

Teacher Training: The Superhighway to Gender Equity in Senegal

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I. Introduction

The West African nation of Senegal has made a commitment to move toward gender equity in education since the 1990s (Tall Thiam & Direction de la Planification et de la Réforme de l'Éducation [DPRE/ME], 2006). Nonetheless, allocating adequate financial, logistical and human resources for appropriate gender sensitive trainings for teachers remains a challenge in developed and emerging nations (Association for Women's Rights in Development [AWID], 2001). Despite increasing overall access to schooling, major obstacles remain on the road to achieving gender equity in Senegal. Reducing socio-economic and cultural factors that keep girls out of school, raising awareness within the community about the value of educating girls, and improving the physical appropriateness and proximity of schools are just some of the many development strategies aimed at promoting gender equity in education. However, inadequate pedagogical teacher-training and pre-existing socio-cultural gender norms continue to be counter-productive and contribute to high female dropout and expulsion rates (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2003).

In this article the authors focus on the role that in-service teacher-training for secondary teachers may play in creating a gender-responsive educational system in Senegal. Teachers are on the front-line of the learning process. They interact directly with students, influencing the quality of student's experiences and opportunities for success. Appropriate, authentic gender-responsive pedagogy promote gender equity and assure a quality education (Mlama et. al, 2005). Teachers who are trained in gender-responsive pedagogy are less likely to exhibit conscious or unconscious gender bias and are better equipped to become advocates of gender equity (Mlama et. al, 2005).

The impetus for this study grew out of the authors' experiences in providing technical assistance as International Foundation for Education and Self-Help (IFESH) educators to three regional in-service teacher-training poles in Senegal. The authors noted that the gender-equity dialogue was limited and insufficient to institutionalize significant changes in gender equity. Keeping in mind the supportive policies of the Senegalese government, one primary question guided this research: *To what extent does state-led in-service teacher-training efforts promote gender equity in the classroom?* The overall aim of this paper is to encourage reflection on Senegal's policies and how they are being implemented at the local level, specifically focusing on the presence or absence of gender-responsive pedagogy in the state-led in-service teacher-training efforts.

II. Conceptual framework

Definitions

The authors define 'gender' with help from the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) at the United Nations and the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE). Gender, thus, refers to the roles and relationships of men and women that are defined through social construction, which, can often be put into hierarchical or unequal schema within the society. The socio-cultural norms identified with being, acting and living as a man or woman are critical factors that determine classroom interactions and relationships ("Concepts and Definitions", n.d.; Mlama et. al, 2005).

The authors recognize ‘gender equality’ as a process defined by Aikman, (n.d): “Gender equality is the removal of deep-seated barriers to equality of opportunity and outcome, such as discriminatory law, customs, practices and institutional processes” (para. 6). Furthermore, the promotion of gender equality within the educational setting relates to upholding the delivery of a quality education:

It [gender equality] is integral to ideas of educational quality, as an educational system would lack key dimensions of quality if it was discriminatory or did not develop capabilities in children to work for an education that was personally and socially worthwhile (Aikman, n.d, para. 6.)

‘Quality in the classroom’ refers to appropriate and authentic pedagogies that foster an environment in which actors are not constrained by gender norms that could limit the “teaching and learning processes” (“Challenges for Teacher Training”, 2005, p. 8; Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006).

‘In-service teacher-training’ refers to seminars, workshops, classroom observations and meetings of professional development. Finally, ‘state-led efforts’ refers to projects, programs, and initiatives mandated, spearheaded or administered by a Senegalese governmental authority even if it has non-state partner or foreign funding.

Human rights based reasoning

Although the authors recognize the human capital justification for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), they believe this justification should come secondary to assuring a child’s right to a safe environment in which they are both respected and have equal access to a quality education.¹ According to UNICEF (2008), the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child “gives great moral weight” (para 2), for such signatories as Senegal to “take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child” (UN General Assembly, 1989, para 65).

Article 5 of the 1981 African Charter on Human and People’s Rights and the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ references one’s right to respect and dignity: “inherent dignity of and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world” (UNGA, 1948, para. 1). The authors use this notion of one’s right to dignity to examine how students may be treated in the classroom. Negative verbal commentary, social exclusion, and sexual assault could be emotionally or psychologically damaging to a child and in turn, threaten their right to self-worth, self-dignity and the pursuit of knowledge.

