"HOW THE POOR GET POORER"
AN EXPLORATION INTO THE PARTICIPATION, QUALITY AND NEEDS OF FEMALE TEACHERS IN DEPRIVED RURAL AREAS OF GHANA

Final Report

March 30, 2001

Submitted to the Girls' Education Unit, Ministry of Education
Accra, Ghana

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Acronyms

BESIP	**Basic Education Sector Investment Project**
CRS	**Catholic Relief Services**
DDE	**District Director of Education**
DEO	**District Education Office**

FAWE	**Foundation for African Women Educationalists**
FCUBE	**Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education**
FPMU	**Programme Management Unit**
GER	**Gross Enrolment Ratio**
GES	**Ghana Education Service**
ICU	**Implementation Co-ordination Unit, GES**
JSS	**Junior Secondary School**
KG	**Kindergarten**
LSFT	**Long Serving Female Teacher**
MOE	**Ministry of Education**
MSLC	**Middle School Leaving Certificate**
MUSTER	**Multi-Site Teacher Education Research Project**
NGO	**Non Governmental Organisation**
NTFT	**Newly Trained Female Teacher**
PTA	**Parent Teacher Association**
PSDP	**Primary School Development Project**
QUIPS	**Quality Improvement in Primary Schools**
RECs	**Rural Education Centre**
SIF	**Schooling Improvement Fund**
SMC	**School Management Committee**
SSS	**Senior Secondary School**
SSSCE	**Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination**
STME	**Science, Technology and Mathematics Education Clinics**
TTCs	**Teacher Training Colleges**
USAID	**United States Agency for International Development**
WUSC	**World University Service of Canada**

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Acknowledgements

The research team would like to thank all the District Directors of Education and their staff for providing us with great hospitality in often-difficult environments. Special thanks go to all the manpower, statistics, public relations and girls' education officers who assisted the team during the fieldwork.

Thanks also to Dr Kwame Akyeampong, Institute of Education, University of Cape Coast, who reviewed the research, Mr John Hedges from the University of Sussex for sharing his work on teacher identity and gender issues based on work in the Central Region of Ghana, Mr Ernest Kusi-Minkah from University of Ghana who assisted with the Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping. Thanks also go to Mrs Vivian Sarpomaa Fiscian from the Sociology Department, University of Cape Coast, who assisted with the literature review, generation of graphs and editing.

Special thanks go to Cecilia Pomary, Director of the Girls Education Unit who helped to guide and support this research. Thanks also to Maggie Brew-Ward of the Girls Education Unit, Georgina Quaisie of Action Aid and Jan Leno of the World Bank who made important contributions at various stages in the research process.

Special thanks must also go to the many teachers and communities who took the time to share their struggles, challenges and insight into their lives and work. We appreciate their openness and hope that the study will help more female teachers serve in often-difficult circumstances and encourage more girls to enter the teaching profession.

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Executive Summary

The following study is an investigation into the needs of female teachers in remote rural areas of Ghana and the reasons for the poor supply of females in these areas. It is based on an extensive literature review and over one month of fieldwork conducted in six predominantly deprived rural districts across Ghana. The study aims at highlighting the needs of female teachers in these areas in order for the Ghana Education Service (GES) and more precisely, the Girls' Education Unit to design strategies to attract and retain more female teachers in deprived rural areas of the country. The Girls' Education Unit has identified the problem of the low presence of female teachers serving in schools in deprived rural areas[1] as one of the main constraints militating against girls' access and achievement in basic education. The aim of this study is to illuminate the needs and constraints of female teachers serving in remote rural areas in order to improve the supply in the Basic Education system.

