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THE PERCEPTIONS AND STRATEGIES OF FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS
REGARDING THE GENDER REGIMES IN URBAN COEDUCATIONAL
SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN UGANDA

By

Naluwemba Frances

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Educational Leadership and Foundations

Brigham Young University

October 2007

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS REGARDING THE GENDER REGIMES IN URBAN COEDUCATIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN UGANDA

Naluwemba Frances

Department of Educational Leadership and Foundations

Doctor of Philosophy

Leaders and policy makers in Uganda developed a national strategy of placing female administrators in traditionally male-dominated coeducational secondary schools in the belief that their vision would promote equitable education by changing gender regimes that play in schools. Gender regimes are patterns of gender arrangements that could disadvantage the education of boys or girls (Connell, 2002). The purpose of this study was to discover if female administrators perceived and had developed strategies to change gender regimes in their schools.

Participants were 13 female administrators of government-supported coeducational mixed/day secondary schools in Kampala and Wakiso urban districts. Participants ranged in age from 37 to 59 years and in school experience from 12 to 32 years. Nine participants held masters' degrees and 4 were currently enrolled in masters' programs. All participants were members of a female organization.

The investigator used qualitative methodology to collect and analyze data and to report findings. With each participant, the investigator engaged in an open dialogue and used a semi-structured protocol to conduct an interview that was recorded and

transcribed. The investigator examined archival records and collected artifacts from each school. Data were analyzed emically with NVivo software to facilitate the iterative process of identifying and refining themes. Themes had to reach a threshold of 50% to be considered significant.

The findings revealed that female administrators perceived gender regimes related to family culture, school culture, sexuality, and power and authority. All female administrators had developed strategies to change the gender regimes that disadvantaged girls' education. These perceptions and strategies indicated that gender regimes were part of the vision of female administrators, but insufficient evidence was collected to determine the degree they were part of their strategic goals. These findings are significant because if these female administrators can change the gender regimes at play in their schools, they will make a significant contribution to providing equitable education to their students. While these findings cannot be generalized, this work may help other educators gain a better understanding of the influence of gender regimes in their schools.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“As with corporation and work places, and the state, gender is embedded in the institutional arrangements through which a school functions: Division of labor, authority patterns, and so on. A totality of these patterns is a school’s gender regime.” Gender regimes differ between schools, though with limits set by the broader culture...(Connell, 1996, p.213.)

For a decade, Uganda has utilized gender equity reforms similar to those of industrialized countries to manage diversity and improve teaching and learning (Kajubi, 1992; Wilson, 2004; Yates, 1993). These reforms, which include the use of affirmative action and coeducational schooling have increased the number of students at school (achieved parity) while ignoring the gender regime embedded in the school culture (Connell, 2002). The assumption of policy makers in Uganda is that schools are gender neutral. Yet, gender regimes can be observed in symbols and school practices such as mission statements, curriculum, instruction, and administrative work (Apple, 1986; Swain, 2005). The overall gender regime may undermine the human rights effort to provide quality education and relevant equal opportunities to boys and girls.

This study builds on a strategic approach to administrative work that requires a school administrator’s vision to manage change. Managing change, while utilizing strategic attributes such as vision, culture, mission, goals, and objectives is critical in reform initiatives. If school level actors, especially administrators, could understand the role of managing change in reform agendas, then the gender regime perspective can be utilized to manage equity issues and improve schools (Riehl, 2000). Equity as a reform initiative refers to education that is fair to students (Kelly, 2002) and is most likely to

require the visionary and transformational role of the school administrator (Bass, 1998). Administrators hold the vision for the schools (Edmond, 1979). Thus, visions play a central role in effective school improvement (Hallinger & Heck, 2002).

This study examines the perceptions of female administrators regarding the gender regimes in the two urban districts in Uganda. Recently, females have been hired in administration to challenge equity and improve schools in Uganda (Poulsen & Smawfield, 2000; Kajubi, 1992). Nonetheless, the perceptions of Ugandan female administrators concerning the gender regimes are not clearly addressed by current literature. Yet, perceptions of administrators are critical in determining the decision frameworks, the strategic processes, and the way strategies are selected and placed on the school agenda (Hitt & Tyler, 1991; Kingdon, 1995; Seldon, 1997). While managing change, perceptions of administrators may encourage the vision to achieve equitable education to manage diversity and enhance school improvement.

From organizational theory, the leader's perceptions to change in strategic properties (attributes) such as vision and goals affects innovation and the diffusion of strategic visions (Anderson & Paine, 1975; Schein, 1995). However, for change to occur leaders need to have insights into the organizational culture that is influenced by the gender regime in a school. A gender regime refers to patterns of gender in different components of a school such as students' admissions and every school has its own gender regime (Connell, 2002).

Drawing from the above literature on administrative perceptions, in order to improve schools, administrators need to perceive the gender regimes embedded in school culture to create a fit between learners and the school processes. The administrator's

perceptions regarding gender regimes is likely to be guided by the administrator's vision which is a key construct in reform initiatives (Jahan, 1995).

Background to the Study

Visioning, together with the leadership functions of a school administrator such as mission building, culture shaping, team building, risk taking, staff support, innovation, and collegiality, are considered important variables in the effective improvement of schools (Copland, 2003; DuFour, 2003; Hargreaves, 1994; Little, 1982; Murphy & Louis, 1999). Improving schooling can be facilitated through processes of strategic visioning and culture creation that occur during policy making, planning, and organizing of schools. The envisioning and culture creation processes represent critical administrative roles in reforming schools (Deal & Peterson, 1999; Hallinger & Heck, 2002). Improving equity, an important educational reform priority in Ugandan schools, may then be encouraged by the administrative processes of visioning and creating cultures to facilitate a friendly learning environment and a climate for change.

Achieving equitable education is important in schools because it improves the learning outcomes of all students (Marcoulides & Heck, 1990; Marshall, 2004). In Uganda, it seems that perceptions of school administrators have not been fully utilized in achieving equitable education (Kajubi, 1992). Yet, administrative practices, such as students' admissions, leadership, assessment, and discipline, are full of gender regimes and thus, are critical areas where equity needs to be achieved if schools are to improve (Connell, 1987; Kajubi, 1992). Schools may improve when perceptions regarding vision and the relevance of changing gender regimes toward inclusiveness are part of the strategic goals. The challenge of the administrators is to utilize their understanding of

gender regimes to facilitate strategic change to improve the learning outcomes of all students in their schools (Senge, 1990).

To facilitate school improvement, particularly in terms of equitable education, a critical role of the school administrator is creating and sharing a strategic vision. Strategic visioning in schools can help the school anticipate change by looking at the school within its wider environment. For example, in Uganda educational environments are becoming more dynamic, particularly in coeducational schools in urban areas. In these schools, the student population is becoming increasingly heterogeneous and stakeholder requirements are becoming more demanding (Bennett & Sayed, 2002; Fuller, Hua & Snyder, 1994; Heyneman & Jamison, 1980; Sperandio, 2000). New school buildings, more instructional materials for girls, more space (in terms of land), and female head teachers are desired to take care of girls' needs. Specifically, a physically and emotionally safe environment is required for girls (Kajubi, 1992). Meeting the challenges of the constantly changing environment requires the school administrator to facilitate and guide the school's vision, mission, and culture and to create a climate that supports the future vision of the school. A climate that fits the administrator's vision and perceptions as well as a shared vision is likely to create shared value and shared meaning in changing the gender regimes for equitable education and school improvement.

If achieving equitable education is a component of an administrator's vision, then it becomes part of the school culture (Bolman & Deal, 1992; Marshall, 2004). In particular, if school administrators understand that a gender regime is part of the school culture, then the gender regime can be changed to limit inequalities created by gender (Bolman & Deal, 1992; Sadker & Sadker, 1991). School administrators may use

processes of organizational culture creation to facilitate school improvement by transforming the gender regime toward equity. Organizational culture is defined as internal and external adaptation of an organization to its environment (Schein, 1995). The perceptions of school administrators regarding gender regimes facilitate the adaptation of schools to their external environment (Creemers, 2002; Owens, 1998). This phase in culture shaping is relevant in effective school improvement.

The processes of culture creation would create, develop, or change the artifacts, norms, values, and assumptions of the school as an organization to create culture for achieving equitable education (Schein, 1993; Gragan, 1999). For example, a culture of learning may be created in schools as administrators foster norms and values that will facilitate continuous dialogue, collegial instructional practices, and collaborative problem solving. These processes increase collaboration within the school (DuFour & Eaker, 1998; Little, 1982). Collaboration refers to engagement of the stakeholders of a school in the processes of shared decision-making, visioning, and culture creation (Gitlin, 1999). In terms of implementing school reforms, the benefit of collaboration is to advance organizational learning as a vision for change (Firestone & Pennell, 1995; Honig, 2003; Marks & Louis, 1997). Collaboration facilitates shared commitment, an element that leads to rapid adoption of innovations such as gender reforms.

Specifically, collaboration facilitates the creation of a culture of organizational learning through which new information or innovation, such as achieving equitable education, may diffuse in the multiple levels of a school, including its teams, departments, classrooms, and interaction during school practices (Huber, 1991; Leithwood & Janti, 1999). Good understanding of administrative roles, especially those

of an instructional and transformational leader, may help school administrators create an organizational culture with the values and norms of collaboration and learning that can foster the achievement of equitable education throughout the school.

Female administrators in Uganda may be uniquely positioned to serve as transformational leaders as they facilitate school improvements to achieve equitable education for boys and girls (Hallinger, 2003). Female administrators are also considered skilled in special areas of school administration such as supervising and nurturing the diverse student population (Enomoto, 2000; Noddings, 1984; Riehl & Byrd, 1997). However, what is not clear is how female administrators perceive the gender regimes as a reform strategy in the improvement of Ugandan schools. Like caring (Noddings, 1988), the gender regime is essential in advancing successful school reforms.

This study of gender regime, examined from a strategic perspective, intends to add to the theoretical understandings of female administrators' perceptions of the gender regimes in their schools. The goal is to facilitate successful reforms toward equity and social justice. A study on gender regimes is important because gender is very often a missing piece in leadership training and practice (Coleman, 2003; Marshall, 2004; Riehl, 2000). However, the gender regime perspective can be utilized to identify inequalities between the education of boys and girls and to provide a foundation for planning school improvement. Particularly in Uganda, gender is a critical factor in planning and achieving equitable education for female students in mixed-sex environments (Kajubi, 1992; Mirembe & Davies, 2001).

If equitable education is to be achieved in Uganda, the perceptions of female administrators concerning gender regimes and the ability to address change in their

related inequalities must be clearly understood to improve the learning processes. In this regard, understanding the gender regime may require the understanding of gender as a social construct and its role in the construction of inequalities.

The Concept of Gender: A Feminist Perspective

Sex and gender, as used in social research, have different meanings. This study supports a feminist's perspective that considers gender as a social construct. The word *sex* is different from *gender* in the context that sex is biologically determined while gender is historically and socially constructed (Lorber, 1994; Nicholson, 1994; Scott, 1986; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The relevance of gender as a social construct is determined by defining gender as a situated accomplishment (West & Fenstermaker, 2002; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Defining gender as a situated accomplishment makes inequalities created through interaction visible. Through interaction individuals "do gender." The "doing of gender" may create differences among learners that lead to unequal educational outcomes (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Thus, achieving equitable education in schools heavily relies on the understanding of gender as a social construct in interaction.

From a feminist perspective, understanding power and privilege is critical in reform initiatives (Connell, 2002; Enomoto, 2000; Scott, 1986). Connell describes gender using a framework of four dimensions of gender relations: power relations, production relations, patterns of emotions, and symbolic relations. These four dimensions of gender relations reveal the inequalities constructed by gender in interaction and produce hierarchies among learners that in most cases shortchange girls. Understanding the gender regime using dimensions of gender relations is important in school improvement

because it rejects equity that concerns sameness of learners and differences based on binary groupings of girls and boys. Instead, the gender regime, promotes equity that challenges educational practices, cultures, and policies that construct power differences among learners (Scott, 1988).

Connell's (2002) model of the gender regime is expressed at symbolic and structural levels; in ideologies, values, and norms as well as in vertical and horizontal administrative practices (Kessler, Ashenden & Dowsett, 1985). Norms and values as strategic properties guide the purpose, goals, mission, and vision that lead schools to their future. Therefore, the symbolic relations that are related to culture encourage change if schools are to improve (Jahan, 1995). Relevant change will be determined by female administrators' understanding of their perceptions concerning gender regimes in their coeducational schools.

Gender Equity and Schooling

Gender equity in schools is a fundamental condition of basic human rights; therefore, girls and boys in schools should have access to educational privileges (Schultz, 2002; Stromquist, 1990; Wilson, 2004). Broadly, gender equity in schools means to be "fair and just to both men and women, to show no preference to either, and concern for both" (Klein, 2002, p. 5). This study describes gender equity using a perspective of distributive justice whereby female and male students have equal claim to educational resources (Burbules & Sherman, 1982; Jencks, 1988; Rawls, 1998). This definition of equity refers to "fairness" (Klein, 2002) and aims at achieving equitable learning outcomes.

When educational processes and conditions are fair to both female and male students, they get the chance to acquire the same learning outcomes and compete for jobs equally in society. Reform initiatives to improve learning may be more successful when administrators understand their perceptions regarding the gender regimes as a perspective in facilitating equitable education to improve schools.

Female administration and gender equity. Much of educational administration has been socially constructed (Adkison, 1981; Skrla, 2000). Historically, men have occupied most of the privileged places in administration while women have been basically focusing on instruction (Apple, 1985; Blount, 1999; Tyack & Hansot, 1982). Currently, more females are becoming school administrators than ever. Recently, several nation states have focused on increasing females in school administration assuming that they can utilize their feminine traits to raise the achievement of girls (Geissinger, 1997). However, it is unclear if female administrators in coeducational schools consider the gender regime as one of the primary approaches for facilitating equitable education and as a vision for improving schooling.

Studying administrators in coeducational schools as opposed to single-sex schools is timely as well as important because the Ugandan government is planning on changing government aided boarding secondary schools which are currently exclusively for girls to coeducational day schools (Kajubi, 1992; Sperandio, 1998). Considering the gendered nature of coeducational schools in Uganda, making schools day-mixed creates uncertainty of how to utilize equity and social justice to improve teaching and learning.

Gender equity in Uganda. Gender equity in Uganda has been a major interest in policy making since the implementation of decentralization reforms regarding the local

governments intended to improve decision making (Jordan, 2002; Tripp, 2000).

Achieving gender equity in Ugandan education was supported by the recommendations of the Educational Review Commission (1963) and the Policy Review Commission (1992). The two Commissions recognized the need to improve girls' education, whose education has been identified as inferior to that of boys. In order to attain the objectives of achieving gender equity, several education reforms have been implemented. Universal Primary Education and affirmative action for girls in higher education have played a major role of increasing the enrollments of girls and boys at school. Nevertheless, gender reforms have focused on access to education as the basic measure for equitable education, assuming that teaching and learning is gender-neutral. Access to education is important in the achievement of equitable education, although, access may not recognize the gender regimes in schools.

With the national challenge to improve equity in Ugandan schools, more female administrators have been hired than previously as administrators in several school types (Kajubi, 1992). Traditionally, females were either hired as headmistresses to nurture girls in single-sex schools or deputies in other types of school (Brown & Ralph, 1996). However, the growing number of female administrators in heavily populated urban coeducational schools is changing female roles from family-related roles in the private sphere to policy-making roles in the public sphere (Blackmore, 2002). The new administrative strategy raises a basic question: How do female administrators perceive gender regimes in their school? This evaluative question is critical in understanding the extent to which gender regimes are part of female administrators' visions and whether they create a shared meaning to improve schools.

Statement of the Problem

Currently, more females are now being hired as school administrators than in the past. The assumption of educational administrators and policy makers in Uganda is that female leaders hired in traditionally male-dominated settings can act as mentors for girls, thus raising girls' achievement levels (Kajubi, 1992). Whereas policy makers assume females can utilize their natural traits to build a vision for achieving equitable education and improving schools, the perceptions of the female administrators regarding the gender regimes fully embedded in the school culture is not yet clear. Despite the fact administrators in Uganda hold the vision for advancing change (Hallinger & Heck, 2002), it is not yet understood whether gender regimes are part of the strategic goals to improve schools.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate how female administrators perceived gender regimes as a basic perspective in facilitating equitable education in their coeducational schools in Uganda. Since their perceptions of gender regimes can be utilized to create a friendly learning environment, this study went further to investigate the strategies to address gender regimes that female administrators used to improve schools in Uganda.

Research Questions

The research questions followed basic themes related to the perception of female administrators regarding the gender relations (gender regimes) in coeducational secondary schools in Uganda.

- A. What are the perceptions of female school administrators regarding the gender regimes operating in their coeducational schools in Uganda?
- What are the gender relations of power and authority in their school?
 - What are the gender relations of production in their school?
 - What are the gender relations of emotion in their school?
 - What are the gender symbols that reinforce these three types of relations in their school?
- B. What changes do these female school administrators hope to make in the gender regimes in their schools?
- What changes do they hope to make?
 - Why do they want to make these changes?
 - How do they intend to make these changes?
 - What do they believe their role and functions are in making these changes?
- C. To what degree are gender regimes central to the strategic goals of these female school administrators?

Significance of the Study

The results from the study examined the perceptions of female administrators concerning gender regimes to facilitate equitable education in their coeducational schools as anticipated by policy makers in Uganda (Kajubi, 1992). Also, the study examined the strategies used by female administrators to change the gender regimes. In particular, this inquiry was utilized to build understanding concerning the benefit of using Connell's (2002) gender regime model to achieve equity beyond equal opportunity approaches such

as affirmative action. Currently, in the Ugandan context, this type of knowledge is, at best, conjectural and limited.

Assumptions and Limitations

Administrators characteristically had complex schedules, which were further complicated by their responsibilities related to national exams during the period of data collection. The investigator used case-study methodology in grounded theory to examine the perceptions of female administrators regarding gender regimes in their coeducational schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts in Uganda. The findings from this study only applied to female administrators in these districts and therefore, cannot be generalized to female administrators in other districts.

Theoretical Scope

This study focused on perceptions of female administrators concerning gender regimes in their schools. The focus was limited to examining the learning inequalities caused by gender regimes to male and female students rather than to male and female teachers. Additionally, the study explored how the female administrators developed relevant strategies to achieve equitable education to both boys and girls in the historically male-dominated coeducational environment of Ugandan schools.

Definition of Terms

The defined terms will refer to the major elements concerning the topic of study.

Coeducational schools: Schools that educate girls and boys in the same educational environment (Datnow & Hubbard, 2002; Lee & Lockhead; 1990).

Collaboration: The concept of collaboration refers to the process of giving collegial and professional assistance (Firestone & Pennell, 1995; Little, 1982).

Culture: Culture is defined as “a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems” (Schein, 1995, p. 12).

Equal education opportunity: Equal education opportunity will be regarded as a principle of justice whereby students have equal and fair access to educational resources (Burbules & Sherman, 1982; Howe, 1994).

Equitable education: Type of education that is fair and by need (Jencks, 1988).

Gender equity: Gender equity in schools means to be “fair and just to both men and women, to show no preference to either, and concern for both” (Klein, 2002, p. 5).

Gender regimes: Gender regimes are patterns of gender arrangements (Connell, 2002).

Gender relations: Dimensions or types of gender such as the production relation, patterns of emotions, symbolic relations, and power and authority (Connell (2000).

Gender stratification: This term refers to the process of reinforcing the differences between girls and boys in schools (Huber, 1999).

Head teacher: The head teacher is the top leader in a school who is responsible for the development organizational routines, instructional practices, planning, and managing change (Greenfield, 1995; Murphy & Louis, 1999; Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). The term head teacher will carry the same meaning as an administrator or a principal.

Secondary schools: Secondary schools refer to the four years (O Level) and the two years of advanced level (A Level), after primary education (Kajubi, 1992; Marshall, 1976).

Strategic visioning: Strategic visioning is a leadership process that can be used to manage culture in organizations such as schools (Larwood, 1995; Westely & Mintzberg, 1989).

Methodology

This study investigated how thirteen female administrators in coeducational schools in two urban districts of Uganda perceived the gender regimes in their schools. This research is important because no empirical literature documents the perceptions of female administrators in the districts of Kampala and Wakiso in Uganda in relation to the gender regime (Connell, 2002). The researcher utilized qualitative approaches based on grounded theory (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), grounded theory methodology refers to systematic procedures where theory is inductively derived from data and follows a process by which data collection and analysis takes place at the same time.

Regarding female administrators' perception of gender regimes in their schools, knowledge was developed from case study data. Grounded theory fits this study because of its systematic procedures that allow data collection and data analysis to be done at the same time without over reliance on preconceived notions of reality. The constant comparative methodology, which is characteristic of grounded theory, contributed to the

production of “thick” data, whereas its iterative potential helped to verify emerging hypotheses and identification of new themes and patterns that will guide further collection of data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Sample

The study included 13 female administrators from 13 urban-based coeducational secondary schools. The 13 female administrators were selected from the two urban districts in Uganda of Kampala and Wakiso. During the pilot study done in 2004, the two districts, Kampala and Wakiso, had a total of ten female administrators officially hired by the government of Uganda. During the time of data collection in 2006, the number of female secondary administrators in all coeducational schools within Kampala and Wakiso districts had increased to 13. All thirteen head teachers were included in the study. Data from the study can be generalized only to the two districts studied.

Data Collection

Data collection took six months and included documentary analysis, open-ended interviews, and observation of artifacts. The process of data collection was divided into three phases. In the first phase, data was collected from documents and artifacts. The documentary analysis helped the researcher to collect data on administrative practices such as admission of students, discipline cases, and treatment of girls and boys at school. Artifacts included items like mission statements, administrator’s note books, minutes from meetings, and classroom displays (Schein, 1995). Data collection from the first phase was used to identify emerging themes and categories that aided in further collection of data in the second phase.

The second phase of data collection utilized open dialogue and open-ended interviews with the female head teachers. One hour was spent in open dialogue with the female administrators to obtain more information on the key concepts that emerged from the observations. A face-to-face open-ended interview was also conducted with each subject. Though one hour was planned for each dialogue and interview, at times both lasted longer depending on the female administrator's experience and interest in the topic of gender.

Application of different sources of evidence in the various phases helped in verification of emerging patterns, themes, and hypotheses. Data collected by multiple methods enhanced the production of thick descriptions to ensure credibility of findings (Huberman & Miles, 1998). Data from dialogue and interviews was triangulated with data from observations in phase one. Data from phase two was used to verify data from the first phase. Triangulation of phases aided the researcher to facilitate internal validity.

The third phase of data collection involved follow up on the previously collected data. Once the interviews were transcribed, they were presented to each female administrator to verify the interview data for factual accuracy. Extra data was collected depending on the major questions of the study and emerging concepts.

Data Analysis and Procedures

The process of open coding, axial, and selective coding, based on Strauss & Corbin (1998), was utilized in data analysis. Coding procedures used the comparative sampling method, a technique that allowed thick collection of data due to its iterative potential. NVivo software was used in the coding process to aid in the management of the large amount of data and to facilitate the data reduction process.

Summary

This study describes how 13 female administrators in coeducational schools perceived the gender regimes in their schools. Chapter One provides background information, and introduces the rationale for the study, the theory that guided the study as well as the definition of terms. Chapter Two provides a review of literature that focuses on female administrators in visioning and culture creation toward achieving equitable education. A general view of gender equity in schools is also provided. Chapter Three provides a detailed description of the methodology for the study. Chapter Four describes the schools included in the study. Chapter Five presents the data focusing on the emic data from interviews and open dialogue. Chapter Six discusses the findings of the study based on the data presented in Chapter Five. In Chapter Six conclusions about the findings of the study are made.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies of educational reforms have been critical of “top-down” school improvement efforts based upon change models, strategies, and policy making processes that disregard the visionary leadership roles of school-level administrators (Chapman & Burchfield, 1994; Fullan, 1985; Murphy, 1989). However, literature on school improvement and strategic leadership recognizes the critical importance of visioning and culture shaping in managing change and achieving positive reforms (Cossette, 2001; Hallinger & Heck, 2002; Larwood, 1995). The leaders’ visions, however, are shaped by their awareness, understanding, and resulting perceptions of issues related to improving schools.

Recently, Uganda has constituted gender equity reforms at the national level and has encouraged the same reforms in its educational system to improve conditions of schooling for all students (Poulsen & Smawfield, 2000; Kajubi, 1992; Kikampikaho & Kwesiga, 2002). Identifying and implementing policies and practices conducive of equitable education at the school-level may be encouraged by the visionary leadership of school-level administrators (Gragan, 1999). While it is probable that the visionary contributions of female administrators could be particularly critical toward achieving equitable education in Ugandan schools, the empirical literature in this domain is virtually nonexistent, and what little literature exists does not describe how females in administration perceive gender regimes and how these perceptions may contribute towards achieving equitable education among learners.

Given that leaders' perceptions may shape their vision, the following review of literature will first discuss the role of vision and culture in facilitating school improvement. Second, this review will provide background for understanding the nature of gender regimes in educational settings with a specific focus on the context of Ugandan schools. This literature review is meant to provide the basis for a study that will explore the perceptions of female school-level administrators regarding the gender regimes in coeducational Ugandan schools.

Factors in School Improvement

The perceptions of school administrators will inform their visions for improving schools (Chapman & Burchfield, 1994; Huffman & Jacobson, 2003; Laurence & Richards, 1996; Zalkind & Costello, 1962). Their perceptions are comprised of their awareness and understanding of school improvement issues. These perceptions will ultimately shape their vision. The leader's vision, as a framework for enhancing change, is necessary for building a shared vision that supports the shaping of the culture to facilitate school improvement (see Figure 1).

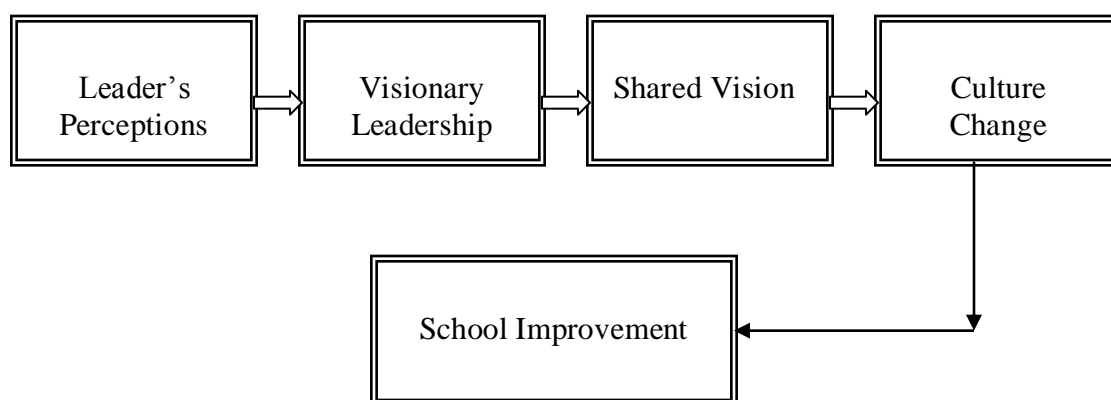


Figure 1: Strategic visioning processes in school improvement

According to the above strategic model, if school-level actors such as female administrators perceive that gender regimes as part of the school culture negatively supports learning, they may make efforts to change them toward equitable learning. Such change will depend on perceptions of administrators regarding the gender regimes and their visionary role in creating a new a culture to promote school improvement. Hence, perceptions determine the vision for the decision framework and enhance strategic change.

Vision

Administrators' perceptions may influence their vision of school improvement. Vision has been defined in a variety of ways including mental models (Caldwell & Spinks, 1992), an image of the future (Daft, 2002; Senge, 1990), and a way to solve problems (Schien, 2004). The various definitions of organizational vision reflect strategic dimensions of organizational change. Since vision is linked to the future of the organization, the top leader plays a major role in its articulation and implementation. Nanus (1992) defines a "vision as a realistic, credible, attractive future for an organization" (p. 8). A credible vision will facilitate designing a compelling vision that will be acceptable to members of an organization. The credibility of a vision enables leaders to focus the organizational vision that is critical in advancing reforms. Nanus further asserts that a vision "offers a view of the future that is clearly and demonstrably better for the organization, for the people in the organization, and for the society in which the organization operates" (p. 27).

Through strategic visioning processes, visionary leaders may better facilitate school improvement toward a vision like gender equity in schools. The processes of

strategic visioning, as indicated in Figure 1, suggest that leaders develop their own vision, work to achieve a shared vision, and utilize the shared vision to facilitate necessary culture change that can help move the organization towards sustained improvement (Detert, 2000; Sashkin, 1989; Sergiovanni, 2000). Their own vision, however, would be influenced by their perceptions of their schools and the need for change. The next sections will focus on visionary and shared leadership and then discuss the role of vision on school improvement.

Visionary leadership. A key variable in school improvement is a visionary leader. A visionary leader is responsible for defining a clear vision to give direction to the future of the school. This vision, again, would reflect their own personal understandings and perceptions of both the current situation and the future. One critical element in this strategic visioning is the leader's ability to assess the school's environment and take into account its major stakeholders (Greenfield, 1995; Huffman & Jacobson, 2003; Vera, 2004). Strategic visioning is the process whereby leaders intentionally create a vision for the organization that anticipates and motivates change to align the organization with its external environment (Laurence & Richards, 1996; Manasse, 1986; Zaccaro & Banks, 2004). Strategic vision is usually used during the alignment of organizational values, to set priorities for school goals and objectives.

Visioning is an important tool for organizational change because it can facilitate transformational change (Argyris & Schon, 1978; Hallinger & Heck, 2002; Leithwood, 1994; Pawar & Eastman, 1997). According to Hallinger (2003), transformational change creates an environment and culture of organizational learning that facilitates second order change. Such a learning culture supports rapid change and quick implementation of

reforms. In change management, second order change reforms existing practices and infrastructures, such as instructional practices, to support necessary organizational change.

Visionary leaders are often very transformational leaders (Bass, 1998; Conger & Kanungo, 1989; Pawar & Eastman, 1997). Transformational leadership means developing a shared vision that can enhance collegiality among teachers, provide individual support, intellectual stimulation, and motivate staff toward the acceptance of school goals, values, and moral work practices for advancing strategic culture change (Burns, 1978; Leithwood & Jantzi, 1999). Transformational leaders see the necessity for change and seek to develop a motivating vision. A vision with strategic ends can motivate the organization's members, like teachers, and encourages them to be committed to the organizational vision (Firestone & Pennell, 1995; Manasse, 1985; Laurence & Richards, 1986). Such a motivating vision establishes a standard of excellence.

Shared vision. Visionary leaders work to develop a shared vision for the school and its community. An effective shared vision is one that is acceptable to all and is devised in a collaborative fashion (Senge, 1990) to advance change. Shared vision is, thus, an important and critical element in school improvement efforts. According to Leithwood & Jantzi (1999), a shared commitment to the vision is important as people stimulate, inspire, and motivate each other to contribute and implement ideas in order to achieve strategic visions, such as achieving equity. Senge (1990) emphasized that a shared vision “provided the focus and the energy for learning” (p.206). As such, a shared vision builds the commitment of a group by developing shared images of the future. A

shared vision may also influence the leader's perception of the need for change in the strategic properties (mission, objectives, structure) toward school improvement.

There are two models of organizational vision that advocate for collective action in the visioning process supporting the implementation of strategic visions and increasing stake holder value. Kouzes & Posner's (2002) model is similar to Senge's (1990) model of shared vision. Kouzes and Posner define vision as an "ideal and unique image of the future for the common good" (p. 125). In their study concerning getting extraordinary things done in organizations, Kouzes and Posner contend that "everyone is important, not just the leader" (p. 127). Kouzes and Posner's model of visioning encourages leaders to be the source of inspiration that encourages subordinates to accept the vision of the leader. A vision which is shared by stake holders in an organization is easy to implement because it increases commitment for work.

In a learning organization, a shared vision creates a tension for change (Senge, 1990). That is, when members of an organization (like a school) learn and understand visions through collective action, change rapidly takes place. Senge (1990) reminds leaders that "shared visions emerge from personal visions" (p. 211). Such collective processes help leaders to be committed to the organizational vision and to encourage their subordinates to continuously develop personal visions. For instance, school administrators may take initiative, set the agenda, and contribute to decision making while involving every one in the visionary process (Leithwood & Montgomery, 1982). During these interactive processes visions are discovered and accepted by the members of organization. Senge (1990) elaborates on the shared practices from which members of the

organization begin to learn how existing school practices and procedures create their current reality which results in the emergence of new visions.

According to Westley & Mintzberg (1989), this visionary leadership is a dynamic and interactive process that involves three phases as detailed in Figure 2: (1) identification of the vision or strategy; (2) communication of a shared vision; (3) empowerment of stake holders.

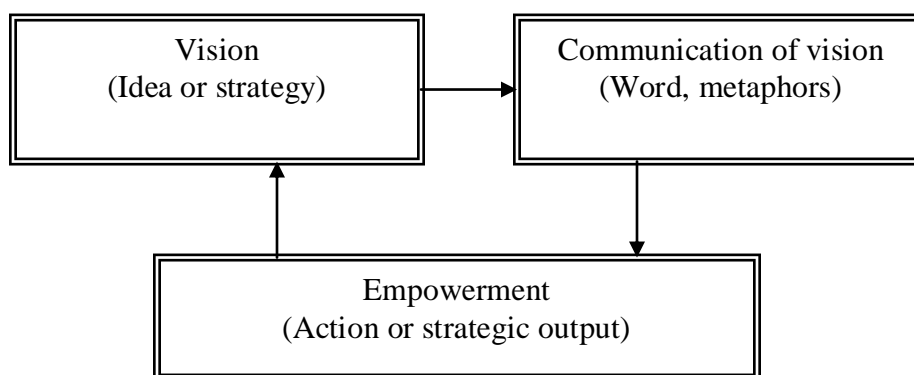


Figure 2: Interactive model of visionary leadership

Note. Adapted from Westley & Mintzberg, 1989, p. 17-18)

Based on Westley & Mintzberg's (1989) model, the identification of the vision precedes the ability to communicate the vision which empowers subordinates. Thus, school administrators must first generate their vision in order to empower others and this vision will be framed by their perceptions. When an administrator's vision is linked to perceptions, their vision acts as an avenue for change and enhances school improvement initiatives.

Westley and Mintzberg (1989), as well as Leithwood & Jantzi (1999), describe visionary leadership as a process that enhances the achievement of a vision as the

strategic output. They emphasize the importance of communication in the articulation of a vision and the empowerment of stakeholders toward that vision that leads to effectiveness in the change process. Thus, communication of the vision becomes a means by which change is encouraged. The change that is sought after and encouraged, however, will again reflect the perceptions of the administrator, and the acceptance of this vision by others will depend on their perceptions.