Post-modern Perspective

This research does not attempt to blame culture or cultural traditions; however, the authors build from a postmodern assumption that one may “learn to conform to the norms of external surveillance and hence to control oneself” (Feinberg & Soltis, 2004, p. 71). An individual’s conscious or unconscious actions that promote gender discrimination as well as the tendency to not report gender inequities to the school authorities, may suggest a

¹ The authors build from Jackson (1998) who warned practitioners about the implications of gender interventions that focus solely on the economic benefits, as they risk dismissing the importance of confronting “gender injustice[s]” [S added] (Jackson, 1998, as cited in Vavrus, 2003, p. 10-11).

postmodern notion, in which an individual/society attempts to conform to “dominant views of what is socially acceptable behavior” (Feinberg & Soltis, 2004, p. 71).

For example, if a public institution, such as a school, does not acknowledge the danger of gender inequities within the institution, then necessary human resources and social services may not be provided. Consequently, an individual or student may internalize gender inequities as a norm that does not require outside intervention such as parental or administrative attention, legal action, medical services or social counseling. Therefore, the student may be less likely to report this abuse in belief of the school’s indifference to gender inequities.

Both men and women as potential agents of change

The 1995 *Platform for Action* that came out of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, helped shape a global momentum for bringing men into the discussion about gender equity (Connell, 2003). The aim is to work in collaboration with women’s rights organizations and initiatives to change individual’s “attitudes and practices, and transform the imbalance of power between men and women in relationships, families, communities, institutions and nations” (MenEngage, 2009, para. 6).

The authors of this paper recognize men and women as potential agents of change within a postmodern perspective. Drawing from Kabeer’s (1994) notion of the “power within” the authors realize that a man or woman has the potential for “self-understanding” which may facilitate a “transformational process” leading to a desire to challenge gender inequities at the community level (Parpart, Rai, & Staudt, 2002, p. 10). Research with student teachers in Kenya revealed that a self-reflectivity strategy, identified as “Memory Work”, assisted with empowering teachers with the motivation for promoting gender equity and dismantling unconscious actions/beliefs that may perpetuate gender discrimination or violence against girls in school (Chege, 2006, p. 9).

III. Global Realities of Achieving Gender Equity in the classroom

The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, Dakar Framework for Action, and the MDGs established global quantitative objectives for achieving gender parity in schools. In 2000 countries committed themselves to assure that “children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling” (United Nations, nd), and that gender disparity will be eliminated in primary and secondary schooling by 2015.

Annual national and international reports suggest that the efforts to achieve gender equity in schools have been effective in increasing female school enrollment globally (United Nations Girl’s Education Initiative [UNGEI], 2009). The data measuring access focused on whether there was an equitable number of girls and boys enrolled in school suggesting that gender equity in schools had improved. However, these data were somewhat misleading. Practitioners became concerned with school completion and dropout rates (Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, 2005). The level of abandonment among female youth threatened the realization of gender equity targets. Scholars and practitioners began to look beyond access and shifted focus on assuring a quality education (Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, 2005).

A growing global concern mounted with the realization that girls were less likely to complete primary or secondary schooling than their male counterparts (UNICEF, 2006). Economic and socio-cultural factors contributed to female school abandonment (UNGEI, ND; Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006). Domestic responsibilities, early pregnancy, sexual harassment, economic constraints at home, gender preferences that prioritize male schooling, early marriage, lack of support from their husbands, and long distances from schools were among the constraints that limited a girl’s full participation and *completion* of primary and

secondary schooling (“Challenges for Teacher Training”, 2005; UNICEF, 2006).

A teacher’s misunderstanding of the female reproductive system and gender bias in favor of boys in classroom management; verbal language; violence in schools; harassment and coerced sexual relations between student and teacher are all realities that have forced many girls to abandon their schooling (Integrated Regional Information Networks [IRIN], 2009; Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, 2005):

Teachers, both men and women, are a product of the gender construct of any society. In most communities in Sub Sahara Africa, teachers like their students are socialized in basically patriarchal structures that foster gender inequality economically, socially and culturally. (“Challenges for Teacher Training”, 2005, p. 3)

Researchers began to examine existing gender norms and education that shaped the notion of masculinity in a culture (Connell, 2003). Males in addition to institutions may unknowingly internalize certain established gender norms. Argued by Esplen (2006) the following are examples of masculine norms present in most cultures: “men are expected to be physically strong and successful, to be risk-takers and decision-makers, to provide financially for their wives and children” (p. 2). Rather than portraying men as the conscious perpetrators of gender inequities, research emerged to suggest that men and women may be potential *unconscious* carriers of existing institutionalized masculine norms that perpetuate gender inequities towards women (Anderson-Levitt, Bloch, & Soumaré, 1998; Connell, 2003).