Six districts across three geographic zones with the lowest percentage of female teachers were selected for study. The study took a predominantly qualitative approach exploring the perceptions of the primary stakeholders involved in basic education-- primarily: the district education staff, female teachers living in deprived rural areas, girls and community members. The six districts selected for study had the lowest percentage of female participation at basic level in the country-- between 10-20%. Two districts within each geographic zone were selected for study and are as follows:

- Southern Belt: Juabeso Bia (14.3%) and Wassa Amenfi (15.5%)
- Middle Belt: Kintampo (13.1 %) and Sene (10.6%)
- Northern Belt: Tolon Kumbongo (7.8%) and East Gonja (14.3%)

Interviews and focal group discussion were conducted with 22 female teachers, both trained and untrained, serving in 20 of the most deprived areas across the six districts. Interviews were also held with male colleagues serving in the same areas and other female teachers in less deprived areas such as district capitals and circuit centres in order to compare and contrast the perceptions and attitudes of teachers. Informal interviews were conducted with girls in the final year of SSS concerning their career interests, programme choices and attitudes toward the teaching profession.

Profile of female teachers in Ghana: recruitment and retention

National and district level investigations revealed that there were very few female teachers—trained or untrained--working in basic schools in deprived rural areas across

[1] The categorisation of deprivation is explored in the second chapter. Deprived rural are those areas outside main town/ circuit centres and the district capital.

the country. The vast majority of districts had between 10-30% female participation in the teaching force. The majority of female teachers were located in or around major town centres such as regional, district and circuit centres. The districts selected for study had between 10-20% of female teacher participation at the basic school level.

Female teachers who were working in deprived rural areas over an extended period of time were often married to inhabitants from the community; some also had family relations in the area or had acquired land for cultivation (i.e. cocoa growing areas). The vast majority of females serving in rural areas had Middle School Leaving Certificates (MSLC) with four years at Teacher Training College (A4 certification). These long serving female teachers (LSFT) had been teaching for over 10 years with very little in-service training or support.

Newly trained female teachers (NTFT) were often based in the district capital, circuit centres, or towns close to a junction or major road. None of the districts surveyed were posting newly trained females in pairs as the guidelines suggest, due to a scarcity of female and male teachers.

District Education Offices have begun recruiting untrained 'pupil' teachers over the last three years since the policy on pupil teacher recruitment has opened up. Investigations in study districts revealed that less than 10% of the district 'pupil' teacher recruits were women. The vast majority of new recruits were usually men with SSSCE or A or O Level certification; some recruits were being sponsored by the District Assembly to proceed to teacher training college. Head teachers at the Senior Secondary Schools and officers at the DEOs explained that very few female SSSCE holders have the minimum requirements necessary to enter the TTCs or become 'pupil teachers'. Most female applicants to the TTCs fail to obtain a minimum of D at SSS in the core subject areas such as Maths, English and Integrated Science. The study found that the poor performance of females at SSS level is on factor constraining a large number of females from entering the teaching profession either as trained or untrained teachers.

Needs of female teachers

The main needs of female teachers relate to their family and professional circumstances such as their age, number of children and marital status as well as their stage in professional development. The study found that the vast majority of female teachers serving in deprived rural areas were untrained and had often been serving in the GES for over 10 years. Out of the 22 female teachers interviewed at least 15 female teachers (trained and untrained) had served in a rural area for over 10 years.[2] Long serving female teachers (LSFT) usually had their own accommodation through their family relations, although these arrangements were not always adequate.

Out of the sample of 22 female teachers 6 were newly trained and required accommodation. Almost all the communities visited had provided newly trained female

[2] Eight people were over 40 years old, seven were between 20-30 years old and seven were between 31-39 years old.

teachers (NTFT) and their male counterparts with accommodation. Some communities had constructed their own teacher accommodation and others located existing buildings, which they gave to the teachers or rented out at a low cost. Communities were found capable of providing accommodation with minimal assistance—provision of roofing sheets and cement. District Assemblies were also in the process of constructing teacher accommodation in major circuit centres and through self-help schemes set-up to provide basic construction materials such as roofing sheets and cement.

The long serving female teachers (LSFT) in remote rural areas described their main problems as:

- lack of remuneration
- lack of transport (especially to collect salaries and travel to school)
- lack of access to credit schemes for consumer and productive items (i.e. sewing machines, roofing materials)
- lack of professional and non-professional training.