Leithwood & Jantzi (1999) suggest that visionary leaders also stimulate and encourage teachers and students to be committed to organizational strategies by engaging them in collaborative processes. For example, the engagement of teachers and students in decision-making motivates them to accept and carry on the administrators' vision.

Visionary leaders must also overcome resistance that would influence the achievement of change. Through a model of shared leadership, resistance to new visions can be overcome (Kouzes & Posner, 2002). Theorists in school improvement, such as DuFour (2003) and Deal and Peterson (1999), argue that developing a vision in isolation does not help to achieve strategic goals. Consequently, a shared vision becomes a priority.

Thus, Kouzes & Posner (2002) recommend using vision to facilitate collective action: when teachers, parents, and the community work together in a visioning process, reforms toward school improvement are usually supported. In schools, change is facilitated when teachers, students, and the administrators coordinate and work together to advance change in the multiple school units. When the different units of a school are brought together, then communicating a vision becomes easier. Without good communication, implementation of a vision cannot be accomplished. Strategic visioning

is most effective in advancing change when leaders understand vision and the role it plays in advancing change.

Strategic vision and school improvement. Through visionary leadership and developing a shared vision, new strategies toward school improvement can be developed and implemented. In strategic visioning, schools are viewed as open systems (Fuller & Izu, 1994; Greenfield, 1995; Scott, 1992; Senge, 1990) that must align vision, mission and goals to the external environment. A systems approach to policy making claims that systems are characterized by parts whose inter-relationships make them highly interdependent (Cooper, Fusarelli, & Randall, 2004; Lunenburg & Orstein, 1999). Similarly, schools are described as complex organizations in a systems approach given that they are composed of different administrative units that need coordination (Scott, 2005). The ability of the leader to align internal units of a school to the environment quickens the achievement of the desired vision of a school such as achieving equity.

However, a major challenge of schools as organizations today is to develop the capacity to anticipate, influence and manage change in daily administrative practices and policy making (Marshall, 2004; Purkey & Smith, 1985). For instance, at the district and central office, education administrators and policy actors may initiate change in the laws, accountability measures, school syllabi, and budgeting systems. In order for schools to align with such changes in the environment, administrators have to accommodate the changes in their daily practices and strategies (Little, 1993; Murphy, 1989). However, heavily loaded with administrative and public demands, school administrators are faced with public pressure to both make an excellent school and achieve equity to meet the diverse needs of the student population (Grogan, 1999).

School improvement scholars have adopted strategic visioning as an avenue for managing the increasing change in schools (Hallinger & Heck, 2002; Manasse, 1986). Vision is a construct that has been utilized by scholars in human relations, strategic, and leadership theory to explain the management of change (Kotter, 1996; Kouzes & Posner, 2002; Nanus, 1992; Senge, 1990). According to Hallinger and Heck (2002), a vision that is influential in school improvement and reform initiatives, such as gender equity, must be linked to the vision and purpose of the schools in order to influence change. Strategic visioning in school improvement is appropriate in managing change because it facilitates a shared vision (see Figure 1) that is necessary to support a climate and culture for the execution of new strategies.

Culture

Critical to the strategic visioning process is the challenge of the leader to develop the ability to link vision and culture (Larwood, 1995). Referring back to Figure 1, the key in this process is the shared vision. Visionary leaders are able to move the organization forward by developing a shared vision and then using that vision to carefully shape the organizational culture (Hills & Jones, 1998).

Organizational culture has been defined as the underground stream of norms, values, beliefs, traditions, and rituals that have built over time as people work together to solve problems (Hargreaves, 1994; Heller & Firestone, 1996; Schein, 1995). Culture is a complex set of assumptions, values, beliefs, norms, and symbols that define the way in which an organization conducts itself to achieve its goals (Barney, 1986). In this sense, culture may have a strong influence on the organization. The organization's culture not

only defines who its relevant employees, patrons, suppliers, and competitors are, but it is also the social normative glue that holds the organization together.

The core element of organizational culture is shared values (Daft, 2002; Wiener, 1998). While school administrators seek to develop values that are shared, their own personal values that they bring to the culture, like their vision, also reflect their perceptions. Deal and Peterson, (1999) consider the culture of an organization to be the “shared meaning these institutions create” (p. 29). They contend that school culture represents a shared sense of what is important to students and teachers. For example, a shared ethos of caring between teachers and students leads to shared commitment to helping students learn. These shared values or patterns of beliefs are the essentials of change in an organization.

If the prevailing organizational values support appropriate goals and strategies, the culture can be an important key in strategic implementation and change (Halling & Heck, 2002). Thus, understanding the perceptions of school administrators regarding gender regimes may shed light on the values around which they seek to build cohesion.

Schein's model of organizational culture. Schein's (1995) model of organizational culture is useful to frame the role culture plays in creating an environment for change in terms of school improvement. Schein suggests that an organization's culture develops to help it cope with its environment. He explains that organizational culture is a kind of learning. It is learned as a result of group experience and its strength is a function of the convictions of organizational founders, the stability of the group organization, and the intensity and nature of past learning experiences. Schein (1995) defines organizational culture as:

A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems. (p. 12)
The application of Schien's (1995) model of organizational culture in this study is

based on three important assumptions: 1) the framework of culture levels; 2) the role of an organization founder in culture creation; and 3) the role of dynamic learning processes as a cultural means for advancing change necessary in reforming and improving schools. Schein's (1995) model operates with a predetermined framework of cultural levels, functions, and their interrelations. According to him, the outer surface level of the organization represents the artifacts. Underneath the artifacts, lie the organizational norms and values. At the core are the organization's basic assumptions. Figure 3 presents these cultural levels.

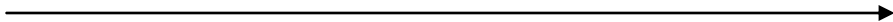
Levels	Explanations
1. Artifacts	Visible and tangible objects, myth and stories
2. Norms	Shared values, rules, or authoritative standards
3. Espoused Values	Philosophies, strategies, goals
4. Assumptions	Taken for granted beliefs, perceptions, feelings
	
Deepest level of culture	Learned responses to survival in the external environment.

Figure 3. Schein's (1995) Levels of organizational culture.

The levels of organizational culture (Schein, 1995) range from observable artifacts to expressed norms and values to the tacit basic assumptions that organizational

members take for granted. Artifacts are the visible products of a group such as buildings, uniforms, language, and myth and stories. Norms are standards and shared values that evolve over time in a certain group whereas values are social principles or philosophies (Schein, 1995; Wiener, 1988). Finally, the basic assumptions, according to Schein, hold the key to understanding and changing culture. These tacit assumptions concern “dimensions regarding the nature of reality, and truth, time, space, human nature, human activity and human relations” (Schein, 1995, p. 94-98). Deeper levels of basic organizational assumptions and beliefs are learned responses to the group’s problems of survival in its external environment.

Shared vision and culture. When a vision is shared throughout the organization and its stakeholders, the vision is better able become fully embedded within the school culture (Deal & Peterson, 1999; Hills & Jones, 1998; Schein, 1995). Given that organizational vision is the symbolic expression of the organizational values (Nanus, 1992), as an organization shares these values, cultural cohesiveness may be increased. School improvement literature indicates that visionary leaders are able to create cohesive cultures (Keithwood & Jantzi, 1990). Indeed, organizational theorists and policy analysts argue that creating a strong and cohesive culture is necessary for enhancing change that can successfully implement school reforms (Leithwood & Jantzi, 1990; Smart & St. John, 1996). Achieving equitable learning is thus, most likely to be a result of a cohesive culture within the school structures.

Smylie, Lazarus & Brownlee-Conyers (1996) assert that a shared vision also supports collegial relationships, which can help facilitate necessary culture changes, especially in decision-making. Collaboration refers to the process of giving collegial and

professional assistance (Little, 1982). Collaboration may be defined as an organization working together with an external agency such as a district (Honig, 2003). Firestone (1995) asserts that a collaborative culture and the process of inclusion are evidenced in schools by the members of the school community (teachers and administrators) working together. In a school context, collaboration is multi-functional. Collaborative cultures create a pathway for educational personnel to explore, investigate and evaluate their practices in order to affect change in teaching and learning as a basic output in schools (Little, 1993; Smylie, Lazarus, & Brownlee-Conyers, 1996). Thus, collaboration is an essential building block to school improvement (Hargreaves, 1994). Furthermore, collaborative cultures are important for institutionalization of strategic visions because they support a culture of learning whereby acquiring new skills among teachers and students create tensions that can enhance dynamic change.

Collaborative schools provide cultures that are supportive of the teaching process inside the classroom (Fuller & Clarke, 1994; Marks and Louis, 1994). For instance appropriate classroom management and good instructional practices shared by administrators and teachers facilitate learning by encouraging professional dialogue among members of the learning community (DuFour & Eaker, 1998; Huffman & Jacobson, 2003). Collaborative schools are unique in school improvement because they encourage communitarian cultures where adult development is facilitated through mutual support, trust, and shared educational values (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996; Phillips, 1997). During her study on collaborative cultures, Little (1982) found that school improvement is a result of teachers' engagement with students, continuous dialogue about instruction, and shared vision to improve the teaching process.

Glickman, Gordon & Ross-Gordon (1995) developed a model of shared vision that allows teachers and administrators to work collaboratively, to achieve teachers' needs and goals towards teaching and learning. They defined five leadership tasks that an effective instructional leader has to accomplish: "direct assistance, group development, staff development, curriculum development, and action research" (p.285). Instructional leadership is often defined as a leadership model referring to a blend of several administrative responsibilities such as supervision of classroom instruction, staff development, and curriculum development (Blase & Blase, 1999; Kluger, 1992). Such collaborative action among teachers and administrators creates a culture for the improvement of students learning.

Culture and school improvement. Organizational researchers, cultural theorists, and policy analysts have had varying perspectives on the role culture plays in organizational success and survival (Fuller & Clarke, 1994; Marks and Louis, 1994; Schien, 1995). Although, understanding the organizational culture is an essential factor in any reform initiative because a leader must align the organizational culture, both norms and values, with the external environment (Smart & St. John, 1996). Thus, culture is the single most important factor that leads an organization to effectiveness and productivity (Fuller & Clarke, 1994).

Culture is a critical factor in school improvement because it aligns with the leader's vision, norms and values (Heller & Firestone, 1996; Schien, 2005). In their study concerning "culture types and strong culture" Smart and St. John (1996) report that norms and values create a strong culture which quickens the adoption and implementation of reforms. While Fuller and Clarke (1995) argue that focusing on

culture in a school improves school productivity which is important in achieving change to improve school effectiveness.

The transformation of school culture may be necessary to create conditions in which new strategies can be implemented (Leithwood & Jantzi, 1999). Transformational leadership can aid this process as it specifically focuses on and facilitates the creating, shaping and managing organizational cultures (Matthews & Crow, 2003) to support organizational change and school improvement. A more cohesive organizational culture may enable the internal processes of a school, such as administrative practices, policies, and values, to more easily align with the espoused values in the external environment that can enhance successful reforms (Greenfield, 1995; Owens, 1998; Smart & St. John, 1996). For example, schools with cohesive cultures of positive norms, values and assumptions are likely to have teachers and staff that are willing to take risks and enact reforms. Thus, achieving change towards school improvement requires the transformation of school culture to create conditions in which new strategies can be implemented and, thus, the vision can be achieved.

Organizational leaders, guided by their perceptions, are particularly important in determining culture. Initially, organizational founders adapt personal vision and values to the organization and, thus, founders of organizations are highly influential in creating the group's culture (Daft, 2002; Schein, 1983). Executive leaders of organizations often have similar roles as organizational founders of establishing the organizational vision and culture creation (Matthews & Crow, 2003; Robbins & Robert, 1988). Thus, in this study, school administrators function as organizational founders since they develop the school vision. Therefore, the perceptions of the school administrators are particularly important

in the framing of school vision, culture and ultimately the effectiveness of school improvement. The role of school administrators, then, is to build and support change in organizational culture in terms of school improvement.

Thus, through developing their own visionary leadership, through building a shared vision, and shaping a culture that can support change, the school administrator may better facilitate school improvement (see Figure 1). Clearly, visionary leadership is critical in achieving school improvement. However, visionary leadership is dependent upon the perceptions of the school administrator.

In this study of Ugandan education, the problem is that while recent reforms have focused on gender issues and the number of female administrators has increased (Kajubi, 1992), the perceptions of these female school administrators are not well understood, specifically in terms of the gender regime in Ugandan education. Yet, their understanding of the gender regime in Uganda is a necessary precondition toward strategically improving equitable education.

Gender and Education

Gender plays an important role in providing an equitable education to boys and girls in Uganda. To understand how gender influences education, one must understand how gender is conceptualized. Connell (2002) presents a model that provides understanding of the gender regimes that play out in schools. Gender stratification offers knowledge as to how men and women are assigned preconceived roles. All these areas provide insight into gender equity and schooling.

Conceptualization of Gender

Whereas the term gender has been universally treated as synonymous with biological sex across organizational settings, this study takes a different perspective. Drawing from West & Zimmerman's (1987) theory of "doing gender," Ridgeway's (1992) theory of gender and interaction, and Connell's (2002) model of gender and social structure, this qualitative study explores gender as a social construct. During the following discussion, the researcher focuses on the distinctions between sex, sex category, and gender.

Sex can be described as a determination made by the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for clarifying persons as males or females (Connell, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The classification process can be based on chromosomes of the body before birth or genitalia after birth. Scholars of this perspective argue that observable differences among females and males are biological. Describing sex based on biological factors limits the understanding of the normative process of classifying females or males that begins in the family and is later reinforced by the gender regimes in institutions (Connell, 1987).

Sex categorization is the process by which actors classify one another as male or female, on the basis of physical sex criteria or personal presentation like hairstyle or clothing (Fenstermaker, West & Zimmerman, 2002; Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999). Even if the process of sex categorization seems to be based on natural factors, it is entirely socially constructed (West & Zimmerman, 1987). For example, certain types of clothing or behavior stand for particular criteria and lead to specific labeling such as girl or boy. Ridgeway (1997) takes the process of sex categorization as social and interactive

in nature. She asserts that categorization in interaction can recreate hierarchies in the organization. For instance, in coeducational schools, learning abilities among boys and girls, which are constructed by their teachers, can be explained as a result of sex categorization. However, unlike gender, sex categorization does not reference power that is essential in the understanding of gender as a social construct and the differences among individuals that are created by the gender regimes.

From a feminist perspective, sex, sex categorization, and gender are not the same. For example, the “doing gender” perspective (West & Zimmerman, 1987) has been useful in understanding what role gender plays in ongoing daily experiences. According to West & Zimmerman, gender is about “doing” difference. “Doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological. Once the differences have been constructed, they are used to reinforce the ‘essentialness’ of gender” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 137).

During daily routines like classroom interactions, students’ play, and administrative practices, teachers and students “do gender” and reinforce the differences between girls and boys. In educational institutions, the “doing of gender” especially in interactions lead to the socially constructed gender. For example, teachers may prefer solving boy’s problems to those of girls, thus putting boy’s learning above that of girls. Such an instructional practice may limit the achievement of equitable education among boys and girls.

Understanding of gender as a situated accomplishment makes individuals as well as institutions accountable for the “doing of gender” (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The “doing of gender” is meaningless unless actions are accomplished. The accomplishment

of the “doing of gender” conditions individuals to be evaluated according to the actions done, such as dressing in a female dress. The action done places the individual in a specific sex category of femininity or masculinity (Fenstermaker & West, 2002). Group identity of a certain sex category is maintained or discredited depending on actions done.

Ridgeway (1992) explores gender as a system of interactions. According to her, in organizations such as schools, teachers, students, and members of the learning community interact with each other. In the process of interaction, gender is “done”. The system of interaction creates experiences that confirm gender differences and inequality among learners. Gender in interaction is essential in understanding gender inequalities produced in the everyday life and process of a school. For example, the gender regime in a school may produce inequalities that could limit the progress of girls and boys.

Gender is a social construct (Fenstermaker & West, 2002; West & Zimmerman, 1987). This feminist understanding of gender is widely used in the understanding of gender. But some scholars, especially those with liberal views, do not accept that gender is entirely sociological. At times gender is related to women or men. Viewed in this way, gender refers to sex and does not reference power which places men above women (Barden & Goetz, 1995).

Connell's (2002) Model of the Gender Regime

Gender has increasingly been described using different theories. Connell's (2002) model of gender regimes plays a great role in understanding the limitations that are socially imposed on girls and boys in mixed sex schools. In his book *Gender* (2002), Connell defines gender regimes as a pattern in gender arrangements (p.53). Connell applies four dimensions to describe gender in organizations. These dimensions include:

1) Power relations that relate to authority and supervisors in schools; 2) The production relation that concerns the division of labor in a school. It is directly connected to the curriculum especially subject choice and the role of education in the labor market; 3) Patterns of emotion, which is considered to be the feeling rules; 4) Symbolic relations that concern culture in schools, basically the artifacts, norms, and beliefs about gender.

Gender relations in schools are produced by gender inequalities but can also lead to the construction of new gender regimes (Kessler, Ashenden & Connell, 1985). The construction and reconstruction of gender leads to learning inequalities. These gender inequalities place girls and boys into hierarchies that influence unequal learning outcomes. Placing girls' and boys' learning into hierarchies to enforce power differences is what makes feminists describe gender as a social construct rather than a biological process (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Gender Stratification

Understanding the implications of gender stratification is important because this process has been one of the key elements that have resulted into inequitable learning in the public school system. For instance, women teach, while men manage (Blackmore, 1993; Golding & Chen, 1993; Tyack, 1982). Girls are associated with nursing while boys are related to engineering (Lee & Lockheed, 1998). In this study, stratification refers to a situation in which one sex category is more privileged than another, thus encouraging hierarchies of power and multiple gender regimes.

Gender stratification follows the social stratification of the pre-historic times. Huber (1999) argued that allocation of resources and productivity in the labor market influenced stratification among sex categories. According to Huber's argument,

contribution to the labor market made one sex category more powerful, thus of more importance than the other. For instance, in hunting and food gathering societies, males were considered above females in the social strata because males contributed more to the family. Building on Huber's claim, educational change, aiming at achieving equitable educational outcomes, should not only consider the learning process, but also the learners' potential to contribute to the labor market. If girls and boys are given equal opportunity to choose subjects that are meaningful to their future expectations, power differences, which support future gender differences, are limited. For this reason, feminists prefer to define gender as a social construct.

Gender Equity and Schooling

Gender equity means different things to different nation-states and cultural environments. Many nation-states refer to gender equity as a means to achieve democracy, whereas nation-states with liberal views understand gender equity as equal education opportunity (Burbules & Sherman, 1982; Coleman, 1966; Stromquist, 1995). Gender equity in schooling is an element of social justice and social transformation aimed at redistributing social value more equally between female and male students (Jencks, 1988; Jones, 1995; Klein, 1987; Rawls, 1998; Wirt, Mitchell & Marshall, 1988). Gender equity is also a welfare issue that can be used to enhance reproduction through improved education (Goetz, 1998; UNDP, 1998). Achieving gender equity is a way of organizing society by looking at all human beings as equal with the ability to contribute to their well-being.

Equity as a value has always been important in the delivery and achievement of good schooling (Marcoulides & Heck, 1990). Equity in education has been used to

promote moral values whereby those who have less are provided with the resources to live a successful life. Due to culture and ideologies in most education systems, girls' access to education is less compared to that of boys', especially in developing countries (Bloch, Beoku-Betts & Tabachnick, 1988; Stromquist, 1989). In Uganda for instance, parents prefer taking boys to schools while girls are prepared for early marriage (Fuller, Singer & Keiley, 1995). Gender issues related to family culture such as early marriage for girls influence the progress of girls at school (Jearne-Marie (2001; Mirembe & Davies, 2001). In order to increase girls' enrollment and attendance at schools, feminists, educators, and governments have decided to consider gender equity as a special issue in school improvement.

In most developing countries, governments have focused on improving girls' education compared to that of boys because girls have consistently achieved low at school (Odaga & Heneveld, 1995). Low achievement can be explained to a significant degree by inequalities created by gender regimes that are due to culture in the society and ideologies related to systems of education (Arnot, 2000). The culture where the education of girls is valued less compared to that of boys (Ballinger & Liu, 2004) makes girls vulnerable.

Gender equity and girls' education. The effort for governments to improve education for girls is due to the recognition of the benefits of education to their future lives. Traditionally, women were not considered as a valuable resource in the economic development of a society, until the rise of feminist scholars such as Boserup. In her book *Women in Development*, Boserup (1970) notes that underrepresentation of women in the public sphere contributes to their subordination, and discriminating against women in the

labor market lowers their status. When women are denied participation in the open market through work, they tend to concentrate on unpaid jobs such as housework and caring for young siblings.

Boserup (1970) further suggests that women's contribution to society's economy increases their advancement, since they can participate in paid labor. With this background of gender equity, Boserup asserts that girls and boys are not equally productive in society because boys receive training for skills for work in schools while girls receive training from their mothers at home. She concludes that gender roles, which force boys to study vocational training while girls take subjects that support their traditional roles as housewives and mothers, tend to lower girls' level of contribution and status in society.

Several economists have come up with progressive views concerning the importance of girls' education. For example, women's economic contribution to society creates better returns to education than that of men (Schultz, 2002). There is a relationship between women's basic education and development, whereby the higher the level of education for women, the greater the impact on fertility and child survival (Bordia, 2000; Diamond, Newby & Varle, 1999; Schultz, 2002). Educated girls have a greater ability to look after their children than those who are not educated. For instance, educated mothers have chances to pay fees for their children which help them to remain at school. Investing in girls' education in particular has the highest return in the developing world where girls traditionally are not sent to school (Fuller, Singer & Keiley, 1995; Ogada & Henevelt, 1995). Girls who do attend school acquire skills that help them

to work in the public sphere, which then helps them to increase their advancement in society.

Despite the fact that female education has been a major policy option in most developing countries, the focus has been on participation rates rather than gender differences (Lee & Lockheed, 1998; United Nations Development Programme, 2002). Gender is a social construct (West & Zimmerman, 1997). Therefore, achieving gender equity as human right requires not only increasing numerical figures of female students attending school, but also addressing the gender regime that reinforces patterns of gender inequalities and makes female education inferior to that of boys (Connell, 2002).

Coeducational schooling and the social construction of gender. Coeducational institutions are learning places where boys and girls are integrated during the day's activities. Coeducation is a macro-policy based on a liberal view of equal access to schooling as a means to achieve gender equity (Lee & Smith, 1993). Liberal views on educational policy assume that providing girls and boys with equal access to education creates equitable results for males and females (Acker, 1994; Mael, 1998). Despite the intentions for providing equity in coeducational schooling, boys and girls hardly receive the same education due to the gender regime that exists in mixed sex environments (Connell, 1996). Internationally, females are less represented in the field of Mathematics and Science (Apple, 1993; Yates, 1992). Usually girls are discouraged from taking Science-related subjects thinking that they are only doable by men (Murphy, 2000).

The gender regime in coeducational schooling encourages the socially constructed view of gender since they enforce the differences among boys and girls. Within the coeducational system, girls tend to have a more challenging, disadvantaged situation. For

example, in their study on classroom interaction, Anderson-Levitt & Bloch (1998) noted that teachers in New Guinea discouraged girls by singling them out as special cases and by referring to them as disadvantaged students. In some cases, the highest achieving girls in a class receive the least attention of all the students. Anderson-Levitt & Bloch concluded that the uneven distribution of teachers' time, attention, and talent puts girls at a disadvantage. Yet, gender bias is a two-edged sword: girls are shortchanged, but boys still pay a price as a result of coeducational schooling. Boys with good performance are likely to receive the special treatment, while boys with low achievement are shortchanged like girls.

The challenge for administrators in coeducational systems is to alter the gender regimes in order to improve the learning process. Specifically, the female administrator's instructional role should be utilized to learn the gender regime and consider addressing the gender regime as an essential part of the school's vision for improving educational outcomes for boys and girls.

Female Administration and Gender Equity

Many countries worldwide, such as England, the United States, and Uganda, have increased female participation in school administration (Addi-Raccach, 2002; Marshall, 2004; Reihl, 2000). This unique and progressive change has led to the feminization of school administration. Feminization is defined as the hiring of females in positions that are traditionally occupied by males (Fondas, 1997).

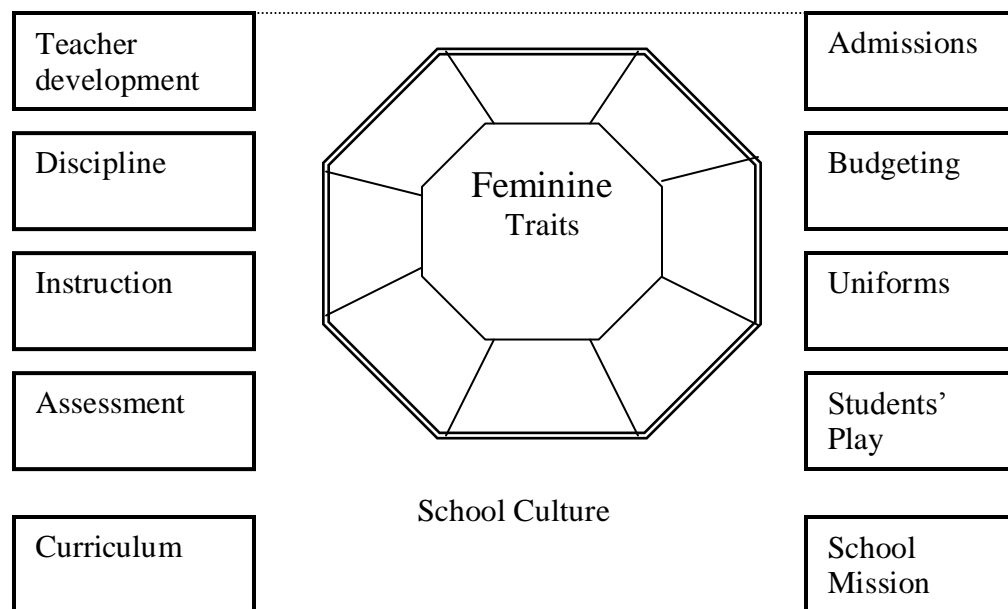
An increase of females in administration not only changes the sex composition of the labor force, but it also changes the working culture. Traditionally, organizational theory recognized traits associated with masculinity such as aggressiveness and control as

essential to organizational success and performance (Collinson & Haern, 1996; Fondas, 1997). On the other hand, feminine traits are defined as the “other” and are marginalized. Currently, this culture is changing. Feminine traits that are associated with the private sphere are being used to improve organizational effectiveness in the public sphere (Rosener, 1990). The new culture allows the spread of feminine influences in leadership that may later affect policy output.

Building on Fondas (1997), this section of literature review looks at feminization, or the utilization of feminine traits, as a means to create a path for advancing change in the reform processes. Non-hierarchical and democratic styles of leadership, which are a result of feminine traits, encourage the development of collegial and shared models in leadership (see Figure 4). Shared models of leadership are likely to create a culture that may facilitate the implementation of innovations like equitable learning for girls and boys. Figure 4 illustrates the application of the range of feminine traits that create an environment for achieving equitable learning in the various components of school administration.

Changing the gender regime can be referred to as women’s work, because feminine traits can be used to transform the prevailing gender regime from school programs. Research indicates that women tend to have a greater focus on learning and to have more of an ability to work with others than their male counterparts (Dunlap & Schmuck, 1995; Riehl & Byrd, 1997). Using feminine traits, women do more supervision, engage in collegial work, and utilize effective communication styles (Golding & Chen, 1993). These qualities, which are generally considered feminine, can

be utilized by female administrators to change the gender regimes toward equity in a range of components such as instruction and students' admissions (see Figure 4) (Connell, 1996; Dunlap & Schmuck, 1995). However, the administrator's perceptions to change the gender regime toward equitable learning will be determined by the socialization process into administration and her interest in gender issues (Selden, 1997).



Key for Feminine Traits:

Nurturing	Mothering	Team Building
Caring	Supporting	Collaborating
Visioning	Transforming	

Figure 4: Feminine traits and the facilitation of gender equity in administrative work.

Female administration and the ethics of care. The virtue of caring in schools is ethical. Caring has been characterized as “feminine because it seems to arise more naturally out of women’s experience than men” (Noddings, 1988, p. 218). The ethics of care describe how women’s traditional qualities can be applied in the process of helping

and serving others (Acker, 1995; Noddings, 1984; Strike, 1991). Caring is linked to love and is relational in nature similar to that of a mother and a child. Mothers in a family take care of their children with love and patience. In a similar way, teachers are regarded as mothers in a school, in such a way that they are not supposed to neglect their students (Acker, 1995). The expectation from the school community is that teachers, like mothers, will love and care for boys and girls as their children. Based on the ethics of care, educational planners expect female teachers and administrators to utilize their motherly traits to act as role models for girls.

Female administrators as role models in schools. Hiring females in administration as role models for girls in schools is a common practice (Coleman, 2000; Lee, Smith & Ciosi, 1993; Riehl, 2000). Several educators assume that female teachers hired in coeducational schools can reduce gender inequalities in classroom interaction, protect girls from sexual harassment, and raise girls' achievement level (Poulsen & Smawfield, 2000; Anderson-Levitt, Bloch & Soumare, 1998; Geissinger, 1997; Odaga & Henevelt, 1995). Female head teachers hired in male- dominated learning environments are expected to motivate girls to learn by demonstrating good ethical behavior, effective instructional techniques, and professional performance. While these qualities of female head teachers seem to be important to girls, no literature exists that confirms whether these female traits support equitable education (Richl, 2000).

Female administrators especially are important to girls because of their motherly tendencies to love and care for children (Noddings, 1984). However, girls may not accept them as role models. Females are role models if they appear to be in good financial condition because their needs can be met a condition that motivates them to

work (Geissing, 1997; Sperandio, 2000). Providing good working conditions for females is important, it is usually achieved only in the long run. Additionally, females play a role of modeling while required to achieve their professional roles which makes them over loaded and limit their students support as role models.

Studies on gender and female administration have been done in other countries, especially in West countries where school improvement is a major vision in school policy. Results on female administration and gender equity indicate that the socialization process of female administrator into administration has a great impact on the facilitation and encouragement of gender equity in schools (Hart, 1995; Selden, 1997; Shakeshaft, 1990). Matthews (1995), in her study of female administrators and gender equity, noted that women's experiences, including their career path and the socialization process in administrative positions, create the lenses through which they views issues of gender equity.

In the study concerning district school officers and their mandate to implement school equity, Adkison (1981) found out that administrators who experience institutional discrimination are more sensitive to sex bias and are better advocates for institutional change toward equity. While Adkison's claim is important in understanding how female administrators view gender equity; the socialization process of the administrator and institutional factors, may resist the achievement of gender equity (Selden, 1997). Regarding this information, female administrators hired to challenge and improve the achievement of equitable schooling should be trained to improve on their perceptions concerning views of equity.

Studies on hiring females in administration have been carried out in other fields, notably public policy. Major studies have explored whether increasing the number of females in leadership positions has any impact on policy output (Keiser, 2002; Selden, 1997). Related to this point Saltzstein (1986) studied whether a female mayor, hired in municipal jobs, contributed to female employment. Saltzstein found that the female mayor influenced female employment by demanding changes in personnel system functions to eliminate barriers in hiring and promoting the hiring of women. Building on Saltzstein's claim, without changing the gender regimes as barriers to equity, female administration is unlikely to affect policy output aimed at improving schools particularly in mixed sex settings.

School Improvement toward Gender Equity

The leader's vision is critical in school improvement literature (DeFour, 2003). Since administrators hold the vision for the school, including achieving equitable learning outcomes for all students, their perceptions are critically important in the change efforts to improve schools. However, gender is a rare variable in school improvement efforts (Duffield, 2000; Kruger, 1996; Sadker & Sadker, 1991). Studies on gender and educational administration have focused on underrepresentation of women in leadership such as principals and superintendents (Colman, 2003; Golding & Chen, 1993), women's and men's styles of leadership (Coleman, 1996), female career paths (Shakeshaft, 1987), and their representative role in administration (Kelly, 2001). However, literature concerning how female administrators perceive the gender regimes in schools is currently limited.

Feminists have raised concerns about school improvement reforms. Their argument is that gender equity has not been a factor in the reform movement of school improvement efforts (Blackmore, 2002; Yates, 1992). Further more, school improvement scholars such as Little, (1993), Copland (2003) support the idea of collaborative and distributed leadership as essential avenues for school improvement, but do not mention how they relate to gender equity. Yet gender is a critical element in creating inequities among students in schools (Acker, 1990; Connell, 2002). If schools are to improve, these inequities enforced by gender need to be addressed in order to advance total change.

Reform initiatives towards school improvement emphasize the critical role of change at the school level (Little, 1993; Murphy & Beck, 1995; Smylie, Lazarus & Brownlee-Conyers, 1996). Researchers specifically argue that successful reforms that create change towards strategic visions like gender equity should be linked to the organizational elements of schooling. Such elements consisting of culture, collaboration, and vision to create a climate for improved learning (Caldwell & Spinks, 1988; DuFour & Eaker, 1998; Hall, 2002; Honig, 2003). In addition to involving organizational constructs in managing change, an administrator should perceive the gender regime and utilize this perspective in managing change. In particular, perceiving the gender regime is likely to help administrators learn its related inequalities which play a great role in the strategy to improve schools.

During administrative preparation, leaders, especially females under training to take care of diversity in schools, are required to learn the varying dimensions of change that can promote reforms (Marshall, 2004; Richl, 2000). For instance, addressing gender regimes may require total transformation of school processes or double-loop change

(Argyris & Schon, 1978; Jahan,1995) or triple-loop change (Kate, 2004). Teenage pregnancy is an example of a gender regime that may require change in school regulations and, as well, changes in national laws of a state guiding education. However, as Matthews (1995) suggests, female administrators who improve the achievement of reforms such as equitable education have to be strong activists and need to be aware of issues related to gender. But, a strong gender activist should be able to perceive the gender regime that exists in her school in order to create change that is able to improve learning. Although, perceptions related to gender regimes may be influenced by the leaders' vision to promote equitable education as part of the strategic goals of the school.

