and to improve teaching quality and teachers' status, the state nationalised all education institutions (Jones and Jones, 1977). As chapter three has highlighted, the reform brought limited progress for the quality and quantity of education provision or for teachers' pay and conditions, and teachers' associations were accused of breaching professional status through their political campaigning (Khan, 2007; Hussain and Haroon, 2014). Since 1978, the state has encouraged expansion of the private school sector, through subsidies and Public-Private partnership schemes (see for example National Education Policy, 2009). There was further expansion of the private sector under the Education Sector Reforms introduced in 2002-03 (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). This was after the Twin Towers attack New York and a major aim was to regulate the religious schools and provide an alternative to these schools in order to turn Pakistan into a *modern* Islamic State (International Crisis Group, 2004).

However, research has demonstrated that the education sector is complex in its organisation, ownership and funding and women and men teachers are distributed unevenly across the public and private sector schools. The private sector schools are further differentiated by the levels of education delivered, include privately owned although also charity funded institutions and are distinguished by the pupil intake they target (that is from high or middling

or low income families). There are elite schools, which adhere to western curriculum and which in the main were established in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and non-elite schools which expanded in numbers the first decade of the 21st century. The Government in Pakistan is relying on the private sector to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and yet the expansion of this fee earning sector would not seem to promise elapse of wealth gaps and social class divisions.

This growth of private sector education has created a demand for teachers and the participation of women teachers increased dramatically parallel to the Education Sector Reforms introduced in 2002-03 (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Women's share of an expanding public schools' workforce has increased, but men remain in the majority at all levels of teaching (Ibid). The pattern of relative feminisation of the private sector schools is not unique to Pakistan; Kelleher (2011) notes the same for the developing countries among the Commonwealth countries in her study although also that teaching in South Asian states is relatively less feminised than others (her particular example is India).

Among the influences on the pattern for the public sector schools in Pakistan is the predominance of gender segregated schools. The number of boys' schools is greater than the number of girls' schools (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010), notwithstanding the Government's espoused commitment to the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All. A main reason for male-dominance at primary level education is the inclusion of religious schools within the public sector's employment total in the FBS data (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). The *Madrassa* education is highly gender segregated and offers more opportunities for boys' than girls' religious education.

There is variation in the extent of workforce feminisation in teaching between and within provinces. The former reflects the concentration of private schools in some provinces, including the Punjab, although also the influence on this of provincial government education policy (Ibid). In the Punjab, shortage of male teachers to achieve compulsory education for all has prompted the state's governors to adopt policies to encourage women's recruitment to boys' public schools at primary level (Ministry of Education, 2006).

Is feminisation a way forward towards gender equality in employment in Pakistan?

The feminisation debate captures the paradoxical nature of women's paid employment, it suggests integration of women into 'economic activity' but also portrays the segregation of women into disadvantaged positions or occupations (Standing, 1999; Cağatay and Özler,

1995). Feminisation signifies the increased presence of women in paid work but it does not imply women's access to power in the labour market is the necessary result. It raises issues related to the gender wage gap, occupational segregation and career advancement (Bruegel, 2000; Wylie, 2000). This perspective raises question about the feminisation of teaching in Pakistan: Is teaching employment empowering women or segregating them into low status occupations?

This research suggests that the impact of inclusion of women in teaching on gender equality is twofold in Pakistan. First, in Pakistan very few occupations are considered stereotypically 'suitable for women' to work and teaching provides women opportunities to gain entry into a profession which is socially and culturally respected as an appropriate employment setting for them. Most of the women school teachers interviewed referred to teaching as an occupation which provides educated women a chance to venture out from the private sphere and use their skills and abilities in formal employment. It provides employment which in principle improves women's economic position by reducing their economic dependence and vulnerability. Second, the inclusion of women in teaching can enhance access to education for young girls. This is thought the case in particular for developing countries where 'cultural tradition' could otherwise circumscribe girls' and young women's opportunity to participate in education (Kelleher, 2011).

At the same time, this thesis indicates that inclusion of women in teaching strengthens the cultural gender divides and inequality. Teaching, in particular at elementary level, gains acceptance as an occupation for women by the association that it is performed by women as an extension of their 'natural' roles. That is to say, there is an assumed link between mothering and teaching (Drudy *et al.*, 2005; Pinnegar *et al.*, 2005). In the research in Lahore, both male and female teachers seemed to accept the stereotype of teaching, particularly at primary level, as women's responsibility. The gendering of teaching along with the perception of low rewards creates an interesting gender divide regarding the occupational status of teaching. Women among the research participants perceived teaching as a respectable occupation which allowed them to combine domestic and paid work in socially acceptable way. Yet they did not consider it an equally suitable occupation for men, societally ascribed a 'breadwinner' household role. Thus, feminisation strengthens the gender divide in society and pushes women towards a stereotypical and segregated occupation. It does include women in 'economic activity' but the low income and occupational status of teaching employment keeps women in disadvantaged positions both in the labour market and the household.

Gender Segregation in Pakistan: Theoretical and Empirical Discussion

Feminisation of teaching in Pakistan indicates the trend of inclusion of women in formal employment. However, inclusion of women in paid employment is often linked with gendered divisions of work and occupational segregation within and among occupations (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990; Woodfield, 2007). This thesis has analysed the application of western mainstream gender segregation theories in the context of Pakistan. The implementation of Hakim's (2000) *preference theory* has emerged as being problematic in the context of Pakistan. Although this study shows that one of the main reasons women join teaching is because it allows them to combine their work and domestic responsibilities. This finding partially agree with Hakim's (2000; 2002) argument that a majority of women choose an *adaptive lifestyle*. However, the differing aspect for this study and a main criticism of Hakim's work is the assumption that women have independent choices (Stier and Yaish, 2014). This study suggests that women's 'choice' of career and role in the household is shaped by wider gender and social relations in Pakistani society. Similarly, women have limited choice to invest in their careers through improving education or work experience which undermines the explanation of gender inequality in paid work through human capital theory (Polachek, 2004). In Pakistan, access to education is associated with gender and social class background (Grünenfelder, 2013). Moreover, the findings indicate that women teachers have limited career progression compared to men due to lack of women's mobility due to gender relations and persistence of male breadwinner model.