The newly trained female teachers (NTFT) described their main problems as:

- lack of decent accommodation
- lack of access to learning facilities (i.e. extra study classes, computer classes) in order to improve upon their education
- lack of clean water and health facilities
- lack of entertainment (i.e. radio and television).

Most of the 22 female teachers interviewed mentioned the poor remuneration in the teaching profession as one of their main problems. Female teachers particularly untrained female teachers-- who had been serving in GES for over 10 years-- were concerned with the lack of basic remuneration. Most untrained teachers were paid between 160,000 to 180,000 cedis while trained teachers were paid approximately 320,000 cedis[3]. Female teachers complained of their inability to support their own children through senior secondary school and higher levels of education (i.e. HND, Polytechnic schools, Teacher Training College and University). They also expressed concern over the poor health conditions in the community and inability to easily access health facilities.

Many of the LSFT and NTFT expressed the desire to upgrade their professional knowledge but were hampered due to the lack of in-service training and professional training opportunities available in the last ten years. Some untrained female teachers who had missed entering teacher-training college to complete their 'A 4 year' certification expressed the desire to complete teacher training in a modular course[4]. Other challenges LSFT faced related to their home life and difficulty in balancing work and family life responsibilities. Women who were posted to deprived rural areas and travelling sometimes between 5 to 10 miles a day expressed concern over their inability to properly feed and care for their children who they left behind. These same women admitted that

[3] Untrained teachers receive approximately 22 to 24 US dollars per month while trained teachers receive close to 47 US dollars per month based on a cedis rate of 6800 per dollar (October, 2000).

[4] A 4 year training programmes were gradually phased out after the reforms were introduced in education in 1987.

they were not able to attend their teaching post on a regular basis and could only teach 3-4 days per week. Community members reported wide scale absenteeism and lateness among female teachers particularly during market days and due to food preparation responsibilities. Men were also found absent from school due to health reasons, salary collection and market days.

The needs of NTFT and LSFT serving in deprived rural areas differed according to their **family status and educational background.** Different strategies to upgrade, attract and retrain untrained and trained female teachers depend largely on taking into consideration these two factors. Proposals are made in Chapter 7 of this report.

Challenges faced by female teachers at the work place

Several teachers reported a 'lack of interest and commitment' on the part of parents towards their child's education. There was a clear problem of teacher-community relations in almost all of the 20 communities. Only in areas where the teachers were serving the community in some leadership capacity or demonstrating their interest in improving the school had community members shown interest in assisting the teachers. Most of the 20 study communities were providing teachers with foodstuffs, accommodation and loans before their salaries arrived.

Only a few long serving female teachers lived in communities they were posted to due to their children's education and family responsibilities. Most lived between 2-5 kms from the communities. These same females were sending their children to private schools in the towns where education was considered of higher quality. Male colleagues also complained that female teachers are absent on a regular basis when their children were sick; teacher absenteeism was not only a female phenomena in deprived rural areas. Several male colleagues in the Western Region complained that female teachers brought young children to school after completing their maternity leave. Female teachers would place the baby on the desk when they were teaching the class which was sometimes disruptive to other teachers. The investigation across the districts revealed that NTFT were often "protected" from serving in remote rural areas where they might be handicapped by marriage with "local" men from a lower socio-economic status.

Apart from the particular problems faced by female teachers, teachers in general were also experiencing significant problems in obtaining the basic furniture, decent class structures, books and literature needed to achieve an effective teaching learning environment in these areas. Teachers complained bitterly that communities lacked interest in their children's education and did not provide the basic structures and learning items for them. This was a significant factor in job dissatisfaction recorded in all the teacher interviews. Teachers posted to rural schools were keenly aware of the difference between an urban school and a rural school; most teachers wanted to avoid being termed a "village teacher". Once posted to rural areas, only a few teachers were found making efforts to work with local communities in order to improve the teaching/learning environment for the children. Most teachers placed problems before the PTA and/or community expecting them to solve the problem. In some cases teachers did not even

attempt dialogue with the community. Poor community school relations was a strong theme permeating most of the study sites and a significant factor in attracting, preparing and retaining female teachers posted to rural areas.