This study looks at the perception of female administrators concerning the gender regimes that exist in their coeducational schools and school improvement in Uganda. The study is important because it will provide information on how females in administration manage change toward equitable education in reform initiatives to improve schools

Gender in Ugandan Education

Since the establishment of the 1995 Ugandan Constitution, achieving equitable education has been utilized as a strategy for promoting democracy and encouraging social economic development (Ellis, Manuel & Blackden, 2006; Mirembe, 2002; Goetz, 1998). The 1995 Constitution in Uganda defined women as disadvantaged like the disabled. The commitment to achieve equitable education was first extended to education by the Castle Education Commission of 1963. Castle (1967) addressed the need to improve girls' education whose enrollment seemed to be below that of boys'. Currently, achieving equitable education has become the mirror for social justice, moral education, and the path for improving public schooling (Kajubi, 1992).

The literature review on gender and education in Uganda will focus on pre-colonial education (indigenous education), missionary education, followed with the current state reform initiatives with a gender dimension outlined in the Government White Paper.

Pre-colonial Education and Gender Equity

The White Paper on education in Uganda describes pre-colonial education as non-discriminative and providing skills, values, and morality that fit the diverse community. Nationwide, African indigenous education was described as inclusive whereby girls and boys had equal opportunity to learn (Bloch, Beoku-Betts, & Tabachnick, 1998; Tibilwondwa, 1998). However, girls and boys received unequal skills from their informal education prior to receiving formal education. The education boys and girls received in pre-colonial days was due to social expectations. For instance, girls would be taught by their mothers to play the role of housewives, whereas boys would be trained by kings and other cultural leaders and received skills that would make them dominant in the community (Tibilwondwa, 1998).

While indigenous education seemed to be appropriate in Uganda, it is described as gender segregated and as well as gender stratified (Mannathoko, 1999; Sperandio, 1998; Tibilwondwa, 1998). Indigenous education was considered to be gender stratified or gender segregated because it provided different education for boys and girls. Boys' education was superior to that of girls. Girls were given skills which would make them shy and stay at home whereas boys were trained to be assertive and bold which would give them leadership skill to manage public issues. For example, Tibilwondwa (1998) wrote: "Respect for the elders, good eating manners, virginity before marriage, courage

among the boys, and shy looks by girls (in Ankole) are among the examples of what clans or tribes tended to protect as accepted values.” (p. 3).

Sex role theory has been used to analyze indigenous education in Uganda and Africa in general. Sex roles refer to provision of educational skills based on what individuals are expected to contribute to the economy (Mannathoko, 1999). For instance, girls are expected to produce children and raise them as mothers while boys give protection to their families (Huber, 1999). Feminists and educational analysts from Western countries such as the United States have criticized sex role theory for failing to address power inequities among learners (Acker, 1994; Chafetz; 1999; Kessler et al., 1985; West & Zimmerman, 2002). Using the same criticism, indigenous education in Uganda did not consider the inequalities created by provision of different skills to boys and girls.

This study introduces Connell’s (2002) framework of gender relations to be considered as a way of rethinking gender in schools. Connell’s framework of gender analysis reveals gender differences created through the educational process, culture, and gender in the social structure. Connell (2002) developed a framework of gender analysis based on four gender regimes. They include: the production, the emotional, the power and authority, and the symbolic relations. According to Connell’s model, boys in Uganda possessed the power and authority in the family and community due to the productive skills they received from their leaders. Because of the different education girls and women received from the community, such as kneeling when greeting elders and talking nicely, they lacked productive skills to contribute to their families. Thus, women

depended on their husbands after marriage (Tibilwondwa, 1998). This culture continues in the current education system.

Missionary Education and Gender Equity

Education in Uganda was introduced by the Christian missionaries during the early 1880s (Muhwezi, 2003; Tibilwondwa, 1998). Achieving gender equity was not part of the missionary agenda for they aimed at spreading religion and teaching reading and writing (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). Missionaries distributed and organized schools based on the European model of leadership, which reflected the concept of aristocracy and gender roles (Assie-Lumumba, 2000; Staudt, 1998). Based on the Western view of equity, missionaries introduced gender systems that influenced policy which constructed girls and boys as different. For instance, missionaries segregated schools by gender and class and exposed girls to subjects that depicted their social roles (Sperandio, 1998). Boys were encouraged to take masculine subjects such as Technical Drawing, Math, and Science that would make them productive in the market place and leaders in the community, whereas girls were encouraged to take Home Economics, Music, and Fine Art that let them stay at home (Staudt, 1998). Missionary educators thought that girls should be developed to be future mothers. Due to the vision missionary educators had regarding girls and boys in Uganda, they established separate single sex schools with curriculum based on gender roles (Sperandio, 1998).

During the period of missionaries, girls received education later than boys which influenced their position in both the private and public sphere. Staudt (1998) makes the following comment concerning girls' education in Africa:

Girls received education later than boys due partly to missionary views that teachers of the opposite sex were unseemly... Still men's dominance in

missionary policy precluded altering male preference or providing equal access for girls. Too much education, missionaries feared, would teach a woman to despise manual labor, unfitting her future life and usefulness as a married woman (p.77).

Missionary views of female education in Uganda indicated that more benefits from education could be achieved if female students were developed to be married women, which influenced girls' enrollment at school to be below that of boys. The way missionaries provided education for boys and girls in the past has a great impact on Uganda's post-colonial and current education system. For example, recently in Uganda, girls' enrollment at school at the post primary level has been below that of boys (Kwesiga, 2002; Muhwezi, 2002). For this reason the government of Uganda has committed itself to the improvement of girls' education that has been popularized by the Education Policy Review Commission (1992).

Gender Reform Initiatives in Uganda: The White Paper

The Education Policy Review Commission of 1992 refers to the Government White Paper on Education Policy in Uganda. In addition to the Castle Report (1963), the Education Policy Review Commission (Government of Uganda, 1992) guides education policy in Uganda. Under the leadership of Ssentenza Kajubi, the Commission was given the mandate to examine the Ugandan system of education and highlight policy areas that needed particular attention in the reform process. This study is only interested in the Commission's commitment to achieving equitable education in relationship to gender. Gender equity, as explained by the Commission, is intended to achieve one of the basic philosophical foundations of the education system—democratization. Democratization means provision of the benefits of education as a human right to boys and girls (Kajubi, 1992; Mirembe, 2005).

The work of the Education Commission (1992) led to three basic gender reforms. These include: Universal Primary Education, compensatory education, and the proposed coeducational policy at the secondary school level.

Universal Primary Education Reform (UPE). The global campaign of “Education For a All” started in the 1990s at the world conference at Jomtien, Thailand and later continued at Dakar in 2005 (Methrota, 1998; King, 1993). Achieving education equity as a human right was a major target of the Jomtien and Dakar World Conferences. UPE was implemented in Uganda in January 1997. In Uganda, the UPE policy aimed at achieving education access, equity, and quality for the rural poor, the disabled, and girls (Kajubi, 1992; Muhwezi, 2001; Namirembe, 2005). At the implementation phase, providing girls with access to education was a priority. During the 1997 presidential campaigns, President Yoweri Museveni proclaimed that four children from every family in Uganda, two of which had to be girls, were to benefit from UPE (Wilson, 2004). The UPE policy has achieved its objectives if equity is evaluated based on access. In 1998, for example, 3,061,722 children were enrolled in school compared to 1,647,742 in 1996 (Namirembe, 2005).

However, educators and researchers on education have reported inadequacy of instructional materials and an increase of the teacher student ratio from 1:40 to 1: 65 or 1: 100 in lower primary (Wilson, 2004). These factors erode education quality and disadvantage students, especially girls, during instruction such as participation in classroom discussions (Brenner, 1998; Fuller, 1986; Muhwezi, 2003). Additionally, there are persistent dropout rates for girls from grade five to seven that lead to girls’ failure to complete the primary cycle (Namirembe, 2005). Whereas feminists like Stromquist

(1989) argue that equity as a human right is achieved by providing appropriate learning processes, parity, completion of a specific educational cycle, and achieving good working skills. Using Stromquist's argument, in Uganda it seems only parity has been achieved (Namirembe, 2005). Advancing equitable education in relation to measures such as parity makes gender inequities continuous in Ugandan schools.

By using Connell's (2002) model of gender regimes, which is based on dimensions of gender relations in the evaluation of schools in Uganda, education leaders can improve equity. Connell's model provides information that relates to non-statistical gender issues such as violence at school and sex abuse. These issues promote the socially constructed view of gender and limit the provision of equitable education to boys and girls. It is of great importance to consider the non-statistical or qualitative information on gender issues because it describes the why, what and how questions regarding the gender inequities. For example, understanding why more girls drop out of school than boys is better than perceiving only the number of girls that drop out of a certain level of education.

Compensatory education in higher education. Article 32(1) of the 1995 Constitution allowed affirmative action in favor of the marginalized on the basis of gender. In Uganda, progress of girls and female education has been poor due to culture and traditions in the society. Young girls in Uganda have suffered from sexual harassment, war, and poverty which are among the social and economic problems in the society (Kajubi, 1992; Muhwezi, 2001). In many tribes in Uganda, girls are socialized for marriage and at times the dowry is used to support the fees for boys so that they can have good education (Jearne-Marie, 2001). Due to past discrimination, the Ugandan

government decided to give a bonus of 1.5 marks to girls to facilitate their admissions in the government aided universities such as Makerere, Kyambogo and Mbarara. The compensatory scheme developed by the government (Kasente, 2002) has these guidelines:

All girls who complete A Level and apply to join university are eligible for the scheme and they have to obtain minimum qualification for university entrance in order to qualify for the scheme. They are then given 1.5 points bonus over the points they have scored through examination results (p. 5).

Compensatory education in Uganda, or the 1.5 bonus mark, is based on democratic principles of welfare states that are in disagreement with the market “quid pro quo” rule (Lindblom, 2001; Rawls, 1998). This rule was set by custom and law in free market societies whereby individuals put out according to what they put in: “a quid for every quo” (Lindblom, 2001, p.112). Based on need, the 1.5 bonus marks have helped girls in Uganda to compete with boys for university entrance (Rawls, 1998). Currently, the scheme has raised female enrollment from 23 % in 1989 to 41 % in 2002 (Namirembe, 2005) as indicated by Figure 5.

While, affirmative action has increased the number of girls at school, problems concerning the criteria for selecting those that are in need are not specific (Shakeshaft, 1990). In Uganda, well-to-do girls in elite schools seem to be the beneficiaries of the 1.5 policy. Research on gender and education has focused more on UPE and the 1.5 policy whereas little has been done on reforms at the secondary school level. The next section explores the gender dimension of the proposed coeducational policy at the secondary level.

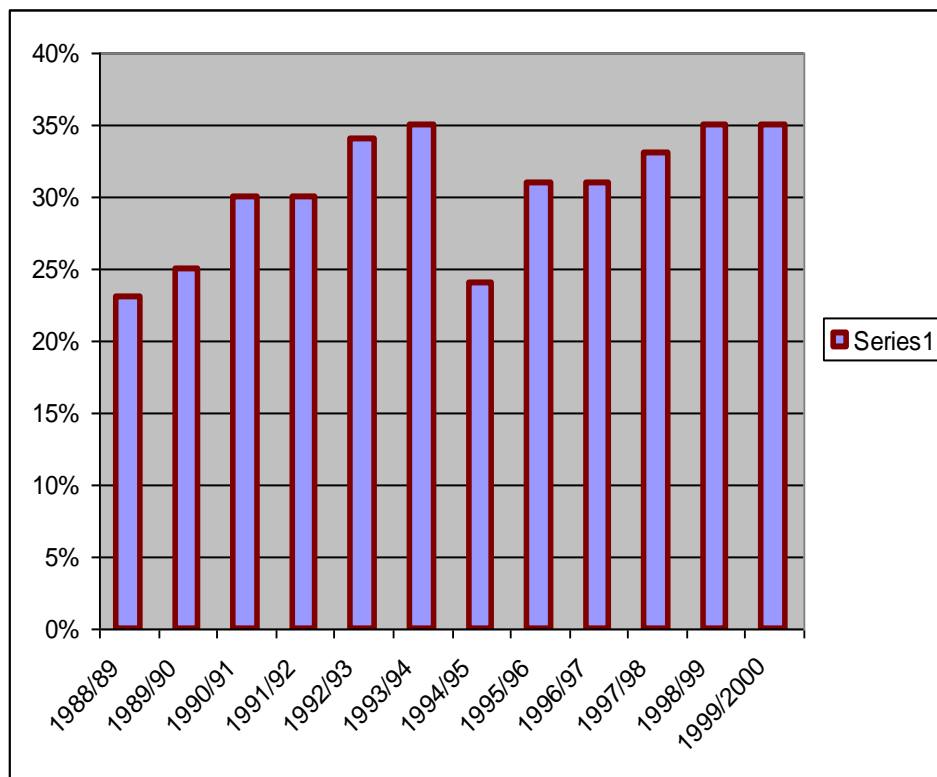


Figure 5: Female enrollment at Makerere University.

Note. Source: Muhwezi, 2003, p.10.

Co-education in secondary schools. Educational policy in Uganda is driven by theories of economic development: primary education brings more social returns to education than secondary education (Schultz, 2002). Due to this perspective in policy making, secondary education seems to be forgotten in regard to achieving equitable education in Uganda (Castle, 1962; Muhwezi, 2003). Yet, building on the claims of Baserup (1970) and Huber (1999), secondary school education is important to girls because it provides skills for work that can help girls to contribute to the labor market at the same level with boys.

Shifting the single sex boarding school to coeducational day schools dominates reform efforts intended to achieve equitable education at the secondary level. Yet, this

proposed equity reform seems to be unsupported by some of the Ugandan educators and the community at large (Sperandio, 1998). The coeducational policy can best be understood by framing its discussion in argumentative terms such as controversial, ambiguous, sexist, mixed value, misunderstood, and a disaster policy to girls (Datnow & Hubbard, 2002; Jimenezi, 1989; Mael, 1998; Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Sperandio, 1998). Section R.162 of the Ugandan White Paper suggests the establishment of schools exclusively for girls (single sex schools) for safe protection from gender issues, such as sexual harassment. Amendment R.162 takes a different view. In this amendment, the Uganda government expresses its preference for coeducational schooling to single sex boarding schools as a means to provide equal educational opportunities to the growing student population in Uganda.

It seems Ugandan educators at the national level expects higher social returns to education from coeducational schooling than single sex schooling. Social returns to education have been criticized for encouraging the globalized neo-liberal concepts related to equitable education like equal opportunity and gender neutral education (Bennell, 1996; Stromquist, 1995). Neo-liberal concepts related to equitable education encourage parity without challenging the process that facilitates patriarchy, power, authority, and patterns of emotions that lead to girls' and female subordination (Baden & Goetz, 1995; Stromquist, 1990).

In the current chaotic era of globalization, neo-liberal concepts, which aim at providing access to education for all students, targets making all women and girls the same as men. Yet, girls and women in the Ugandan context have been faced by cultural circumstances different from that of men. Therefore, in Uganda reforms developed to

achieve equitable education should consider learning that is based on fairness (Stromquist, 2005). Learning that is based on fairness recognizes the needs of all students which encourages inclusiveness.

Different feminist groups have different thoughts regarding achieving equitable education to improve schools. For instance, radical and socialist feminists do not agree with coeducation schools because they fail to provide a safe and appropriate learning environment for girls (Acker, 1987; Scott, 1988). Whereas, like the liberal feminists, the Ugandan White Paper considers that coeducation schools are safe for both girls and boys and provide equal educational opportunity for all learners. Yet, Odaga and Henevelt (1995) reports a mass rape of “75 secondary schoolgirls and the death of 19 more that took place in an attack by male students in St. Kizito in Kenya in 1991” (p. 34). It seems the Ugandan White paper does not recognize the risks girls face during their struggle to achieve good education such as those of rape and others that affect their bodies like getting unwanted pregnancies.

Competing Educational Values

Uganda is faced with competing educational values. These include the market strategy to improve standards for students as a means to achieve an excellent school and the democratic effort to achieve equitable education to improve schooling (Mirembe, 2002; Marcoulides & Heck, 1990; Rawls, 1998). It is not clear whether Ugandan education should be viewed as a source of empowerment to benefit those that are in need (Burbules & Sherman, 1982; Sperandio, 1998) or as a means to promote economic elitism facilitated by access to schooling. Access to schooling may improve student learning. But, for those that are disadvantaged like girls, due to issues related to culture

and financial constraints, access to schooling may not achieve equitable education for all learners. It is not clear whether achieving equitable education in the Ugandan context should be based on sameness or differences (Murphy, 2000; Wilson, 2004). Additionally, in Uganda assessment is based on a national exam at all levels of education. Kajubi, (1992) argues that equal educational opportunities such as national exams rarely enhance the achievement of equal educational outcomes.

The concern of this study is that equitable education, considered among the main elements in the democratization of education, is not defined in the Ugandan context (Acker, 1994; Mirembe, 2002; Suzuki, 2002). Yet “equal” in equal educational opportunity has been described as ambiguous because it carries varying definitions. For example, equal can refer to same or identical education outcomes and conditions (Burbules & Sherman, 1982). “Equal” can also mean different but fair (Kelly, 2002; Jencks, 1988).

This study uses a strategic approach to investigate female administrators’ perceptions about gender regimes that play out in schools and limit the progress of students’ learning. The study is supported by a strategic view whereby the school administrator’s perceptions and vision can influence a shared vision to create cultures for achieving equitable education to improve schools (see Figure 1). Nonetheless, the interest and motivation to build a vision for improving schools will be determined by the perceived need to change strategic attributes in order to create change in the gender regimes.

If the administrator’s vision to change the gender regime is shared with the entire learning community, a culture for achieving equitable education for all students can

easily be adapted. Mainly the education of female students requires improvement since it has been described as inferior to that of the boys' (Staudt, 1998). However, the creation of a culture fit for achieving equity, is influenced by the administrators' perceptions regarding the gender regimes to improve learning for boys and girls. This perspective of achieving equitable education and improving schools using strategic visioning approach is important because it builds on a shared model and shared values of a school, the community, and central office. Thus, this model aimed at improving learning is supported by the involvement of numerous stakeholders of education. If applied in the process of improving schools in Uganda, it will enhance the implementing of gender reform initiatives, long a vision of educators and policy makers.

Summary

As part of the national plan to achieve gender equity, leaders in Uganda have encouraged educational institutions to improve learning by providing education that is fair to both girls and boys. To facilitate such school improvement, school leaders must have a personal vision and be able to create a shared vision that mobilizes educators to work collectively toward attaining it; by so doing, they develop a culture that promotes education equity. However, leaders' visions are shaped by their awareness, understanding, and resulting perception of issues related to improving schools. In the past, education in Uganda has been influenced by a culture that favored educating boys more than girls due to gender regimes or patterns of gender arrangements in schools (Connell, 2002). Because gender regimes too often marginalize girls' education, many do not complete schooling or they take course work that prepares them for domestic duties rather than with knowledge and skills that will enable them to compete in the

marketplace. Many leaders believe that female administrators can alter the gender regimes that produce inequalities in schools because they will serve as role models who mentor and protect girls. However, what is not known is whether female administrators perceive gender regimes that operate in their schools. The purpose of this research is to discover if female administrators perceive and have developed strategies to address gender regimes in their schools in the service of providing a fair and equitable education for both girls and boys.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter examines the research procedures used in the present study. This chapter develops the rationale for using a grounded theory approach to the research. The chapter included a discussion of the principles of grounded theory, case study methods, sampling procedures, data collection procedures, and data analysis. The basic rationale and procedures for using NVivo software is also discussed. The purpose of this study was to investigate the following three questions:

- A. What are the perceptions of female school administrators regarding gender regimes operating in their coeducational schools in Uganda?
 - a. What are the gender relations of power and authority in their school?
 - b. What are the gender relations of production in their school?
 - c. What are the gender relations of emotion in their school?
 - d. What are the gender symbols that reinforce these three types of relations in their school?

- B. What changes do these female school administrators hope to make in the gender regimes in their schools?
 - a. What changes do they want to make?
 - b. Why do they want to make these changes?
 - c. How do they intend to make these changes?
 - d. What do they believe their role and functions are in making these changes?

C. To what degree are gender regimes central to the strategic goals of these female school administrators?

The study applied a qualitative methodology based on the general principles of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The application of a grounded theory methodology to this study was intended to build a theory that “fits and works” in the specific cultural context of Ugandan coeducational schools (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Huberman & Miles, 1998). Building a theory that “fits and works” depends on creating categories to address questions that are readily, not forcibly, indicated by the collected data (Philips & Burbules, 2000). To meet this requirement, theory was systematically grounded in and generated from only the case study data collected in this research.

Grounded Theory Methodology

Grounded theory can be described as a research methodology within the post-positivistic paradigm. Post-positivism is a non-foundationalist approach to research that rejects the view that knowledge is built on absolutely knowable and secure foundations (Eisenhardt, 1989; Strauss & Corbin, 1984; Whetten, 2002). Instead, post-positivism takes a situational approach whereby the research question and the nature of the research determine the methodology. The study used the traditional premises of Corbin and Strauss (1967) that grounded theory falls within the post-positivistic because this view would best describe the questions designed for this study based on the analysis of emerging themes and how they relate to their sub-themes to describe proportions.

This study used grounded theory as a qualitative approach to discover and describe how 13 female administrators perceived the gender regimes in their coeducational schools in Uganda. Grounded theory methodology, where theory is

inductively derived from the data collected, was a good choice for this study because it facilitated further development of theoretical descriptions and typologies. Descriptions and typologies helped in the understanding of gender regimes that play out in an important, but little researched, area.

Principles of Grounded Theory Methodology

Grounded theory methodology (GTM) is defined as a “systematized set of procedures to develop and inductively derive grounded theory about phenomena” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 24). GTM facilitates a theory building process that is intimately tied with evidence, making it possible for the resultant theory to be consistent with empirical observation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Locke, 2001). GTM further leads to meaningful conceptualization of relationships between concepts, themes, and patterns that help the researcher to verify the emerging hypotheses (Glaser, 1967).

The application of GTM in this study was based on its major benefits to qualitative inquiry. GTM applies a process of comparing categories or incidents at property or dimension levels (Glaser, 1978; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Strauss, 1998). In this study, identification of categories and their subcategories led to patterns and themes that the researcher used in describing and explaining the three questions of interest. Due to its emic nature, GTM was used to expand, modify or discard hypotheses, which was likely to lead to higher internal validity. Additionally, triangulation, which is embedded in the grounded methodology, would control the risk of introducing bias into the study (Eisenhardt, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Yin, 1994).

Case Study Method and Grounded Theory

This research utilized a case study method within the grounded theory methodology (Hammersely, 1992; Leonard-Barton, 1990; Stake, 1994; Yin, 1994). Yin (1994) defines the term “case” as the “phenomena (located in space/ time) about which data are collected /or analyzed, and that corresponds to the type of phenomena to which the main claims of the study relate” (p.184). Case studies can also be understood in relation to the research process. For instance, Marshall & Rossman (1995) refer to a case study as “a history of past or current phenomena, drawn from multiple sources of evidence” (p.249). Case studies are useful in collecting data for theory building because of the ability to deal with a full variety of evidence including documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations (Caracelli & Greene, 1993; Eisenhardt, 1989; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

In this case study, the investigator used triangulation as a means to establish trustworthiness (Schein, 1995). Data was collected in multiple ways, including analysis of official documents and artifacts, observation, and open dialogues and interviews. Documents will largely be comprised of official school records and artifacts. Artifacts include items like mission statements and classroom displays (Klein, 2002). Integration of case study methods in GTM was a useful strategy in facilitating multiple case analyses (Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Maxwell, 1996; Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Ryan & Destefano, 2000; Schwandt, 2002; Stake, 1994). The case study method in this study facilitated both exploratory and descriptive analysis. The choice of case study as the data collection method in this GTM study was based on the following benefits:

1. Case studies are guided by specific questions, which guide data collection and analysis.
2. Case studies allow research to be conducted in a naturalistic setting, which allows generation of theory from practice.
3. Cases studies are bounded, allowing evidence to be consistent with a specific substantive area (Yin, 1995).

Sampling and Data Collection Procedures

The study included 13 female school administrators in urban-based coeducational secondary schools in Uganda. Data was collected for six months onsite in Uganda. Data collection was authorized by the central office and each school was visited on appointment.

Selection of Participants in the Study

The 13 school administrators were selected from the two urban districts of Kampala and Wakiso in Uganda. The sample of 13 administrators was selected using the following procedures:

1. A list of all secondary coeducational schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts was obtained from the Ugandan Ministry of Education. The lists included the gender and contact information for the school's top administrator.
2. Only female administrators in government-aided coeducational secondary schools were included in the study.
3. All the female administrators that headed coeducational secondary schools were selected as participants in the study.

4. The female administrator at each of the selected schools was contacted regarding their willingness to participate.
5. All the 13 head teachers accepted to participate in the study.

Data Collection

The investigator collected data over a six-month period through document analysis interviews, dialogue, and observation. Data collection was divided into three phases.

In the first phase, the investigator collected and analyzed data from official school documents and cultural artifacts. The document analysis helped the researcher to collect data on the gender regimes related to various administrative practices such as admission of girls and boys, subject choice, discipline trends, and enrollments of students in coeducational schools (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). The investigator used this data to identify initial themes and categories that aided in the further collection of data in the second phase.

In the second phase of collecting data, the investigator engaged in an open dialogue and conducted open-ended interviews with female head teachers. The open dialogue with the head teachers was done before the open-ended interviews. Open dialogue helped to understand the on going practices in individual schools such as the curriculum and how an individual head teacher perceived and handled gender issues related to equitable education in her school. Open-ended interviews were used as the main method of data collection in phase two. Open-ended interviews differed from dialogues since they were guided by a semi-structured instrument which consisted of a series of open-ended questions. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. Dialogues

were an open conversation between the investigator and head teachers. The investigator made no effort to guide the responses of female administrators; rather they led the investigator through the stories and issues they felt were important to their schools.

Since the aim of the researcher was to collect emic data using free expression experiences, open dialogues were not taped. Rather the researcher took notes as dialogues took place and expanded them later to develop more insight into the perceptions of female administrators regarding the gender regimes in their coeducational schools. This procedure helped the researcher to synthesize the notes immediately after the open dialogue. Open dialogue helped in the collection of more in-depth information on important issues and ideas related to key emerging categories from phase one. While the researcher intended that dialogues last 60 minutes, the length varied according to the contributions of individual administrators.

The investigator developed a new interview protocol that consisted of open-ended questions that were based on insights gleaned from the analysis of data and artifacts collected in phase one and through dialogues with the head teachers. The purpose of this protocol was to encourage concepts, themes and patterns to emerge from the data. Open-ended interviews were important because they helped the investigator to collect an extensive amount of data on different aspects of schooling and administrator perceptions simultaneously (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The investigator also used data collected in phase two to explore and verify data collected in the first phase. The investigator negotiated an hour for each interview, but some interviews last longer.

In the third phase the investigator followed up on the previously collected data. In particular, the investigator focused on those issues and ideas that led to the identification

and refinement of the key categories that were emerging. Once the interviews were transcribed, the investigator met with two participants to check the interview data for factual accuracy. While participants' views on the transcribed material were considered in the analysis as important, it would be considered as unavoidably authoritative or necessarily accurate. The investigator made follow-up visits with participants as needed to collect additional data that related to new themes that emerged from the previous phase. Throughout all phases, the researcher maintained a research journal to record observations, track ideas and questions about the data, and to provide an audit trail to facilitate trustworthiness of the research.

Dialogue and qualitative research. The use of open dialogue in phase two of this study was basically intended to facilitate convergence (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The investigator used open dialogue as a means to engage in a process of deliberation with each participant – using techniques like reasoning, evidence building, and clarification of ideas. Through the open dialogues, the researcher developed a rich collective communication that both extended and focused the scope of data collection; thus, various data points were converged into emerging categories and themes.

Open dialogue widened the scope of responses because participants were able to express themselves freely (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Through open dialogue the investigator received quick feedback on the analysis of data collected during the first phase; this feedback guided collection of additional essential data. In this study the investigator found that categories and themes emerged more quickly from the open dialogue than from open-ended interviews because many of the informants did not want to disclose issues about their school while being taped. Examples of sensitive topics

included talking about girl's pregnancy, prostitution, and how participants handled these issues in their schools.

Interview recording, transcription, and confidentiality. The investigator took measures to ensure data accuracy and maintain confidentiality of the participants and their schools. Specifically code names were assigned to participants and their schools and only those associated directly with the study were given access to interview tapes and transcriptions.

A hired transcriptionist transcribed the recorded interviews using code names only. The physical cassette tapes were labeled with code names. A separate key was created which linked the identification of the administrators and school to these code names. This key was kept in a separate location from the actual data. Only the principal investigator and the transcriptionist had access to this key and the original tape recordings. Both the researcher and the transcriptionist were under non-disclosure obligations. Any descriptions, tables, illustrations or diagrams of the contents of the interviews also used code names or were reported only in aggregated form, thus preserving the confidentiality of the participants and their schools.

Similar to semi-structured interviews, the investigator protected the confidentiality of informants on data collected from open dialogues. The investigator saved the electronic transcripts from fieldnotes under the same code name that was used for their interviews. Transcriptions from open-dialogue were labeled as dialogue plus the school code to differentiate these documents from open-ended interviews.

Data Analysis and Procedures

The investigator incorporated the strategies of open coding, axial, and selective coding based on (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to explore, describe and organize the data and facilitate both within- and cross-case analysis. Coding was line-by-line, sentence-by-sentence and paragraph-by-paragraph (Gough & Scott, 2000; Huberman & Miles, 1990; Levine, 1985; MacQueen, MacLellan, Kay & Milstein, 1998; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The investigator used NVivo software of (2001) to organize and manage data. An individual concept or phenomena was the unit of analysis (Gough & Scott, 2000).

Since grounded theory can result in a large amount of data, the investigator used the research questions to focus and guide the entire coding process. Coding strategies helped to segment, manage, retrieve, expand, generate, condense, tag, and label the data (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The investigator grouped and labeled events, actions, and interactions that were similar to form main categories and their related subcategories. Labeling of categories created the boundaries of the text concerning a specific concept. For example, data regarding the same gender disadvantage was grouped together under one label. This category was later broken down into sub-properties and relevant dimensions. The conceptualization and description of the phenomena was thus facilitated through the process of categorizing of similar ideas (Gough, 2000; Gibbs, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The coding process was mainly emic in nature. The emic process helped to capture the real words of the informants to ensure greater credibility. The investigator used emic coding to discover concepts, patterns and themes that emerged directly from

within the collected data. Emic coding incorporates three strategies: open, axial and selective coding.

Open Coding

The investigator used open coding to identify initial concepts, ideas and categories (Huberman & Miles, 1998) and to determine their relative hierarchy. For example, the investigator identified the main gender regimes that operated in the coeducational schools such as subject choice, menstrual periods, eating for girls, and themes concerning related strategies to establish change toward equitable learning. The investigator used structural questions such as “why do girls miss school?” to discover possible themes that may emerge during the open-coding stage. The researcher controlled for bias by constantly clarifying, detailing, and defining categories.

During open coding, the investigator employed memoing processes to identify and record ideas concerning categories and their relationships with other categories. This process was used both to reduce data and find additional information regarding emerging concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The investigator used memos to identify and expand the main interview quotes that acted as key sources for the emic data. For example, quotes were used to characterize issues related to housework, school fees payment, negative attitudes to Science, menstruation, security for students, eating, and bicycle riding. Mini- tour observations of the artifacts and descriptions of major themes were recorded using memos to make the coding process easier and to expand more data.

Axial Coding

The investigator shifted from open coding to axial coding to make connections between categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Using axial coding, the investigator further explored the relationships between categories by putting them together differently than had been done in open coding, thus providing a fresh look at connections between categories.

While open coding mostly focused on relationships among categories, along with their properties and dimensions, axial coding also focused on the development of potential theoretical propositions that could be deductively derived from the data (Eisenhardt, 1989). During this stage, the investigators used taxonomies, to capture the relationships among emerging propositions. An example was the use of Connells' (2002) model of gender regimes. Emerging themes related to the production relations, patterns of emotions, power and authority, and symbolic relations were classified using each dimension of gender regimes. In this context the process was taxonomic (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Structural questions were constantly used to ensure that enough data was coded to support the key themes and patterns. For example, by asking how housework affects the learning of girls and boys, the investigator was able discover categories and subcategories that illuminated the ways differing amounts and types of housework assigned to girls and boys affected their learning.

A critical task of the axial coding was to establish if sufficient data had been found to support the proposed categories and related subcategories. The investigator imposed a threshold of at least 50% for a category or subcategory to be considered significant. That means that at least 50% of the 13 female administrators must have

perceived gender issues related to that theme in order for it to be carried forward into the selective coding process.

Selective Coding

Selective coding is the strategy for making a more focused analysis that examines a specific core concept or category (Caracelli & Greene, 1993). At this stage the investigator selected the categories and their related subcategories that met the threshold of 50% as core categories. For example, under production relations two core categories reached the 50% threshold: family culture and school culture; under patterns of emotions, sexuality was significant; under power and authority, teachers and students were significant; and for symbolic relations, culture was significant.

Using selective coding, the investigator limited the core categories to the six described above. Once these were evaluated, the investigator used an emic process similar to open coding to refine each main category to discover its related subthemes. Through this process, categories and their subcategories were transformed from a descriptive account into an analytical story (Caracelli & Greene, 1993). For example in this qualitative study, core categories that related to family and school culture, sexuality, emotions; sexuality, power and authority, and symbolic relations were used as the basis to describe the major questions and support emerging propositions.

The Role of External Literature

In qualitative inquiry, theory that derives from the data is more likely to be developed when the developed theory is dense with concepts enriched with their relevant literature (Eisenhardt, 1989). For this study, emerging concepts were validated by comparing them to related literature (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993; Marshall

& Rossman, 1995). The literature acted as a source of more data to be compared to the emerging grounded data.

For this study, the emergent theory was only applicable to the Kampala and Wakiso districts, from which the data was derived. The investigator adopted a two-level literature review process: 1) she constantly read literature that reported similar studies in order to increase theoretical sensitivity as well as literature that described the limitations of female education in Uganda (Kwesiga, 2002; Muhwesi, 2003); and 2) she reviewed literature that addressed the field of gender regimes as they related to administrative roles in changing them. The selection of such literature was guided by the emerging concepts and ideas in the study. For the purposes of this study, the investigator used the work of Connell (2002) who developed a model of gender regimes and described how they played out in institutions such as schools. His model, which included production relations, patterns of emotion, power and authority and symbolic relations, was used to make sense out of the core categories and their related subcategories and as a framework for organizing participants' perceptions and strategies to change gender regimes in their schools into a final typology that played in schools of 13 female administrators.