IV. Senegal: the promotion of gender equity in schooling and challenges

Senegal currently has progressive and aggressive political support for education. Since the 1990s there has been an increase in the Senegalese commitment to education with the signing of several plans, conventions and frameworks, all of which place a significant focus on education (Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006).² The Senegalese policy and initiatives focus on various aspects of gender in education, including: access, quality and management in all levels of education.

Senegal’s commitment to achieving the MDGs has improved gender parity index in primary schools between 2000 and 2006 from 0.88 to 0.98 (Unterhalter, 2010). Despite this important accomplishment there is still a large percentage of girls who are not attending school (Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006). In 2005, the rate of female school-aged children enrolled in school was 26.7% for middle school and 8.0% for secondary school (Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006, p. 31). Additionally, female dropout rates and non-completion rates in Senegal remain a concern (Ndiaye & Diarra, 2008).

Poverty and rural-urban inequities are among the most concerning factors that contribute to overall school abandonment of both girls and boys in Senegal (UNESCO, 2008). Examination through a gender lens suggests the consequences of poverty tend to be greater on a girl’s school attendance than boys’ and have a greater negative impact on a girl’s attendance in secondary schooling than on primary school attendance (UNESCO, 2008).

While there is much diversity among Muslim and Christian populations in Senegal, ethnic, class, caste, linguistic and regional diversity, there is an overall belief in the value of learning for all children (Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006). There are variations, however, in

² Senegal participated in and signed: the Dakar Framework, PDEF (Le programme décennal de l’Education et de la formation pour le Sénégal) and its objective of EPT (Education pour tous/Education for All), the MDGs, NEPAD (the New Partnership for African Development), and DSRP (Document de Stratégie pour la Croissance et la Réduction de la Pauvreté au Sénégal) put in place by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

ideas for why educating girls is important, which can translate into decisions of what a girls' education should consist of (Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006, p. 32-34). Additionally, schools are often seen as gendered spaces—reserved for males (Ezémbé, 2009, p. 153; Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006, p. 40).

There is widespread stereotyping of gender roles in the family, in society, education and the workplace that can work against a quality, gender-aware, and equitable education for girls and boys (Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006, p.34, 35, 38-40). For school children, both male and female educators, family members and role models often reinforce cultural gender norms. Hostile educational settings as well as discriminatory classroom practices and pedagogies may negatively impact girls' success in school (Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006, p. 40)

According to a report cited by Koldanews, during the 2009 academic school year teachers were responsible for twenty percent of reported acts of sexual violence against girls in schools in Senegal (Koldanews, 2009). The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported that in Senegalese schools are second only to households as the most frequent place where children are victims of sexual violence (Camara, 2009). The frequency of sexual violence in schools is not exclusive to one region in Senegal and has in fact been noted throughout the country (Camara, 2009). Moreover, the report noted that when a teacher impregnates or rapes a female student, seldom does a parent or the student bring the case to justice (Koldanews, 2009.) The existence of unequal power between teacher and student and a sense of powerlessness may decrease the likelihood that a female student will come forward in the case of sexual abuse (Chege, 2006).

V. Gender-responsive pedagogy

Although sexual violence maybe considered the most dangerous form of gender discrimination in schools (Chege, 2006), one may examine the teacher's management of the classroom as a setting permitting gender inequities (Mlama et. al, 2005). The teacher's verbal and non-verbal language, selected classroom textbooks and learning supports may unknowingly promote a gender bias that limits equal access for students to a quality education (Mlama et. al, 2005). In classrooms with no clear understanding of appropriate classroom management and gender-responsive pedagogies, female students may not have equal learning opportunities (Mlama et. al, 2005).

Research suggests that teachers who receive training on gender issues are better able to address individual needs in the classroom of the female learner as well as promote her achievement in school (Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, 2005; "Challenges for Teacher Training", 2005; Mlama et. al, 2005). FAWE's 2005 Teacher's Manuel for Gender-Responsive Pedagogy, suggests a teacher's interaction manner and pedagogy limits discriminatory non-verbal or verbal language; promotes equal questioning of both boys and girls; and highlights strategies for selecting gender neutral textbooks and materials (Mlama et. al, 2005). A 'gender-responsive pedagogy' ("Challenges for Teacher Training", 2005, p. 3), takes into consideration the particular biological needs during puberty of both girls and boys (Mlama et. al, 2005). It allows for a classroom set-up that promotes equal participation as well as equal access to all educational materials (Mlama et. al, 2005).

Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender (2005) argues that addressing gender equity in the classroom should be incorporated into quality improvement efforts in schooling. Overall, a gender-responsive pedagogy ensures a school environment that assists in the retention of girls in schools and allows for an environment that promotes quality learning for all ("Challenges for Teacher Training", 2005; Mlama et. al, 2005). "Even in contexts in which there are extensive gender inequities outside school, teachers can make a difference inside school"

(Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, 2005, p 49). Working in the context of existing socio-cultural constraints and patriarchal gender norms, it overtly addresses the negative implications of certain gender norms which help promote attitudinal and behavioral change among the teaching corps (Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, 2005).

VI. In-service teacher-training in Senegal

Until 1992 middle and secondary school teachers were not allowed into the classroom without pedagogical training from the national teacher-training college in Dakar.³ Starting around 1992 teachers began to be recruited right from the university. Although the new recruits, or “Vacataires”, had university diplomas in a range of subjects with a “License” or “Maitrise”, the equivalent of a three-year or four-year university diploma, they did not have pedagogical training. To fill the need for teachers in the rapidly increasing numbers of schools, required teacher qualifications were overlooked.

This policy adjustment was further implemented in response to the race to meet the MDGs related to universal education, which brought over-crowded classrooms in Senegal. This policy has direct consequences for the quality of education as pre-service pedagogical training increases the chances for proper classroom management as well as the effective delivery of the curriculum (Adams et. al, 2009; UNGEI, 2007).

To complement the implementation of the new teacher recruitment strategy, the MoE created regional in-service teacher-training poles for secondary school teachers. They began appointing teacher trainers in the regions for in-service training and professional development of the Vacataires in secondary schools. Regional teacher trainers are appointed by subject and principally responsible for organizing professional development activities such as classroom visits and pedagogical trainings. These trainers are skilled secondary school teachers with extensive classroom experience, leadership capability, knowledge of their subject and of learner-centered pedagogy.

VII. Background of our research

Sample Strategy

Under the umbrella of Senegal’s Ministry of Education regional offices and IFESH, the authors of this paper present their experiences as American volunteer educators collaborating with Senegalese teacher-trainers in three different regions. The authors quickly became aware of an absence of gender-equity dialogue when providing technical assistance to the regional teacher-training poles for secondary school instruction and developing interdisciplinary workshops—which was the impetus for this research. Working in the regions of Kolda, Thiès and Kaolack the authors examined the following question: *To what extent does state-led in-service teacher-training efforts promote gender equity in the classroom?*⁴

Methods

Throughout the current academic year the authors collected data using qualitative research methods including: analysis of national and regional policy documents; participatory observation as integrated members of regional in-service teacher-training corps in three regions; and informal interviews with education officials in order to identify the local state-led projects incorporating and promoting gender awareness among the teaching workforce.

³ Known today as la Faculté des Sciences et Technologies de l'Education et de la Formation (FASTEF).

⁴ These differences include: rural, urban, ethnic, economic, resource and regional differences

Potential bias as American female researchers was taken into consideration. Research notes from observations were exchanged among the American researchers and individual interpretation was examined for bias. Additionally, the researchers solicited feedback from Senegalese education officials to help mediate cultural misinterpretation. Finally, the triangulation of methods was employed (participant observation, interviews and policy document analysis) to decrease the chances of bias and misinterpretation.

Limitations

Budgetary constraints and infrequent access to reliable transportation limit teacher-training efforts at each regional in-service teacher-training poles and thus limited the activities authors were able to participate in. Nonetheless, long-term involvement in the researchers' respective regions allowed for ample opportunity to participate in trainings and take part in numerous logistical preparations (ie. creating teacher-training manuals). The seven months at each teacher-training pole allowed for repetitive observations and greater opportunity for informal dialogue with local actors. Their active participation provided rich data and decreased the chances of premature conclusions.

The authors had time and resource constraints that limited their research scope and methods. Questionnaires would have assisted in the evaluation of local teachers' familiarity with gender-equity issues. Additionally, in this article the authors focused on only state-led teacher-training efforts. Further exploration of non-state actors' roles in professional development activities would also have provided perspective on how collaborative efforts between state and non-state actors could occur as well as their current roles within the professional development sector.

VIII. Research findings

Policy document review

This *Plan de développement pour l'Éducation des Filles au Sénégal pour 2009-2011* (Development Plan for the Education of Girls in Senegal 2009-2011) outlines a major national plan as well as specific regional plans for addressing inequities in girls' educational access and achievement at all levels of education. These plans are organized around three aspects of intervention in girls' education: access, quality and management.