Problem of supply of female teachers to the education system

The study uncovered a crisis with respect to rural education in Ghana particularly in light of the poor supply of trained female teachers. The study further confirmed the existence of a retrogressive cycle preventing rural communities from using the basic education system as a means to human development (Casely-Hayford, 2000). The cycle of poverty (outlined in figure 3.1) continued due to the poor performance of female students in the basic and secondary levels of education and the inability of rural communities to produce children who will enter the teaching profession and help break the cycle. The extremely low participation of women entering the teaching profession from these same areas further impacts on the female attendance and performance at basic level. Out of the entire 20 community sites not one female had entered the teaching profession in the last five years. This in turn was having a negative impact on girls' participation and achievement at basic level.

Out of the 20 communities most exhibited low female enrolment and high drop out rates particularly at upper primary and JSS level. Interviews with parents and head teachers revealed a lack of parental interest in education particularly related to their girl child. Most parents were frustrated with the poor performance of teachers in their schools and lacked evidence that their children would be able to achieve a quality education from attending rural schools. Parents were conscious of the poor quality of education exhibited in rural schools as compared to their town counterparts.

The study revealed apathy and aversion to the teaching profession among SSS female students and among teachers themselves across the six districts. The majority of SSS female students interviewed in SSS 3 concluded that teachers were not given enough remuneration, took little interest in their work and were not respected by the community. These third year students were apprehensive of entering the teaching profession due to its extremely low status in the community and with men in particular.

Interviews with SSS female students in their final year confirmed that they:

- found teachers receiving little respect (particularly from male students)
- found very few community members showing respect toward the teachers
- sited examples of the low socio-economic status of the teachers in society
- had very few if any female role models teaching at the SSS level
- were disillusioned by the poor quality of teaching and low commitment of teachers in their own SSS institutions

Out of the 87 female SSS students interviewed in the study only 11 said they would like to go into the teaching profession (12.6%). Very few SSS3 girls knew the requirements for teacher training college and the courses they needed. The vast majority of girls were taking SSS programmes in business and vocational options, preventing them from qualifying at training college. Many girls explained that they feared the math and science subjects and opted for programmes such as vocational and secretarial which did not require the same level of intensity in these subject areas. Very few girls knew which programme options would lead them to training college or other professions. Interviews with 87 SSS girls revealed that very few if any had received career counselling and knew how to pursue their career choices. Interviews with LSFT revealed that the majority of females had been mentored and encouraged to pursue teaching by a family relation or religious leader.

The problem of female teacher supply was also related to the entrance and retention of candidates in the teacher training institutions. Newly trained female teachers reported that promotional examinations had prevented some females from graduating from the teacher training colleges[5]. Another deterrent for female teachers in accepting postings to deprived rural areas was their marital status. NTFT who were married were usually posted to districts where their partners were located. District officers did not separate them from their marriage partners so they often were posted to schools in district capitals and towns. Manpower and District Directors of Education stated that marital status and the opportunity to find a "suitable marriage partner" was the key reason for posting NTFT to large towns and district centres. Only a few female teachers who were deployed to deprived rural **districts** were retained in the district capitals or large town centres where they could obtain some level of social and economic comfort. Very few NTFT were found outside the district capitals.

On average only a few female teachers were deployed to the study districts despite the high vacancy rates and low percentage of female teachers. The study revealed a critical need for the GES to take proactive steps to promote female participation by arresting the gender imbalance. Studies have shown that female teachers provide a more sensitive, encouraging learning environment thereby improving self-esteem of girls (Croft, 2000).

Strategies for increasing the retention of female teachers in remote rural areas:

The study found that many of the strategies for improving the supply and retention of female teachers in deprived rural areas depended primarily on **improving the status of the female and male teacher** in Ghana. The current status of teaching is so low that several teachers reported dissuading their own children from entering the profession. Females are particularly vulnerable to this low status since they already occupy a low social status in Ghanaian society (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 1994; Nikoi, 1998) and are not likely to be attracted to or remain in professions which further "handicap them".