Procedures for Developing a Typology of Themes

A typology is a set of substantive categories or a group of attributes explaining a certain variable (Erlandson et al., 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Typologies are used to classify emerging themes and their related subthemes. According to Gibbs (2000), typologies can be produced from the major categories or from a series of dimensions explaining relationships among categories. In this study, the investigator used typology for two purposes. First, the investigator used typology as a technique to display data,

build relationships among categories, and identify their properties and other dimensions. This inductive process enabled silent categories to emerge from the data. For example, strategies related to girls' negative attitudes toward Science included motivation, giving equal opportunity and guidance and counseling. These concepts emerged from the data and the way they related to the major category of subject choice. Different levels of motivation were also identified and how they contributed to girls' negative attitudes toward Science.

Secondarily, the investigator used typologies to verify relationships and hypotheses by applying the constant comparative technique. As hypotheses emerged from the data, more data was collected to describe the new hypotheses by comparing categories, their related sub-categories and relationships among them. In particular, the investigator used typologies to expand the data and to enhance the constant comparative technique as the emerging typology was then compared back to the data (Erlandson et al., 1993; Huberman & Miles, 1998). The results were, in turn, used to refine the typology. In this iterative process, the enriched typology was used in further analysis of data.

NVivo computer software facilitated the organization, categorization, and the initial identification of the major categories and their subcategories within the collected data. In this study, trees (the major categories) included family culture, school culture, patterns of emotions, and power and authority. The design of NVivo facilitated an exploratory and descriptive approach to data analysis and strongly enhanced an iterative analysis strategy. Parent, child, and sibling tree nodes assisted the investigator to organize categories and their properties into dimensions, groups, and sets that gave density to the data. Concepts were identified and developed into categories and sub-categories. By

ordering categories, as well as the comparing and identifying relationships between them, the investigator gleaned important insights from the data.

Procedure to Address Validity Issues

In qualitative research, validity is based on concepts of trustworthiness (Rudestam & Newton, 2001; Glaser, 1967; Guba, 1981; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Trustworthiness comprises four elements that serve as criteria for judging qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993).

Credibility (aligned with internal validity in quantitative research) establishes that the results of the qualitative study are believable to research participants. Credibility relates to how the investigator's reconstruction of the data fits the realities and views of the informants (Erlandson, et al.1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The investigator engaged with the participants over a six month period of time. During this prolonged engagement with female administrators of the 13 schools, the investigator built trust through open dialogues, semi-structured interviews, analyzing archival information and cultural artifacts, and observing the schools. The trust that was developed facilitated access to emic data and helped the investigator better understand participants' perceptions of the gender regimes at play in their schools.

The investigator triangulated data by collecting it from multiple sources such as field observation notes, the research journal, interviews, and memos. The emic processes of coding and the continuous comparison of categories, properties and dimensions added to the credibility of the results. The investigator utilized emic or folk perspective as criteria for ensuring internal validity and as a means for ensuring more triangulation of data

analysis. The investigator used emic data from the participants to describe selected themes that described the perception of female administrators regarding gender regimes at play in their coeducational schools. During the third phase of data collection, the investigator used a member check process to verify the major categories with the 13 female administrators (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

Transferability in this study refers to the ability of others to understand and determine the applicability of the findings in their own settings (Eisenhardt, 1989; Erlandson, et al.). The investigator provided thick descriptions of the female administrators' perceptions of gender regimes in their schools to assist readers to understand how these findings could be transferred to them in their settings. While the study sought for transferability, the findings can only be generalized back to the two districts from which the informants come and analytically generalized to the potential theoretical propositions that address the research questions.

Dependability, the third criteria, refers to the consistency of the data, the data analysis and the findings (Erlandson et al.; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). These criteria for trustworthiness help ensure that the findings could be reproduced again using the same respondents, data and context. Dependability also requires that variance within the data is tracked. The investigator tracked any variance in the data in the following ways: a clear audit trail, careful journaling during the analysis process, identifying both majority and minority perceptions, and by documenting contextual elements that may contribute to the findings. Thus, explanations were sought for the variance in perceptions.

Confirmability, the fourth criteria, ensures that the outcomes grow out of inquiry rather than investigator bias. In the audit trail and research journal the investigator

recorded explicit logic and information about how the conclusions were drawn (Erlandson, et al.; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). The investigator developed a key to the code names for participants and their schools so that she could clearly link all data back to the informants and she used a similar method in the citations for their quotes. The confirmability audit trail mainly consisted of the research journal, the coding memos and the final write-up of the results. In addition, the investigator identified two experts in the field who provided a peer review of the findings and the theory development. One expert was used during the axial coding while another one was used at the selective coding stage.

Position of the Investigator

In this dissertation study, the position of the investigator was not one of a supervisor evaluating the effectiveness of female administrators in Uganda. Instead, the investigator assumed the posture of a learner and an observer. She functioned as a team member to participants, thus, enabling her to gain a deep understanding of key issues related to gender regimes that female administrators perceived in their schools (Schwandt, 2002). The investigator also developed good relations with participants which enabled her to collect emic data related to the questions of the study.

Lofland and Lofland (1995) advised researchers to be sensitive to ethical issues while conducting studies in naturalistic settings. Functioning ethically is particularly important in such a sensitive issue as this study that investigated the perception and strategies of female administrators to change gender regimes that play in their schools. Gender is culturally based, culturally sensitive, and deals with deeply consequential experiences of daily life. Therefore, the investigator took great care to protect the privacy

of participants by using codes instead of names of individuals or schools to identify all documents, artifacts, observations, fieldnotes, and interviews.

As advised by Rudestam & Newton (2001) the investigator clearly introduced herself to each female administrator and delivered the IRB-approved informed consent prior to collecting data. The consent form clearly specified the purposes, procedures, risks, benefits, confidentiality, withdrawal procedures, and contact information for each participating administrator. She oriented participants to the purpose and relevance of the study and negotiated the time required for the open dialogues, semi-structured interviews, and member checks.

Uganda is a multi-tribe setting, where issues of tribal culture potentially crosscut issues of gender. Consequently, the investigator was careful with implications and meanings of words and gender metaphors relative to their within-tribal and cross-tribal contexts in Uganda. For instance, the word assertiveness was used instead of aggressiveness to describe the behavior of boys belonging to specific tribes outside the Banganda tribe where Wakiso and Kampala are located. After interviewing three head teachers, the investigator changed the question on social etiquettes because it seemed to be emotional to the participants due to tribal and cultural differences.

Delimitations and Limitations

The study was delimited to the two urban districts of Kampala and Wakiso. No rural districts were included in this study. Only female administrators from the 13 coeducational secondary schools in those two districts were included in the study. While gender regimes exist at same-sex schools, as well as primary and tertiary schools, these administrators were not included in this study. Gender regimes also exist in the

perspectives of male administrators, but these were not included in the sample. The study was further delimited to government-funded schools. While many schools in Uganda are privately sponsored, they were not included in this study.

Many of the 13 female administrators had limited understanding of gender regimes because they had not engaged in gender studies previously. In light of the limited knowledge of some, the investigator gave clear instructions and clarified issues that were necessary for administrators to participate in the study. However, the investigator was careful not to say anything that would cause bias or pre-determine participants' responses. The nature of emic data also controls for bias because it is drawn from informants' self-related experiences in encountering gender regimes in their schools. The investigator further controlled for bias by triangulating the data and using a coding process for analyzing the data that allowed concepts, themes and patterns to emerge from the data.

Summary

Chapter Three presented the research methodology the investigator used to discover if 13 female administrators of government-supported mixed/day secondary schools perceived and had developed strategies to change the gender regimes that were at play in their schools. The investigator used qualitative methodology to collect and analyze data and to report findings, including unstructured dialogues, semi-structured interviews, and information derived from archival records and cultural artifacts. With the aid of NVivo Software, the investigator used a grounded methodology to analyze the data, including open, axial, and selective coding processes to discover, label, describe, and determine relationships among major categories and their related subcategories. The

investigator established a threshold of 50 % for a category to be considered significant. She used Connell's (2002) model of gender regimes as a framework to create a final typology of core categories and related subcategories; this model included production relations, patterns of emotion, power and authority, and symbolic relations.

The investigator established validity by using four elements of trustworthiness to guide her procedures for collecting and analyzing data, including credibility, data triangulation, dependability, and confirmability. She established credibility by interacting as a learner with participants over a six-month time; she triangulated the data by using a variety of methods and sources to collect data. She maintained a clear audit trail and kept a careful journal that documented the specific logic and information she used to draw conclusions in order to ensure that her findings were dependable and confirmable. She protected the identity of participants and their schools by assigning each a code name which she used to store data, present findings, cite participants, and discuss the implications of the study. The following chapter will describe the schools which were included in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOLS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the secondary schools in Wakiso and Kampala districts that were headed by females. This study also describes the female head teachers that participated in the study, including two stories highlighting one school artifact and one head teacher's experience during her administrative work.

Secondary Education and School Categories

Thirteen secondary schools headed by female head teachers from Kampala and Wakiso were included in the study. The 13 schools were all categorized as day and mixed (coeducational). In Uganda, schools are categorized into four types, including day-mixed, mixed-boarding, single sex boarding for girls, and single sex boarding for boys (Kajubi, 1992). The 13 schools included in the study fell under several sub-categories including: schools that follow the full national curriculum, demonstration schools, schools that changed from single sex to mixed, schools whose students are from poor families, and peninsular schools. Each of the school sub-categories had a different culture that influenced the strategies head teachers used to change the gender regimes. Following is a description of the diversified school sub-categories.

Day-mixed Schools with Boarding Section

Eight schools had added a boarding section to their day schools. Schools with a boarding culture included school numbers 04, 05, 07, 08, 10, 11, 12 and 13. School 01 and 02 are currently looking for land and are planning for the future extension of the boarding section for their students. Head teachers explained that dormitory facilities are important because parents desire their children, especially daughters, to study in boarding

schools. Head teacher 11 explained the situation to the investigator: “We have three dormitories for girls and two for boys. Taking students to a boarding school is a culture here in Uganda, probably” (11; 144). The head teacher of school 01 also noted: “This being a day school, some parents don’t bring their girls here, they prefer boarding schools” (01:49).

The enrollment of girls is lower than that of boys in schools that are categorized as mixed-day schools (see Table 1). For example, seven schools have girls’ enrollment below 50%. The overall enrollment for girls is 43.2% compared to 56.8% for boys.

Table 1

Enrollment of Girls and Boys in Mixed-Day Coeducational Secondary Schools

Schools	# Boys	# Girls	% Boys	% Girls	Total
01**	1800	500	78.3	21.7	2300
02**	804	453	64.0	36.0	1257
03	204	206	49.8	50.2	410
04*	182	202	47.4	52.6	384
05*	993	764	56.5	43.5	1757
06	364	346	51.3	48.7	710
07*	186	962	16.2	83.8	1148
08*	620	436	58.8	41.2	1056
09	720	407	63.9	36.1	1127
10*	346	385	47.3	52.7	731
11*	621	399	60.9	39.1	1020
12*	173	222	43.8	56.2	395
13*	301	289	50.0	50.0	590
Total	7314	5571	56.8	43.2	12885

Note. * Day mixed schools with boarding sections

** Schools that are purchasing land on which to build boarding sections

Schools that Follow A Full National Curriculum

A full curriculum means offering Science and art subjects both at the O and A Levels. O Level refers to all four years of secondary education while the A Level refers

to the last two years (Kajubi, 1992). Eight of the 13 schools follow a full curriculum as prescribed by the central state. In all the schools that follow a full curriculum, girls and boys are given the same opportunity to take subjects of their own choice but the enrollment of girls and boys in Sciences and Math differ. Differences in students' enrollment in Science related subjects are more evidenced at the advanced level where Science and Math are not compulsory. At the ordinary level the curriculum requires all students to do Math and Sciences. Table 2 shows the average ratio of boys to girls in Science subjects and Math at A Level.

Table 2

Enrollment of Students in Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Mathematics at the A Level

Schools	Physics	Chemistry	Biology	Mathematics
	Ratio of (Boys) to (Girls) 0.0 to 1	Ratio of (Boys) to (Girls) 0.0 to 1	Ratio of (Boys) to (Girls) 0.0 to 1	Ratio of (Boys) to (Girls) 0.0 to 1
01	(478) (49) 9.8 to 1	(238) (28) 8.5 to 1	(235) (28) 8.4 to 1	(370) (35) 10.6 to 1
02	(127) (31) 4.1 to 1	(79) (26) 3.0 to 1	(81) (16) 5.1 to 1	(79) (21) 3.8 to 1
05	(203) (89) 2.3 to 1	(131) (52) 2.5 to 1	(68) (31) 2.2 to 1	(178) (72) 2.5 to 1
07	(07) (17) 1 to 2.4	(5) (14) 1 to 2.8	(05) (14) 1 to 2.8	(05) (7) 1 to 1.4
08	(90) (33) 2.7 to 1	(71) (25) 2.8 to 1	(31) (19) 1.6 to 1	(79) (26) 3.0 to 1
09	(91) (17) 5.4 to 1	(35) (17) 2.0 to 1	(21) (11) 1.9 to 1	(88) (12) 7.3 to 1
11	(53) (13) 4.1 to 1	(34) (12) 2.8 to 1	(26) (5) 5.2 to 1	(56) (21) 2.6 to 1
13	(23) (06) 3.8 to 1	(10) (4) 2.5 to 1	(13) (03) 4.3 to 1	(13) (09) 1.4 to 1
Average Ratio	(1072) (255) 4.2 to 1	(603) (178) 3.4 to 1	(480) (127) 3.8 to 1	(868) (203) 4.3 to 1

Table 2 above indicates that for every school except school 07, the ratio of boys is higher than that of girls. The enrollment of boys is illustrated by the higher average ratio of boys to girls in Physics (4.2 to 1), Chemistry (3.4 to 1), Biology (3.8 to 1), and Mathematics (4.3 to 1) across seven schools. School 07 is an exception with a lower ratio of boys to girls across Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Mathematics due to the higher enrollment of girls in the school which is 83.8% compared to 16.2% of boys (see Table 1).

Demonstration Schools

Schools 01 and 05 are categorized as day-mixed but are also popularly known as demonstration schools. School 05 is located in Makerere University, which is the main government education institution. School 01 is located in Kyambogo University, which is another long standing government college of education. The two schools were designed to cater to internships for student teachers from universities. These two demonstration schools strive to provide very good instructional techniques enhanced by university professional skills. Their stakeholders would agree in this assessment. The head 05 made this comment about her school: "...supposing you have got 150 places for admission but only 30 or 40 are for Sciences. Remember these are national schools. So the competition is going to be very stiff. Remember in Uganda we have a centralized system of education..." (05:30).

School that Changed from Single Sex to Mixed Sex

Schools that changed from single sex to mixed sex included 07 and 01. These schools were unique as the observed artifacts including sculptures and the name of the school supported the culture of the previously dominant sex category. School 07 started

in 1954 as a single sex school and changed to a mixed school in 1984. This school had more girls than boys where the enrollment of 82.4% compared to 16.2% of boys (see Table 1). A sculpture of a girl dressed in a school uniform stood in the middle of the school compound. The school also had a sculpture of Mary, mother of Jesus, displayed at the gate of the school. No sculpture in this school represented boys, yet they were part of the population. More interestingly, the name of 07 was: “Gayaza Our ‘Lady’ of Good Council.” In this school where the name of the school was feminine, the best student in the National Exam (UNEB) was a girl for five consecutive years (2001-2005) at the advanced (A Level) and four years at the ordinary (O Level).

Contrary to School 07, the artifacts of School 01 were a male buffalo and a father holding a son. In this school of 3300 students, 21.7 % were girls while boys were 78.3% (observe Table 2). Yet, it changed from single sex to mixed sex in 2001. The two parents holding the boy had put on traditional dresses while the boy had put on a school uniform for boys. The two sculptures were placed at the main gate of the school, close to the head teacher’s office. All the sculptures in 01 represented male figures, depicting the vision of the school to support males.

Similar to Gayaza, Our ‘Lady’ of Good Council, has a name that was more masculine. The name of the school is ‘Kyambogo’ College School. ‘Kyambogo’ is named after ‘mbogo’ which in one of the tribal languages (Luganda) refers to a strong buffalo that according to the sculpture was a male. The image of the male buffalo appeared as the symbol on the school motto, labels, badges, students’ reports, and magazines of the school. In School 01, where the statues of a buffalo and a boy were males, the best student in the National Exam (UNEB) was a boy at the O and A Levels

for five consecutive years (2001-2005). According to the head teacher of school 01, the school changed from single sex to mixed-day to help girls in the immediate surroundings.

Schools Whose Enrolled Students Are from Poor Families

This group of schools incorporated both students from the city centre slums of Kampala and the new schools started in 1983-1984 during the regime of President Obote 11. According to the head teachers of schools 02, 09, 11, and 13, their students are mainly recruited from slums. The head teacher of school 09 described the nature of her students saying: “About 60% or 65% of my children come from the slums and you know what culture they get from there, they come with that culture and they bring it to school and it becomes a limiting factor” (09: 124). Head teacher 11 made a similar comment: “You know our school is urban, but the urban poor, so we have many students that come from the slums of Nsambya...” (11:89).

Schools 02 and 09 were about a kilometer from the State House in the most urban part of Kampala. School 13 was located in the slums of the city centre, in the most populated part of the city. While Schools 02, 09, 11, and 13 had mostly poor urban students, they were well equipped with instructional materials and standard teachers (Kajubi, 1992). Since these schools are well equipped with instructional materials and trained teachers, they follow a full curriculum and are considered by the central state as A level secondary schools.

The new schools, which started during the regime of President Obote, were a total of five, including 03, 04, 06, 10, and 12. These schools lack the standard equipment that supports good learning such as laboratories, standard toilets, and books. They may not have enough money to support subjects like Technical Drawing and Sciences. Officially

the central state recognizes these schools as O Level schools. Similar to city centre schools, they recruit students from poor families. For instance, head teacher 03 noted that: “This school is rather semi-rural though in Kampala. Students found in this school are rather poor ones, much as the school fees is lower, they can’t afford it...” (03:86). Head teacher of school 04 described the parents in her school, “Parents in this school are poor. They are basically fishmongers, and they are facing competition because of the fishing is no longer a job for the local people.” (04:37).

Peninsular Schools

Head teachers described schools 08 and 10 as peninsular schools because they had a diverse student population that came from different parts of the country via Lake Victoria. These schools were unique because the culture of the two schools was heavily influenced by the nearby industries. According to the head teachers, learning in School 08 was influenced by the sex industry; whereas learning in School 10 was influenced by the bricklaying industry.

According to Table 1, the enrollment of girls in School 08 is 41.2% while that of boys is 58.8% of the schools’ total student population. This school is about 26 kilometers from Kampala and is close to the Entebbe Airport; it is influenced by the sex industry, which is pervasive in the area due to the presence of UN soldiers, local soldiers from Uganda, and the existence of several pubs and lodges that attract several groups of people including tourists. The head teacher described the sex industry, saying: “The UN soldiers and Ugandan Barracks are close to this school. Tourists are also many... Girls are a good market to these men. They think that young girls do not have HIV/AIDS and are cheap” (08:30).

The enrollment of girls in School 10 is 52.7% while that of boys is 47.3% (see Table 1). School 10 is also located on Entebbe road via Entebbe Airport where the brick laying industry is prominent in Uganda. Boys are affected by school dropouts and absenteeism because they can find work that does not require training and offers the opportunity of a permanent job. The head teacher of this school elaborated on the problem: “Boys get full time jobs that do not require training. At times parents of the boys own the mines for clay. For such students, dropping out of school is due to their access to full employment in bricklaying” (10: 29).

Participants in the Study

Participants in the study included all 13 female head teachers who were officially hired to head coeducational secondary schools. All 13 female head teachers were selected from government-aided schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts. These head teachers were at least 37 years old and had a maximum of 13 years of working experience. Background information of the female head teachers is summarized in Table 3.

According to Table 3, seven of the 13 female head teachers were 50 years old and above. Five female head teachers were 40 to 49. Six of the head teachers had at least ten years of experience as head of schools. Nine female head teachers were educated up to a master's level while four were involved in a master's program.

Four head teachers out of the 13 studied Sciences during their university work. Only two studied Physics and Chemistry, one studied Agriculture and one studied Home Economics. Only three head teachers attended mixed schools during their education. Surprisingly, 61.5% of the head teachers attended Nabbingo girls, which is a single sex secondary school for girls located in Wakiso district.

Table 3

Background of Female Head Teachers in Coeducational Secondary Schools

Head Teacher (Age)	Experience as a Teacher (Head Teacher)	Educational Level	Member of Female Organization	Teaching Subjects	Type of School Attended
01 (54)	32 (4)	Masters	LC /Catholic women	English	Girls' school (Nabbingo)
02 (50)	27 (13)	Masters	LC	Economic/ Geography	Mixed-sex (Nabumali)
03 (59)	30 (4)	Masters	Gender Desk (Central Office)	Home Economics	Girls' school (Nabbingo)
04 (40)	14 (2)	Masters Student	FAWE	Religion/ Geography	Girls' school (Nabbingo)
05 (48)	28 (12)	Masters Student	FAWE	English/ Literature	Mixed-sex (Makerere College)
06 (50)	24 (4)	Masters Student	Mothers' Union	Biology/ Physics	Girls' school (Gayaza)
07 (51)	28 (12)	Masters	Catholic Women	Biology/ Chemistry	Girls' school (Nabbingo)
08 (49)	22 (13)	Masters	Mothers' Union/FAWE	Literature /CRE	Mixed-sex (Nabumali)
09 (47)	25 (10)	Masters Student	Mothers' Union /LC 5	Geography	Girls' school- Bweranyanji
10 (43)	18 (4)	Masters	Mothers' Union	Agriculture	Girls' school (Nabbingo)
11 (37)	12 (1)	Masters	Catholic Women	English/ Literature	Girls' school (Nabbingo)
12 (54)	32 (6)	Masters	Mothers' Union	English/ Literature	Girls' school (Lubaga)
13 (52)	30 (10)	Masters	Mothers' Union	Fine Art	Girls' school (Nabbingo)

All the head teachers were members of at least one female organization. These organizations include church organizations like the Mothers' Union, NGOs, and female Local Councils (LCs) that deal with state politics at various levels of the public.

Stories that Reveal Cultural Influences in Two Schools

Crafting information in the form of stories in narrative inquiry provided firsthand information with a lot of meaning regarding the experiences of the participants and their administrative visions (Clandinin & Connelly 2000). The following stories provide insights into the cultural influences of two schools.

The story of "Taisa."

The first story concerns "Taisa", a life size sculpture of a girl found in the main compound of School 07. This story is true and is told from the perspective of the researcher as the participant observer of the artifact. In particular, the story reflects the researcher's experience with the head teacher of School 07 as a visionary leader and a culture creator in her school environment to fit both boys and girls.

In the middle of the compound, I saw a statue of a teenage girl dressed in a school uniform. The statue was wearing a green skirt and light yellow blouse with "go back to school" shoes (batta shoes). The statue was sitting in the middle of the compound in an open space close to the head teacher's office reading a book. This sculpture piece had just been repainted to brighten the brilliant colors of its uniform, which attracted my attention.

I was told that the name of statue was "Taisa." *Taisa* is a nickname of a former student of School 07. Taisa graduated from the school three years ago. *Taisa*, the statue, was as slim and dark skinned as *Taisa*, the former girl of the school.

Girls loved touching “Taisa” and sitting by the statue. I observed that during the morning break girls played and had fun around *Taisa*. During lunch break, many girls ate their food close to *Taisa*. Yet, food is served from the dormitories of the girls, which are far from the main compound compared to that of boys. After evening classes as many students disperse to different parts of the compound, big groups of girls remained resting in the compound where *Taisa* sits.

During a conversation with the head teacher, I reminded her about the statue of a teenage girl in the middle of the school compound nicely dressed in a school uniform. The head teacher smiled and responded to my observation, “It is a beautiful sculpture. Girls like it a lot.” I suggested to the head teacher if it was possible to construct another statue of a boy with a school uniform and make it face to face with that of *Taisa*. She told me: “That is a girls’ territory.”

As the conversation continued, I asked the head teacher why a female student only. Why should *Taisa* dress in a girl’s uniform? She told me she did not know because the statue was already constructed by the time she was hired in the school though she told me she was thinking of ordering a male statue for the boys. When the head teacher gave me other objects to consider, “Taisa” appeared on the first page of the school magazine, with its brilliant colors more strengthened and looking beautiful. While observing the head teacher’s office, *Taisa* appeared as the center of interest on the school calendar in front of a group photo of the current O Level candidates. The uniform of Taisa and that of the girls in the group photo created amazing appreciative colors.

The case of *Taisa*, reminded me of how head teachers use their cultures and interest to create two worlds in coeducational schools: one for the females and another for the males; thus, they construct and reinforce gender regimes in their schools.

The Story of Rose Izizinga and Strategic Change

The second story is presented from the experience of the head teacher. The story presents the experience Rose Izizinga in making changes in her school policies to improve the education of girls. Rose Izizinga's interest in gender issues comes from her family background with her mother and own experience during her secondary education.

Rose Izizinga is a head teacher of School 05. She is the head of the National Association of Secondary Head teachers in Uganda; she represents all secondary head teachers on the National Examinations Board (UNEB) and the National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC). Izizinga also works as the Deputy Director of Forum for African Women Educationalists, an NGO that advocates for the education of Girls in Africa. She has worked as a head teacher for twelve years. Following is Rose Izizinga's story:

After my A Level at Nabumali High School, I strategically made it to 'campus,' but I never saw my friends—the old girls from Makerere College School. The counseling from my mother made me go to "campus." Often during gardening, my mother would tell me: "You could do better gardening if you have good education. You could become a good mother and look after your children if you finish school. Like boys you can make it to 'campus.'" I realized that it was the daily counseling from my mother that made me gain my status at "campus", popularly known as Makerere University which was a rare place for girls.

By the mercy of God, in the year 2001, I was officially hired into a position of head teacher at Makerere College School. I observed that factors hindering female education had never been changed. One of the Luganda proverbs says: "Zinunula omunaku—mukama azitunga kilo." The proverb refers to a situation where help for the disadvantaged surprisingly is provided by God at night when no one expects it. So, I vowed and strategically thought of improving on the education of females at Makerere College. I chose to use counseling, the vision of my mother,

as the main strategy for changing the education of girls. How do you create space for girls and make them perform like boys? This was my guiding question for strategic thinking.

I began by passing on a questionnaire to teachers and students to find out whether teachers and the community of Makerere College were interested in taking care of the needs of both girls and boys. I noticed that students were faced by a lot of adolescent problems. Therefore, I instituted a gender desk—a department that does student counseling, meets the needs of boys and girls, and trains students in HIV awareness.

I have used the school timetable to achieve my vision. Every Wednesday for two hours the gender desk takes place. The student body, different administrative sections: directors of upper, middle, and lower school, teachers, and the deputies get involved. The senior woman and senior man teachers facilitate the activities of the gender desk, though students can also prepare and talk to each other. During the gender desk, questions related to growing up, sexuality, or relationships are answered. Teachers play the role of motherhood while students smile and jump around because their needs are met. I play the role of a supervisor, student role model, and group coordinator of all members of the school who are facilitators of gender desk activities.

I found Makerere College School with higher enrollment of boys than girls. Why should boys dominate mixed schools? So I came up with a vision whereby head teachers who are strategic thinkers should neutralize the maleness in a mixed school. For this reason I established an affirmative action in favor of girls. For instance this year I brought senior one girls at 17 points while boys came at 8 points. This created space for about 50 girls. The same affirmative action is kept during the admission of senior five girls.

I noticed that boys outshine girls at O Level, because girls at that level have a lot of adolescent problems. At age thirteen and fourteen girls are struggling with their menstruation periods. So I have established a bursary scheme for tuition. Boys and girls of senior one and two who score 80% and above receive these bursaries on a term basis. In this school, every term I give the bursary to two girls whereas boys get one.

Learning from the vision of my mother, I hired a full time counselor to enhance the learning of students that supports the motto of the Makerere College which is to build students known by “works and only by good works.” Counselors deal with students’ individual social and academic problems. In this school, many students lose their parents particularly due to HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS is a hazard in all families in Uganda. So the counselor deals with students’ problems right from the family. When a problem is noticed, I call the parent and begin my intervention from that point.

Counseling is the strategy that has made Makerere College successful. I am certain counseling has encouraged girls to learn—the thinking of my mother.

Rose Izizinga, who is the original narrator of the story, is interested in improving the education of girls based on her own educational experience and interest. Izizinga is the head teacher of School 05. The mission of this school reads as follows: “To provide accessible, equitable, innovative, all round, appropriate, quality education for boys and girls in order to create community of people known by their works.” (Dialogue 05; 26). It seems Izizinga established strategies to benefit the girls. However, there is a mismatch between the vision of the school and her vision for improving girls’ education. As a visionary leader she needs to help both boys and girls achieve equitable learning outcomes. Much as girls are disadvantaged by various circumstances, boys are not homogeneous, whereby none of them is vulnerable.

Summary

The 13 schools described in Chapter Four yielded information that contributes to gender differences in various coeducation schools. For example, students’ enrollment, the nature of industry near a school, and the school curriculum, seem to contribute to gender differences in particular schools. Table 1 shows that the average enrollment of boys across the 13 schools is 56.8 % compared to 43.2 % for girls. Table 2 indicates that the average ratio of boys to girls is at least 3.4 to 1 in Science and Mathematics subjects. This ratio is true in seven of the eight schools which have a full curriculum at the advanced level. Industries around a school influence its population. For instance, School 08 where the sex industry influences girls, the enrollment of girls is 41.3% and that of boys is 52.7%. Head teachers perceived the gender regimes in their schools depending on the gender differences and their perceptions guided strategies designed to help them.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

This study investigated female administrators' perceptions of the gender regimes that existed in public coeducational secondary schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts.

The following three questions guided this study:

- A. What are the perceptions of female school administrators regarding the gender regimes operating in their coeducational school in Uganda?
- B. What changes do these female school administrators hope to make in the gender regimes in their schools?
- C. To what degree are gender regimes central to the strategic goals of these female school administrators?

This qualitative analysis focused on the perception of female administrators regarding the gender regimes in their schools. Using an emic approach to the analysis of case study data, patterns, themes and their related sub-themes were identified. The criterion for a theme to be considered significant by the researcher was that at least 7 of 13 female head teachers would have made responses that fell into that theme. This criteria would meet the required 50% and above threshold. For a related sub-theme to be considered significant, the same criteria of 50% and above threshold will also be used. Findings will be presented by research questions.

Administrators' Perceptions of Gender Regimes

For a clear presentation of findings for the first research question, data is discussed according to major patterns and their related sub-themes; the head teachers are

referred to by their school number. For example, the head teacher of School 05 will be referred to as head teacher 05.

Following are the major patterns that emerged for each of the three research questions. Under the first research question which referred to the perceptions of female school administrators regarding the gender regimes that played in their, the four major patterns that emerged were family culture, school culture, sexuality, and power and authority.

Family Culture

The first theme regarding the perceptions of female head teachers relating to gender regimes was family culture. All 13 female head teachers made comments that fell into the pattern of family culture. Family culture refers to assumptions, beliefs and norms that have been accepted as appropriate and permanent at the family level and within the immediate society (Colclough, Rose & Tembon, 2000). For this qualitative inquiry, family culture also reflected the norms and values of Uganda at large because students in government aided schools are drawn from the entire country. The family culture pattern is comprised of two related themes that emerged from the emic analysis of the data, including school fees and housework. Table 4 summarizes the level one and two sub-themes that fell under family culture; it shows the percent of head teachers whose perceptions fell under each theme and the number of supporting passages.

The theme of school fees. Twelve head teachers made responses that fell into the theme of school fees payment in public coeducational secondary schools in Uganda. School fees in this study refer to tuition and money contributed by parents or guardians for buying items needed to support schooling such as books, instructional materials

Table 4

Summary of Head Teachers' Perceptions Related to Family Culture

Major Theme	Sub-Theme Level 1	Sub-Themes Level 2	% Head Teachers (Passages)
Family Culture	School Fees	Preference for Boy's Fees	76.9 (46)
		Work and Boy's Fees	53.8 (13)
		School Drop Out for Girls	53.8 (11)
	Housework	Housework for Girls	84.6 (50)
		Housework for Boys	53.8 (14)
		Gender Roles and Stepmother	53.8 (29)

and girls' needs. The problem of school fees affects boys and girls due to several factors, including kinship, which is a critical norm of urban families. For example, head teacher 02 observed, "We can have dropping out of school because of inability to pay fees related to it, also of students being sponsored by guardians because a guardian would give priority to his biological children... Most of the students in this school do not stay with their natural parents" (02:87).

Parents prefer to pay the school fees for boys first. Generally in Uganda parents value the benefit of a boy's education above that of girls. Parents think that girls will marry and leave the family; whereas boys are expected to give future family support to the household and also take over the family as heirs. Head teacher 08 explained, "Parents say, 'I'm first paying for the boy fully; the girl can wait... [or] The girls are not serious; they are going to get married anyway'" (08:73). Similarly, head teacher 12 described a similar observation by saying: "If there isn't enough school fees for both, the parent would rather give school fees to the boy first and the girl would get fees later, when it is

more convenient.” Assumptions related to fees payment and the reconstructed gender regimes are summarized by the experience of head teacher 10, when she says:

When a family with more girls than boys in a family, when it comes to paying fees, they prefer paying fees for the boys first. The parent says: ‘Let me first complete fees for this boy, for the girl, I am going to look for it later. So I ask the parent why they prefer to pay for the boy who is in senior one or two first, rather than pay for the girl who is in senior three or four. Some parents still have that thinking that boys are better off to be educated than girls. So you find that when it comes to sending away fees defaulters you find that you are mostly sending away girls. (10:101)

In the urban secondary schools of Kampala and Wakiso, boys have an advantage in the struggle to remain in school because they are able to work to support their own education. Results indicate that 53.8 % of the head teachers observe that boys can work and contribute to their fees. Parents allow boys to be employed in the public sphere and earn money to support their fees, while girls remain in the private sphere contributing to unpaid labor (Hez & Sperling, 2004). Boys take advantage of the urban environment and take over jobs like providing night security in the city, working on building sites, jobs that girls are not expected to do. As head teacher 13 stated:

The boys can even because they take long to give up or to show that they’ve grown up and no woman would disturb or bother a boy unless she is crazy, you know, they can even go and get on building sites to do casual labor whereas a girl can’t go and would be able to earn, come back and study even up to two years. The girl after two years will even feel too old to be in secondary school; however, we have handled some cases, related to poverty by introducing some scholarship scheme. (13:76)

Reflecting on the above quotation, boys can take risks by accepting all types of jobs to support their fees; yet, girls cannot. Boys take risks in several ways to support their school fees. For instance, head teacher 11 told this story:

You know our school is urban, but the urban poor; so we have many students that come from the slums of Nsambya and we have students whose parents are selling “waragi” (alcohol) and other drinks like “Malwa” (local beer). You find a student

who comes to school all drunk and he tells you the parents tell him to first sell the “waragi”, he tastes it and then comes to school, but that is how they pay school fees. (11:27)

Parental preference for paying the fees of boys before girls, and the inability of girls to get paid labor to support their fees, increase the chances for girls to dropout of school.