The sexual division of household labour and existence of male breadwinner model indicates the presence of patriarchal relations (Isran and Isran, 2012). However, there are two main issues with the application of structural analysis of patriarchy in the context of Pakistan. First, it does not recognise women's agency (Pollert, 1996). The interview data has given examples of female teachers who have shown actions to defy the social and economic relations to access education and employment. Second, patriarchal analysis does not acknowledge the varying social, economic and political context in which gender relations are formed and reformed.

Hence, to analyse gender and occupational segregation this research endorses a theoretical framework which acknowledges a multi-dimensional approach. As Bradley (1999) argued that it is important to include debates on work and home, structure and culture, public and private sphere in order to provide compelling analysis of gender and occupational segregation. This thesis underlines the importance of specific occupational, social and national context

(Rubery and Fagan, 1995) to analyse employment patterns of gender and occupational segregation. This study has analysed *production* and *reproduction* relations within a household and in a wider social, economic and political context of Pakistan.

This thesis argues that gender segregation in teaching in Pakistan is a reflection of wider gender relations and sex-typing of work. The very social relations which segregate men and women into public and private spaces encourage women's employment in teaching to maintain the segregation. Single-sex schools in the public sector and the segregated environment provided to men and women teachers, even in mixed-sex private schools, allows women to take up employment aligned with social and cultural norms. Moreover, the institutional practice of short working hours in teaching provides for women to combine paid employment and domestic work. While teaching is principally an employment opportunity for women who have attained access to education, it can be the platform for upward social mobility. There were interviewees in the research in Lahore who spoke of the determination of their mothers, from low income families, to earn sufficient money (by working all hours) to assist their daughters through schooling and teacher training to join the public sector. Elite private schools offer women financial perks, including fee waivers or reductions for the education of their children. These are both push and pull factors contributing to the inclusion of women in gender segregated occupations.

In Pakistan, the inclusion of women in teaching employment assists in maintaining disadvantaged position of women in both the household and the labour market. The expansion of the education sector, particularly growth in the private sector, created employment structures which adhere to disadvantaged position of women in society. Teaching jobs maintain the limited interaction between men and women, undervalue teaching by associating it with stereotypical natural abilities of women, provide flexibility to uphold the women's role in the domestic sphere and offer pay which is set with the stereotypical assumption that women are secondary earners in the household. Thus, this thesis concludes that teaching has provided women a prospect to work but have not contributed in changing women's disadvantaged position in the household and wider society in Pakistan.

Quality of Teaching Employment

This thesis has confirmed that inclusion of women in the teaching profession cannot be taken to mean gender equality in employment (Davies, 1996). Female-dominated occupations have

struggled to achieve a ‘professional status’ and teaching in particular has often been considered as a ‘semi-profession’ because of sex-typing and low financial rewards (Bolton and Muzio, 2008). This thesis has contributed in the debate of gender and professional status by taking the position that it is not appropriate to take the standards of male-dominated occupations and apply them as a norm to categorise female-dominated occupations as ‘professions’ or ‘semi-professions’. Instead, this thesis has evaluated the quality of teaching employment by addressing the issue of teachers’ pay, access to career progression opportunities, use of knowledge, and autonomy at work.

Gender and Pay

In general studies identify teaching in Pakistan as a low-paid and low-status job (UNESCO, 2013; Vazir and Retallick, 2007; Khan, 2004). Teaching is thought a ‘quasi-profession’ (Vazir and Retallick, 2007: 6), as in analyses for many OECD countries (e.g. Bolton and Muzio, 2008, referring to the UK). This thesis however, has emphasised that the quality of employment for teachers varies at different levels of teaching (pre-primary to higher secondary) and across education sectors (public and private). The findings of this thesis are consistent with other recent research which demonstrates wage discrepancies within the education sector, with the public sector offering better rewards compared to the non-elite private sector schools sector (Siddiqui, 2012; Azhar *et al.*, 2014). Teachers’ pay in the public sector is centrally determined and aligned with the pay structure of civil servants (although greater decentralisation of pay is a current ambition for policy makers).

Private sector teaching is feminised to a larger extent than the public sector and trade union/professional association membership density is lower (Labour Force Survey, 2015; Khan, 2007). Private schools, with the exception of the elite sub-sector, are notorious for offering low pay which is sometimes lower than the national minimum wage (Khan, Noreen and Ahmed, 2012). Elite schools can be more generous as regards pay and benefits. This research has recorded that the highest earnings accrued to men employed as ‘sessional’ teachers and/or in specialist subjects in the elite private schools.

The thesis records efforts at provincial government level to transpose private sector practices to the public sector, including performance-related pay and contract based employment (Recruitment Policy, 2013; 2014; 2016). Trade unions, particularly the PTU in Punjab, have strongly opposed penalising teachers under the Discipline and Accountability Act of 2006 and have argued that teachers’ performance should be evaluated while keeping account of

working conditions and non-teaching workloads (Shaukat, 2013; Teacher Solidarity, 2013; 2014; 2015). Teachers can be expected to deliver results in circumstances where an overall teacher shortage creates strain, or to teach multiple classes and different subjects while participating in non-teaching activities such as vaccination campaigns, election duties and conducting census and surveys (Shaukat, 2013). Teachers unions have opposed performance pay (Teacher Solidarity, 2014; 2015) although not necessarily with reference to the gender (in)equality issues that its introduction can threaten.