In 2008 Minister of Education⁵ requested participation and support for the first annual National Girls Education Day⁶, which reaffirms the Senegalese government desire to reduce, even eradicate, the disparities between girls and boys. The letter notes the reorientation of the State's priorities towards maintaining girls in school. To implement this priority, Senegal executed several policies and initiatives--including the creation, on the national level, of the Framework for the Coordination of Interventions for the Education of Girls (CCIEF) and of the Framework for Regional Coordination of Interventions for the Education of Girls (CRIEF) on the regional level.⁷

The function of the CCIEF and the CIEF is to develop strategies for maintaining girls in school and addressing their needs for support and quality.⁸ While the creation of CRIEF is

⁵ Circulaire No 004220 ME/SG/DPRE/CCIEF, 10 October 2008

⁶ Journée nationale de l'éducation des filles

⁷ The CRIEFs are charged with the implementation of certain aspects of the Development Plan for the Education of Girls in Senegal 2009-2011 within their regions as well as finding resources and support for the National Girls Education Day (Minister of Education, 2008).

⁸ "La mise en place par arête ministerial no 001371 du 31 mars 2008 d'un Cadre de Coordination des Interventions sur l'Éducation des Filles (CCIEF) suivie de la nomination par arête no 001370 de la Secrétaire Exécutive", Minister of Education, Circulaire No 004220 ME/SG/DPRE/CCIEF, 10 October 2008. "La mise en

a national directive, presently, only a few regions have allotted resources towards them. Some regions have interpreted this directive to mean the creation of gender offices within the Regional Ministry of Education and have appointed Adjunct Secretaries to work exclusively on organizing regional gender initiatives—including teacher-training and the creation of gender working groups at each school, as outlined by the CCIEF (Gender Office, Inspection d'Académie, Thiès).

The document *Rapport du séminaire de partage du plan d'action stratégique 2009--2011 pour la promotion de l'éducation des filles* (2009-2011 Strategic Plan: Report from Planning Meeting for Girl Education) highlights the results of a state meeting in 2008 and notes the dwindling role of SCOFI projects. Resulting from a 1995 Ministry of Education forum on female student enrollment, the SCOFI project is remove barriers to access and enrollment for girls, with national initiatives to build schools and assure hygienic bathroom facilities for girls and local initiatives to build awareness and community support to enroll and keep girls in school (Mafakha, T. & Mbengue, B., 2008, p. 7). The SCOFI project, still more active in some regions than in others, seems to be becoming obsolete within the recent policy documents issued on the national level. Specifically, the document notes that, “since the decline of the SCOFI project, we have noticed the inexistence of a structure to coordinate initiatives regarding girls education.”⁹ The diminishing role of the SCOFI initiative is attributable to the great achievements it has had, specifically in female student enrollment in elementary education.¹⁰

The 2009-2011 Strategic Plan: Report from Planning Meeting for Girl Education¹¹ reflects a new national approach that surpasses SCOFI initiatives in that it emphasizes girls educational achievement at all levels and it demonstrates a gender perspective--including concerns about the under-enrollment of boys in Podor and the implication of male and female actors. Finally this national approach looks to make systemic national changes such as adapting the curriculum to be less gender-biased and implementing gender-responsive approach to pedagogy (Ndiaye & Diarra, 2008).

Nonetheless, significant concerns remain for the female dropout rate and the quality of education received by girls. A study led by the Ministry of Education¹² suggests that according to educators and community members the lack of female teachers to serve as role models and the lack of gender-aware teachers contributes to an unfavorable school climate and lower performance of female students (Tall Thiam & DPRE/ME, 2006,). Statistics from the Direction de la Planification et de la Réforme de l'Éducation (DPRE) show, 58 out of 100 girls do not finish primary school and thus, do not continue on to middle and secondary school (Ndiaye & Diarra, 2008).

Teacher-Trainings Observations

The following observations occurred during or in preparation for in-service pedagogical trainings, classroom visits or student assemblies. The observations were coded

place au niveau de chaque région d'un Cadre Régional de Coordination des Interventions sur l'Éducation des Filles (CRIEF)”, Minister of Education, Circulaire No 004220 ME/SG/DPRE/CCIEF, 10 October 2008.

⁹ “Depuis le dépérissement du projet SCOFI, on a noté l'inexistence d'un cadre qui coordonne les initiatives en matière d'éducation des filles.” From section La présentation du CCIEF, subsection 1: Rappel du contexte de la justification, p. 3.

¹⁰ The gender parity index (GPI) for female and male student enrollment in elementary school on the national level is 1.05, in favor of girls however, the national GPI does not represent all regions. In fact, certain regions such as Kolda and Tambacounda has a GPI in school enrollment that demonstrates that fewer female are enrolled than male students whereas, other regions such as Matam, Diourbel, Saint-Louis, Dakar and Thiès there are more females enrolled in school than males (Ndiaye & Diarra, 2008, p. 4).