The analysis revealed that 53.8 % of the female head teachers stated that girls dropout of school due to the failure to meet their fees requirements (see Table 4).

The theme of housework. In this study 10 head teachers talked about housework as a major gender regime that influences the learning of students, especially girls.

Housework refers to the provision of family support in the daily activities of a home such as cleaning dishes, caring for the compound or cooking meals. Housework refers as well to work done by individual students in a home to contribute to the family income such as taking items for sale to market before going to school (04:97, 03:128, 11:2, Colclough, Rose, & Tembon, 2000).

Findings indicate that 84.6 % of the head teachers observed that girls are given an inordinate amount of housework or family duties compared to that of boys. For instance, head teacher 04 stated: “Many times with girls we find out that when they go in the evenings, they have no time because they have got to do housework in the evenings” (04:97). Girls are burdened with housework and find it difficult to combine it with their regular schooling. Head teacher 03 notes that housework is big problem to girls who are officially hired as house girls because they are supposed to attend to their normal obligations as she argues, “...some of them are children who were brought to work as house girls in Kampala and later when she proves to be good she’s given a chance to

study” (03:128). She further explained that heavy loads of housework contribute to absenteeism:

We find that absenteeism is a problem, and parents will come here to explain. You see I had so much work; I had to take the child to hospital; the girl had to remain home or the children had nobody to stay with; the mother was sick she had to stay at home to look after her; the mother delivered; she is the one to nurse her. (03:128)

With the same observation of head teachers 04 and 03, head teachers tried their best to make education equal to both girls and boys, but parents thought that girls were more fit for housework than boys, thus, [they] have to provide more family support than boys.

Head teacher 12 nicely elaborated on this, saying:

Yes, at the school we provide the same services for both of them, but the girls have more problems than the boys because we find that a girl if there is a patient at home, the girl will be the one to be asked to stay at home to look after the patient while the boy goes to school. (12:128)

The head teachers were frustrated with the difficulty of finding solutions to the problems engendered by the heavy load that girls bear for completing chores or work at home. This problem was compounded by many factors at the family level, particularly the case of stepmothers. Stepmothers believed that girls had traits that make them do housework better than boys. As Head teacher 07 explained:

I've found that girls that are brought up by their stepmothers-- they are over-worked at home because of family obligations. Girls are too obedient and they do house work better than boys. Boys' parents say they do house work hurriedly and just rush to school. In this school, we invited parents and educate them about their responsibility in relation to parenthood. (07:52)

Norms and values accepted at the family level are imported to the school and construct new gender regimes. These gender regimes mainly include parental preference to pay fees for boys to that of girls and allocating heavy loads of housework to girls. Boys are allowed to take paid jobs to support their fees while girls are expected to focus on

unpaid labor in the form of family support. These accepted norms are imported to school and influence the education of girls more than that of boys and create new culture.

Following is a discussion on gender regimes related to school culture.

School Culture

The second theme regarding the head teachers' perceptions of gender regimes presented in Table 5 was school culture. Thirteen female head teachers who participated in this study talked about practices related to school culture that limit the progress of students' education. Analysis of this study indicated two major themes that represented gender patterns that relate to school culture: subject choice and punishment for students. Table 5 summarizes the level one and two sub-themes that fell under school culture; it shows the percent of head teachers whose perceptions fell under each theme and the number of supporting passages.

Table 5

A Summary of Head Teachers' Perceptions Related to School Culture

Major Theme	Sub-Theme Level 1	Sub-Themes Level 2	% Head Teachers (Passages)
School Culture	Subject Choice	Science and Girls' Attitudes	100.0 (32)
		Home Economics and Boys	76.9(17)
		Home Economics and Girls	69.2(11)
	Punishment	Differences for Girls and Boys	69.2(12)

School culture or organizational culture in general refers to shared assumptions, values, and beliefs over a long period of time (Schein, 1995). Deal & Peterson (1999) contend that school culture represents shared ethos of caring between teachers and

students that lead to shared commitment to helping students learn. These shared values or patterns of beliefs are the essentials of change in a school as an organization.

For this study, school culture refers to a wide range of constructs, which include administrative practices, policies and admission procedures for students. Culture represents what is going on in teaching and learning and the practices that enhance the learning process both at the ordinary level (O level) and advanced level (A Level) of coeducational secondary schools.

The theme of subject choice. Subject choice refers to the subjects students chose based on the school curriculum, the head teacher's vision, and the national curriculum. In spite of the fact that the curriculum at the O Level demands all students to do Science and Mathematics, documentary analysis (one of the methods used to ground the data) showed that girls are less in the PCM (Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics) and PCB (Physics, Chemistry, Biology) combinations at the A Level.

All thirteen head teachers accepted the observation that few girls were in the PCM and PCB combination at the A Level (see table 2). In addition, head teachers reported that girls had negative attitudes toward Science and Math. Head teacher 06 presented her view; "But I think most of them grapple with the problem of attitude, because people they have heard it said so many times that girls can't do Sciences" (06:66). Similarly, head teacher 09 thought that negative attitudes were reinforced by teachers when she said; "And by the way some of these students who are not doing Sciences are discouraged by the teachers themselves. They tell them this is a hard subject for women and sometimes girls themselves have a feeling that Sciences are for men..." (09:84).

Head teacher 05 argued that girls think studying Science takes a long time. She observed, “But they are those who do not want to take Sciences. They say Sciences will take so long to be done with school. By the time they are through, they will be ancient” (05:46). Head teacher 04 had a different evaluation of girls being less in Science combinations at the A Level. She related the story to colonial history:

Although, it has been the trend that girls tend to have a negative attitude towards the Science subjects, they think that it is a domain for the male. I think because of the colonial history where you find that initially, the [women] are teachers, secretaries and nurses. So I think the mentality is just that if you are a woman you have got to be a teacher or a nurse or a secretary. (04:56)

Many head teachers viewed the reason for girls not taking courses in Math and Science is because they lack role models. As head teacher 09 explains:

Well, I’ve also taken note that even in my school there are fewer girls in the PCM and PCB classes, but I think these students are lacking role models. They are lacking role models be it at home, be it at school. Like in my Science department, I have only three female teachers, the rest are males, even the deputy head teacher is an artist. The deputies, one is a scientist and the lady is an artist. (09:84)

In Kampala and Wakiso districts Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Mathematics are gendered subjects. Girls do not want to take Sciences, even when the natural curriculum recommends all students at the O Level do Sciences and Math. Data indicated an unusual finding in that fewer girls studied Foods and Nutrition (Home Economics) at the A Level than expected. The next section presents data on subject choice and Foods and Nutrition.

Foods and Nutrition, popularly known as Home Economics, is changing the culture of subject choice in Uganda. Nine head teachers talked about the popularity of Foods and Nutrition among boys. Foods and Nutrition is an option and is taken as a Science subject. Results of this inquiry showed that boys are more into Foods and

Nutrition than girls. Table 6 summarizes the number of girls and boys that study Foods and Nutrition at the A Level.

Table 6

Enrollment of Boys and Girls in Foods and Nutrition at the A Level

School	Boys	Girls	Ratio of Boys to Girls	Total
01	46	07	6.6 to 1.0	53
02	52	23	2.3 to 1.0	75
05	58	14	4.1 to 1.0	72
07	02	11	1.0 to 3.5	13
13	06	01	6.0 to 1.0	07
Total	164	56	2.9 to 1.0	220

Note. Foods and Nutrition is optional and expensive, thus, offered by few schools.

Based on the numbers of students who take Foods and Nutrition at the A Level indicated by Table 6, 164 boys take the subject compared to only 56 girls which gives a ratio of 2.9 boys to each girl. In Schools 01 and 13 the ratio of boys to girls is as high as 6.0 to 1 girl. In all the four schools, the ratio of boys was higher than that of girls. In three out of five schools boys that take Foods and Nutrition are at least 4 to1 girl. The statistic confirms the comment of head teacher 05 when she says: “Interestingly, [in] Foods and Nutrition, I have more boys than girls” (05:55).

Boys are gaining more interest in Foods and Nutrition than girls, both at the A and O Levels. This increased interest is due to the role of Foods and Nutrition in the changing job market rather than providing support at home. Head teacher 02 described the role of the subject, “I have experienced with Foods and Nutrition, boys have come to appreciate that Home Economics is very useful and necessary and they do it with a lot of enthusiasm” (03:43). Head teacher 07 added; “Yes, and we have been taking these

students to hotels, bakeries, [and] places where there is food production and they have found fellow men working there and I think that one is very good for them...” (07:76).

Head teacher 01 gives more in-depth insights concerning Foods and Nutrition in her school:

Although you would be interested to know that in Home Economics, especially at A Level, boys tend to like Foods and Nutrition more than the girls, for example those who had done the practicals recently, we had 34 boys at O Level where two were girls and 32 boys, at A Level. The boys tend to like the subject more than the girls. (01:76)

As it relates to subject choice, Foods and Nutrition has contributed to changes in the culture of schools in Uganda. This is because more boys in coeducational secondary schools are taking the subject than girls, especially at the A Level. However, other school practices are also creating differences among boys and girls, such as rewards and punishments that are presented in the next section.

The theme of punishment. Punishment given to students included mopping classes, slashing, walking around school, kneeling, washing dishes, and leveling anthills. Female head teachers have created a new culture in their schools where reward and punishment supports different roles for boys and girls. Concerning this categorization of students' labor, head teacher 01 commented; “They sweep the classes, they clean the compound, they can kneel in the classrooms, or stand if the punishment is within the classroom. Boys can be asked to remove anthills” (01:246). Head teacher 02 explored more on the division of labor:

In fact, when they arrive in groups they do the same punishments. But, there are other punishments given to students. For example when we get boys who are very aggressive and undisciplined, we give them firewood to chop, behind the kitchen under the supervision of a teacher or an anthill to dig. (02:276)

During a conversation with head teacher 10, her story also indicated that punishment in her school varies by gender. She noted, “Girls clean classrooms or do the slashing. On the other hand boys slash or remove anthills. Actually, boys have finished all the ant-hills that existed in the school this year” (Dialogue 10:46). One of the reasons for giving boys and girls different labor is because head teachers see boys as evil and at times aggressive and that they deserve different punishment. Observing boys as evil makers, head teacher 09 commented, “Girls are rarely in these problems. Most offenders are boys because of the environment” (09:262). In regard to giving different punishments for boys and girls, Head teacher 11 explained, “Yes, we do, but at times boys are told to slash. If what they have done is horrible, we give them slashes and they go out to the fields to slash...Girls wouldn’t do such a thing” (11:234).

According to the head teachers’ responses, different punishment for boys and girls is based on the expected roles they play in society. Head teachers thought that boys were more frequent offenders than girls; thus they deserved more tough punishment. Both practices of subject choice and punishment in Wakiso and Kampala districts reflected the roles students are expected to play in society. The following section presents data on sexuality, another broad aspect of gender that may influence culture and overall learning of students in schools.

Sexuality in Schools

The first theme regarding the perceptions of female head teachers relating to gender regimes is sexuality. During this study a lot of data was collected on sexuality and how it related to gender differences among girls and boys. Sexuality refers to emotions related to the category of sex. According to Connell (2002), patterns of

emotions or sexuality are one of the dimensions of gender. Several themes that related to sexuality in coeducational schools emerged from the data. These themes included menstruation periods, eating for girls, bicycle riding, unwanted pregnancy, and tight security for girls. Table 6 shows emerging themes and sub-themes based on sexuality; it shows the percent of head teachers whose perceptions fell under each theme and the number of supporting passages.

Table 7

Summary of Head Teachers Perceptions Related to Sexuality

Major Theme	Sub Theme Level 1	Sub Theme Level 2	% Head Teachers (Passages)
Sexuality	Menstrual Periods	Shyness Among Girls	76.9 (16)
		Absenteeism During Periods	61.5 (18)
	Eating	Reluctant to Eat with Boys	100 (30)
		Influence of Peer Group	76.9 (12)
	Riding Bicycles	Advantageous for Boys	61.5 (11)
		Girls Don't Ride Bicycles	92.3 (22)
	Unwanted Pregnancy	Carrying out Medical Exam	69.2 (22)
		Discovering Pregnant Girls	61.5 (08)
	Tight Security for Girls	Provision of Dormitory Facilities	76.9 (32)
		Division of School Compound	61.5 (09)

The theme of menstruation periods. Findings from the data indicate that head teachers responded to the theme of menstruation periods for girls. Girls' behavior at school was influenced by menstruation periods. For instance, girls often tied sweaters

around their bodies during their periods. Head teacher 04 observed the practices of girls regarding menstruation periods:

Many of our girls here have a tendency, and I think even the boys are annoyed; we have a school sweater, we have a skirt so when they have their period, they are over-conscious that maybe, eh! Their skirt will get soiled, so they tend to put the sweater on top. And it's a light skirt. So I think every boy who sees a girl having a sweater there just thinks she has a period, although she could be having a soiled skirt by some other means. Now like the senior fours you know when I was briefing them, we had to talk to them like teachers and they raised this issue because we were saying that during examinations time sweaters are not allowed. So they were saying that 'Madam, so when we are having period what shall we tie?' ...Some of them when they have their period they don't come to school and when you ask, they tell you that, 'I have painful periods, so I cannot go to school. (04:101)

Because menstrual periods affect the learning of girls, head teachers provided training to teachers for how to handle girls, particularly males. As head teacher 06 explained:

I don't know whether this is affirmative action; indeed, we tend to be all over. We train our teachers to be very understanding, so that if a student ties a sweater round her waist one doesn't just jump and tell her 'Remove it' because it is not a school uniform.' We've told the men that you go carefully because that a girl might have a problem and she may have a problem and some of them may inform the female teachers once they have a problem. (06:148)

Emotional and cultural norms tied to menstrual periods make girls miss school during their period. Seven head teachers expressed the problem of girls' absenteeism due to their menstrual period. For instance, head teacher 03 noted, "So that boys don't look at it as menstruation being something which is peculiar to girls and also the girls, they become frustrated when they get their menstruation whereby they stay home" (03:27). Several health and physical factors contribute to girls' persistent absenteeism, including menstrual cramps, pads and toilet facilities. Head teacher 01 gave her experience with girls, when she explained, "They have those menstrual cramps and those, and some of

them actually they have a lot of pain that they ask to go home, some they miss their lessons. At times, girls without sanitary towels miss school” (01:119).

Young girls sharing toilets with men and older girls is also a frustration during menstruation, whereby staying home becomes a solution for the girls. For example, in 10 schools girls use pit latrines that are located in the same building as the boys’ facilities. Head teacher 08 explained the case, “Students here share the same toilet, but they have the same number of stanzas. The toilets, one side is for boys and the other side is for girls” (08:71). Head teachers think that allocating stanzas per gender is appropriate but one building may not serve the privacy young girls need in heavily populated urban schools. A stanza refers to a room for a toilet.

Thirteen schools supplied no toilet paper or sanitary towels for girls and only three schools had running water inside the toilets. Head teacher 08 observed, “We even had a bathroom at one time and there was a shower, but we had to take away the shower because the children, the girls were very excited about it and most of them used to spend most of their time going to bathe” (08:71).

Shyness among girls during periods and absenteeism could also be worsened by the age level, which was ranging from twelve to twenty five and above among boys. It may be true that girls fear to share toilets with adult men such as policemen admitted as students in schools. For example, head teacher 03 admitted a policeman to her school. As she reported the policeman said: “I’m ready to come and to abide by the school rules, I’ll wear my uniform and whatever” (03:161). So he came. Head teacher 03 noted: “People didn’t know him until they found him at the station in uniform working, but he was here

as a student. He is now at Makerere University” (03:162). Most likely girls are shy to go to school during their periods and attend class with a wide age range of boys and girls.

Handling menstrual cycles is one of the problems that limit the education of girls in schools. It is a problem mainly because of the poor school facilities such as toilets that do not meet the needs of girls. Toilets lack running water, toilet papers, pads and are very far from the classrooms. Younger girls are uncomfortable sharing toilets with students of different ages, particularly men. These circumstances related to menstrual cycles affect girls’ well being in coeducational schools and increase their absenteeism.

The theme of eating for girls. Students in day secondary schools get their meals from school. Unfortunately, girls do not want to share meals with boys. All 13 schools experienced this problem where girls reject food if they are to sit with boys. Thus, food is received through the cafeteria system and eating takes place from classrooms. Head teacher 01 explained:

Those seats that you do see are basically for the girls. When we admitted girls during the very first year in senior one, they complained that they had nowhere to eat from, so we put up some semi-permanent seats. But as time went on, we found that the boys occupy the seats and the girls go elsewhere to sit. So we were thinking of putting up, maybe, a dining hall like an amphitheatre like the one that is in Kitante Primary School. Before we do that the problem will remain...But the girls they don’t mix, okay, we understand when someone is in their periods, they are reserved. During normal times we encourage them to mix, but some don’t. (01:241)

Head teachers did not know the actual reasons that make girls dislike food that is served with that of boys. Some head teachers thought it was a cultural issue. As head teacher 06 reflected, “That kind of thing we tend to get it out of them. It is a kind of culture, they don’t want boys to see them eating” (10:150). Some head teachers cannot

explain the reason why girls do not mix or share food with boys. This experience of the head teachers can be reflected in the comment of head teacher 09:

You will, we have a problem with girls. We have a problem with girls. They shy away when there are boys; maybe, boys also harass them that they eat a lot. Because even when we give them their own line they don't line up with boys ...And I really don't know what it is all about. We have been chasing them to go and eat, sometimes me or the deputy have been forcing girls to go down there and eat. Once we found a girl almost collapsing and the girl hadn't eaten lunch. (09:244)

While it was unclear why girls do not want to share meals with boys, some head teachers perceived the problem was reinforced by peer pressure. Peer pressure makes girls avoid food and very often they do not want to be seen eating some type of food thinking that it is bad. For example, head teacher 05 told her experience with the girls, "Eating is a battle here as well. Girls eat gently. What we try to do is to tell them that it is good to eat. We have some girls eating but not as many as it should be. It is an adolescent issue. Girls want to reduce [their] size and look nice" (05:134). Head teacher 03 narrated a similar story to that of 05, "So I have to explain to them so I don't think the problem was fearing to eat with boys, but the problem is that of crazy thinking that for them girls should not be known to eat much" (03:247). Head teacher 07 summarized the case of peer pressure and girls' eating:

Actually, the girls have to be counseled by the school woman teacher. They always tell them the advantages of having a balanced diet, but you know, girls when they are teenagers, the peers, they tend to think that they have to maintain their figures and they feel that the boys will laugh at them if they eat a lot or that kind of thing and they even mind about the kind of food, or they will be seen eating. (07:195)

The theme of bicycle riding. In the urban districts of Kampala and Wakiso, students walk to school, use a taxi, or ride bicycles. Head teacher 05 gave an example of her school, "For Makerere College School, students either get a taxi or walk to school."

In several other schools boys ride bicycles to school. As head teacher 01 observed, “So if one has a bicycle, then that eases the transport problems. There are very many boys in this school who ride bicycles to school” (01:223). Bicycle riding for students to school is important because schools are located far away from students’ homes.

In the culture among the Baganda, where Kampala and Wakiso are located, girls do not ride bicycles. Concerning culture and bicycle riding for girls, head teacher 01 noted:

No, we haven’t because culturally, I know even here, in the environment where we are, girls don’t ride bicycles, although in the Eastern Uganda girls do. At least East and North I’ve seen girls riding bicycles. But here, it is not encouraged culturally, and again, I think the risks of riding on these busy roads of Kampala, parents wouldn’t encourage it. Boys are bolder; they can go through traffic easier than girls. (01:229)

Parents fear their daughters riding on busy roads in the urban areas because during socialization in families, as girls grow, they are not given training to ride. Yet, boys are given toys for riding from childhood. Head teacher 05 nicely elaborated on this aspect of gender socialization, “For instance, during child play, boys are given cars to drive and girls dolls made out of banana fiber. So boys get used to riding when young. Boys can drive cars [and] can climb trees, but girls fear to fall” (05:125).

Several norms and values are tied to bicycle riding for girls. For instance, the norm that fathers do not share their bicycles with girls was also observed by head teacher 09 who noted, “As you know, our culture as you are saying, they get these bicycles from home, from their parents and parents have not given bicycles to girls... (09:226). Head teacher 03 described in depth, the norm where girls are not allowed to share a bicycle with their fathers or male guardians when she says:

Me, I don't see anything wrong with that, except maybe, as still culture dictates, you find that around here it is easy to buy a bicycle for a boy and sugar for a girl and secondly, when a boy also sees the father's bicycle can take him to school, the father won't say no while he would say no to a girl. (03:221)

Girls experienced many problems that effect their learning and school performance due to the cultural norms that limit girls' access to bicycles to ease their transport to school. Girls get tired of long walks to school and some end up getting favors from taxi drivers and motorcyclists ("bodaboda") and end up prostituting or getting unwanted pregnancy. The issue of "bodabodas" and their influence on girls is observed by head teacher 12 who explained, "... but the girls walk and walk and in the walking they get 'the bodaboda' men to help then and it has become a very big problem because many have dropped out of school with pregnancies of 'bodaboda' men" (12:107).

Girls desire to solve problems such as transport to school, money for buying needs like pads, and food to eat. In the process of pursuing their needs, girls from the urban poor schools face dangers of getting pregnant while still at school. This gender regime does not affect boys. Following is the data on sexuality and unwanted pregnancy.

The theme of unwanted pregnancy. Eight head teachers indicated that they had found a pregnant girl in their schools. Unwanted pregnancy is categorized as a gender regime because it basically affects girls, but it is also an emotion because it affects girls' bodies as a result of sexuality (Connell, 1987). For this study, girls in secondary schools get pregnant because of unavoidable circumstances. As head teacher 10 explained:

Maybe, for other girls the problem has been pregnancies. Those who are used to having them, even the other time we had such a case, they would have loved to study, but they find themselves pregnant and so they have nothing to do but to drop out of school. They would have loved to study but there is a way that they are taken up by such circumstances. (10:95)

Girls face problems related to pregnancy because parents fail to provide needs for the students. Head teacher 03 commented on this point, “Many parents because of income and lack of responsibility they do not care about catering for the girls’ needs, for example, they do not provide pad for menstruation periods and money for buying pants and petticoats” (03:98). Head teachers thought that parents supported more of their natural children, yet for this study most students were being helped by their guardians. In support of this argument, head teacher 04 noted that, “...also of students being sponsored by guardians because a guardian would give priority to his biological children...Most of the students in this school do not stay with their natural parents” (02:87). Head teacher 01 relates the problem to poverty:

You know we have a variety of students. We have students from upper families, then we have middle class then we have students from low status families as well. I think these factors may differ in affecting each of these groups. Okay, in that most of our students come from the low income groups and you find that even at home they do not even have food as I have already told you, some of them don’t even have money to buy books or uniform[s], so as teacher [when] a student approaches you, you try to help in any way you feel you can. You can buy them a ream of paper and you can buy, yea you can buy them a ream of paper.

Since girls lack the basic necessities to take care of their lives, they look for help from men and, in the process of looking out for their own needs, girls become pregnant.

During a conversation with head teacher 08, she noted:

So child prostitution is one of the major hurdles undermining girl-child education in the peninsular areas of Lake Victoria, as girls fall prey to soldiers. Girls especially from low income families’ walk out of school for soldiers who they think will better their lives, by providing material and substance needs. The problem with parents around here is that they do not care for the needs of girls. Parents think that the cost of living for girls is high, so it is better to focus on family needs such [as] providing paraffin and food for the family. (Dialogue 08:30)

Head teacher 08 also explained that unwanted pregnancy led to constant abortions because of the successful sex industry near her school. She said:

At least every two weeks or less a fetus is found in the toilets. Even today as you were coming in the office, a nurse came to tell me that there is a fetus in the toilets of about four months. So the sex industry is a problem to girls in this school. (Dialogue 08:32)

Apart from risks of getting pregnant due to circumstances like ignorance and looking after their needs such as school fees, girls are not happy with the issue of medical exams that enforce another type of gender regime in coeducation schools. Seven head teachers carry out a medical exam to discover the pregnant girls while boys do not experience medical examinations. A medical examination for pregnancy is a torture for girls. Head teacher 06 noted:

I said, but girls don't make themselves pregnant. It's we who put them through that psychological torture so I discouraged the whole thing of medical examination. If you find a case that is suspicious, we would rather take that case to the clinic quietly and they verify and then we call the parents and we find a way forward. (06:166)

Also girls do not want to be singled out. The medical exam, which may discover pregnant girls, puts them to a court system where parents of the affected girl are invited to school for counseling. Yet, for boys responsibility related to pregnancy is a rumor.

Head teachers realized that girls get unwanted pregnancy due to circumstances they experienced like ignorance and lack of needs that support their life and schooling. For these reasons, head teachers embarked on providing tight security for girls, as a strategic vision for making the education of girls equal to that of boys in their schools.

The theme of tight security. Thirteen head teachers talked about the need for security for students, especially girls. Among the issues that pertain to the need to protect girls is the concern that girls will be taken advantage of sexually due to various social

hazards they encounter on their journey to and from school. These hazards include harassment from peers, walking long distances, and risk related pregnancy, and family practices (Colclough, Rose, & Tembon, 2000; UNICEF, 2004). Head teacher 09 observed, “And also this is a day school and I feel girls are victims of circumstances more than the boys” (09:94). Head teacher 11 agreed that giving more security to girls than boys is an accepted norm that the society at large is accustomed to. She noted:

I think it is the culture in Uganda thinking more of the girls’ security. You find that when boys grow up, let’s say, they become teenagers, straight away they are put in the boys’ quarters and then the girls are left inside the house. And a boy can remain outside the home after seven whereas a girl can’t. A boy can enter even at nine and there won’t be any questions. Even by observation we have more street boys than girls; that is how the problem comes about. (11:144)

Parents fear that their girls may get pregnant or be infected by HIV/AIDS. They seek for girls’ protection. Head teacher 05 described the problem of HIV/AIDS, when she said, “We have got to teach students assertiveness, even the girls because today with this HIV/AIDS, if the girl continues with traditional mentality, people take advantage of you, so you have got to know how and when to be assertive” (05:154). Long walks to school are another critical hazard where girls get bad influences. As head teacher 10 explained, “We tell parents, ‘at least give them one way transport so that they don’t look for people who can give them lifts or even someone can volunteer to give them transport but with ulterior motives” (08:71).

Similar to the head teachers above, head teacher 01 supported the need for protecting girls using various strategies when she said, “Maybe, the answer would be to put up a girls’ hostel because there are many parents, especially at O Level, who come and realize the school is day who opt to take their children to boarding schools...” (01:162).

The gender regimes of sexuality are important in considering equal education to boys and girls since it constitutes both the cultural and the natural dimension of gender that deals with students' bodies. The next section presents data on gender regimes related to power and authority in coeducational secondary schools.

Power and Authority

The fourth theme regarding the perceptions of female head teachers relating to gender regimes is power and authority. Power and authority refers to the distribution of responsibility in a school. It also refers to the influence of those who have the power in the teaching of boys and girls (Daft, 2002). Head teachers have administrative power in schools but also parents have power to make decisions for the education of their children. Table 8 shows patterns that emerged from the theme of power and authority.

Table 8

Summary of Head Teachers Perceptions Related to Power and Authority

Major Theme	Sub-Theme Level 1	Sub-theme Level Two	% Head Teachers (Passages)
Power and Authority	Teachers	Sharing of Responsibility	92.3 (26)
		Supervision of Responsibility	53.8 (19)
		Impact of Personality	69.0 (13)
	Students	Receive Good Training	76.9 (17)
		Facilitation of Leadership by Teachers	61.5 (10)

The theme for teachers. Sharing responsibly in this study refers to teamwork or delegation in accomplishment of school duties. Female head teachers mentioned various

ways in which responsibility was shared. Head teacher 10 gave her example where she shares responsibility with teachers:

As a head teacher you find that at times there are other duties to carry out, parents are waiting to see you, you have work to do and the teachers also have a lot of books to mark so when you have a lot of work to do you can't carry out other duties as well. When we delegate such duties, we find that the administration of the school runs smoothly and even so the school can run without you, that is in your absence and also your staff tend to trust you more. (10:33)
Head teachers believe that when duty is shared management of the school is

better. Head teacher 01 commented on this point saying;” Anyway, I feel relieved because I can't do all the work myself so I delegate and delegation is one of the ways one can manage an institution and perform well. So I delegate to the director of studies...” (01:22). “We had a workshop for the Principals... our slogan was ‘WUNTU.’ We live because of others, ‘no man is an island.’ It is a big school, you can't manage it alone, you have to work with others” (09:51).

Head teachers suggested that they do not lose power to their teachers during responsibility sharing because they supervise their subordinates, thus they maintained their administrative power. Head teacher 13 noted:

In fact, everything going on in the school is the role of the head teacher, but a manager who does not delegate will make other people redundant and will not be training other people into leadership...and when you delegate you don't have ‘hands off’ and if you are to supervise anything then you won't teach...You don't even have time to do anything. And he does not supervise alone, he has a team because also he will never teach if he is doing the supervision part of it, he will be moving from class to class so that is why you have a team and we divide classes too and delegate them to a particular individual of the team and it's also an administrative team. (13:35)

Head teacher 09 also agreed that supervision of teachers is maintained as duties are accomplished in secondary schools of Wakiso and Kampla districts. She elaborated on this point saying:

No, we have divided role[s]. Each person has his or her role to play. We have to use the division of labor and of specialization. We as administrations, we delegate, but we must keep an eye on them, we must supervise them. So you can't give it to them and become a spectator, I sometimes use the word 'visitor/tourist' in management. You must be on the ground, you delegate, you give them all the powers and the authority to do the work but you keep an eye on them. You supervise them because you must be having a target and that target must be fulfilled and that target you don't arrive at it alone, you must sing with other people, we exist because of others, you can't sing alone.

Head teachers responded on the issue of power and authority noting that the personality of head teacher matters. Head teacher 04 gave this example: "I just thought it was because of their personality, because as I see those ones who fail to do their work, they were even doing it when the Head Teacher was a male teacher" (04:23). Also head teacher 08 noted that, "What I've discovered it is personality that matters...In Uganda, we have different tribes and different cultures, at times some men feel in their own culture that the women are supposed to do this and that..." (08:24).

The theme for students. Head teachers defended themselves that they do not lose their power because they feel they give students good leadership training. Head teacher 10 elaborated on this point, saying, "...we want these student leaders to practice leadership. We are actually grooming them to be leaders and we give them authority, but we coordinate, because if we leave it unchecked they can misuse it" (10:37). Head teacher 01 also noted; "There are teachers on duty who can let students go out, or other teachers... We have serious leadership training in this school" (01:37). Head teacher 07 observed.

We educate them about their rules and we do hold seminars and we even call people from outside to come and facilitate the seminars and we as members of staff educate them as to what we expect them to do as leaders. Good enough here, most of the students leaders come from A Level and then the assistants head prefect comes from O Level, you know, some of these children have come from

schools where they have had very good administration, others are coming from our school here, and they have been in those positions of responsibility. (07:36)

In this study, head teachers shared responsibility with teachers and students. Head teachers assumed that they do not share power with students because teachers facilitated students' leadership. The next section presents data on the students' facilitated leadership.

Head teachers noted that they do not share power with students because their participation in leadership is facilitated by teachers. Facilitation leadership refers to a situation where students accomplish their leadership duties in the presence of a teacher leader such as deputy, counselors, dean, director of studies, or the teacher on duty. Head teacher 05 gave an example of facilitating leadership in her school:

We have proper rules and regulation in this school. They know the kind of sanctions they can issue... We usually have teachers on duty to work with students... You need to sit with the student leaders, retrain, talk to them, but not on assembly. So when there is a problem with their fellow student, then they should come to the person concerned, the teacher on duty, or the senior woman or the deputy headmaster or the dean of students depending on the section of administrative level [that] direct students. (05:35)

Head teacher 03 also supported the point that head teachers do not lose their power to students due to good leadership training. She commented, saying:

In the first instance, when we elect these prefects we orient them, we have seminars for them ... So that when there is a problem with their fellow student, then they should come to the person concerned, the teacher on duty or the senior woman or the deputy headmaster or the dean of students. You know, there is so much decentralization of power in this school that they wouldn't fail to get anybody to handle the issue, before they put it in their own hands. (03:50)

Regarding this study, power and authority also come to play through the kinship structure and affect the education of students, particularly girls' education. For instance, guardians such as aunts withdraw girls from school to get married. The head teacher of school 02 told a story where a girl was forced to marry, "She was staying with an aunt,

she confided in me saying that, I'm unable to attend school because my aunt is forcing me to get married" (02:89).

Responses to Question One concerning perceptions about the gender regimes show that female administrators perceived gender regimes related to family culture, school culture, sexuality, and power and authority. All the four categories of themes were related to gender relations presented in Connell's model (2002) of gender regime. These gender relations include the production, patterns of emotions, power and authority, plus the symbolic relations. Family and school culture yielded patterns that fell under the production relations, namely school fees support, loads of housework, girls' negative attitudes towards science, and punishment.

Themes related to sexuality held particular importance to girls, including patterns of emotions, menstrual periods, eating, riding bicycles, unwanted pregnancy, and tight security for girls. Teachers and students were under the relation of power and authority. There were six themes related to patterns of emotions compared to four themes that fell under the production relations. Head teachers expanded the themes related to the production relation to that of patterns of emotions.

Head Teachers' Strategies for the Gender Regimes

Question Two of the study sought to identify what changes female administrators hoped to make in the gender regimes in order to achieve equitable learning for boys and girls. The question had four major sections:

- 1) What are the changes head teachers wish to make in the gender regimes?
- 2) Why do they want to make these changes?
- 3) How do they intend to make these changes?

4) What do they believe their role and functions are in making these changes?

Increasingly female administrators, also referred to as head teachers, have been hired to lead government-supported co-education mixed/day secondary schools because national education and policy leaders assumed they would perceive gender regimes or patterns of gendered relationships (Connell, 2002) as part of their vision for improving schools. These leaders also expected that female administrators would target and develop strategies to promote a more fair and equitable education for both boys and girls. This section will present the changes in gender regimes female administrators wished to make, the strategies they will use, and the roles they will function in to achieve conditions that support equitable education for boys and girls in their schools.