Low-pay in teaching and the persistence of the male breadwinner model in society pose difficulties for male as well as female teachers. Men can be obliged to take up multiple jobs to financially support their families and at the same time, low pay sustains women's economic dependence on other family members; their 'dual roles' restrict the option of taking multiple paid jobs.

Career Progression, Knowledge and Autonomy of Teachers

The public sector offers a uniform hierarchical structure for teachers' pay and grading which can frustrate equality by virtue of the insensitivity to diversity. For example, promotions are attached to qualifications, experience and the availability of vacancies. The assumption is employee capacity to transfer or relocate. Since difference in men's and women's mobility is not acknowledged, the promotion policies put female teachers in a disadvantaged position. There are hard to fill teacher vacancies currently and policy-makers should reflect on gender differences in their design of promotion policies.

Crompton and Sanderson (1990) argued that school teaching is a good example of vertical gender segregation where men and women are differently recruited into vertically ordered categories within a same occupation. This study confirms vertical gender segregation, as in the private sector where women are concentrated in lower status teaching (elementary and primary) whereas a majority of men are hired at secondary level teaching. The private sector offers limited career progression opportunity for women or for men. However, men's career aspirations can be entrepreneurial and male teachers can see career advancement differently from female teachers. Women perceive career advancement as promotions in the schools whereas men perceive career advancement as teaching at multiple places at a high salary and/or through initiation of their own private tuition academies. Professions engage in exclusionary closure through credentialising and developing specialised knowledge to gain control and high status (Crompton, 1987; Witz, 1990; Macdonald, 1995). As this study has

documented, public sector schools in Pakistan are regulated by frameworks specifying entry qualifications to teaching.

The state updates the standards or credentials. The National Education Policy (2009) has raised the minimum educational qualification and training required for entry to school teaching and provided encouragement for existing teachers to improve their credentials. The state governed National Accreditation Council of Teachers Education (NACTE) ensures the quality of teacher training programmes according to the National Professional Standards for Teachers (NACTE, 2009). The state is also deliberating to introduce teacher licencing in Pakistan (UNESCO, 2013; USAID, 2013). As this study has shown, access to these qualifications, through the Open University, is helpful for women; they gain opportunity to develop specialised knowledge and to engage in teacher training adjusted for the social and cultural constraints they confront.

In contrast, there is a lack of standardised recruitment policies and consistent entry requirements for private sector teaching. The elite schools place emphasis on the degree of fluency of English language. The non-elite schools can accept applicants with basic ten to twelve-year school/college education. The major reason for the inconsistencies is the absence of common, sector-wide regulation. The state's neo-liberal policies and 'light touch' in respect to private sector education has allowed private sector schools to employ the *reserve army* of middle class women who have some qualifications but formerly were constrained from having employment by societal expectation and/or practical issues. Private schools offer employment close to home which reduces mobility issues and a segregated environment by hiring only female teachers which makes employment culturally acceptable to their families. The private sector gains access to a low cost labour supply and workers possibly made compliant by want of alternative options.

The lack of the state regulation provides private school managers freedom to hire teachers on low wages with unjustifiable workloads (Siddiqui, 2012). Private sector teachers in general have limited autonomy in respect to the exercise of knowledge and skills. Elite schools follow international curriculum and assessment and provide lesson plans for teachers to follow, particularly at the elementary and primary level. The non-elite schools benchmark elite schools or follow national curriculum which again limits teachers' autonomy in respect to the content of teaching. The state's centralised policy for curriculum development and assessment along with limited resources put limitations on teachers in the public sector as well. Teachers'

have very limited influence over content, syllabus and delivery methods. Moreover, non-teaching duties of teachers assigned by the state hinders in the regular teaching responsibilities (Shaukat, 2013).

This thesis draws two main conclusions from the evaluation of the quality of teaching employment. First, there has been a clear association between gender segregation within the teaching employment, in terms of levels of teaching and sectors, and the quality of employment and occupational status. The female-dominated levels of teaching and sector such as the primary level teaching in the private sector offers less pay and career advancement opportunities in comparison to the male-dominated sector and levels of teaching. Hence, inclusion of women in teaching does not ensure their equal economic and social status as men in Pakistani society.

Second, the quality of teaching employment is declining (Khan, 2007) and indicates a bleak future. The public sector is introducing low quality employment practices such as elimination of permanent jobs in teaching and performance related pay. However, these practices are strongly opposed by teachers' unions (Teacher Solidarity, 2014; 2015). At the same time, the acceptance of women to teach in single-sex boys' schools at primary level indicates that in future the government is likely to gradually include more women teachers in the public sector. In comparison, teaching employment in the private sector schools is already feminised and offer poor employment quality with minimum state regulation. Thus, in future it is likely that inclusion of women in teaching will continue but with serious concerns in relation to employment quality and occupational status of teaching.

Contribution to Knowledge

This section sets out the three key conceptual and methodological contributions of the thesis. The first contribution is the evaluation of western theories of gender segregation in the context of Pakistan, where employment 'choice' for women is constrained by a number of factors. The original conceptual contribution is an analysis of these constraints and the structures affecting women's 'choices' around teaching employment in public and private sector teaching. The second contribution provides an analysis of the quality of employment for men and women within public and private sector schools at different levels of education in Pakistan. This variation in the quality of employment is associated with gender segregation, demonstrating the poor quality of employment that have become feminised. The methodological contribution is the collection of qualitative data which provides an

interpretive analysis of male and female teachers' perceptions and experiences of teaching in Pakistan. There has been limited research focusing on individual perspectives regarding teaching employment in Pakistan.