¹¹ translated from.

¹² *Elaboration d'un cadre de coordination des interventions sur l'éducation des filles*

according to the person's identity (teacher, teacher-trainer, educational official and student) along with their observed opinions, beliefs, knowledge, and understandings.

1. In-service pedagogical trainings

- In a professional development seminar facilitated by a Senegalese team of teacher trainers and attended by an author, the teachers were asked to make a typology of different types of teachers. When the teachers shared their responses, one group said “Wooing Teacher”.¹³ The room broke out in laughter. When the laughter died down, none of the facilitators addressed this “category” of teachers or the implications of this “joke”—they moved on to the next group, suggesting they were ill-equipped to take on a potentially sensitive topic or they felt it did not need to be addressed. Furthermore, by leaving unaddressed these comments and snickers, this behavior is passively condoned. Inappropriate relationships between teachers and students ranging from flirtation, wooing, dating and even sleeping with students appeared to be a shared experience among the teachers—either first hand or from observing colleagues—they created a separate typology for teachers who engage in sexual relationships with their students. Another author noted a similar experience when a teacher trainer failed to address laughter brought on by a low-voiced comment about sleeping with students. This second situation was in a middle school noted to have a high rate of early pregnancy dropouts.
- Many well-intentioned teachers often do not have gender training and are not well informed to intervene or advocate on gender issues with colleagues or students. One noted example was when one of the authors was invited as a guest speaker in a teachers' urban high school class. During the class, the male teacher employed positive reinforcement and questioning using a learner-centered pedagogical technique to engage a handful of reserved female students. This teacher is an advisor for one of the extracurricular clubs in his school, which attempts to include female students and has a female vice president. After the class was over, the teacher and author were discussing pedagogy when he inquired what sexual harassment was. He was very open to ideas of gender-responsive pedagogy but needed more access to training and knowledge to become a more effective actor for change.
- In preparation for a pedagogical training on classroom management, course planning and testing, the author proposed integrating a gender component. The teacher trainers were willing to re-adjust their tightly scheduled training modules to accommodate gender activities. Their enthusiasm and curiosity allowed for the creation of real-life scenarios in which gender equity was being challenged. During the training the teachers would work in groups of 5 or 7 and discuss the complex gender realities involved in each scenario. Although the teacher trainers were both willing and enthusiastic, some appeared to be misinformed of what the concept of ‘le genre’ or gender in education meant. Some understood it as referring only to girl education; however, other teacher trainers were quick to correct their colleague(s) in saying that gender equity actually refers “to the relationship between girls and boys and their equal rights in the classroom.” These same colleagues assisted in the establishment of a gender focal point at their training pole. This would allow for increased collaboration between the gender focal point at the regional ministry of education and the training pole.

¹³ “Wooing Teacher” means a teacher who seeks out romantic relationships with students and who dates or woos students.

- Female teachers, as well as students, often are saddled with domestic duties at school that can take away from their class time and negatively impact their ability to learn. One author participated in an interdisciplinary pedagogical in-service training day on assessment at a rural middle school with a team of Senegalese teacher trainers. In a debriefing meeting of trainings among the teacher trainers, a female teacher trainer noted that one of the female teachers at that school did not to participate in the pedagogical training because she had been responsible for preparing the lunchinsisting that, “She should have been able to participate and benefit from this pedagogical training just like the rest of the teachers. This would never have happened if I had been there.” The pedagogical team members admitted to not being aware of her absence and did not know that the woman serving them was a teacher; furthermore, the principal did not share this information with the teacher-trainers. It was unclear who had asked the female teacher to attend the training as a cook rather than a trainee, but it was clear that the school administration had leadership in the logistics of this lunch.

2. Classroom observations

- The physical organization of classrooms varies little among urban and rural schools. Benches with desks face the blackboard in tight rows; however, there usually is room for teachers to between rows. Seating arrangements do often vary from class to class and from school to school with maximum capacity seating ranging from 30 – 80. The author observed classrooms where pupils were almost exclusively gender segregated, girls sat in front and boys in the back. Other classrooms were more mixed by gender. But often even in mixed seating arrangements, all girls or all boys would share a bench. Often benches made to seat two pupils will seat three or four. This overcrowding and close proximity to classmates could contribute to reasons why students choose to gender segregate. The authors noted that sections of the class were empty making the classroom distribution of students uneven. This sense of unequal distribution of students throughout the classroom set-up made it more difficult for students in the back to participate.
- The authors often accompanied the teacher trainers to classroom visits for newly recruited un-trained teachers. After observing the teacher for two hours the teacher trainers would provide feedback to the teacher. In regards to gender pedagogy, the teacher trainer would often provide the teacher with the ratio of the number of female to male students they called on during the class raising awareness of any disparities that were made. The trainers also encouraged the teachers to find new ways of engaging students to participate; they recommend positive reinforcement and group work to encourage engagement among the assumed to be shy girls. Additionally, the trainers encouraged the teachers to reflect upon where the students are sitting. Making note that in one observation all the girls were situated on one side of the room and were prone to giggle and not pay attention.