Changes Head Teachers Wish to Make

With the second research question, the investigator sought to understand the changes female school administrators hoped to make in the gender regimes in their schools. Major patterns emerged that described targeted changes. These changes were related to housework, school fees, subject choice, menstruation, unwanted pregnancies, girls' eating, and tight security for girls. In particular female head teachers wanted to change the culture of parents and guardians to help them understand that the education of all their children, let it be a girl or boy, is important. Head teacher of school 09 indicated her concern for improving education for girls:

You see, in homes they still think that education should be for boys. Plus the culture in Uganda... So those of us who have studied who have really confided here and there, we feel the girl child should be given equal opportunities. So these ones, you find there are two children from the same home, or family, you find that they have already paid for the boy, so we also keep on giving a chance to the girl child. (09:72)

All head teachers had the big picture of changing the culture of parents at the family level. Specifically they wanted to influence parental preferences to the education of their children. Head teachers wanted parents and guardians to learn to value education for all their children, so that all their children could be motivated to learn. Similar to head teacher 09, head teacher 08 also explained:

So we encourage them that if you have two children here let them have equal opportunities. Pay one bank slip for the girl and then one bank slip for the boy so that they can both stay in school at the same time and then when you get more money you complete their fees and then try to look everywhere trying to motivate both of your children. (08:73)

Apart from changing the culture of parents concerning their attitudes toward the education of boys and girls, head teachers wanted to change school culture whereby the standard of education of girls may be equitable to that of boys. Head teacher 05 elaborated on this issue:

Girls have a lot of problems that destruct their learning. If you compare the performance of boys and girls at O Level, you find that boys out shine the girls. At the ages 13 to 16 girls are strangling with a lot of adolescent problems, they are struggling with their menstruation periods. (05:134)

Why Head Teachers Want to Make These Changes

Head teachers sought to establish strategies for changing gender regimes because, as the results for Question One revealed, gender regimes related to family and school culture limit the progress of students, specifically that of female students. Head teachers therefore, consider girls as vulnerable. At least 61.5 % of the total number of head teachers considered girls as vulnerable. For example head teacher 04 explained:

You know the girls are more 'vulnerable' so where there is scarcity, if you have enough you give both, but if there is scarcity, we decide that let us begin with the girls first and then we shall go to the boys, but right now we are fencing the whole school. (04:113)

Head teachers who consider girls as vulnerable or disadvantaged often give more space to girls and allocate more resources to girls. For example, during a conversation with head teacher 12, she said; “We have been extending the girls’ dormitory since girls are more vulnerable” (12:30). Head teacher 13 also favors girls because they are vulnerable:

Both the boys and girls have a boarding section, except that the boys normally because they are stubborn we are not to increase or expand on their dormitory facilities and not many parents would want their dormitory extended because they know they can buy a bicycle and they know they will not be raped on the way”. You know, so it is the girls’ dormitory that we are expanding. So it’s the role for me to admit those in need and to make sure that it’s well administered and not to be abused. (13:124)

Apart from considering girls as vulnerable, head teachers thought that girls needed compensation due to circumstances they face that are related to family culture, school culture and sexuality by providing them better resources (“good things”) than those provided to boys. Head teacher 04 explored this type of strategy:

I think the facilities we have here are for both boys and girls and when we are here we tend to be a little bit like, when it comes to girls when we are considering the flush-toilet that we got went to the side of the girls. I think the good things should go to the girls first. Even when you look at the parents when they consider taking their girls to maybe a boarding school, they first want to check the facilities for girls. Parents are very particular about the girls’ well-being. They want to see that the facilities for the girls are really good... But where they still lack the necessary facilities, we cannot provide for both. The flush-toilets we have given to girls then the boys will get later. (04:107)

Those head teachers who view girls as vulnerable often favor girls with their administrative practices by providing them extra resources. Head teachers think that giving girls extra resources will help them to achieve equal and fair education like boys. For instance, head teacher 05 increased space for girls by applying affirmative action:

Then for senior one and two were discovered that girls are not as good as they should be. So we have strategy for bringing more girls to school so that the school population is not too much boys but should have enough girls as well. We have a scheme of affirmative action for girls. We give two girls and one boy

every year as long as they score an average mark of eight... Remember that they have to be in [a] community of males that allows them to study so during admission we gave to allow an affirmative action to increase the number of girls in the school. For instance, the cut of point was 15; we lower the cut off point for girls by taking them at higher aggregate level. (05:84)

Head teachers in various schools recognized girls as vulnerable. Thus, they sought to give girls protection against risks such as harassment and sexual abuse. Head teacher 06 ensured girls from being harassed by boys. She explained:

There was at the beginning some teasing by boys, but we have tried to fight that, even yesterday as I was driving out of school and I saw some big boys trying to force a girl to give them her bag of books and they were doing it so violently. So I stopped and talked to the boys and then the boys were saying, "You know she was refusing to take her books and we were forcing her to take them." So I said, You should have left them with the gate-man and asked her to collect them from him. And then the teachers also have come in very strongly and tried to protect the interests of the girls and we have made it clear that once they feel they have been unfairly treated they can always come and report to any of us. (06:93)
Also these head teachers who name girls as vulnerable take care of the security of girls.

A notice board displayed at school 09 is an example. It read, "No girl is allowed to stay in the school after 5.00 pm". The display reflects strict protection for girls that categorizes them as vulnerable. Female head teachers who recognize girls as vulnerable felt that they were hired to be responsible for girls and they exclude boys from the strategies they use to achieve equity. For example, head teacher 03 made a declaration on her first day at the school: "I have been hired in this school to help girls. Girls in this school have been abused both by the community and teachers" (03:53).

Some head teachers make strategies to change the gender regimes to promote equitable education by merit, trying to help both girls and boys. Head teachers have tried to achieve this category of equity through sensitization. Head teacher 08 talked about this kind of equity, "What we have done really is to sensitize the parents that poor students

had to have equal opportunities like other children, be it Science...there's nothing like in saying we are charging less for girls, like Makerere is doing to include girls with 1.5 scores (08:73). Head teacher 03 explained the importance of supporting girls and boys, saying:

The experience we have seen is still tailored around that girl child being vulnerable, so she has to be protected: she has to be guided, she has to be looked after, she has to be loved, and yet we have also found that the boy child is also vulnerable. The result is that the boy child is endangered. If we are going to emphasize the girl, the boy is also going to be taken care of. He is also getting traumatized because of neglect. You know, he is stressed. We are not looking at it, but we found out that really, we had concentrated where, but we are now saying, 'let us also look at the boy child, let us not look at one side, and let us look at them as 'bonna baana!''(03:110).

“Bonna baana” is a Luganda phrase that means boys and girls are all children. If they are the same, they need the same treatment. Head teachers who advocate this philosophy for achieving equitable education have gone ahead to care for the learning and well being of boys; a head teacher of school 02 gave this explanation, saying:

The only, I don't think I would call it discrimination, but...with pressure from the boys, that you know, where we are residing, it is very far and the environment isn't very good because there is a lot of noise. So we created a small facility to accommodate about 15 boys with the school. So whereas I am a female head teacher, here I have not tended to lean on the girls alone. I have tried to show both girls and boys and everybody that they all matter, irrespective of the sex. So when we operate our votes it's general. (02:121)

Most of the head teachers favored girls but head teacher 09 compensated boys by giving them more time for learning than she gave the girls in her school. The head teacher of school 09 regarded boys as vulnerable, saying:

For me, I allow boys, these are the male students to study, to read up to eight in the night and by this strategy that I am sure it should be an encouragement to them, that should compensate for the 1.5 points for girls at University. (09:94)

Similar to the head teacher 09, other head teachers tried to respond to the needs of boys. However, the strategies designed to improve the well-being of boys were not clearly defined, and were only proposals. Head teacher 07 elaborated:

Well, it is implementing, but the policy I'm initiating now is having all the boys on this compound. You know, they are renting out there, paying less money... But what I want to discourage is people renting their own rooms, there is no parent out there to look after them and also they go out and watch films, we don't even know what type of films, the way they spend their evening hours and weekends nobody knows. So we want to encourage the parents or guardians who send them to these hostels to bring them to our compound here and they all start residing here in the dormitories at school. (07:134)

The analysis indicates that head teachers recognized the gender regimes that existed in their coeducational schools. These gender regimes were related to family and school culture, sexuality such as menstrual periods for girls, and influence and control. Head teachers perceived that these gender regimes tended to be a greater disadvantage to girls than to boys. Thus, they considered girls as vulnerable. Considering girls vulnerable encouraged head teachers to design strategies that favored girls instead of establishing strategies that will lead to the improvement of girls' and boys' learning.

How Head Teachers Intended to Make These Changes

Since head teachers feel that girls are disadvantaged in their learning, they establish strategies regarding changing the gender regimes in favor of girls to facilitate the improvement of their schooling. These strategies emerged from the emic data and fell under strategies for housework, school fees, subject choice, menstruation, unwanted pregnancies, girls' eating, and tight security for girls. Table 9 presents a summary of head teachers' strategies to change gender regimes in their schools; it shows the percent of head teachers whose strategies fell under each theme and the number of supporting passages.

Table 9

Summary of Head Teachers' Strategies for Changing the Gender Relations

Main-Theme	Sub-Theme Level 1	Sub-Theme Level 11/ Strategy	% Head Teachers (Passages)
Family Culture	School Fees	Head Teachers Favor Girls	76.9 (28)
		Bursary (tuition) Schemes	84.6 (13)
	Parental Education	69.2 (11)	
	Housework	Dormitory Facilities for Girls	84.6 (29)
Parental Education		53.8 (23)	
School Culture	Subject Choice	Motivation	100.0 (40)
		Counseling	100.0 (53)
		Give Equal Opportunity	84.6 (27)
Sexuality	Menstrual Periods	School Provides Pads for Girls	76.9 (16)
		Counseling	100.0 (58)
		Hire Female Counselor	100.0 (40)
	Eating	Sensitization	100.0 (30)
		Supervision	76.9 (12)
	Unwanted Pregnancy	Counseling	100.0 (54)
		Hire Female Counselor	100.0 (49)
		Hire Male Counselor	92.3 (31)
	Tight Security for Girls	Extension of Dormitory Facilities	76.9 (21)
		Division of School Compound	61.5 (09)

Strategies for school fees. Ten head teachers established strategies in favor of girls to create a strong environment to advance their learning. That the strategies were mostly focused on girls emerged from the data, including a grace period for girls to pay fees, paying fees in installments, bursary schemes tied with affirmative action for girls, and parental education.

Basically, head teachers struggled to create a path for changing gender regimes to improve learning. For this study, 100 % of the head teachers' strategies favored the education of girls. For instance, head teacher 09 noted, "But when I'm collecting school fees and when we are almost winding up the term, I'm more lenient to the girl child, like this man who has just been here, if that student was not a girl... (09:166). Using similar strategies, head teacher 10 was also lenient to girls by advocating for a grace period for girls to pay their fees. She said:

We do something for them. When a parent comes to us to excuse himself, we give him a grace period to allow him to pay. Because here, the parent has come to explain that "let me pay for this one (the boy) and I'll pay later for the girl. (10:101)

Head teachers continued to be lenient to girls in their administrative choices in order to create a path that enabled needy students, such as girls, to finish their fees and stay in school. For instance, some head teachers revises the banking system by utilizing a pay system, based on several bank slips. Head teacher 09 elaborated on the scheme:

They keep on paying in installments so when one pays with one bank slip at the beginning of the term, one week after we let them in for the first three weeks, then after that we give them another bank slip. Those ones who clear, we give them clearance for the rest of the term. Then when they clear another one, we say deadline for two bank slips is here, deadline for three bank slips is this one and that encourages most of the students to pay school fees in time. (09:148)

Head teachers, together with the board of governors, established bursary schemes (tuition) to support the education of students. Findings showed that 100 % of the schools included in the study have bursary schemes. Although these bursaries are supposed to be competitive, female head teachers utilized them to help girls through affirmative action. Head teacher 02 observed, “Every term, two students, a boy and a girl who, score an average of 80% in senior one up to four are given a scholarship. These students must be one boy and one girl” (02:5). The model required a boy with a score of 80% to be dropped in favor of a girl. Head teacher 05 utilized a similar model of affirmative action, but two girls and one boy benefited from the scheme. She explained her scheme:

We have a scheme of affirmative action for girls. ‘We give two girls and one boy every year as long as they score an average mark of eighty.’ We give the best students a bursary for a year equivalent to tuition of fees of a day scholar. We have an affirmative action for girls because girls do perform as boys during primary seven examinations. So it is a strategy to bring in more girls so that the enrollment of boys is not too high compared to that of girls. Even during admission of students at both O Level and A Level, we have an affirmative action as a strategy to create more space for girls. (05:136)

Sharing challenges and determining solutions to the problems is not a responsibility of head teachers alone. Head teachers educated parents so that they could make good decisions to support the education of all their children. Concerning this issue head teacher 03 commented:

Yes, we are educating the parents, for example this school has what we call class days and they come specifically; each class has a day when parents visit the school. They come to be addressed on educational issues. We share with them and they also share with us. We talk about how we can help each other and we try to explain, supposing out of 30 days the child misses 10, do you see how you are pulling him or her backwards. Some of them have begun to understand. They are trying to explain that they have to look for some money, but their money isn’t being utilized fully. (03:134)

Head teachers not only encouraged parents to take part in the decisions concerning their children's education, but they also advised parents to treat girls in the same way as boys, so that they can both get education. Head teacher 09 explained, "When we get meetings I even tell the parents that they should first pay for girls because in between home and school, they get so many problems, especially when they are moving without other students" (09:178).

Head teachers established strategies to change the gender regimes. However, they faced challenges. One of the main challenges head teachers faced is that of students when they lost their parents. For instance, head teacher 01 explained:

They are really challenges that affect us and are general to all like challenges of school fees, where students drop out of school because they lose their parents and this affects both boys and girls and then another challenge maybe, some students not having meals, apart from those we give them here at school (01:15).

Strategies for housework. The influence of housework on students' learning is a great puzzle to head teachers because it involves shifting students from their homes. Yet, coeducational schools are designed as day schools. However, using private funds from their school, with some cost sharing on the side of parents, head teachers negotiate with parents to extend dormitory facilities to students. Head teacher 04 explained her change efforts regarding housework:

Many times with girls we find out that when they go in the evenings they have no time because they have got to do housework in the eveningsIn fact, with senior fours now, I have to intervene seriously. I have to tell the parents that at our own cost we are going to withdraw these students and bring them to the hostel at the cost of the school because if the child comes late every day because he must do work at home and yet the child is a candidate, he doesn't have time. (04:97)

Both boys and girls are subjected to housework but the establishment of the boarding school was more helpful to girls since the boarding school reduced housework

for them. Head teacher 12 commented, “We have put up a hostel; it’s relatively cheap for the girls” (12:113). Some head teachers, such as 08, focus on both girls and boys. Head teacher 08 explained, “We have a hostel for the girls and a hostel for the boys and we give them the opportunity to be members of the hostel” (08:79).

Parental education, that is provided through guidance and counseling, is vital in raising parental awareness concerning their children and responsibility toward housework. Head teachers used general staff meetings, board of governors meetings, and class days to talk to parents. Head teacher 07 explained:

In this school, we invited parents and educate them about their responsibility in relation to parenthood. The deputy in charge of administration and welfare she is very good in that. She is very good at guiding and counseling the parents and guardians, even those stepmothers she has cooled some. (07:122)

Head teachers involved parents and guardians in decision making concerning the education of their children in order to improve learning. For instance, parents were taught the importance of supporting girls’ education through fees payment, provision of their daily needs, and limiting the amount of housework that is required of female students. In order to provide equal education to students, head teachers made strategies in favor of girls.

Strategies for subject choice. Strategies for subject choice included the policies female head teachers established as solutions to the negative attitude students may have toward certain subjects, particularly Science and Math. These strategies included motivation, counseling, and equal opportunity to help students make the appropriate choices. These strategies were intended to arouse students’ enthusiasm to venture into subject areas they were reluctant to take. Particularly, at the O Level, students are helped to respond to a school curriculum where taking Sciences is compulsory to boys and girls.

Head teachers developed strategies to motivate students to learn and to make good subject choices. Motivation refers to the various administrative techniques head teachers apply in teaching and learning to boost school performance and to let students choose subjects they would like. The different strategies include teachers' encouragement, utilizing role models, telling the future benefits of a subject, and providing rewards. In all the different types and levels of motivation, teachers' encouragement plays a great role. Using NVivo software, 100% of the head teachers mentioned the critical role of teachers in motivating girls and boys to learn. Data concerning motivation and Science is presented in the next section.

Head teacher 05 mentioned motivating students by encouraging them to achieve the dream of their future. A future dream refers to a subject of interest, and the future career of students. She noted, "We encourage them to take the subjects of their dream... if your dream is to become a doctor, certainly you have got to do biology [and] you have to do chemistry and physics" (05:51). Particularly, boys and girls achieve subject choices of their dreams when teachers and administrators motivate them by telling the future benefits of subjects and future careers that are marketable. As head teacher 02 explained:

Well, when they come for admission, we look at the grades at O Level and when we see that there is some strength in Science, we encourage them to do these combinations and we give them knowledge about the prospects that would come out of these combinations. These combinations, PCB [and] PCM, have got a lot of outlets, like Nursing, Engineering. There is radiography which is quite marketable these days, so when we look at their grades and we tell them 'but you are fearing Sciences but you have got the potential for Sciences and when you actually sensitize them on the prospects that actually accrue out of these subject combinations they actually accept, they do take them on... Because we are trying to fight the attitude that girls cannot do the subjects, cannot do Sciences, cannot do certain things, but we are saying, 'All girls can do everything'". (02:49)

Teachers' encouragement reduced students' negative concepts and perceptions towards Science. Head teachers 01, 06, 12 and 13 all agreed that the encouragement of teachers motivated students to do Science and Math. For example, based on her experience with students, head teacher 04 commented, "So the encouragement of teachers matters a lot. I would encourage even girls to venture in the Science subjects. Especially where they have the ability, I think they should be allowed to venture in those areas" (04:58). Similarly, head teacher 13 noted, "So even here I have encouraged my students even the boys can do as well as the girls and the girls can do as well as the boys; but the personal attitude is what matters and that makes a difference" (13:50).

Head teachers perceived that inviting role models external to the school to sensitize students that Science is doable has been a successful strategy in motivating them to choose Science. Role models, such as former female students (called old girls) who are scientists, help students understand that both girls and boys can learn Science and that both sexes can benefit equally from Sciences. Head teacher 08 gave an example:

Also we bring other people from outside, I wouldn't call them facilitators, but role models to talk about those subjects and we have at one time done a topic 'To Demystify Science' and we talked to the S4s and S6s so that we could show them that Science isn't very difficult and other people can do it and show them other methods which can soften the subject. We organize talks about the advantages of taking those subjects which students consider to be hard and their disadvantages, to show students that they cannot really run away from these subjects because they are helpful. (08:59)

Head teachers also thought that providing role models who specialized in Sciences motivated girls to choose these areas of specialization as their future career. Head teachers propose that hiring female teachers in Sciences and Math would motivate girls to choose Sciences and to improve on their performance. Head teacher of school 06 observed:

I talked about role modeling. They need to see more women scientists, more women getting to do engineering and doing Science subjects even in the working world and I think it is coming. There are more female veterinary doctors, female forest officers, and medical doctors and so on; but even on the job, they need to see more lady teachers teaching Science subjects because in a school like ours, we have got two out of a department of, well the ratio is 2 to 5 or 6, so they are very few. (06:66)

While head teachers thought provision of role models was important in reducing negative perceptions regarding Science, rewarding students has also played a critical role in motivating them to study Sciences. Head teacher 02 elaborates on the framework of her reward system, “Some girls have won this scholarship and they are very sharp in these subjects and they are role models to the others, thus, encouraging other students to join the Science combinations” (02:49). Head teacher 08 added, “Even when we have contests like Math contests, if they perform well, we give them either a Mathematical set and probably a certificate...to encourage them towards that subject” (08:52). Some head teachers supported students by providing the intrinsic motivation to students to enhance their learning. For example head teacher 05 explained, “Even every term we read out the names of good performers on the school assembly. At the end of every year we give letters of recognition to students who excel academically if they have been consistent” (05:75). Head teacher 08 explored the need for intrinsic motivation:

By the way, apart from giving these students gifts at assembly we announce them so that their friends feel it's something worth it, standing at the assembly and receiving your present from the head teacher and being recognized is an action of encouragement to students. (08:59)

Head teachers provided guidance and counseling in order to help students overcome their negative attitudes towards subjects such as Math and Science. Thirteen head teachers utilized guidance and counseling to help students make choices leading them to their dream. Head teachers, teachers, and the whole learning community work

together to help students make good choices. Head teacher 01 commented, “We try to have a career guidance and counseling department and we try to encourage them. We ask class teachers to act as mothers or fathers and also talk to them and encourage them” (01:55). Similarly, head teacher 03 added, “Yes, we have assigned the teachers. We have assigned all teachers a particular number of students to counsel... and guide them, and through this counseling I encourage them to be open and still through counseling we come to be aware of their problem” (03:103). Head teacher 10 also felt that guidance and counseling had been a good strategy to help girls study Sciences. She observed:

We have been encouraging our girls in career guidance classes and inviting scientists like doctors and engineers, etc. to address them. When they come to talk in what we call “Career Guidance Talks” they encourage them and thus change their attitude towards Science subjects. With that one we have so far succeeded from these talks and you find that there are some girls now who are taking Science subjects. (10:57)

Head teachers endeavored to provide equal opportunity for students to enroll in all subjects. Using their experiences, head teachers perceived that students, especially girls, could study Sciences if they are not denied the opportunity. In this study, equal opportunity refers to both same and fair (Stromquist, 1989). Head teacher 08 supported this argument in her comment, “Someone can do anything as long as he has the interest; he has the self-esteem; he has the talent...So given the same opportunity, even being motivated, I think they can compete well using the same curriculum” (08:46). Head teacher 13 also supported the view that boys and girls could perform well in a wide range of subjects if they were given the opportunity to learn those subjects.

Individuals and individuals, not as boys or girls and helping them do what they can do according to ability not because they are a female or male, but according to ability...If a boy is good at Home Economics I give them a go ahead and do Home Economics. If a girl is good at Carpentry why not do it? So it's according to ability and encouragement is that all of us are made in the same image of God.

If we are made in the same image of God we are the same apt brainy ones and I take an example of my own children where people think that girls don't do Math, I told them, 'no, actually girls can do Mathematics because Mathematics is the same as any other subject.' Even Science is the same as any other subject, what matters is your attitude. (13:50)

Several methods were used in schools to encourage girls to take Science subjects including different levels of motivation, guidance and counseling, and provision of role models in various subjects. Even if girls seemed to dislike Sciences, they were given equal opportunity like boys to make choices. This strategies have given girls great opportunity to find out their potential in Science and Math.

Strategies for helping girls cope with menstrual periods. The major strategy for menstruation periods for girls is counseling that is accomplished by hiring female and male counselors. All thirteen head teachers hired female counselors and 12 head teachers hired male counselors. Some schools hired more than one female counselor depending on the enrollment of girls. Following are examples of responses on hiring of female and male counselors. Head teacher 01 observed:

Okay, we have a counseling department. It has three male teachers and three female teachers. Then we have two senior male teachers, female senior teachers, they are two, and then overall counseling department. Sometimes you feel a girl will need a lady counselor and so on and vice versa. (01:168)

Most of the thirteen schools had female and male counselors apart from school number

11. In regard to counselors, head teacher 11 commented:

But we don't have a senior male teacher. Senior women teachers are recognized everywhere, but the males are not there. We have a senior woman teacher and maybe for the girls not for the boys. Counseling for boys is done by the disciplinary committee headed by the first deputy. (11:131)

The reason for hiring a female and male counselor was to help boys and girls become aware of conditions related to menstrual period and their natural lives. Head

teachers thought that if girls understood their menstrual periods, they could protect and take care of themselves. The head teacher of school 05 explained that she developed menstrual awareness through a gender desk:

I established a gender desk and activities of the gender desk are very helpful. The gender desk is where teachers, the senior man and senior woman teacher cater for the needs of girls and boys. Girls and boys have to be protected. We want girls that are strong, that are positive, and that are assertive. (05:84)

Since students in Kampala and Wakiso were from poor families, parents failed to provide for their needs. To help girls that get unexpected menstrual periods, head teachers provided pads of toilet paper to students through the senior women teachers. Head teacher 01 explained, “Okay, here we treat them the same, except maybe for girls because of their nature of being girls. We buy sanitary pads for them, toilet papers...basins and because of the fact that they need these things” (01:125). Head teachers also counsel parents so that they may provide for girls needs. Head teacher 12 explained; “We have invited parents several times to talk to them to tell them the way to treat girls, because you know, they are different. For example, the girls need pads. We tell the parents to provide pads...” (12:154).

The need for school administrators to sensitize and educate parents on providing for girls’ needs was a major strategy among female head teachers in Wakiso and Kampala districts. Head teacher 08 summarized:

Some of our parents previously were not bothered about catering for the girls’ needs. For example, some of them when they are coming to school some of them don’t even have pads when they start their periods. They say ‘we had to come in and provide at least for the first day. But some make it a daily habit to go to the senior women teacher to ask for a pad and at close interview you find that actually the girl has nothing at home, but maybe they have not made provisions for her on that and it’s dangerous. If you don’t provide girls’ needs, a man who is willing to start a relationship with your daughter would give it and will actually steal the show with just about 2,000 shillings every month and yet you spend thousands of

money to pay the fees and it's not worth it. So we had to educate the parents to see that they cater for that. (08:71)

The key strategy used by female school administrators to address menstrual periods was counseling. Students and parents were both counseled. In some schools like 05, boys and girls received counseling in a mixed environment. Female head teachers felt that boys should learn the natural life style of girls. In most cases counseling was done by gender. Parents were specifically informed of the importance of providing necessities like pads to girls. Provision of girls' needs for the menstrual periods was still a problem in Kampala and Wakiso secondary schools when data for this study was collected.

Appointed female counselors and the female head teachers did more counseling compared to male counselors. Following are data concerning eating, another observed problem for girls in coeducational environments.

Strategies for eating for girls. Thirteen head teachers observed that making girls eat the desired food was a struggle in coeducational schools. The whole learning community gets involved in encouraging girls to eat properly. Table 10 summarizes the strategies head teachers used to encourage girls to eat properly.

Helping girls eat properly was accomplished through effective supervision and sensitization of students, which was the role of guidance and counseling departments. Head teachers perceived they involved all stakeholders of their schools, including teachers, matrons, and female counselors. In this endeavor, stakeholders monitored girls' eating to track those who did not eat—at times, even forcing them.. A main strategy used by counselors and teachers was to educate girls on the importance of a balanced diet and to counsel girls to help them self-reflect to understand why they did not eat properly. In spite of all these efforts, some girls still resisted; their reasons were unknown.

Table 10

Summary of Head Teachers' Strategies for Eating for Girls

Stake Holder	Method	Interview quotation
Teacher	Supervising	And the good thing is that teachers also stand there, the teachers on duty are always there to make sure that they get their food and we don't have a dining room... you can go to the classroom ... (05:136)
Matron	Roll Calling	Here, what we do is when we get a problem, we call the matron and we put all names on the sheets. Then we ask the matron to name those that don't eat, or those who feel that they shouldn't eat... or some think that if they eat it will be a shame... Then when the matron gives us the names, we decide to deal with them. (11:210)
Deputy	Forcing	We have been chasing them to go and eat, sometimes me or the deputy have been forcing girls to go down there and eat (09:244).
Head Teacher	Sensitizing	In our circumstances here I think for eating I would still say the bottom line is sensitizing, asking oneself 'Why don't I eat enough?' Sensitization about one's rights, self-esteem, and self-confidence" (06:140).
Senior Woman	Counseling	Actually, the girls have to be counseled by the school woman teacher and we are lucky that the women teachers we've had have been biologists in this school and they always tell them the advantages of having a balanced diet, but you know, girls when they are teenagers, the peers, they tend to think that they have to maintain their figures and they feel that the boys will laugh at them if they eat a lot or that kind of thing and they even mind about the kind of food they will be seen eating... you have to keep some time for counseling them in class. (08:140)

Strategies for unwanted pregnancy. Similar to the strategy for dealing with menstrual periods, guidance and counseling played a great role in protecting girls from unwanted pregnancies. All 13 head teachers utilized the strategy of guidance and counseling and female and male counselors played a major role. Data indicated that 61.5 % of the head teachers had had at least one pregnant girl in their school. Girls found pregnant were counseled because head teachers thought pregnancies occurred out of ignorance. Head teacher 10 explained, “When you talk to them you find that some of these girls get pregnancies through ignorance because they are still young ... we tend to counsel them with their parents and when they need a recommendation they come for it (10:108).

Head teachers talked to girls on a daily basis to limit the dangers of unwanted pregnancy. They assumed that prevention was better than cure. The head teacher of school 06 explained how she handled the case of unwanted pregnancy:

Maybe, before I get to that, we have resorted to the belief that ‘prevention is better than cure’ to peer counseling but also counseling in general, creating awareness that boys and girls co-exist and do a lot of constructive activities together, without necessarily seeing each other as sex objects, and it has worked. Because there was a time when you could hear about pregnancies, but now you hardly hear about them and if a girl knows the consequences, they keep themselves away from such boys. (06:122)

Through medical checks, head teachers could identify girls who were pregnant. So the affected girls were counseled together with their parents. Counseling both the girls and the parents helped avoid abortions and school dropouts since head teachers encouraged parents to take their daughters back to school. For example, head teacher 11 explained:

We first counsel the girl to find out when the pregnancy was and find out who is responsible, then we call the parents and then we counsel the parents. Because

some of them react so badly when they find out that their girls are pregnant, we counsel the parents and urge them to take care of the girl and so on. Then we hand over the girl to the parents. In counseling the parents, we normally tell the parents that after this girl has produced, take the girl back to school, but in this particular school it will be very difficult to readmit that same girl because she is known by all the other students. The girl has to stay home for at least a year. We tell them that after the girl has delivered, we can give her a recommendation that she was in our school and that we recommend that she goes to another school to continue with the studies. At least that I have been telling that to most parents that they should allow the girls to continue with their studies. (11:247)

Responses show that head teachers played a great role in preventing girls from dropping out of school. Some head teachers such as 04 used professional counseling to help parents understand the need to take their daughters back to school after delivery. She said:

In case a girl is found pregnant, her parents are asked to report at school. The head teacher with the help of the senior woman teacher does the counseling. After the student is taken to Naggulu Youth centre by the head teacher for more counseling. After producing, the girl is advised to register again in any school. (04:198)

Counseling was the main strategy head teachers used to change gender regimes related to pregnancy. However, they felt that changing gender regimes that related to young girls was difficult. Head teachers 01 explained:

That can be possible, anything can be possible with a day scholar, but we try as much as possible to counsel them. We talk to them at assembly, we talk to them. The senior lady teachers talk to them class by class because their problems are different, and even the counselors. We try as much as possible, but still, you know, you talk, some listen, but others don't, because of age, but we know that they are at a difficult age, they are prone to temptations from men, here at school itself the students, the teachers and the workers here and outside on the roads and also relatives. (01:135)

Unwanted pregnancy for girls challenged head teachers. Head teachers perceived girls got pregnant through ignorance; they needed help from the administrators. Often girls were vulnerable because they looked for men to support their needs for sanitary supplies and transportation. Thus, tight security for girls was required.

Strategies for tight security for girls. For this study head teachers assumed that girls were more disadvantaged than boys; thus, most of the strategies ensured tight security for girls. The basic strategy for ensuring security to students was the boarding school. Head teachers and parents agreed that putting students in boarding schools prevented interruptions like accidents, pregnancies, and peer pressure that affected learning. Head teacher 13 described the boarding school:

They have both boys and girls, but they have given to the boys, but some of these come from very far, and some of the girls don't come from there as most parents have put them in boarding section. We have a boarding section, which has more girls than boys, so some parents have protected their girls from walking long distances by bringing them to [the] boarding section, which is different from the boys. The boys are brought to the boarding section because they are stubborn. (13:100)

Head teachers brought both girls and boys in the boarding school, but they tightened the security of girls by means such as fencing. Head teacher 04 commented, "Like now, the compound is so large, I couldn't fence the whole thing, but I have made sure around the girls' hostel I have put a wall with a gate. But for the boys, the boys sleep this side..." (04:67). During the end-of-year general meeting, head teacher 05 stated, "We like to embark on changing for the project of constructing a girl's hostel on the school site to accommodate 500 girls in second term 2007." Also head teacher 11 noted, "I would say that they have the same facilities because they eat the same food, except that I would say that the boys are fewer than the girls in the boarding section" (11:102). Table 11 summarizes the number of boys in dormitories compared to girls.

According to Table 11, in the eight schools that have a boarding section, more girls are boarded than boys. In school 07, which has more space for the boarding section,

there are 956 girls and only 178 boys. Head teachers were interested in increasing space for more girls in order to tighten their security.

Table 11

Distribution of Boys and Girls in Boarding Sections

School	Boys	Girls
04	34	89
05	362	400
07	178	956
08	14	26
10	97	185
11	96	120
12	30	60
13	50	77
Total	861	1913

Head teachers encountered problems as they attempted to change gender regimes.

Land was a problem to most schools in the central part of the city. For example, head teacher 05 was faced with land problems in building dormitories for students. She commented:

We got problems with the land, it was a block piece of land and we didn't have a land title so we gave up the idea of putting up a hostel for girls. Maybe, after we have built more classrooms because right now our major aim is to put up a classroom block, a storage building actually and more offices. We lack.....space (01:56)

The analysis indicated that head teachers understood the gender regimes that existed in their schools. Head teachers tried their best to address them so that boys and girls achieved equitable education outcomes. Strategies aimed at achieving equitable education mainly favored girls. Strategies for improving education for boys are very few and are not clearly established. The following section presents data on the role head teachers felt they played in changing the gender regimes.

Head Teachers' Perceived Roles in Changing the Gender Regimes

Question Two, part D, sought to discover what female head teachers thought their roles were in changing the gender regimes. Changing gender regimes at the institutional level encompasses the head teachers' vision in creating a culture for change. In order to facilitate the desired change, female head teachers shared responsibility with teachers, deputies, director of studies, parents, students, and the community. With this administrative model, participants facilitated change in the gender regimes. Table 12 indicates the roles female head teachers perceived they played in this process; they served as implementers, coordinators, supervisors, program designers, role models, trainers, counselors, motivators, and sense makers. In these roles, head teachers used questionnaires to solicit information and established and staffed gender desks to counsel and guide boys and girls who grappled with eating, subject choice, and school completion. To design, coordinate, and supervise programs, head teachers used their expertise and experience to delegate responsibilities and then provided seminars and refresher courses to help faculty acquire the skills required fulfill their responsibilities.