Conceptual Contribution

The application of western theories of gender segregation to Pakistan has led to the rejection of preference theory which suggests that women 'prefer' an 'adaptive lifestyle' (Hakim, 1996; 2002) and/or have choice to invest in their careers (Polachek, 2004). This thesis contributes to these critiques from a non-western perspective, by highlighting the influence of cultural and religious norms in Pakistan alongside employment practices regarding working hours, and flexibility to take work home, on the employment choices of men and women. While 'individual choice' has been critiqued by a number of authors in a western context, for ignoring social, cultural and structural constraints (Bradley, 1999; McRae, 2003; Stier and Yaish, 2014) this thesis provides an analysis of the interactions between different actors, structures and social relations influencing individual 'choice' and 'preference' in a unique context of work and employment - the public and private education sectors in Pakistan.

The thesis has also developed two interrelated arguments from the western perspective of gender segregation applicable in the context of gender and employment in Pakistan. First, gender inequality and segregation within the occupational structures in the labour market are associated with gender inequalities present in the surrounding society (Acker, 2006). Second, gender differences include economic and social inequalities which are the result of the sexual division of labour within the household and within employment along with reproductive relations which stereotype women's role as carer and domestic labourers (Bradley, 1999). This his research argues that gender and occupational segregation are better understood by analysing the role of men and women within the *private sphere* of the household and beyond in the *public sphere* while taking account of the occupational, political, social and national context (Rubery and Fagan, 1995).

A conceptual framework which captures this argument can be found in Figure 3 which identifies the complex picture of the interaction between cultural norms, religion and state policies and their influence on social relations and organisational practices which directly influence and constrain choices of men and women regarding employment. Research focusing upon occupational choices and gender inequality in Pakistan has identified a disparity in men's and women's education and training and further identified patriarchal relations of

society as the main reasons for the disadvantaged position of women in the labour market (Kazi and Raza, 1991; Hamid, 1991; Naqvi and Shahnaz, 2002; Nasir, 2005). This thesis goes beyond this in that it gives more significance to the interaction of gender relations (in the public and private spheres), the state policies and the labour market structure in a specific occupational context. This research has contributed in understanding the interaction between gender relations in the private/domestic sphere and formation and organisation of gendered occupations in public sphere. It argues that the sexual division of household labour, the gendering of teaching and family norms and religious interpretations interact with the structuring of the teaching occupation in Pakistan. Moreover, it is argued that cultural norms and religious practices influence the state policies relevant for women's employment and visibility in the public sphere. The thesis concludes that employment decisions of men and women to join teaching are driven by social and economic relations, the state's policies regarding gender roles and education provision and school policies and practices regarding staffing.

This research also contributes to the compilation of secondary data to analyse the changing patterns of men's and women's employment in the public and private sector schools of Pakistan. It has uncovered the link between the state's neo-liberal policies to expand private sector education and feminisation of teaching in Pakistan. Chapter three outlines the trajectory of men's and women's employment concluding that private sector teaching is female-dominated whereas the public sector remains male-dominated. The thesis has provided a unique analysis of the trend of inclusion of women in teaching employment but at the same time highlights the reasons for and process of segregation of men and women teachers within the public and private education sector of Pakistan. Previous studies analysing the status of teaching employment in the context of Pakistan have either ignored or given limited attention to the gender composition of the public and private education sector (see for example Azhar *et al.*, 2014; UNESCO, 2013). This thesis is unique in presenting a comprehensive analysis of employment patterns of both men and women in public and private education sector.

The thesis also contributes to the theoretical debate on gender and the professions by arguing that classification of occupations into 'profession' and 'semi-profession' is flawed and favours male-dominated occupations (Witz, 1992; Davies, 1996). Moreover, professions are not static and have a dialectical relationship with the environment in which they exist (Evetts, 2006; Rubery and Fagan, 1995; Hanlon, 1999). Hence, while analysing the quality of employment and professional status this thesis has focused on actors operating at different

levels, including the influence of state regulation, organisational practices and social relations. This has provided a conceptual view that gender segregation within occupations is linked with the quality of employment. This research highlights that the quality of employment is comparatively poor in levels of education and sectors which are feminised to a greater extent. Chapter six and seven have provided comparative analysis of the public and private sector schools in relation to the issues of low pay, restricted autonomy along with limited training and career advancement opportunities. Noticeable aspects presented by this thesis are the lack of state regulation for the private sector which has created a polarised pay pattern with women in a disadvantaged position.

In summary, this thesis has contributed through a comparative gender analysis of the constraints on the employment choices of women and men. It has contributed towards analyses of the gender dynamics and changing employment patterns in teaching employment in Pakistan, in the context of an increasing number of women joining teaching. However, the inclusion of women does not ensure good quality employment for these women and it is argued that gender segregation within teaching employment puts women in positions of low paid jobs with limited career advancement opportunities, predominantly due to their domestic responsibilities and the expectations of the role of women in Pakistani society.

Methodological Contribution

The key contribution to methods has been the qualitative aspect of this research which has given male and female teachers a 'voice' with which to share their perspectives and experiences about career 'choices' and to evaluate the quality and status of teaching in Pakistan. This is against the backdrop that there has been limited qualitative research conducted in Pakistan focusing on teacher's experiences and perceptions. Previous prominent studies in relation to gender and teaching in Pakistan have mainly analysed secondary data (for example Khan, 2007; UNESCO, 2013) or have been based on survey research (Azhar *et al.*, 2014). These studies have usefully utilised secondary data analyses to evaluate women's position and the status of teachers in Pakistan but have paid little attention to the view point of women and men teachers that can be articulated through qualitative research, such as one to one interviews. While quantitative research is useful for the 'census' view, it is difficult to capture the diversity of the experiences of men and women themselves. The research available, based on secondary data, has been useful in providing context for this research which has gone on to provide an interpretive analysis of individuals operating in particular occupational, social, political and national contexts. Teachers' experiences and perceptions

were the interpretative lens to analyse structures, culture and social relations around the interviewees. This has provided a unique understanding of the formation and influence of structures and culture on individual choices and experiences of teachers across the public and private sector.