[5] Based on interviews with staff in the teacher education division, GES and newly trained female teachers serving in the six districts.

A national campaign to educate the entire population regarding the role of the teacher is long overdue and desperately needed in Ghana. This would complement the current approach within the FCUBE programme, which focuses on increasing parental awareness, and disciplinary action. A more positive approach, which encourages teachers who have been serving in rural areas for extended periods of time, should be adopted by the GES. They should also attempt to become more inclusive of untrained teachers who have often felt alienated by the system. An Information Education and Communication (IEC) campaign, which highlights the lives of long serving rural teachers, particularly females serving in remote areas should be undertaken as one line of action for improving the status of the teacher. Politicians, religious leaders and parliamentarians should be consulted in order to spearhead such a campaign since so many are teachers themselves and appear well placed to promote this awareness campaign. Positive reinforcement has been proven as a more effective means of influencing job satisfaction. This in turn would place teachers in the limelight and encourage them to perform thereby improving the level of respect within the community and Ghanaian society at large.

A reorientation of the teacher within Ghanaian society is necessary in order to further support their improved status. Teachers should be made aware of their role as agents of change within the community and their responsibility to assist communities organise for educational improvement. Several strategies, which promote this reorientation and improve community school relations, have already proven effective within the Ghanaian NGO sector and should be considered in the design of approaches, which improve female teachers participation in rural areas. A few of these programmes include UNICEF's Child Scope programme, the Schooling Improvement Fund and Community School Alliance programme (MOE, 1997). Clear evidence of the impact of improving community school relations in Ghanaian schools are documented by Baku and Agyeman (1997) and Casely-Hayford, (2000). The impact of improving the community school relationship is also demonstrated by the number of programmes, which have emerged and adopt such as strategy such as the Whole School Development programme and the Quality Improvement in Primary Schools (QUIPS).

This study revealed the critical need to improve the skills of rural based teachers, in order to avoid further polarising the problems of teaching and learning in these areas. Simple communication and community development techniques are badly needed in preparing both females and males to serve in these areas more effectively. They should be informed about the problems of rural education, motivated to serve and make a difference to the lives of children instead of being given incentives to 'do time' in these areas. Too many teachers expect PTAs and SMCs to take up full responsibility for school improvement at the basic level. GES should consider setting up simple micro schemes for rural communities to tap in order to improve their educational activities but with a strong focus on the needs of the teacher -- similar to the Schooling Improvement Fund but on a more cost-effective basis. This would require the training of District Education officers in collaboration with other NGOs in the district.

All untrained teachers particularly females, should be given in service training to improve their subject knowledge and methodology on a regular basis. This would help teachers who often feel isolated in rural areas to work together to solve problems with colleagues on a regular basis. Teacher training colleges should reorientate NTFT towards the type of conditions they will face in working in rural deprived areas and contextualise the curriculum so that all **newly trained teachers** are prepared to serve a minimum of two years in these areas.

A course in community development should be introduced in first and second year which explores the problems of rural education in Ghana, the attitudes necessary to ensure rural children are given an equal treatment to their urban counterparts, gender sensitisation, the service nature of the teaching profession, the problems they will confront in working in rural areas and the skills they need to overcome these problems (consultation, group facilitation and community mobilisation). Bolivia and other countries have already introduced these courses beginning in the first year of teacher training college. The introduction of a new teacher training structure in Ghana with two years in and one year out provides a timely means of introducing such as course. Part of the course work should include project work during the final year out in the field and be presented at the end of the third year.

Newly trained teachers should be prepared to serve a minimum of **two years** in any district in the country regardless of where they are posted. Priority for the next five years should be given to districts (50), which have between 5 to 30% female teacher participation. This is often a reflection the level of deprivation in particular areas of the country (see Map 1). Ga Rural District has some experiences in implementing this approach and can share experience concerning their strategies for ensuring teachers serve a minimum of two years before being posted to the urban centres.