Head teachers also advised and motivated staff members, students, and parents by making informational presentations and discussing gender issues with parents, teachers, students, and other stake holders to help them make sense of patterns of gender relations that may place students' education at risk. Head teachers were key change agents in addressing learning inequalities created by gender regimes at play in schools.

Table 12

Summary of Head Teachers' Roles in Changing Gender Regimes

Role	Interview Quotation Defining the Head Teacher's Role
Implementer	Passed out a questionnaire to find out... [if] school community were interested in caring for the needs of both girls and boys... The gender desk was established...for gender issues in the school. (05:64)
Coordinator	The senior woman and senior man work directly with the deputy head mistress...but I <i>co-ordinate</i> because there are gaps. One of the things I did, was be a senior woman teacher...and underwent training in several fields ...I <i>guide</i> the on going activities. (02:183)
Supervisor	We delegate, but we must keep an eye on them. So you can't ... become a spectator...you must be on the ground. (09:51)
Program Designer	I help them to draw programs, particularly for girls... and I show them that 'this is how you should go about it. Then I sponsor the senior woman and senior man to go for refresher courses. (02:185)
Role Model	I try to be a role model ...I inspire them to want to lead and to show them confidence... and using one's brains and the gender issues come in later. I encourage the senior teachers and senior mistresses to talk to them [students] about self-esteem, about confidence, about assertiveness, about being sensible, looking at boys like peer learners [who] can enhance their capability to learn. (06:42)
Trainer	I organize seminars for them... [For training] outside the school ...in leadership, guidance and counseling, I let the teachers go. (03:179)
Counselor	But for me ...whenever I talk to them that issue doesn't miss, I just tell them that...even women of today have to work... you could [not] say that, 'for me let me go and relax because so and so is reading for me,'...today girls and boys must work equally hard. But I talk to them generally because many of our students are poor. (04:85)
Motivator	[I]encourage even girls to venture in the Science subjects ... where they have the ability ... they should ...venture in those areas. (04:58)
Sense maker	Yes, I believe they have responded because even that talking when the children know that you have tried to help and then the stepmother knows that you are aware, the schools are aware they try their best. But during a general meeting you can talk generally. (07:128)

The Extent Gender Regimes Are Central to Strategic Goals

Question Three of the study states: To what degree are gender regimes central to the strategic goals of female administrators? The extent to which gender regimes are central to strategic goals of the female administrator refers to a case where recognizing and changing the gender regime are part of the vision for the school. If the gender regime is part of the school vision, then strategies for changing them can be developed and implemented to achieve equitable learning.

In this study, female school administrators did not provide responses about gender regimes and how they related to strategic goals. Instead, female administrators identified gender regimes that existed in their coeducational schools. Table 13 shows schools that were included in the study and the gender regimes female administrators perceived.

Table 13

Summary of Head Teachers Who Perceived Gender Regimes

Gender Regime	Schools												
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Production Relations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Patterns of Emotion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Power and Authority	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Symbolic Relations (cultural dimension)	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		

Note. The + sign means that a school responded to the corresponding gender relation.

Table 13 shows that all 13 head teachers perceived gender regimes in their schools. The analysis of data indicated that 100% of the head teachers perceived gender regimes related to production relations such as school fees, heavy amounts of housework for girls, girl's negative attitudes toward Science, and punishment. All 13 head teachers perceived gender regimes that related to patterns of emotions with issues related to girls' discomfort during menstrual periods, bicycle riding, eating for girls, and getting unwanted pregnancies. Ten head teachers perceived gender regimes related to symbolic relations, which relates to cultural issues that influence the production relations, power and authority, and patterns of emotions.

The analysis indicated that female administrators developed strategies for changing the gender regimes toward equitable learning for boys and girls. Table 14 shows the female head teachers who had developed strategies for coping with specific issues related to themes categorized under the gender relations that they had perceived under Question One.

Table 14 shows that female administrators had developed strategies that were intended to transform gender regimes related to the production relations and patterns of emotion. The strategies they developed to solve gender problems related to production relations such as school fees and heavy amounts of housework, also addressed these gender issues in the power and authority relations. The existing data do not provide evidence as to the effectiveness of these strategies in changing the gender regimes that female head teachers recognized. The effectiveness of strategies used to change the gender regimes in coeducational urban secondary schools needs further study.

Table 14

Summary of Head Teachers with Strategies to Change Gender Regimes

Schools													
Strategies	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Production Relations													
School Fees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Housework			+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+
Subject Choice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Patterns of Emotions													
Menstrual Period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Eating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Unwanted Pregnancy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Tight Security for Girls				+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+

Summary

Chapter Five presented data that fell into different patterns of gender relations. These gender patterns included those related to 1) the production relation including practices related to school fees support, housework, subject choice, and punishment; 2) patterns of relations including menstruation periods, eating for girls, bicycle riding, unwanted pregnancy, and tight security for girls, 3) power and authority. Responses on school fees payment and girls' negative attitude towards Science were expanded by female head teachers more than other themes. This data also reflected that more boys than girls took Foods and Nutrition, traditionally viewed as a girls' subject.

More themes fell into the gender relation of patterns of emotions compared to those falling in the production relations including menstrual periods, eating for girls, unwanted pregnancy, bicycle riding, and tight security. Menstrual periods, eating for girls, and bicycle riding were the unexpected themes that head teachers reported as limiting education for girls. Gender relations grouped under patterns of emotions affect girls' schooling since they concern their bodies, creating risks that prevent them from getting an education that is fair and equitable to boys' education.

Findings show that female head teachers had developed a range of strategies to overcome these gender regimes related to learning inequalities to improve secondary schooling. During this dimension of gender relation, head teachers developed more strategies related to menstrual periods for girls than for other themes. However, most strategies were planned to benefit the education of girls and to let them stay at school. Female head teachers understood equitable education as evidenced by efforts to improve girls' education. Because female head teachers considered girls most vulnerable, they may be constructing gender regimes in mixed sex secondary schools. If equity in schools was to be achieved, female head teachers proposed that girls' learning should be improved. Most strategies benefited girls' education.

Achieving equitable education in urban coeducational secondary schools was complicated by interferences from family culture where girls' education was less supported by parents through fees support compared to that of boys. Additionally, giving girls heavy loads of housework increased their absenteeism. These factors most likely influence the poor academic performance of girls and limited their chances for completing the desired academic level. Even if head teachers worked hard to improve

girls' education, family culture which seemed to limit their education, appears unchanged. Therefore, gender regimes related to family culture remains among the limiting factors to the achievement of equitable education in urban coeducation secondary schools.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This study investigated female school administrators', also referred to as head teachers, perceptions of the gender regimes in coeducational urban secondary schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts in the country of Uganda. Qualitative findings provided insight into female head teachers' perceptions of gender regimes, the changes they hoped to make, and their current strategies for altering the gender regimes towards equitable education to improve schools.

In order to achieve the intended purpose, the researcher addressed three broad questions:

- A. What are the perceptions of female school administrators regarding the gender regimes operating in their coeducational school in Uganda?
 - a. What are the gender relations of power and authority in their school?
 - b. What are the gender relations of production in their school?
 - c. What are the gender relations of emotion in their school?
 - d. What are the gender symbols that reinforce these three types of relations in their school?

- B. What changes do these female school administrators hope to make in the gender regimes in their schools?
 - a. What changes do they want to make?
 - b. Why do they want to make these changes?
 - c. How do they intend to make these changes?

d. What do they believe their role and functions are in making these changes?

C. To what degree are gender regimes central to the strategic goals of these female school administrators?

This chapter summarizes findings from the analysis of data, which were presented in Chapter Five. In order to provide a logical analytical inquiry, findings are discussed in line with the questions of the study, literature was related to major themes of focus, and Connell's (2002) model of gender relations provided the framework for the study. Conclusions and recommendations for further research are provided.

The discussion presents three key findings. First, female head teachers of coeducational urban secondary schools perceived the gender regimes and their related inequalities in their schools that could potentially marginalize equitable education for girls and boys. Second, these female head teachers have developed a range of strategies to overcome these gender regimes and their related learning inequalities, thus increasing the likelihood that students' learning would improve. Third, none of the 13 female administrators indicated that gender regimes were part of their strategic vision. However, they did perceive gender regimes in their school that fell under the production relation, patterns of emotions, power and authority, and designed strategies to address them.

Discussion of Question One

Question one examined the perceptions that female head teachers had of gender regimes in their schools. Connell's 2002 model will be used to discuss the gender regimes perceived by female head teachers in the Kampala and Wakiso secondary schools. Connell (2002) defined the gender regimes that exist in a school as a "pattern in

gender arrangements” (p.53). He applied four dimensions of gender relations to describe and understand gender in organizations such as schools. These dimensions include production relations, power relations, patterns of emotion, and symbolic relations. Each dimension of gender relations creates specific constructs which enhance the assessment of gender inequalities that exist at different levels in a school—the cultures and social structures of schools. The female head teachers in this study perceived gender patterns that fell into all four dimensions of Connell’s model. Each dimension will be discussed in light of the relevant female administrators’ (head teachers’) perceptions related to gender regimes in their coeducational schools.

Production Relations

According to Connell’s model, production relations concern the division of labor in a school. The division of labor is linked to elements such as national curriculum, instructional practices, assessment procedures, and the subjects students choose for their future career. Data related to the production dimension of gender was revealed by themes related to family and school culture. These gender issues included norms, values, assumptions, and practices related to school fees support, housework, subject choice, and punishment.

Findings showed that female head teachers perceived that production relations play in coeducational schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts. Using their administrative experience 76.9 % of the head teachers identified that parents preferred paying for the fees of boys to that of girls. Parent’s excuses such as “*I’m first paying for the boy fully, the girl can wait*” (10:101) was an accepted norm among parents yet, it limited the progress of girls’ learning since they suffered from absenteeism. In addition

to these findings, head teachers were aware that parents in Kampala and Wakiso gave support to the education of their sons more than they do for their daughters.

These findings were consistent with other findings in African culture where the education of boys is more valuable than that of girls (Colclough, Rose, & Tembon, 2000; UNICEF, 2004). Parental preference for boys' education is a cultural value in Sub-Saharan Africa where boys are expected to create better returns to education than girls (Wilson, 2004). During her case study concerning women in higher education in Uganda, Kwesiga (2002) found that parental preference at the family level played a great role in the enrollment of girls in post primary education. Also Arnot (2000), in the study of gender relations in schools, noted that cultural values at the family level determined the extent by which equal education could be achieved in schools. A study of policy reforms and daughters in Vietnam by Belanger and Liu (2004), suggested that sons and daughters do not have the same status in the family, making the education of daughters more vulnerable than sons'.

Parental preference for supporting the education of boys to that of girls is inconsistent with the views of modern economists who believe female education is of more benefit to society than that of men, specifically in Africa where the education of girls is devalued (King & Hill, 1993; Schultz, 2002). In this study, parents used family resources to support the education of boys, since boys' education was expected to result in higher benefit to the family.

During situations of financial crisis, boys can work and support their fees while girls do not. This factor further puts the education of girls below that of boys, since boys are expected to have better skills for work than girls. Since Wakiso and Kampala are

urban areas, boys find jobs in several places such as building sites and petrol stations. Girls are expected to work in the private sphere while contributing to family support in the form of unpaid labor. This claim was supported by a study by UNICEF (2004) where researchers discovered that women and girls in African families take the large share of unpaid labor.

Similar to the findings of UNICEF (2004), this analysis showed that girls were subjected to heavy loads of unpaid labor in the form of housework compared to that expected of boys. Data indicated that 84.6 % of the head teachers perceived that girls were more affected by housework than boys. At the family level, members of the family thought that girls had traits that make them fit for housework. The assumption was that girls are “*obedient and they do housework better than boys*” (07:52). With these assumptions parents and guardians thought that involving girls in family support in the form of house work was of more benefit than educating the girls. On a regular basis, girls were removed from school to tend younger siblings, look after the sick members of the family, protect the home, or perform daily domestic activities such as cooking.

At least 53.8% of the head teachers reported that stepmothers reinforced gender roles related to housework because they assigned their own family obligations to girls. This way, stepmothers retarded girls’ learning more than that of boys. The issue of stepmothers and housework is a critical gender regime to girl’s education because of the family structure in Uganda. In Uganda the culture allows polygamy for men, therefore many children are raised by stepmothers (Mirembe & Davies, 2001).

Since girls are often overloaded with housework, they do not get enough time to concentrate on their studies. Often girls miss school and that may lead to poor

performance. This condition is supported by assumptions regarding gender roles described by Hez and Sperling (2004) that society expects males and females to play different roles in a society depending on the division of labor in a family.

Curriculum and pedagogy was another critical area in these coeducational schools where different elements enforced patterns of gender that result in learning inequalities. All the female head teachers perceived that girls did not want to take Science and Math, especially at the advanced level where Sciences were optional. In Uganda students at the secondary level are required to follow a national curriculum where every student is supposed to take all the Science subjects including Math. Despite the national efforts to give girls an opportunity to take Science related subjects, thus draw them out of the traditional gender roles that encourage girls to stay in the private sphere, data showed that girls rejected Sciences.

The view that girls in coeducational schools do not want to study Science and Mathematics is common in many countries especially in Africa (Finn, Dulberg, & Reis, 1979). Assie-Lumumba, (2000) and Sperandio (1998) observed that girls' negative thinking about Sciences and Mathematics is a colonial culture created by the British educators who set the curriculum in Africa, allowing girls to take arts and music, but discriminating against their participation in the physical Sciences, including Mathematics. Internationally girls have displayed lower achievement in Science and Mathematics compared to boys in coeducational schools (Finn, Dulberg, & Reis, 1979; Lee & Lockheed, 1998). Girls tend to think that science related subjects are for males.

Head teachers observed various reasons why girls had more negative attitudes towards Science and Mathematics than boys. For instance, girls were discouraged by

their teachers who thought girls had no ability to perform well in science related subjects. Often girls were confused with peer group thinking that completing science courses may make girls “ancient” because the science curriculum takes longer to complete than the arts curriculum. In Uganda, most Science and Math teachers were males (Kajubi, 1992) which disadvantaged girls because they lacked role models to encourage them.

Researchers claimed that girls preferred taking the traditional feminine subjects such as Home Economics, Fine Arts, and Music (Assie-Lumumba; Hez & Sperling, 2004; Lee & Lockheed, 1998). However, in this study, head teachers of mixed secondary schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts perceived a change in culture. At least 76.9% of the head teachers reported that more boys chose Foods and Nutrition (Home Economics) at the advanced level of their secondary schooling. The majority of head teachers said this cultural shift was due to the changing job market in Uganda where boys want to be managers in hotels. Concerning the gendered choice of subjects in Uganda, Mirembe and Davies (2001) reported a deputy’s explanation of Foods and Nutrition: “Home management is sewing , cookery , washing shirts, and keeping the home [for girls]. Foods and Nutrition is technical and is for boys” (p. 408). At the ordinary level, Home Economics was referred to as Foods and Nutrition which is considered technical and for boys.

Preference for Foods and Nutrition was observed more at the advanced level where students take specialized subjects which lead to university admission. Observing the pattern students followed in registering for subject combinations, boys took Foods and Nutrition to successfully compete for good courses in public universities where girls are offered a bonus of 1.5 marks.

Similar to curriculum and pedagogy, rewards and punishments reinforced the division of labor in schools. Head teachers gave different punishment to students. Head teachers gave girls punishments that were related to what they do at home. They gave boys punishments that were viewed as hard and more masculine, such as chopping firewood and leveling anthills; whereas girls were given tasks such as mopping the classrooms. Harder punishments were given to boys because head teachers described them as being either greater offenders or more aggressive than girls.

In the context of Uganda, literature on punishment and gender is still scant. Mirembe and Davies (2001) studied about gendered patterns of discipline in coeducational schools where girls are being given tough discipline to ensure their security. Little empirical research has been reported on the types of punishment that are given to boys and girls in coeducational schools.

Power and Authority

Female head teachers recognized gender patterns that related to the dimension of power relations in Connell's Model (2002). The power relation is concerned with the distribution of authority in an institution. Looking at the family as an institution, power may refer to the relationship between those in authority and their subordinates such as sons and daughters (Mirembe & Davies, 2001). For this study, mainly gender regimes related to the power relations as it related to students' learning emerged from the production relation at the family level.

Analysis of data on themes related to school fees that fell into the production relation, revealed that those who are traditionally in authority at the family level, such as fathers, aunties, and other guardians to students, determine the education of students. For

instance, male guardians, who work and have control over the resources, preferred supporting the education of boys over girls. In Uganda and Africa, in most countries the bride price creates wealth to a family (FAWE Uganda, 2003). Related to this argument, Jeanne-Marie (2001) noted that in East Africa where bride wealth is still important, the education of girls is not valued like that of boys. Those who have the power such as fathers and aunties prefer selling the girls as an economic good. Thus, power dynamics in a family determine the status of girls' schooling.

At the school head teachers are responsible for the leadership of students and teachers thus, they have the power. Of the 13 head teachers, 92.3 % agreed that power was highly shared among teachers and students. However, 53.8% of the head teachers thought that they maintained their power because they supervised their subordinates.

Students also share responsibility with teacher leaders. Findings showed that 76.9 % of the head teachers said that their power was shared with students due to the good training students received in their leadership orientation. Also 61.5% of head teachers assumed that they maintained their power because students' leadership was heavily facilitated by teacher leaders. Although head teachers claimed that power was not shared by students and teachers, the claim might not be true because through student interaction with teachers to accomplish certain school purposes, teachers may be sharing power with students unconsciously. Especially, when duty was delegated to male teachers or students who may construct gender regimes unconsciously, through the "doing of gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Patterns of Emotions (Sexuality)

Gender patterns of emotions played in coeducational urban schools, particularly creating a disadvantage in girls' schooling. The gender relations of emotion in a school related to issues concerning sexuality (Connell, 2002). Elements concerning emotions included menstruation periods, eating for girls, bicycle riding, unwanted pregnancy, and tight security for girls.

Patterns of gender related to menstruation periods were critical in this study because of culture at the family level, the economic status of parents, school facilities, and the age level of girls. The age level of students in secondary schools ranges from twelve years and above.

Head teachers reported that menstruation periods affect the learning of girls because it leads to absenteeism. Since girls missed school repeatedly, their school experience became more limited compared to that of boys. This finding led to the question of why girls missed school during their periods. Results revealed that parents usually do not meet girls' needs in that they lack the basic supplies for protection such as pads. The results for the production dimension of gender relations indicated that parents had a preference for boy's education whereby the needs of girls remained inadequately provided unmet. Ten of the schools included in this study served students from poor families. The income in these families is so low that they may not attend to the needs of family members particularly, the daughters. When girls lack soap or water for clean uniforms, they decide to miss school.

A study by FAWE (2003) reported that sanitary protection for a girl may cost Sh 2000 (US \$1) yet income for poor families may be Sh 20, 000 a month. FAWE also

reported that buying sanitary protection means a monthly spending equivalent of four radio batteries or enough paraffin to last a family for a month. An important factor to note is that in Uganda and Africa generally, males control the budgets of the family whereby they are likely to exclude the needs of the girls (Kanyike, Akankwasa, & Karungi, 2004). Kirk and Sommer (2006) noted that in sub-Saharan Africa, issues related to menstruation are kept secret from the male members of the family such as the fathers, uncles, and cousins. Therefore, guardians are not likely to budget for sanitary protections for girls. This knowledge is consistent with the research of (Belanger & Liu, 2004) who suggested that improving girls' schooling can be achieved by addressing poverty.

Results demonstrated that toilet facilities in coeducational schools were not sufficient for girls' needs. Data indicated that 84% of the schools included in the study had no running water and toilet paper. The researcher observed that schools had only one pit latrine and the same building was shared among boys and girls. In most schools these toilets were located far from the classroom and had unlocked doors. Above all, girls seemed to be uncomfortable sharing toilets when the age levels of male students range from twelve to twenty-five and above. Because of these limitations in toilet facilities, many girls stayed home during their menstruation periods (Jearne-Marie 2001). Kirk and Sommer (2006) mentioned that girls who attended school may be uncomfortable because of lack of adequate latrine and water supplies to comfortably change their pads and to wash themselves in privacy.

Cultural practices and fears tied to menstruation make girls uncomfortable at school. Many of the girls who attended school tied their sweaters around their bodies the whole day when they experienced their periods. Head teachers reported that girls feared

accidents in the presence of boys. In Africa, menstruation for girls is tied to elements like guilt, evil, dirty, harmful, or lethal to the public (Kanyike, Akankwasa, & Karungi, 2004; Kirk & Sommer, 2006). In some families, girls are stopped from touching food or using public toilets. These factors may account for why girls tied sweaters around their bodies or stayed home during their menstrual cycles.

Girls who have sweaters tied around their bodies mixed with other students on the school compound, but they isolated themselves from sitting close to boys when they were inside the classroom. Male teachers were restricted by the school administration to touch any girl with sweaters around her skirt. This disciplinary action raised questions concerning how male teachers in coeducational school handled girls who tied sweaters around their skirts during classroom instruction.

During national examinations, the problem associated with girls' menstruation becomes critical because items like sweaters are not allowed inside examination rooms. National examinations in Uganda usually run for a month with two or more examinations taken a day. Therefore, menstruation periods might be a limiting factor to the performance of girls during national examinations, especially at the ordinary level where examinations have a long duration.

Unwanted pregnancy was another gender regime that reinforced learning inequalities in schools. Several factors contributed to unwanted pregnancy among girls including the fact that their needs such as fees, transport to school, books, pens, uniforms, and good clothing were not adequately met. In the process of looking for men to provide their daily needs, girls get pregnant. These findings were consistent with those of other studies where forced prostitution and trafficking have been reported among girls as they

seek men who will provide for their needs. Girls struggle to support themselves especially in regions where kinship plays a great role (Reiter, 1975; UNICEF, 2004).

For this study, girls avoided eating in a mixed gender environment. All 13 head teachers agreed that girls did not want to eat food with boys. Girls avoided meals or ate a very little portion of the food that was served. Head teachers did not have a common explanation as to why girls in coeducational schools did not want to eat food with boys. No empirical research was found in the Ugandan context related to this problem.

Similarly, girls in Wakiso and Kampala districts lacked access to bicycles, thus they walked long distances to school. Parents buy bicycles for their sons or boys can work and earn money to pay for their bicycles. In times of scarcity, boys can share a bicycle with their fathers or guardians; yet, girls do not have that privilege. Head teachers agreed that access to bicycles gave boys an advantage over girls because bicycles enabled them to reach school early while girls made time-consuming long walks. Head teachers did not address the problem of a lack of bicycles for girls. They seemed to think that girls cannot ride bicycles like boys, especially in the urban regions.

Based on the findings of the study, the gender regimes associated with the production relations, which were named as fees payment, and the division of labor related to housework were a result of norms and values at the family level. Also subject choice, where girls have negative attitudes toward Science reflected culture tied to gender roles in the society. In most African countries, girls tended take subjects related to caring which reinforced the cultural norm that girls are supposed to provide family support. Using these findings, the researcher concluded that the gender regimes that play in schools emerge from the values and norms in family culture which are imported into

schools. These findings are consistent with the Connell's (2002) argument that the gender regimes in an organization are reflected in its immediate society.

The Symbolic Relations

Connell (2002) takes the symbolic relations in schools to the elements concerning culture. Gender relations concerning this dimension of gender may include norms and values, and artifacts such as uniforms. An example is parental preference for the education of boys compared to that of girls. Part C of Question one required the researcher to identify the symbolic relations that might have enforced the production and power relations and patterns of emotion in schools. Table 15 summarizes emic data from interviews that show gender regimes which are related to the symbolic relations.

Based on interview quotations in Table 15, head teachers, students, and parents tended to conform to the accepted norms and values of the school or family environment. For example, a cultural norm in Uganda is that parents prefer taking their girls to boarding schools (11:114). Also in the districts of Wakiso and Kampala, girls do not ride bicycles because it is an accepted cultural norm. According to Connell (2002), gender regimes are linked to the gender order (patterns) in the wider society which is related to the existing culture of a specific community.

Initially head teachers established strategies that supported the existing culture. For instance, they tried to ensure tight security for the girls. In order to ensure equitable education particularly for girls, head teachers attempted to change the family and school culture related to school fees support, house work, and negative attitudes toward Science. Changing the culture which disadvantage girl's education would help to improve their learning.

Table 15

Sample of Head Teachers' Quotations Related to Symbolic Relations

Theme	Interview Quotation
School fees	You see, in homes they still think that education should be for boys, that plus the culture in Uganda so those of us who have studied who have really confided here and there, we feel the girl child should be given equal opportunities. (09:172)
Girls and Science	Although, it has been the trend that girls tend to have a negative attitude towards the Science...I think because of the colonial history where you find that initially, the women are teachers, secretaries and nurses. (04:56)
Punishment	Yes, but most offenders are boys. Girls are rarely in these problems. Most offenders are boys because of the environment. (09:262)
Eating	That kind of thing we tend to get it out of them. It is a kind of culture, they don't want boys to see them eating. (10:150)
Unwanted pregnancy	For me I was looking at the problem of girls getting teenage pregnancies...for a boy even if he has been in the bush fighting the bush wars they can still come back and study, but girls, because of culture and the way they were brought up, they drop out and either own business or thing like that. So culture has a lot to do with it. (06:105)
Bicycle	No, we haven't because culturally, I know even here, in the environment where we are, girls don't ride bicycles, although in the Eastern Uganda girls do. (01:229)
Tight security	We have three dormitories for girls and two for boys. Taking students to a boarding school is a culture here in Uganda, probably (11:114) I think it is the culture in Uganda thinking of more of the girls' security. (11:144)

Discussion of Question Two

Question two examined the changes female head teachers wished to make in the gender regime in their schools. Each of the major changes female head teachers hoped to make are discussed in light of the following: a) What changes do they want to make; b) Why do they want to make these changes; c) How do they intend to make these changes; and d) What do they believe their role and functions are in making these changes?

Head teachers attempted to make two categories of change to achieve equitable education for boys and girls. First, head teachers hoped to make changes that would alter the culture at the family level so that parents would value the education of girls and boys. Second, head teachers wanted to change the education of girls to be equitable to that of boys. In this study, female head teachers in coeducation secondary schools focused on changing gender regimes to improve education for students, particularly that of girls.

Focusing on the change efforts to embrace the gender regimes that disadvantaged girls' education in coeducational schools matches with the Recommendations of the Government White Paper on Education in Uganda. The White Paper proposed that hiring female head teachers in coeducation school would improve education particularly that of girls (Kajubi, 1992). Focusing on improving girls' education is also consistent with educators who suggest that when girls remain in schools, they achieve skills that help them to look after their own lives, contribute to their community, and participate in the development of their country (Schultz, 2002; UNICEF, 2004; United Nations, 1996). Experts also believed that when girls are educated for work in the marketplace, they acquire skills that enable them to shift from providing family support where they are heavily discriminated against to participating in public jobs where they can be

breadwinners like males (UNCEF, 2004). In most cases, educated females have lower fertility rates and are able to look after their children more than those who drop out of school (Ansell, 2002; Fine & McClelland, 2006).

Question two part B states: How do they intend to make these changes? This section discusses the changes in the gender regimes head teachers established in their schools to achieve equitable education and improve their schools. These strategies accounted for change in the gender regimes related to school fees, housework, subject choice, and patterns of emotions.

Getting Girls' Fees Paid

Head teachers had developed strategies for ensuring that girls' school fees were paid. Head teachers established strategies for encouraging the payment of girl's fees because parents frequently did not finish paying for their fees. Thus, girls would not be able to complete their education. In order to ensure that fees were paid for girls, head teachers made changes in school policy in their favor. Findings show that 76.9 % of the head teachers gave girls a grace period to complete their fees. The grace consisted of a banking system where students are given more than one bank slip to handle in a convenient period of a school term. Also head teachers utilized bursary schemes in their school. These bursary schemes were often distributed by merit, but in some schools, they were distributed by need whereby girls were favored and given a larger share.

Head teachers advocated fees payment for girls to let them get access to schooling and to complete the desired educational level. Advocates for equitable education as a core strategy for improving schools recognize the importance of increased completion rates for boys and girls in addition to parity and a friendly learning environment (Ansell,

2002; Stromquist, 2005). Stromquist (1990) claimed that leaving girls in school motivates their interest in learning which further raises their achievement levels. Head teachers in Wakiso and Kampala schools were trying to go beyond the national strategies which simply aimed at increasing the number of girls and boys at school without considering factors such as drop outs and absenteeism which undermine quality education for girls.

Keeping girls in schools required changing the value systems of their parents. This endeavor involved changing the culture of numerous stake holders in their schools, including parents, guardians, aunties, students, and society at large (Hamillon et al., 2003). Total change also involved parents in school decision making in order to improve schooling for their children. In this study, female head teachers decided to educate parents and to involve them in decision making. The objective was to equip parents with sufficient awareness concerning equal education for their sons and daughters to alter the value they place on boys' education over girls'.

Head teachers used parents' meetings, class days, and visiting days to counsel parents and teach them the importance of educating their children regardless of sex. Head teachers felt that cultural values could be changed through awareness. The objective was to change the values of parents that disregard the rights of girls to an education. Parents were sensitized to pay the fees for girls whenever they paid for the boys as a strategic vision for motivating girls to learn.

In international studies concerning site based management, Hamillon et al. (2003) found that by involving parents significantly in decision making school leaders could achieve school improvement and enhance equity at large. Swift-Morgan (2006)

observes that engaging parents in the schooling of their children increases their responsibility in financing education and motivating their children to learn and to attend school. Head teachers thought that absenteeism for girls could best be limited by engaging parents in the education of their children.

Reducing Loads for Housework

With the link between school, family, and community, head teachers viewed that the demands of homes often conflicted with the demands of going to school, particularly for girls. One of the conflicts perceived by head teachers was that girls were given heavy loads of housework compared to that given to boys in their respective families. In order to implement change in the gender regime by reducing the demands made of girls in their homes, head teachers added dormitory sections to their schools. Dormitory facilities created a good environment for learning and students were well monitored. Head teachers often utilized this strategy during exams to create better environment for students and to improve performance. Head teachers often removed students from their homes during examinations or paid for costs associated with boarding.

Increasing Girls in the Science Curriculum

Findings showed that all the head teachers instituted strategies for increasing girls in Science related subjects. Several strategies were used to encourage girls to do Science, including motivation, guidance, counseling, and giving equal opportunities to boys and girls. The key strategy was motivation where the teacher's encouragement in students' learning played a major role in increasing girls in the Science cores.

Through motivation head teachers encouraged girls to take Science courses. The different ways head teachers motivated girls included teachers' encouragement, telling

the future benefits of a subject, utilizing role models, and providing rewards. Results of this study indicated that female head teachers recognized the critical role that teachers played in motivating girls to do subject combinations that included Mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology. Teachers may reduce the negative attitudes related to Science and Math by telling students that they have the ability to perform well based on their potential grades and hard work. Teachers' encouragement may reduce students' negative concepts and perceptions towards Science.

Head teachers perceived that informing students of the future benefits of Science-related subjects was an effective strategy to encourage girls to take Science because it prepares them for marketable careers in the future. Particularly girls who demonstrated ability in the Science combinations were given the knowledge about the future career prospects that would come out of completing coursework related to Nursing, Engineering, and Agriculture. Girls were informed of the benefits these careers will give them and how they will benefit society. The goal was to help students understand the different areas of specialization in the job market so they will choose the subject combinations of their dreams.

Head teachers invited role models who have specialized in Science -based careers such as medicine. "Old girls" are invited to talk to female students. "Old girls" refer to former female students who had gone to the same school, but are already in the labor market specializing in a particular career. Head teachers believed that when girls interact with females who specialized in Sciences, they may be motivated to choose similar areas of specialization as their future career. Head teachers proposed that hiring female

teachers in Sciences and Math would motivate girls to take Sciences and to improve on their performance.

In order to motivate students to take Sciences, head teachers used two types of reward systems for students who performed well. First, head teachers awarded high achievers with gifts such as T-shirts or a Mathematical set with the hope that the competition will encourage other students to improve their performance. Second, head teachers hoped to motivate students intrinsically by presenting them with certificates in assemblies that recognized their high performance. The purpose of this strategy was to encourage students to maintain their good work and thus, serve as role models to other students.

Guidance and counseling was another method used to motivate girls to take Science. Of the 13 head teachers, 100% utilized the guidance and counseling department to guide students into making the choices that would lead them to the right careers. In this strategy, teachers, including head teachers, acted as mothers or fathers to students. Head teachers developed a shared model that encouraged all members of the learning community to take part in career and guidance. In some schools, head teachers assigned all teachers a particular number of students to counsel.

Equal opportunity to learn was another core strategy used to encourage girls to take Sciences. Head teachers also support the view that boys and girls can perform well in a wide range of subjects if they are given the opportunity to learn those subjects. Head teachers feel that students have the potential to do any subject as long as they have the interest, self-esteem, talent for the subject, and the motivation to learn. Equal opportunity

is very much supported by both the national and the school curriculum where students are given the same chance to choose the subject they desire for their future.

Based on interview responses, head teachers used motivation as the major strategy to increase the number of girls in the Science cores. Head teachers and the teachers, who are the key instruments of instruction, play the major role of motivating students to take Sciences, particularly girls. Working together with teachers strengthened the internal culture for change where girls came to believe that Sciences were appropriate for both females and males. Head teachers observed that providing role models in Science encouraged girls to choose subjects from the Science curriculum such as Chemistry. Because of these strategies, head teachers believed that girls were increasingly aware that Sciences were not for males only. Providing role models in Science and Math was a major recommendation in motivating students to take these subjects (Finn, Dulberg, & Reis, 1979).

Results showed that head teachers involved different stakeholders in school decision-making in order to achieve equal education for girls and boys and to improve schools. These included parents and guardians, and students, and stepmothers. In this model of strategic change, head teachers viewed schools as open systems. An open system approach to school administration defines the concept of a system, where all systems are characterized by combination of parts whose relations make them interdependent, where the whole contains identifiable boundaries from its environment (Scott, 2005).

The open system framework to change was prominent among female head teachers to address learning inequalities because gender is cultural and is associated with

norms and values of families and the society. Achieving equity required changing cultural values which may be encouraged by the open system model that includes all stakeholders (Daft, 2002). Therefore, if gender was to be utilized to effect change and improve schools, then the open system model of viewing schools was important.