Policy Implications

Many researchers, in European context, have pointed out that to promote gender equality, state policies must ensure provision of paid leave, working hours to promote work-life balance and good care services (Crompton, 2006; Leitner and Wroblewski, 2006; Lewis *et al.*, 2008). However, to promote the inclusion of women in paid work, influencing family practices is a sensitive area for policy makers because of the impact of cultural norms and values (Strohmeier, 2002). In Pakistan, women's participation in formal employment is steadily increasing (Labour Force Survey, 2015) but the male breadwinner model persists in society (Malik and Khalid, 2008; Pardhan, 2009). This study clearly shows that even if women's venture out in paid employment their decision making is constrained by family relations, stereotypical gender roles and gendered seclusion of spaces. The uneven sexual division of household work and low income in segregated occupations shows that women's voice is weak in Pakistan.

This study suggests that there is a need to promote gender equality not only in paid employment but beyond that, women's voice should have ability to change stereotypical gender roles in the households. Although it is difficult for the state to interfere in the domestic sphere but historically links between policy, religion and cultural norms can be found in Zia's *Islamisation* process through social and legal reforms (Jalal, 1991). The state can encourage a new direction where men and women should have an equal right to combine paid and unpaid employment. Thus, encouraging women to take up formal employment and bringing men to unpaid work (Pascall *et al.*, 2004). It should be acknowledged that cultural norms and family values do differ from one another but neither men's nor women's work should be unduly valued over the other and each should have an important and equitable space within the society (Weiss, 2003).

In order to promote gender equality, the state needs to develop a consensus on the best possible way to prioritise women's voice while adhering to Islamic precepts (Weiss, 2012). The state should support and develop social movements significant for women's voice and

gender equality. The emergence of collective women's voice can bring the issues of gender inequality from the domestic sphere into public domain. Collective women's action can narrow the gap between domestic tradition and gender equality offered in public sphere. Recently there have been some advancements in women's legal rights. Pakistan became a state party to the UNs' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Weiss, 2003) and has introduced various laws and legislations protecting women's rights such as Protection against Harassment for Women at the Workplace Act 2010 (Noreen and Musarrat, 2013). The state should further develop policies and laws regarding working hours and child care provisions in order to reduce gender occupational segregation and to facilitate women's inclusion in male-dominated occupations. However, the state's role is not limited to developing policies and laws. It should ensure understanding and conformity of general public with the goals and ideas behind the policies and laws and that the passed laws are implemented without any exceptions. The state needs to create an environment where all women, regardless of their social class background, can feel protected and able to make viable choices in their lives (Weiss, 2012).

This research shows that the teaching profession in Pakistan offers low-pay, low levels of autonomy and limited training and career advancement opportunities. The government should take measures to improve the employment quality and occupational status of teachers. The sector and level with high women's participation show particularly poor quality of employment in teaching.

The role of the government is confusing regarding occupational status of teachers. In the public sector schools, on the one hand Punjab government is improving quality of employment by raising the entry qualifications of teachers and by introducing different tests in the selection process (Recruitment Policy, 2016). On the other hand, the Punjab government has abolished permanent employment for teachers and introduced a five-year employment contract which can be renewed for another five years depending on teachers' performance. Moreover, teachers' performance is evaluated on the basis of 100% retention of enrolled students and the students' examination results (Ibid). Such performance measures are not always within control of teachers and raises issues of fairness in performance management. In the public sector, the Punjab government should bring back permanent employment which has been demanded by the teachers' unions (Teacher Solidarity, 2014; 2015) in order to ensure job security and quality of employment in teaching. Moreover, practices such as performance related pay, based on exam results and 100% student retention

which are not entirely under teachers' control should be disregarded (Teacher Solidarity, 2014). Instead, to improve the quality of teaching the Punjab government should invest in teachers' training and provide adequate career advancement opportunities while acknowledging the gender differences (for example women's mobility) in developing promotion policies.

Since the 1980's the state has encouraged expansion of private sector schools and introduced public-private partnership schemes. However, the state has neglected the regulation of the private education sector. The government should regulate and monitor employment practices in the private sector. It should take strict measures against schools which hire teachers on less than minimum wage. It should also develop some guidelines to maintain quality of employment regarding teachers' pay, involvement of teachers' in decision making processes, career advancement opportunities and encourage gender balance at all levels of teaching.

Limitations and Future Research

All research studies have their limitations. This section reflects on the limitations of this thesis regarding access to participants, the methodological approach and scope of the research. The section then turns to identify potential future research required in the area of this study.

One of the limitations of this thesis was to gain access to single sex boys' schools to interview men teaching at primary and secondary levels in the public sector. The study draws on just three interviews with male teachers in public schools. This made a gender comparison difficult and thus limited within the public sector context. Further interviews with male school teachers would have been useful for a more in-depth gender analysis. The limited access to male-dominated boys' schools, however, was in itself an example of the social segregation based on gender and highlights a potential area of consideration for future research in this area.

Another limitation of this research is that, due to limited time and access, it was only possible to focus on teachers' perspectives in understanding men's and women's employment issues in teaching. It would have been interesting to include the perspective of policy makers in order to develop further understanding of their perceptions about varying degrees of the feminisation of teaching, issues of pay and occupational status of teaching among other professions. This further exploration would have been useful to understand the challenges

faced by the policy makers in the development and implementation of the policies in education provision. This is perhaps a fruitful area for further study in the context of Pakistan.

A lack of reliable statistical data was another challenge. Data was limited particularly for the private education sector, regarding numbers of educational institutions, enrolment of students, gender composition of teachers and teachers' pay and benefits. The diverse nature of private education sector posed limitations to reach comprehensive conclusions about the gender gaps in teachers' pay.