3. Other

- One of the authors participated in an urban middle school assembly held outside under trees that welcomed almost 80 individuals: middle school students, teachers, the principal and family members. The theme was early pregnancy, child rights, and female school dropouts, which had been noted as being a school with a history of early pregnancy. During a 45-minute lecture by one of the enthusiastic gender focal points, statements and advisement were aimed right at the teachers. With almost 40 years of

experience, she discussed how classroom teachers without formal training have greatly contributed to female school abandonment over recent years. She stressed that teachers needed to make sure their teaching style was adapted to the child's needs and that they provide an opportunity for children to talk about their concerns. Additionally she warned that teachers who were around the same age of their students still do not have the right to engage in sexual relations with a student: "You are a Professor; you are not a student!" She also reminded the principal to be leaders supporting their teachers' development and reminding them of their responsibility.

- The authors were looking forward to shadowing teacher trainers on classroom observation visits (an integral aspect of professional development). Authors in all three regions were, time after time, unable to do rural classroom observations with their counterparts because of limited access to transportation and funding for gas. Teacher trainers affirmed that they simply are unable to do almost any classroom observations in rural areas because if they gain access to a vehicle and gas money for a rural trip they want to reach the largest amount of teachers in isolated villages as possible in the form of a pedagogical training sessions where they assemble groups of teachers.

IX. Discussion

Assure adequate funding

The underlying factors for why in-service pedagogical trainings for secondary school teachers are not being implemented effectively are logistical and budgetary shortages. In the current system, limited training budgets, poor road systems and lack of reliable transportation for the trainers to rural schools hinder delivery of pedagogical training. The state has selected skilled and experienced regional teacher trainers across different academic subjects who are ready to deliver pedagogical knowledge, skills and support. If quality at the secondary school level is to be addressed within the current system, then the regional teacher training poles and teacher trainers must be equipped with appropriate budgets and vehicles to access rural areas.

Collaborate with local actors to develop and implement gender-responsive pedagogy

Improving collaboration among the teacher-trainers at each regional training pole in regards to transversal pedagogical topics such as defining course objectives, questioning, lesson design, classroom management, and testing with a specific emphasis on student-centered pedagogical techniques¹⁴, will assist in building support for integrating a gender-responsive pedagogy within each discipline. This may be challenging as all three authors noted general hesitation among teacher-trainers to collaborate across disciplines at their regional training poles. A general need to encourage teacher trainers to acknowledge that there are certain transversal topics that can be trained across disciplines should be emphasized. Assuring that the in-service teacher trainers are familiar with pedagogical approaches and theories for promoting both equality and quality in the classroom is paramount.

To decrease the financial burden of a national endeavor of the implementation of a gender-responsive pedagogy, collaboration across existing structures should be promoted and efforts should be coordinated among state educational actors currently engaged in promoting gender equity. The regional in-service teacher training poles, the SCOFI, the gender offices and the non-state actor but long-term MOE collaborator, Forum for African Women

¹⁴ Student-centered pedagogy takes into consideration the individual learner's needs and their learning is put at the center of the learning process.

Educationalists (FAWE) are all expert educators with invaluable knowledge of the realities of rural and urban schooling. These actors should work together to design a culturally appropriate and comprehensive gender-responsive pedagogy and an effective implementation strategy for long-term training of teacher-trainers and teachers.

For the purpose of this research and due to the limitations in its scope, this article attempts to discuss possible coordination efforts of existing institution at the local level rather than recommending ideal content. Furthermore, Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender (2005) suggest that building a pedagogy/curriculum should be viewed as a challenging but necessary process in which actors engage in debate over the selection of resources and ideas that need to be integrated. Developing and integrating a gender-sensitive pedagogy will work best if feedback is solicited from all actors including family, student policy makers, community members and teachers (Aikman, n.d).¹⁵

Engaging men as actors of change and women as leaders

The official at the public school assembly, claiming that pregnancy and female school dropout in this middle school was due to the lack of professionalism of teachers who take advantage of the girls, demanded improved training of new hires. Inappropriate relationships involving solicited or unsolicited sexual advances, touches or verbal harassment put students in an unequal power dynamic that threatens their overall physical and psychological well-being. Young male teachers sent to rural areas with new positions of status and a salary, often teaching students in their peer group, should be equipped with gender-sensitive and psychological tools. Addressing their role as adult educators, responsible for upholding a child's rights to a safe educational environment, must include using a rights-based approach in which legal actions may be taken to protect that child.