The study revealed that deprived rural areas need teachers who will assist communities realise a better quality of education through better community organisation, plans and activities. The Ghana Education Service should prepare teachers to become active agents of change in school improvement programmes. Teachers should be motivated to serve their communities and not only benefit from these programmes. More effective training in community school relations is necessary and is one of the main thrusts of the fCUBE programme. The teacher, particularly women, must be trained in how to engage with and activate community leaders, parents and PTAs in order to increasing community ownership, participation and improve basic infrastructure. Teachers must learn the basic techniques of community sensitisation and consultation in order to gain the support of parents making their jobs more effective and efficient and leading to higher levels of job satisfaction.

Several evaluations point to the absence of teachers from the design and implementation of community education improvement programmes such as the Schooling Improvement Fund and the Primary School Development Project (MOE 1998; MOE, 1999). Teachers working in rural areas should be given at least a two week orientation programme in preparation for their roles as community development agents, improve their own comfort

and the schools environment for effective teaching and learning. This 'moral leadership' approach should complement the incentive packages, which are given to teachers who serve in deprived rural areas but not only as a means of attraction. Ghanaian teachers should be prepared to serve in these areas as part of their normal post teacher training experience.

Teachers (females especially) who have already been serving and are willing to serve in rural areas should be given a special incentive package, which would include:

- Transport: bicycle or in some exceptional cases motorbike depending on the location of the posting
- Allowance (educational) for serving in rural areas: between 30-50 % of the salary[6]
- Items to assist them adjust to rural life: water filter, mosquito net and bedding, relocation travel allowance and solar operated lamps, wireless radio sets.
- Ongoing training programmes on a bi-yearly basis for teachers (trained and untrained) posted to remote rural areas.
- Credit schemes to purchase some materials such as cement and roofing materials.

Strategies for improving the performance of female children should also include men's sensitivity toward the needs of the girl child particularly in light of recent studies outlining her low self-esteem (WUSC, 2000). Several incentive programs are recommended for a variety of levels of deprivation across the country. More importantly, a fundamental shift in teaching and public opinion is needed in order to improve the supply and retention of female teachers in deprived rural areas of Ghana and break the poverty cycle through educational development.

[6] Based on figures suggested in the GES Manpower report, 1996, funds would be made available to the basic education level once a total rationalisation of the kindergarten and pre school level is made and teachers are either retrenched or continue to teach pre school through support from the community. Currently the number of teachers at this level shows wastage particularly in communities where there are other alternatives such as the private/NGO pre schools and kindergartens. The payment of Islamic teachers should also be reconsidered in the northern areas of the country where they teach for only a few hours a day. These teachers should be supported by the community and not dependent on state resources. Finally a large number of funds would be made available if the duplication of services between religious unit management and GES management were streamlined.

Chapter 1: Overview of the Needs of Female Teachers in Rural Ghana

1.1 Background and Objectives of the Study

According to the Ghana Education Service (GES, 2000) 36% of the teaching force in primary schools and 22.5% in junior secondary schools are females. The vast majority of female teachers live and work in urban areas. What is less understood are the numbers serving in deprived rural areas on a district basis. This study was designed to explore these issues, investigate the needs of female teachers in these areas and suggest measures to attract and retain more female teachers in rural areas.

The study was designed based on the need to supply more female role models at basic level in order to retain and improve girls' participation and achievement at basic level particularly in deprived rural areas. The Girls Education Unit (GEU) commissioned this study into the needs and strategies for retaining female teachers in deprived rural areas. The MOE's Basic Education Sector Improvement Programme (BESIP) Policy document stipulates that to "ensure higher percentages of girls' enrolment, it is recommended that more female teachers should be posted to areas of very low girls' enrolment. This will ensure that girls have role models whose example will urge them to achieve greater heights of academic performance" (MOE, 1996, p36.). This document identifies the lack of accommodation as the greatest constraint to teachers in accepting posting to difficult/vulnerable areas. "Consequently, the Ministry intends to build new staff houses in rural areas, 50% of which will be allocated to female teachers as an incentive." (MOE, Terms of Reference, August 2000). This study was designed to explore the strategies and incentive packages, which could attract and motivate female teachers to serve in these areas.