While the research offers compelling insights into the understanding of women's and men's employment in teaching in Lahore within the context of the provincial government and the state, it fell short of exploring the nature of teacher's employment in other areas/provinces of Pakistan. The devolution of power to provinces to develop provincial education policies and to regulate the education sector, under the 18th amendment, has increased the need for further research to compare and contrast men's and women's employment in teaching in other provinces of Pakistan. Moreover, only two (Punjab and Sindh) of the four major provinces in Pakistan overall have higher number of female teachers than male teachers (UNESCO, 2013). The contrast between the provinces provides a compelling need to explore the occupational status of teachers in the provinces with higher number of male teachers.

The study shows that the education policies and practices regarding teachers' resourcing are standardised in the public sector compared to the highly variable private sector. The limitation, however, of this study is that it has only interviewed school teachers in Lahore, which is the urbanised capital of Punjab. The issues of education provision are different in the rural areas compared to the more developed urban areas; such issues include multi-grade teaching¹⁴ and lack of basic facilities such as school building and drinking water (UNESCO, 2013). Further research is required to compare and contrast men's and women's employment in the rural areas of Pakistan to understand the different challenges faced by teachers and how teachers' occupational status is perceived in the rural areas.

In addition, this thesis has only touched the surface of men's and women's collective agency and its impact on employment in teaching. The teachers in Pakistan are more organised in the public sector compared to the private sector. It raises the questions for further research that how important is the collective agency of men and women and how it impacts the perceptions

¹⁴ Where one teacher teaches more than one class/grade in the same class room

of occupational status? Is the feminisation of teaching linked in any way with the presence or absence of teachers' unions particularly in the private sector?

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APPENDIX I: Lists of Interview Respondents

Respondents Teaching at Primary Level

| | Pseudonym | Gender | Age (years) | Marital Status | No. of Children | Sector | Type of School |
|-----------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Farhat | Female | 41-45 | Married | 4 | Public | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 2 | Suhana | Female | 20-25 | Single | 0 | Public | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 3 | Asma | Female | 20-25 | Married | 0 | Public | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 4 | Fozia | Female | 20-25 | Single | 0 | Public | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 5 | Ammara | Female | 36-40 | Married | 3 | Public | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 6 | Huma | Female | 31-35 | Married | 1 | Public | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 7 | Faiza | Female | 31-35 | Married | 2 | Public | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 8 | Noor | Female | 36-40 | Married | 0 | Public | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 9 | Tahira | Female | 51-55 | Married | 1 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 10 | Ruby | Female | 20-25 | Single | 0 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 11 | Saima | Female | 26-30 | Married | 2 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 12 | Huda | Female | 26-30 | Single | 0 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 13 | Farida | Female | 41-45 | Married | 3 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 14 | Hina | Female | 26-30 | Single | 0 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 15 | Maliha | Female | 31-35 | Divorced | 1 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 16 | Tania | Female | 36-40 | Married | 2 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 17 | Sidra | Female | 31-35 | Divorced | 0 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 18 | Naveen | Female | 56-60 | Divorced | 1 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 19 | Yousaf | Male | 41-45 | Married | 1 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 20 | Imran | Male | 36-40 | Married | 2 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 21 | Hamza | Male | 31-35 | Single | 0 | Private | Mixed Sex School |
| 22 | Haider | Male | 26-30 | Single | 0 | Private | Mixed Sex School |

Respondents Teaching at Secondary Level

| | Pseudonym | Gender | Sector | Age | Marital Status | No. of Children | Type of School |
|-----------|------------------|---------------|---------------|------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Naima | Female | Public | 46-50 | Married | 3 | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 2 | Afia | Female | Public | 36-40 | Married | 1 | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 3 | Rehana | Female | Public | 41-45 | Divorced | 2 | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 4 | Afsheen | Female | Public | 31-35 | Single | 0 | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 5 | Aisha | Female | Public | 26-30 | Married | 1 | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 6 | Kiran | Female | Public | 46-50 | Married | 3 | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 7 | Uma | Female | Public | 31-35 | Married | 2 | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 8 | Shagufta | Female | Public | 51-55 | Married | 4 | Single Sex Girls' School |
| 9 | Farid | Male | Public | 51-55 | Married | 3 | Single Sex Boys' School |
| 10 | Khalil | Male | Public | 46-50 | Married | 3 | Single Sex Boys' School |
| 11 | Tariq | Male | Public | 51-55 | Married | 3 | Single Sex Boys' School |
| 12 | Rubina | Female | Private | 51-55 | Married | 2 | Mixed Sex School |
| 13 | Maria | Female | Private | 31-35 | Divorced | 2 | Mixed Sex School |
| 14 | Soha | Female | Private | 36-40 | Married | 2 | Mixed Sex School |
| 15 | Humaira | Female | Private | 36-40 | Married | 3 | Mixed Sex School |
| 16 | Unaiza | Female | Private | 26-30 | Single | 0 | Mixed Sex School |
| 17 | Nimra | Female | Private | 26-30 | Single | 0 | Mixed Sex School |
| 18 | Sumra | Female | Private | 36-40 | Married | | Mixed Sex School |
| 19 | Irfan | Male | Private | 36-40 | Married | 3 | Mixed Sex School |
| 20 | Naveed | Male | Private | 31-35 | Single | 0 | Mixed Sex School |
| 21 | Rizwan | Male | Private | 31-35 | Married | 1 | Mixed Sex School |
| 22 | Waqar | Male | Private | 31-35 | Single | 0 | Mixed Sex School |
| 23 | Imtiaz | Male | Private | 51-55 | Married | 4 | Mixed Sex School |
| 24 | Jamal | Male | Private | 31-35 | Single | 0 | Mixed Sex School |
| 25 | Farhan | Male | Private | 41-45 | Married | 4 | Mixed Sex School |
| 26 | Aftab | Male | Private | 26-30 | Single | 0 | Mixed Sex School |

APPENDIX II: Data Collection Tools

Interview Consent Form

You are being invited to participate in a research study about the increasing number of females in the education sector. This study is being conducted by Mahwish Khan, PhD scholar of the Bristol Business School at the University of the West of England. This research will help to better understand the issues related to the teaching profession in Pakistan. It will focus on the high participation of females in the education sector and its relation with the employment status of female teachers in Pakistan. The information collected may not benefit you directly, but what I learn from this study should provide general benefits to teachers, educational institutions, policy makers and researchers.