Inadequate representation of females as teachers and educational leaders will continue to contribute to a marginalization in the workforce and deprive girls who are motivated to excel of role models (especially in rural areas). (Anderson-Levitt, Bloch, & Soumaré, 1998, p. 110). Among the few female teachers present at pedagogical trainings, many were young and appeared to be passive participants. This could be noted as a general cultural reluctance of many (especially young) women to actively participate during trainings. Policy documents confirmed that the educational workforce is heavily male dominated in Senegal (Ministre de l'Éducation du Senegal [MOE Senegal], 2008). Female teachers often struggle with their careers and their roles within the school environment (especially in rural area) and face many barriers to promotion (Anderson-Levitt, Bloch, & Soumaré, 1998, p. 111). Notably, there are few female principals and the majority of the regional teacher trainers are also male with an average of only 11% of regional trainers in three regions being female. Female teachers would greatly benefit from training in leadership and gender-sensitive pedagogy.

Developing incentives

During the 2009-2010 academic year, Senegal's teacher's college in Dakar—la Faculté des Sciences et Technologies de l'Éducation et de la Formation (FASTEF)—launched an on-line long-distance diploma granting program for in-service secondary school teachers who have at least two-years of classroom experience but no teacher certificate or diploma. As the FASTEF long-distance program is implemented, integrating a gender-

¹⁵ It should be noted that FAWE's 2005 document *Pour une Pédagogie qui intègre la dimension genre – Manuel de l'enseignant(e)* or Teacher's Manuel for Gender-Responsive Pedagogy, was cited by an educational official as a training used during their education at the teacher university in Dakar. This manual is an excellent resource to build from in developing training materials.

responsive pedagogy as a required on-line course, may allow for an inexpensive way to assure outreach to teachers working in difficult to access rural areas.

Behavioral and attitudinal change would be best assured by creating an action research and a self-reflexivity component to the online gender-responsive modules. Such strategies as ‘Memory Work’ developed by Kippax, S., Charwardor, J., Waldby, C., & Betnon, P. (1990) and examined in Chege (2006), allow for sensitive discussions and constructive reflection on gender inequities and sexual harassment in the school environment. Memory work involves using diaries to reflect upon violence or discrimination that influences one’s consciousness (Chege, 2006). Making the action-research project a requirement for graduation or offering financial support for a gender responsive program developed by a teacher based upon their action research, could assist in assuring behavioral and attitudinal change among teachers.

IX. Conclusions

Logistical, budgetary, and organizational challenges and a general misunderstanding of what constitutes gender equity results in a disconnect between policy documents and classroom realities. At the local level, the reality reveals that limited training budgets, poor road systems and lack of reliable transportation for the region in-service secondary school teacher trainers, threaten the efficient delivery of their trainings services. This makes assuring appropriate pedagogical training in both gender-responsive and student-centered pedagogy even more challenging.

As in industrialized countries where awareness and understanding of gender issues emerged over time and with the imposition of laws and policies protecting and promoting gender equity and awareness, in Senegal sensitivity and recognition of needs and ways of addressing them are evolving gradually. This study suggests that the political and policy groundwork has been laid for effective gender-responsive educational reform. Nonetheless, the authors suggest that these reforms are not aggressive and comprehensive enough to assure adequate teacher training in gender-responsive pedagogy.

Beginning with the 2010 – 2011 school year the regional teacher training poles for secondary school education will move into a new ministry structure and the regional teacher trainers may have a different role. This is a unique moment for Senegal to assure gender awareness training gets integrated into teacher-trainings and move Senegal onto the superhighway for gender equity. Teachers are key actors in creating gender equity in education. However, as argued by the authors of this research and building from Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, (2005): “Expectations of teachers to become effective change agents for gender equality—inside reformers—will not be met unless teachers are supported and empowered to do this through the coordinated efforts of pre-service training institutions, and providers of in-service and ongoing professional development.” (p. 51). The authors, thus, propose the direct implication of teachers in the forefront of the new politic of quality and equitable education. If left unaddressed, the absence of appropriate pedagogical training for in-service teachers and administration will continue to limit the delivery of quality education in Senegal.

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