Strategies for Patterns of Emotions

Gender regimes related to emotions include: menstruation periods, eating for girls, bicycle riding, unwanted pregnancy, and tight security for girls. Addressing inequalities due to patterns of emotions in schools is a neglected area in Wakiso and Kampala districts, even if Connell's (2002) model of gender regimes revealed a multitude of inequalities related to this gender regime. This makes patterns of emotions related to sexuality to be normal and an on going practice in Ugandan secondary schools (Mirembe & Davies, 2001; Kirk & Sommer, 2006). In their study on sexuality education and desire, (Fine & McClelland, 2006) observed the absence of sexual education and a presence of sexual risks in schools which may increase the influence of gender regimes on students' learning.

National policies for achieving equity, such as Universal Primary Education, address only parity (Wilson, 2004), leaving patterns of emotions unchanged in schools. Probably, this reason may explain why head teachers in Kampala and Wakiso had designed school level strategies that could embrace inequities caused by patterns of emotions without the engagement of the national state. These strategies included counseling, supervision, and ensuring tight security for girls. Following is the discussion concerning the strategy of counseling.

Counseling and patterns of emotions. Counseling is the key strategy used by head teachers to change gender regimes related to patterns of emotions. Head teachers who participated in this study employed female counselors to handle gender regimes related to patterns of emotions. Of the 13 schools, only one does not hire a male counselor. This finding contradicts the arguments forwarded by Kwesiga (2002) and Odaga & Heneveld (1995) that girls and boys in school lack counselors. Following is a summary of areas where counseling is utilized:

- Counseling is utilized by head teachers to help girls to handle menstrual periods.
- Parents are counseled about the importance of providing needs of girls like pads, transport to school, good clothing.
- Through counseling, girls are notified of the dangers that may lead to unwanted pregnancy.
- When a girl is pregnant parents and the child's mother are counseled to avoid abortion.
- Parents are counseled to take their pregnant daughters to school again after delivery.
- Girls who not want to eat while mixing with boys are sensitized about the importance of eating food.

Hiring female and male counselors was an initiative of head teachers at the school level. These counselors are privately paid by schools. Some schools like 05 employ full time counselors in addition to female and male counselors. The intention of counseling is to help boys and girls learn to handle issues that concern their lives. For instance, to

avoid risks of getting pregnant, girls are taught to be assertive like boys in order to resist risks.

Counseling was a common practice aimed at changing the gender regimes in Kampala and Wakiso; it was implemented through a shared model and monitored by the head teachers. In some schools, counseling was implemented using a gender desk where the whole school took part. In other schools counseling was done during regular timetabling. In every school counseling was done as needed by students. So far there is no empirical evidence that shows counseling handles inequalities related to patterns of emotions as anticipated by the female head teachers.

Supervision and patterns of emotions. Supervision was utilized in addressing gender regimes that were related to girls' eating. In this model of making change, teachers, matrons, and senior woman teachers supervised students while eating. Supervision would be followed by roll calling to ensure that girls ate food in the same area as boys. So far there no empirical evidence shows that the strategy was effective. The importance of meals in schools is well known but head teachers reported that they lacked proper strategies to encourage girls to eat. Girls generally do not feel comfortable eating in a mixed gender environment.

Tight security for girls. Parents in Uganda demand good security for their daughters (Brown & Ralph, 1996). This demand is met when dormitory facilities are available to students. Dormitory facilities were extended to both girls and boys but girls had more space allotted. At times head teachers agreed with parents that boys are stubborn; therefore they do not require placement in dormitories. Head teachers divided the school compound according to gender to ensure more tight security for girls. Tight security for

girls acts as a strategy for handling other gender regimes; namely unwanted pregnancy and issues of handling menstruation cycles. Students who reside in dormitories are given pocket money to buy what they need.

Head teachers utilized a wide range of strategies to handle gender regimes in schools. These strategies were different from those initiated by the central state. They were established based on the ability of the head teacher to address change. Further study of these strategies is required to determine their effectiveness.

Roles of Female Head Teachers in Changing the Gender Regimes

Question 2, part D states: What do head teachers feel their roles are in changing the gender regimes? In this study head teachers did not mention their role in changing gender regimes as state actors implementing policies in schools. They never described their role in relation to national policies aimed at providing equal education. They focused on what they thought their roles were as school level bureaucrats in promoting change. Using table 12 in Chapter Five, findings show that female head teachers are the implementers, coordinators, supervisors, role models, counselors, sense makers, and program designers during the advancement of school level change that focuses on gender regimes. In this context, head teachers thought they were the agents of change or key actors in achieving equitable education for all students.

At the secondary school level in Uganda, schools are divided into autonomous departments like Science, humanities, guidance and counseling, music and dance. Head teachers implemented strategies to change the gender regimes by working with all departments in a school through team work. Knowledge about gender regimes was

shared by teachers, administrators, and the head teacher. Head teachers also acted as the source of knowledge to empower the rest of teacher leaders.

Discussion of Question Three

To what degree are gender regimes central to the strategic goals of these female head teachers? The discussion of this question will center on female head teachers' views of changing the gender regimes toward equitable education in their coeducational schools. The discussion will reflect the extent by which achieving equal education among girls and boys is of importance to the female head teachers in coeducational schools in Uganda. As theorized in Chapter Two, the female administrator's perceptions influence the vision for changing the gender regimes to improve her school. However, changing gender regimes require that administrators understand equitable education in managing diversity and school improvement.

In this qualitative analysis, the degree to which gender regimes were central to the strategic goals of female head teachers could not be quantified. Female head teachers did not provide responses about how gender regimes related to their schools' strategic goals. If using the gender regime was part of the future plans of a school, then it would be central to the future goals of the school. From that perspective changing gender regimes were likely parts of the strategic goals of head teachers because they had perceived and developed strategies to change these patterns of gender relationships. What the study did not reveal is to *what degree* gender regimes were part of the strategic goals of female head teachers. The perceived gender regimes could be classified based on different dimensions of gender, namely the production relations, patterns of emotion, power and authority, and symbolic relations (Connell, 2002).

The analysis of data indicated that 100% of the head teachers perceived gender regimes related to production relations such as school fees, heavy amounts of housework for girls, and the subjects girls do not want to study for their future career. All 13 head teachers perceived gender regimes that related to patterns of emotions with issues related to girls' discomfort during menstrual periods, and unwanted pregnancies. Also, 100% of head teachers perceived gender regimes related to power and authority which often played out through the kinship relationships such as male parents' control of finances, stepmothers giving girls heavy amounts of housework, and parents preferring to pay school fees for boys before they pay for girls. These gender regimes and their related inequalities denied girls fair educational outcomes compared to the education boys receive from school.

Regarding the symbolic relations, ten female administrators perceived gender regimes related to this gender relation. According to Connell (2002), symbolic relations concern cultural issues in schools. This dimension of gender may influence the production relations and patterns of emotions. For instance, in this analysis, parents preferred supporting the education of boys to that of girls due to family culture where boys were expected to be of more benefit to the family than girls (Belanger & Liu,2004). Thus, culture influences the production relation concerning how parents value the education of boys and girls. Much more research is needed to explore the perceptions related to the symbolic relation and its influence on other gender relations.

The analysis indicated that female administrators developed strategies for changing the gender regimes toward equitable learning for boys and girls. The developed strategies were intended to transform gender regimes related to the production relations

and patterns of emotion. Female administrators did not specifically articulate strategies that fell under gender regimes that were related to power relations which played out in schools due to control and influence of male parents, step mothers, and aunties. The analysis indicated that the production relations were a result of family culture. If schools are to improve towards equity, educators have to sensitize parents to change their beliefs and values in support of the education of both boys and girls.

In this study, male parents controlled household resources and decision making, step mothers exerted control over the amount of housework and child care assigned to girls, while aunties encouraged girls to go for early marriage. However, the strategies they developed to solve problems created by gender regimes related to production relations such as giving girls heavy amounts of housework, also addressed these gender issues in the power and authority relations.

Critiques of Connell's (2002) Model of Gender Regimes

Connell's model (2002) described the gender regime using four gender relations: Production relations, patterns of emotions, power and authority, and the symbolic relations. Connell (2002) suggested that gender relations reflect the gender order of the wider society. Connell described gender inequalities in bureaucracies. For instance, the relationship between the leader and her subordinates such as a head teacher and how she related with teachers and students. For, this qualitative analysis, Connell's (2002) model analyzed gender well in the social structure and how gender related to girls' bodies affect their learning. Connell's model does not consider gender regimes and their inequalities in the kinship structure. For this study, male parents, uncles, stepmothers, and aunties influenced the type of education students received from schools. Yet, kinship embedded

in the clan structure in Wakiso and Kampala districts heavily influenced the achievement of equitable education, particularly among girls.

Uganda is a patriarchal country (Mirembe, 2002), where males have the resources and control family decisions. Parents prefer supporting the education of males financially to that of girls. In Uganda aunties socialize girls into marriage. They prefer early marriage for girls so they gain from the bride price which is a critical recourse in Ugandan families in Wakiso and Kampala districts. Stepmothers also give housework and family obligations to girls. Factors emerging from the kinship structure influence the achievement of equitable education because girls continually miss school and later drop out before completing their diplomas.

Connell's (2002) model of gender regimes is important in gender analysis because it facilitates the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. The analysis of this data created an opportunity to understand the reasons for the existence of gender regimes and how they could be changed.

Female Traits and School Improvement

Educators and policy makers in Uganda anticipate that females in administration can use their traits to improve schools and achieve equitable education. This study did not indicate that female traits helped in the efforts to achieve equity. The study indicated that female head teachers favored girls, and may have increased inequalities due to reconstruction of new gender regimes that excluded boys from gender reform initiatives. In her study about the construction of gender in the superintendency, Skrla (2002) found that females in administration used masculine traits to describe a successful superintendent; thus, they constructed their roles according to that of males. Matthews

(1995) observed that most women followed the patterns of viewing equity depending on the administrators who socialized them into administration. In order to understand the influence of female traits such as caring, on the achievement of equitable education, further research could be done to the affects of administrators who socialize newly-hired females into administration.

Recommendations

The study examined the perceptions of female administrators regarding gender regimes in their coeducational schools. Results indicated that all 13 female administrators in coeducational urban secondary schools recognized many gender regimes in their schools that influenced students' learning negatively. Further all participants had strategies for changing the gender regimes in their coeducational schools.

Particularly, an important finding was that female head teachers in this study perceived that the gender regimes disadvantaged girls' education more than boys'. Head teachers believed that girls were the most disadvantaged because a. family culture puts the education of girls below that of boys, thus parents do not pay fees for girls; b. girls are given heavy loads of housework compared to boys which causes them to miss schools or not complete their homework; c. girls refuse to choose Science related and mathematics courses because they believe they are "male" subjects; d. girls struggle with their menstruation periods and are reluctant to eat in a mixed-sex environment which may reduce their ability to learn; and e. absenteeism is increased because parents and school officials do not adequately provide girls with the supplies they need to care for their bodies during menstruation, particularly during exams. Head teachers perceive that these

gender regimes limit the progress of girls' schooling and increase the chances that they will out before graduating.

Because head teachers perceive that gender regimes disadvantage girls more than boys, they build visions that encourage equitable education in the favor of girls. Head teachers give preferential treatment to girls since they are considered vulnerable compared to boys (Jencks, 1988); they assume that can accelerate equitable education by leading reform initiatives that benefit girls' schooling. These initiatives can be grouped into two categories:

1. Head teachers allocated more resources to girls than boys. For instance, they created more rooms for girls in the dormitories. Some head teachers used affirmative action to admit girls at higher aggregate level than boys while others gave more bursaries (tuition fees) to girls.
2. Head teachers gave the best resources which they considered as "a good thing" to girls. They always began with girls when they allocated resources.

These two types of change strategies were aimed at compensating girls because of a history of discrimination that is related to family and school culture.

In their efforts to equalize education for girls," Head teachers may be introducing a new form of affirmative action that disadvantages boys. For example one head teacher explained; "...when it comes to girls when we are considering the flush-toilet that we got went to the side of the girls. I think the "good things" should go to the girls first" (4; 107). Head teachers did not describe the "good thing" though. For this reason, the analysis does not clarify whether flush toilets or pit latrines provided to students are

better resources in heavily populated urban schools, where toilet papers, running water, or sanitary protections are not provided.

Head teachers think that girls are vulnerable in that they often miss school due to menstruation cycles, heavy loads of housework, tending children, walking long distances to school, and their reluctance to take courses that prepare them to compete in the marketplace. The concern for girls' vulnerabilities may lead head teachers to focus on providing equitable education to girls while neglecting boys' education. Yet, education that is equitable should be fair to all students (Kelly, 2000). Boys might be discriminated against which could engender new gender regimes in schools. For instance, some head teachers label boys as stubborn. Head teachers consider such a characteristic as a reason for excluding boys during allocation of resources. For example, in school 13 the head teacher refused to extend the boys' dormitories because she considered them to be stubborn.

While this study did not show specific strategies that head teachers used to advance boys' schooling, it does not give sufficient information to determine whether head teachers perceived gender regimes that disadvantaged boys. For example, Female head teachers in Kampala and Wakiso assumed that boys are homogenous, yet issues of class affect both boys and girls (Yeats, 1993).

In addition to gender issues related to family and school culture, this study provides important insights into patterns of emotion that create learning inequalities that relate to certain aspects of the female body, including menstrual cycles and pregnancies. This study presents significant information concerning patterns of emotions like girls rejecting food in the mixed sex environments and girls having to walk long distances to

school because they are not allowed to ride bicycles to school. These inequalities make girls vulnerable to men who give them rides and purchase sanitary supplies in exchange for sexual favors. These learning inequalities are not detected by other measures of equity such as parity and completion rates in learning.

Recommendations for School Reform

The findings of this study demonstrated that head teachers perceived and had strategies to change gender regimes in their schools that related to the production relations, power relations, and patterns of emotions. Female head teachers in Kampala and Wakiso school districts can use these insights to advance equitable education.

Toward that end, the investigator makes six recommendations.

1. Maintain boarding schools. Girls' education is disadvantaged because they are given heavy loads of housework and are often kept home from school to tend younger children. In addition, girls walk long distances to school because they cannot ride bicycles.
2. Separate O Level from A Level. In urban government-supported schools with limited facilities such as toilets, water, and space, girls may not feel comfortable eating with and sharing toilets, water, and space with older boys and girls. Young girls may not feel comfortable sharing food, toilets, and the campus with older boys and girls particularly since A Level has no age limit.
3. Build sufficient bathroom facilities and stock them with adequate supplies to meet the needs of students and separate them by gender and age. This strategy may encourage girls to stay in school during their menstrual periods. By providing sanitary supplies and keeping extra uniforms for emergencies girls may be more

comfortable because they are less likely to have an accident and if they do, they could change uniforms rather than tying sweaters around their waists. These measures would be particularly important during national exams when no sweaters are allowed in the testing area.

4. Expand and nationalize curriculum that addresses gender issues in schools. Girls and boys should be taught more about issues that concern their own lives.
5. Subsidize girls' school fees. Since parents do not want to pay fees for their girls, subsidizing user fees for girls would help them to stay at school.
6. Increase training for head teachers around issues relating to gender regimes.

This research study shows that head teachers struggle to change the gender regimes. With greater understanding of gender regimes that disadvantage both boys' and girls' education, head teachers would be able to address these inequalities more strategically and more evenhandedly. For example, giving different punishments to students and allocating resources differently shows that head teachers lack knowledge regarding the provision of equal education in schools. Further, this study shows that female head teachers did not focus on improving the education of boys nearly to the degree that they did for girls.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study on gender relations in an urban environment yielded new knowledge that will contribute to efforts to improve schools in Uganda by ensuring a fair and equitable education for both girls and boys. This new knowledge reported that female administrators' in government-supported mixed/day coeducational secondary school perceived and had strategies to change gender regimes in their schools. However this

study did not present findings that reveal how male and female head teachers in other school categories such as boarding secondary schools perceive and address the gender regimes in their schools. Therefore, the investigator recommends the following studies regarding school improvement to provide equitable education in Uganda.

1. Conduct studies to discover the perceptions and strategies head teachers in other types of schools have developed to change gender regimes that play in their schools. Particularly, this study should examine the affect of these patterns of gender relationships on the minority gender in such schools.
2. Replicate this study concerning the perceptions of female head teachers regarding gender regimes in other rural areas to gain understanding of the influence of gender on girls and boys in schooling in that settings.
3. Conduct a study on the effect of inadequate school toilette facilities and related sanitary supplies on the achievement of girls at the O and A Levels. This study would yield more knowledge concerning ways schools could decrease girls' absences during their menstrual periods.
4. Carry out a study to inquire into administrators' perceptions of gender regimes that disadvantage boys' education which seemed to be excluded from the visions of most female administrators in Kampala and Wakiso districts.
5. Conduct a follow-up study in these same schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts to discover if the strategies female head teachers had developed to change gender regimes that played in their schools were effective in achieving a more equitable education.

Conclusions of the Study

This purpose of this study was to discover if female head teachers of government-supported mixed/day coeducational secondary schools perceived and had developed strategies to change gender regimes that disadvantaged boys and girls education. In addition, the investigator sought to learn the degree to which gender was part of the strategic goals of female head teachers.

Findings revealed that all 13 head teachers perceived gender regimes in their schools. The investigator used Connell's (2002) model of gender regimes that included production relations, power relations, patterns of emotion, and symbolic relations to create a typology of gender regimes perceived by head teachers (See Tables 4, 5, 7, 8, and 15). These gender regimes in coeducational schools reinforced learning inequalities and limited the achievement of equitable education among girls and boys.

All head teachers perceived that gender regimes made girls particularly vulnerable; thus, they developed strategies to change those regimes. In order to provide a fair and equitable education for girls, they had to use indirect and direct methods to change patterns of gender arrangements. Gender regimes that fell under family and school culture are most difficult to change because they require mostly indirect measures to shape the values and norms that are an integral part of the kinship structure and societal culture at large. Female head teachers can use both direct and indirect measures to address gender regimes related to girls' sexuality.

A culture that values boys' education more than girls' is particularly difficult to change because these values come through the kinship structure of the family. Parents are less likely to invest in girls' education and they are more likely to give girls inordinate

responsibilities at home that cause girls to miss school and prevent them from completing their homework assignments. This problem is exacerbated when girls are being raised by stepmothers or aunties. While head teachers do not have the authority or ability to make direct changes in these cultural norms, they can endeavor to educate and influence parents so they will invest more resources in and give more support to their daughters' education.

A cultural value that resides both in the school and the family is that girls perceive courses in science-related, mathematics, and foods and nutrition subjects are for males. Therefore, girls are more likely to take courses that prepare them for domestic responsibilities rather than courses that prepare them to compete in the marketplace. Thus, even if girls do complete their schooling, they are poorly prepared to provide sufficiently for their family's needs. Again, these female head teachers must take a two-pronged indirect approach to addressing this issue: counseling and education for girls and dialogue and information for parents. They must make a case that in today's world, girls need to be prepared to succeed in the marketplace and contribute to the human affairs of the society.

Female head teachers can address some of the concerns that relate to sexuality directly and must address others indirectly. Girls grapple with problems that relate to their female body. Head teachers can address this problem directly. They can allocate resources to provide girls with the sanitary supplies they require during their menstrual periods and provide adequate bathroom facilities so that young girls do not have to share bathrooms with older girls and men. Head teachers can also deal with sexuality indirectly

by dialoguing with and educating parents to influence them to expend money on sanitary supplies for their daughters.

Another aspect of sexuality that requires both direct and indirect measures from the head teachers is that the prevailing culture does not allow girls to ride bicycles, so they must walk long distances to schools. This situation makes girls vulnerable to pregnancies by men who are willing to give them rides to school and purchase sanitary supplies in exchange for sexual favors. Female head teachers can solve this problem directly by providing more dormitory space for girls so they don't have to walk back and forth to school. These measures will decrease the problem of pregnancies and increase the likelihood that girls will attend school regularly and graduate from secondary school.

All 13 female head teachers developed strategies to address gender regimes at play in their schools. However, because head teachers perceived that girls were the most vulnerable, they focused their efforts primarily on changing gender regimes that marginalized girls; in fact they did so nearly to the exclusion of addressing patterns that disadvantaged boys. While solving gender problems for girls is important, just as important is for head teachers to acknowledge and resolve gender problems that marginalize boys. Therefore, if equitable education is to be achieved, these 13 female head teachers in the Kampala and Wakiso districts must make a more balanced approach to detecting and developing strategies to change gender regimes for both boys and girls.

In conclusion, this study presented new knowledge that may assist national leaders and policy makers in Uganda to discern if their strategy for hiring female administrators to lead secondary schools is justified in their quest to provide an equitable education for boys and girls. Previous to this study, no extant literature provided

empirical information as to whether gender regimes were included in the vision of female head teachers for improving schools. This study provided evidence that the female head teachers in this study did perceive gender regimes that disadvantaged girls' education and had developed strategies to change them. This finding is important because these perceptions likely informed the vision that female head teachers used to improve their schools toward a more equitable education for boys and girls. The gender regimes this study identified could assist these head teachers to be strategic in setting goals and developing strategies to improve learning for both girls and boys. Particularly, the finding that female head teachers had mainly perceived and developed strategies to change the gender regimes that disadvantaged girls nearly to the exclusion of boys is important. This finding could help these 13 female administrators to provide a more balanced approach by making them aware that they had neglected gender issues that marginalized boys' education.

While the findings of this study cannot be generalized to other schools, it does provide important insights to educators who are concerned about gender regimes in their schools. The findings of this study provide interested educators with insights into specific ways that gender played out in these 13 secondary schools in Kampala and Wakiso districts in Uganda and give strategies for changing these patterns of gender arrangements. Particularly, family and school cultures are important sources that contribute to gender regimes and are the most difficult to change. Yet, shaping these cultures to be more favorable to equitable education for both boys and girls is an important contribution that school leaders, education leaders, and policy makers can make to Ugandan prosperity.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

- 1) Basing on administrative experience in your schools, describe the challenges you have faced while working with male teachers and male student leaders.
 - a. What are your thoughts and feelings about authorizing some of the administrative responsibilities such as determining the teaching syllabus, to the director of studies?
 - b. In a case you have gone to central office duties and a head boy sends students home for some reasons like coming late to school or fighting. What would be your reaction as an administrator?
- 2) Describe why you think girls and boys should be encouraged to do the same subjects?
 - a. How would you change the attitudes of girls who would not like to take some like Math or Science?
 - b. How would you support students who excel in subjects where they have negative attitudes such as Science?
- 3) Name the factors related to gender that may be among the barriers that limit the progress of girls' and boys' education or well-being in your school.
 - As the school administrator, what do you think would be your role in changing these factors that limit girls' and boys' educational progress?
- 4) Describe policies or programs you have established in your school that are intend to eliminate the factors that limit the progress of the education of boys and girls.
 - How do you handle pregnant girls?
- 5) Describe traditions or practices in your school that support the education of boys or girls.
 - 1) Do boy and girls ride bicycles in your school?
 - 2) Do boys have an advantage over girls by riding bicycles to school?
 - 3) How do you make sure that girls and boys get enough food during meals?
- 7) What are the common punishments you give to boys and girls in your school?

APPENDIX B

Check List for Documentary Analysis

1) The total number of girls and boys in your schools is: _____.

2) The number of girls /boys in classes one to six:

S1 _____	S2 _____
S3 _____	S4 _____
S5 _____	S6 _____

3) State the number of boys/girls from S3 to 6 that are enrolled the following subjects:

	Boys	Girls
A. Foods and Nutrition	_____	_____
B. Technical Drawing	_____	_____
C. Computer Studies	_____	_____
D. Agriculture	_____	_____
E. Home Economics	_____	_____

4) List the number of girls and boys who do the following subject at A' level:

	Boys	Girls
A. Biology	_____	_____
B. Chemistry	_____	_____
C. Physics	_____	_____
D. Math	_____	_____
E. Foods and Nutrition	_____	_____

5) What is the total number of boys and girls that participate in the Aids club?

6) State the best student by sex in the last five years at A' level and O' level—such as;
2005-girl

<u>O' Level</u>	<u>A' Level</u>
2005 _____	2005 _____
2004 _____	2004 _____
2003 _____	2003 _____
2002 _____	2002 _____
2001 _____	2001 _____

7) List students by sex who received tuition awards in the last five years at A' level and O' level

<u>O' Level</u>	<u>A' Level</u>
2005 _____	2005 _____
2004 _____	2004 _____
2003 _____	2003 _____
2002 _____	2002 _____

2001 _____ 2001 _____
 8) State the school prefects by sex (headboy or headgirl) in the last five years:

2005 _____
 2004 _____
 2003 _____
 2002 _____
 2001 _____

9) List the number of female teachers who head departments _____

10) List the number of female teachers who teach Science subjects and Math _____

11) What is the number of girls and boys that dropped out of school in senior one in the following years

	<u>Boys</u>		<u>Girls</u>
2005	_____	2005	_____
2006	_____	2006	_____

12) What is the number of girls and boys that are part of the boarding section?

<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
_____	_____

Naluwemba Frances

Brigham Young University

PhD Research Project

APPENDIX C

Consent to be a Research Subject

Introduction

This study is being conducted by Frances Naluwemba, a PhD student from Brigham Young University in the United States of America specializing in Education Leadership and Foundations, in Wakiso and Kampala School Districts in Uganda, Africa.

The study seeks to determine the female administrators' perceptions of the gender regimes operating in their schools and their strategies for managing and changing them. You were selected to participate in this study because you are among the female administrators hired in government-aided coeducational secondary schools in Wakiso or Kampala districts.

Procedures

You will be asked to participate in an open-ended interview and open dialogue with the researcher concerning your perceptions of the gender regimes that are operating in your schools. Further the researcher will explore the extent at which managing or changing the gender regime can be considered as part of the school strategic vision to achieve gender equity. The initial interviews will last for about 90 minutes. Once the researcher has initially coded the data, the interviewer will engage with you in an open dialogue that will last for one hour. In addition, the researcher will make eight visits to your school (two per a week for one month) in order to study artifacts and documents and to observe the gender regime operating in the school.

Risks/discomforts

There are minimal risks for participation in this study. However, you may feel emotional discomfort when answering questions about your perceptions and feelings regarding the gender regimes operating in your school. The researcher will be sensitive to this potential discomfort and you will be free to express your concerns as well.

Benefits

There are no direct benefits to subjects. However, it is hoped that through your participation the researcher will learn more about female administrators' perceptions of gender regimes operating in your schools and strategies they may have for managing or changing them. The results of the study may contribute to the improvement of schools in Uganda.

Confidentiality

All information provided will remain confidential and will only be reported as group data with no identifying information. All data, including questionnaires tapes/transcriptions, will be kept in a locked storage cabinet and only those directly involved with the research will have access to them. After the research is completed, the tapes will be destroyed.

Participation

Participation in this research study is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at anytime or refuse to participate entirely without jeopardy to your professional position or status in the profession.

Questions about the Research

If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Frances Naluwemba at fn8@email.byu.edu.

Questions about your Rights as Research Participants

If you have questions you do not feel comfortable asking the researcher, you may contact Dr. Renea Beckstrand, IRB Chair, 422-3873, 422 SWKT, renea_beckstrand@byu.edu.

I have read, understood, and received a copy of the above consent and desire of my own free will to participate in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX D

Unfamiliar Terms Related to Gender

“The other”: Not considered as important.

“Short change”: To put girls or boys to a disadvantage.

“Doing gender”: Creating differences among boys and girls.

“Gender relations”: Dimensions of gender such as power and authority.

“Gender neutral”: To disregard the existence of inequalities created by gender

APPENDIX E

The Audit Trial for Open Ended Interviews

Sample Based on Key Ideas

September, 19, 2006
School 01

It was done after lunch. This interview session was done on appointment which was kept by the head teacher. The head teacher was very much willing to share with the inquirer and seemed to be interested in the research study.

This school has existed in Uganda since 1925 as a single boy's school. In 2002 this school was changed to a mixed school. Boys outperform girls both in national and internal exams.

Major points in school is that girls stay at home during their menstruation periods . Girls do not want to eat with boys during launch. At the advanced level, boys are more girls in Foods and Nutrition. Boys are more than girls in the school. The head teacher thinks that girls are less because the school lacks a boarding section for girls.

October, 27, 2006
School 02

This interview was conducted during its second appointment. It was done at 9.00 am. The head teacher was willing to learn and was excited about the topic of the study.

Through counseling students problems are identifies and strategies for limiting them are put in place. The senior woman and the deputies do the counseling. Through all teachers get involved. The head teacher's role is to train the senior woman and senior men leaders.

Unique in this school was an affirmative action for girls for the board of governor's bursaries where a boy and a girl who has scored 80% can be given tuition award. A boy can be dropped in favor of a girl.

Head teacher applies a shared vision to establish strategies to limit gender regimes in her school. She uses every teacher. This is a big school of 65 teachers, Each teacher is assigned a certain number of students to counsel. Teachers play a role of a father and mother. In this school they establish a team sprit building

October, 21, 2006
School 03.

Interview was done at lunch time. This interview session was done on appointment. The head teacher was very creative in her talking. Even though it was done during its second appointment. She was willing to share with the inquirer.

The concern of this head teacher was the heavy loads of housework given to girls. She addressed a case whereby most the girls in her school are house girls

She pointed out that Home Economics or Foods and Nutrition is traditionally known to be a subject for girls, can be done by boys. This happened because of the encouragement she gave to boys during class.

Special in this school was the establishment of class days for educating parents. Each class has a day when parents visit the school. They come to be addressed on educational issues. During these days teachers and administrators share with parents problems and needs of students. This was a unique way of establishing a shared vision in the decisions of the schools.

November, 16, 2006
School 04

This interview was done during examination time. It was done on appointment. There were interruptions due to ongoing exams.

The head teacher of this school really favors girls. Her thinking is that the good thing goes to the girls. Thus, she has better dormitories, and flush toilets to girls.

Special in this school was the case of menstruation periods ties a sweater around their bodies. Girls who come to school during their period spoil their skirts and tie around themselves sweaters the whole day. Girls with sweaters around their skirts are protected so that male teacher do not touch them.

November, 22, 07
School 05

This interview was done late because the head teacher was busy. She was working on the establishment of Universal secondary education which beginning the following year.

The major issue was that the school has a scheme of affirmative action for girls. The school gives two girls and one boy every year as long as they score an average mark of eighty. The best students are given a bursary for a year equivalent to tuition of fees of a day scholar. Girls are admitted at higher cut off point than boys.

The school has gender desk responsible for gender issues in the school. This department does students' counseling; provide needs fro both boys and girls. The gender desk is timetable once a week on a Wednesday.

October 5, 2006
School 06

It was done on appointment. There was good relationship with the head teacher. She was brief during the during the interview session.

Girls are taught to be assertive in order to protect them from some dangers such as HIV Aids and unwanted pregnancy. Being assertive can help girls to protest against men. It can help girls to understand what is wrong and what is right. Girls can as well be helped to know be aware of their future intensions rather than being deceived by men.

According to the teacher of school 06, being assertive helps girls to change their negative attitudes towards Science which has been a national wide problem to girls.

September, 22, 2006
School 07

It was done on appointment. There was good relationship with the head teacher. This was the first interview. The head teacher was willing to share.

She specified the problem of step mothers to the education of girls. The head teacher noted that girls that are brought up by their stepmothers are over-worked at home. She observed that step mothers give more house work to girls are too obedient and they do house work better than boys. Boys parents say they do house work hurriedly and just rush to school.

September, 21, 2006
School 08

This interview was done on appointment. There was good relationship with the head teacher. The head teacher liked the topic for the study. She was very co-operative. She head teacher of this school is a teacher who qualified in 1984. In 1998 she got a Masters' Degree in Guidance and Counseling.

This head teacher spelled out a critical issue whereby parents, are not bothered about catering for the girls' needs, for example, providing good cloth , sanitary pads for th menstruation for girls. Thus, many girls when they are coming to school some of them don't even have pads when they start their periods. She also noted that parents do not provide enough transport to their children to school.

Lack of needs might be one of the reasons for high rates of prostitution in this school explained the open dialogue with the head teacher.

October, 30, 2006
School 09

This interview was done late. The head teacher had family problems. Had to move to school several times. She has political responsibilities.

She mainly observed a situation where parents favor their sons. When there are two children from the same home, or family, you find that they have already paid for the boy. Therefore she feels girls are discriminated. She rewards them giving girls a chance to pay fees.

The sentence above refers to a cultural issue where the education of girls is devalued compared to that of boys. This is a family culture in Kampala and Wakiso where the girl is taken as a secondary child to the boys.

So the head teacher of school 09 helps girls to stay at school by giving more time to girls than boys to finish their fees. Also the head teacher allows partial payments by dividing the bank slips into three pay slips. This strategy specifically helps girls to pay their fees. However she advises parents to consider boys and girls equal children who need their fees paid.

October, 18, 2006
School 10

The head teacher was very cooperative. Seemed to be interested with the study more than the rest of the head teacher in the study.

Similar to head teacher of school 09, this head teacher also noted that parents prefer paying for the fees of boys more than girls.

She noted that girls are more less secondary n most cases parents in Uganda think that girls are secondary children in a family while boys are the priority, the assets and are permanent members of the family. She noted that when a parent has a little boy in lower classes and grownup girls in upper classes, parents often pay the fees of the little boy and leave that of the girls.

October, 10, 07
School 11

This head teacher was not all that interested in the study. So her responses were brief. I moved four times to the school without getting in touch with her. Probably she was young. She was 37 years old, the youngest of the head teachers.

The head teacher noted the critical problem of the urban poor students, where by family support and daily income is obtained from low income jobs like brewing of local beer.

Also she noted that boys specially produce the local beer as a form of housework. This case of contributing to family income makes learn to drink.

Students learn to drink because they taste the beer before selling it.

October, 4, 2006

School 12

This interview was done during the first visit with the head teacher. The researcher had a good relationship with the head teacher. This school was the most rural urban of the schools in the study.

Her concern was that girls and boys should be given equal opportunity to choose subjects. The head teacher's claim is that if students are given equal opportunity to subject choice, it gives them equal chance to compete for jobs in the open market.

She further elaborated that equal opportunity can only enhanced in schools when girls are encouraged that subjects Science and Math and doable. If students especially girls feel that Science is as normal as History or Music, then they can compete for it.

September, 26, 2006

School 13

The head teacher was very cooperative. This was the first interview to be done. The head teacher had some knowledge of gender.

What was interesting with this teacher is the allocation of recourses to boys and girls based on judgment of student's behavior.

The head of school 13 noted that girls are kept in the boarding section because of security. Therefore, they do not walk long distances. But boys are given bicycles because they come to school from long distances. Also boys are only brought to the boarding section because they are stubborn.

She went on to explain that she was not extending the dormitory for boys since they are stubborn rather than need.