Participant's Agreement:

I am aware that my participation in this interview is voluntary. If, for any reason, at any time, I wish to stop the interview, I may do so without having to give an explanation. The researcher has reviewed the intent and purpose of this research with me. I agree that the interview may be electronically recorded. The data gathered in this study are confidential with respect to my personal identity (through pseudonym) unless I specify otherwise.

I have read the above form and, with the understanding that I can withdraw at any time and for whatever reason, I consent to participate in the interview.

Participant's signature

Date

Interview Schedule for Teachers

Feminisation of the teaching profession in Pakistan: A study of the employment status of women teachers

The interview format is conventional semi-structured. The interview may vary in order to elicit relevant and interesting information from the informant. **The respondent will be encouraged to give examples, anecdotes and personal stories.**

At the start of the interview session, the aims of the research will be discussed with respondents. Each interviewee will be asked sign the attached form in order to gain the informed consent.

About your current job

1. Can you tell me about your current role/job and your responsibilities?
 - What is your job title?
 - How long have you been in your current job?
 - How many students are there at this school? In what age range? What proportion is male, what proportion female.
 - What age of students do you teach?
 - How many staff is employed at the school? What proportion is male, female?
 - Where do you sit in the employment hierarchy at your organization?
 - To whom do you directly report? Is this teacher/manager male or female?
 - How many people work in your institution?
 - Do you mainly teach boys or girls, what are their average ages?
 - How much control do you have in respect to what you teach?
 - Is there a set curriculum or you can choose what you want to teach?
 - What do you most like and least like about your current job role?

About your Education and Career

2. Can you tell me about your formal education and any additional education or training programmes since leaving formal education?
3. Could you outline your career, from leaving formal education to the present time, including any job changes and promotions?
 - Are you where you wanted/planned to be?
 - Can you share your promotion process here?
 - What factors do you think are important for success and career advancement?
 - How satisfied so far you are with your career advancement?
 - Do you feel you have seen any barriers in your career advancement? What type of barriers? Do you think they affect teachers generally or particular teacher groups?
 - Do you see any barriers to your future career advancement?
 - Where do you see yourself in next five years?/ How do you see your progression from here?
4. What made you decide to join the teaching profession?
 - What factors attracted you to the teaching profession?
 - Did you feel you had choice in career?
 - In what ways has your education underpinned teaching as your career?

- In what ways have your family background and values impacted on your subsequent career choices? / Do you have relatives in teaching?
 - What factors you considered while choosing teaching as your career?
 - If given a choice would you like to change your profession? Why or why not?
5. Can you tell me about the working environment and particularly about the gender composition of your colleagues?
- Why you think there are more males/females?
 - Do you feel the teaching profession attracts more females? Why?
 - What do you most like about teaching as a career?
 - What do you least like about teaching as a career?

Rewards

6. How is your pay determined?
- How it was determined?
 - Are there any salary scales? Where could I find details?
 - What is your reward package? What rewards do you receive other than pay? (e.g. pension, extra holidays, health care facilities, annual bonus etc.)
7. How much does pay mean to you?
- Does your pay motivate you to work? (or, do you judge the quality of job by the amount it pays?)
 - Would you like to change your profession if you get offer of equal or higher pay in any other profession?
 - Are you planning to teach at higher level to increase your pay? (e.g. if you are teaching at school would you like to teach at college)
 - What extra set of skills or qualification you need to teach at higher level students?
8. How satisfied you are with your current reward package?
- Are you satisfied with your current pay? If not can you explain why?
 - Are you satisfied with the benefits? If not can you explain why?
 - Do you think you are rewarded fairly compared to other colleagues, educational institutions, sector (public or private)?
 - How do you relate it with other professions? Is teaching well paid or under paid profession?
9. In your view is there a relationship between gender and pay in the teaching profession? Can you give any example?

Work Life Balance

10. Typically, how many hours do you work a week?
- Do you choose your working hours? How flexible your working hours are?
 - How hard the intensity of work?
 - Do you often have to work at night and/or at the weekend?
11. Can you tell me about your life outside work?
- Are you responsible for childcare or elderly care?

12. How would you define work-life balance?/ What do you understand by the concept of Work Life Balance?
13. Do you think work life balance is important?
14. Do you have work life balance? If 'yes' how you achieve it? If 'no' what is **your biggest struggle to achieve it?**
15. **Do you think teaching as a profession provides better opportunities to work life balance compared to other professions?**
16. How do you relate work life balance with gender? Do you think any women have a harder time achieving work-life balance? If so, how?
17. In your opinion how you can achieve a right balance of work and non-work life?
18. Do you see teaching occupation as an opportunity for women or a threat?
19. Can you sum up by telling what you like and dislike about teaching?

Demographic Questions

The following questions are for classification purposes only. Please fill the information that applies.

1. Please indicate your sector of work.

Public Sector

Private Sector

2. Please indicate at which level you teach. (Please tick all that apply)

Pre-primary Level (before class1)

Primary level (Class 1-5)

Middle level (Class 6-8)

High Level (Class 9-10/ O Levels)

Intermediate (FA/FSc/ A Levels)

Degree College and University

3. Please indicate your highest level of qualification.

Less than High School

High School Degree (e.g. Matric, O-Levels)

2 years College Degree (e.g. FA, FSc, A-Levels)

Graduate Degree (e.g. BA, BSc)

Postgraduate Degree (e.g. MA, MSc)

Doctoral Degree

Other _____

4. Please indicate for how long you are in teaching profession.

Less than 1 year

1-2 years

3-4 years

5-6 years

7-8 years

9-10 years

More than 10 years

5. Please indicate your current employment status. (Please tick all that apply)

Full time

Part time

Permanent Employee

Contractual Employee

Other _____

6. Do you get promoted in your current institution? If 'yes' please indicate how many promotions have you received.

No, I have not been promoted since I joined this institution.

Yes, I have been promoted once.

Yes, I have been promoted twice.

Yes, I have been promoted thrice.

Yes, I have been promoted more than three times.

7. What is your current job title? _____

8. How many hours are you contracted to work every day?

9. How many hours do you actually work? _____

10. What is your age?

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Less than 20 years <input type="checkbox"/> | 20-25 years <input type="checkbox"/> | 26-30 years <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 31- 35 years <input type="checkbox"/> | 36-40 years <input type="checkbox"/> | 41-45 years <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 46-50 years <input type="checkbox"/> | 51-55 years <input type="checkbox"/> | 56-60 years <input type="checkbox"/> |
| More than 60 years <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

11. What is your current marital status?

- Never married/Single Married Separated/Divorced
Widowed

12. Do you have children? If 'yes' indicate how many children do you have?

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| No, I don't have children <input type="checkbox"/> | One <input type="checkbox"/> | Two <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Three <input type="checkbox"/> | Four <input type="checkbox"/> | Five <input type="checkbox"/> |
| More than five <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

13. Do you have caring responsibility for (tick all that apply)

- Children of school age Children below school age
Older children Dependent relatives
No caring responsibilities
Other _____

14. How many family members do you have in your house hold including yourself?

- 1-5 6-10 11-15 More than 15

15. What is your monthly income (in Rupees)? _____

APPENDIX III: Salary Slips

DISTRICT ACCOUNT OFFICE
PAY ROLL SYSTEM

PAYMENT ADVICE

SN: 428 Nankana

Pers #: 30822701 Buckle: [REDACTED]

Name: [REDACTED]

Dsg.: [REDACTED]

NIC No. [REDACTED]

GPF Interest Applied

14 Active Permanent

F Sec: 001 Month: July 2010

NK6088 -D. D. E. D (W) EE Shah Kot

Min: Education

MTN: [REDACTED]

GPF #: [REDACTED]

Old #: [REDACTED]

DEPTT CODE

NK6088 -1087

| PAYS AND ALLOWANCES: | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| 0001-Basic Pay | 11,380.00 |
| 1000-House Rent Allowance | 1,476.00 |
| 1300-Medical Allowance | 1,000.00 |
| 1770-Spl. Additional allowance | 516.00 |
| 1830-Special Relief All(2005) | 861.00 |
| 1831-Adhoc Relief (2005) | 861.00 |
| 1864-Deernes Allowance (2006) | 1,071.00 |
| 1908-Adhoc Relief-2009 (01-16) | 2,276.00 |
| 1948-Adhoc Allowance 2010@ 50% | 5,690.00 |
| Gross Pay and Allowances | 25,131.00 |
| DEDUCTIONS: | |
| GPF Balance | 24,602.00 |
| 3510-Benevolent Fund Punjab | 341.00 |
| 3600-Group Insurance (Punjab) | 120.00 |
| Total Deductions | 24,602.00 |
| Subrc: | 620.00 |
| | 341.00 |
| | 120.00 |
| | 24,050.00 |

NET AMOUNT PAYABLE

24,050.00

QUALIFYING SERVICE

D. O. B LFP Quota

06.11.1965 NATIONAL BANK OF PAKSHAHKOT BRANCH NANKA

Figure 1: Pay slip of a BPS 14 teacher with basic pay Rs. 11, 380/- and with the addition of all the benefits and deduction of funds the net amount to payable is total Rs. 24, 050/-

F1

DISTRICT ACCOUNT OFFICE
Nankana

PASH01501515EM

PAYMENT ADVICE
P Sec: 001 Month: December 2010
NK6088 -D. D. E. O (W) EE Shah Kot
Min: Education
NTN:
GPF #: NNS/EDU/3861
Dtd #:

Pers #: 20822200 Buckle:
Name: [REDACTED]
Dsg.: P.T.C. TEACHER
NIC No. [REDACTED]
GPF Interest Applied

BPS 09 - Active Permanent

| PAYS AND ALLOWANCES: | | DEPTT CODE NK6088 -1087 |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| 0001-Basic Pay | | 8,880.00 |
| 1000-House Rent Allowance | | 1,146.00 |
| 1300-Medical Allowance | | 1,000.00 |
| 1770-Spl. Additional allowance | | 385.00 |
| 1830-Special Relief All(2005) | | 675.00 |
| 1831-Adhoc Relief (2005) | | 675.00 |
| 1864-Deernes Allowance (2006) | | 824.00 |
| 1885-Mobility Allow (Teachers) | | 900.00 |
| 1908-Adhoc Relief-2009 (01-16) | | 1,776.00 |
| Gross Pay and Allowances | | 20,586.00 |
| DEDUCTIONS: | | |
| GPF Balance | 13,464.00 | |
| 3510-Benevolent Fund Punjab | | 365.00 |
| 3600-Group Insurance (Punjab) | | 266.00 |
| | | 70.00 |
| Total Deductions | | 701 |
| NET AMOUNT PAYABLE | | 19,885 |

QUALIFYING SERVICE D.O.B
28 Years 03 Months 021 Days 10.08.1963

LFP Quota: 4
NATIONAL BANK OF PAKSHAN
10681-3

Figure 2: Pay slip of a BPS 9 teacher with basic pay Rs. 8,880/- and with the addition of all the benefits and deduction of funds the net amount to payable is total Rs. 19, 885/-