Scope and main aims of the study

The main aim of the study, as stated in the terms of reference, is to "identify what, if any, are the particular needs of female teachers already posted to rural and deprived areas. Also to investigate their needs in order to formulate incentives to encourage more female teachers to choose and accept rural postings." (MOE, Terms of Reference, August 2000, p.1). The terms of reference also emphasize the need to investigate the constraints on the supply and demand sides to recruiting more women to rural schools, proposing cost effective solutions and a realistic programme for promoting the training of female teachers for schools in rural and/or deprived areas. The strategies, methods and expected outputs adopted to achieve these objectives are outlined as follows in the following table:

Table 1.1: Aims and objectives of the research

AIM	Specific Objective/Activity	Methods adopted
Supply of female teachers	Analysis of existing data on the supply of teachers to schools in rural and deprived communities	Analysis of gender disaggregated data from secondary, entry and completion into teacher training college.
	Review studies already undertaken on the motivation of female teachers to take up postings in rural schools.	Review studies on past and ongoing interventions (i.e. teacher housing).
	Interview teachers, girls and parents in areas with a low percentage of female teachers. Explore the needs and problems of female teachers in deprived rural areas.	Interviews with girls, parents and female teachers in rural deprived areas.
	Explore the possible options for attracting rural girls into the teaching profession.	Interviews with girls and parents.
Constraints and needs of female teachers	Provide strategies to attract more women to rural schools and to propose cost effective responses to this problem.	Interviews with female teachers and manpower officers, directors of education.

Consultation with the Head of the Girls' Education Unit, indicated **that fieldwork should focus on the issues and constraints of female teachers in rural areas and have as a secondary point of investigation, the reason why girls do not go into the teaching profession.** Chapter 3 describes the studies, research design and methodology in more detail.

Organisation of the study

The study began with a literature and statistical analysis of existing data available at GES on supply and deployment trends from Teacher Education and Manpower division. This analysis enabled the research team to identify the major issues and constraints of female candidates entering the teaching profession and deployed to rural areas from a macro perspective. The team also reviewed relevant literature from both an international and African perspective in order to frame the research questions and explore existing strategies related to the study.

The next few sections are a reflection of these findings. Chapter 2 will present the findings of the literature review. Chapter 3 explores the research design and methodology. Chapter 4 profiles the characteristics of female teachers across the districts and communities. Chapter 5 outlines the main problems and constraints faced by female teachers in rural deprived areas. Chapter 6 explores the reasons why girls are not opting for the teaching profession. Chapter 7 presents the recommendations, a programme for preparing female teachers to serve in rural areas and strategies for attracting, retaining and upgrading female teachers in these areas of Ghana.

1.2 Geographic Status of Female Teachers in Ghana

A mapping exercise was carried out as part of the analysis and indicates that the majority of females reside in districts bordering on regional capitals and major urban centres (i.e. Accra, Kumasi, Tamale, Takoradi etc). See Map 1 at the beginning of this chapter. The mapping exercise was based on 1996/97 data and was used for the selection of the districts chosen for the study (see annex 5 for details).

Government Statistics from the 1996/97 on the percentage of female teachers and percentage of girls enrolled in primary schools by district across Ghana indicate:

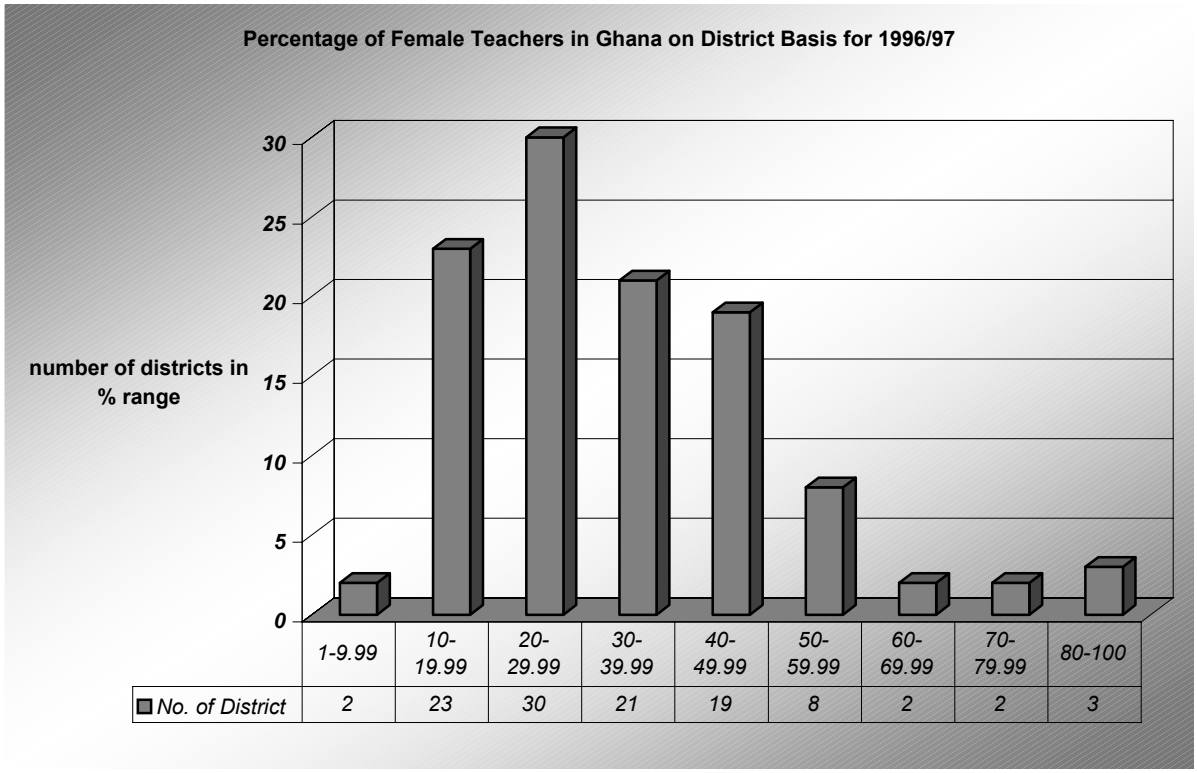
- A very low percentage of female teachers particularly in districts with high levels of poverty and 'deprivation'
- Corroboration with the poverty studies conducted within Ghana indicates that the low percentage of female teachers corresponds to areas considered as "pockets of poverty" (GSS, 1995; GSS Ghana Living Standards Survey 3, 1995; Alhassan, 1997).
- **The study also found that districts with a low percentage of female teacher participation also corresponded to the low level of female enrolment at basic level in the same districts.**

As Vanbelle-Prounty and Misk (1998) point out, " consistently and not surprisingly, a low percentage of women teachers accompanies a low enrolment of girls in schools" (quoted in Hedges, 2000). The vicious cycle of low female presence in deprived rural schools has a direct relationship to the low participation of girls in basic to tertiary levels of education in these same areas and is one of the most important issues arising from the research. This is further explored in Chapter 2.

Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping was used to depict the concentrations of female teachers by district across the country (see Map 1 at the beginning of this chapter). This process helped the research team seek a visual indication of the areas of deprivation and low female participation. Annex 5 contains a table indicating the percentage of female teachers across the selected districts and the girls' enrolment in these same districts.

Data on percentage of female teachers across the districts indicate that the largest number of districts (30 districts out of 110) in the country contain between 20-29% of female teacher participation in the force while only 7 districts have over 60 % and above female teacher participation in the service. These seven districts all contain regional capitals. See the table 1.0 below for full details.

Figure 1.0: Number of districts in percentage range of female teachers in Ghana

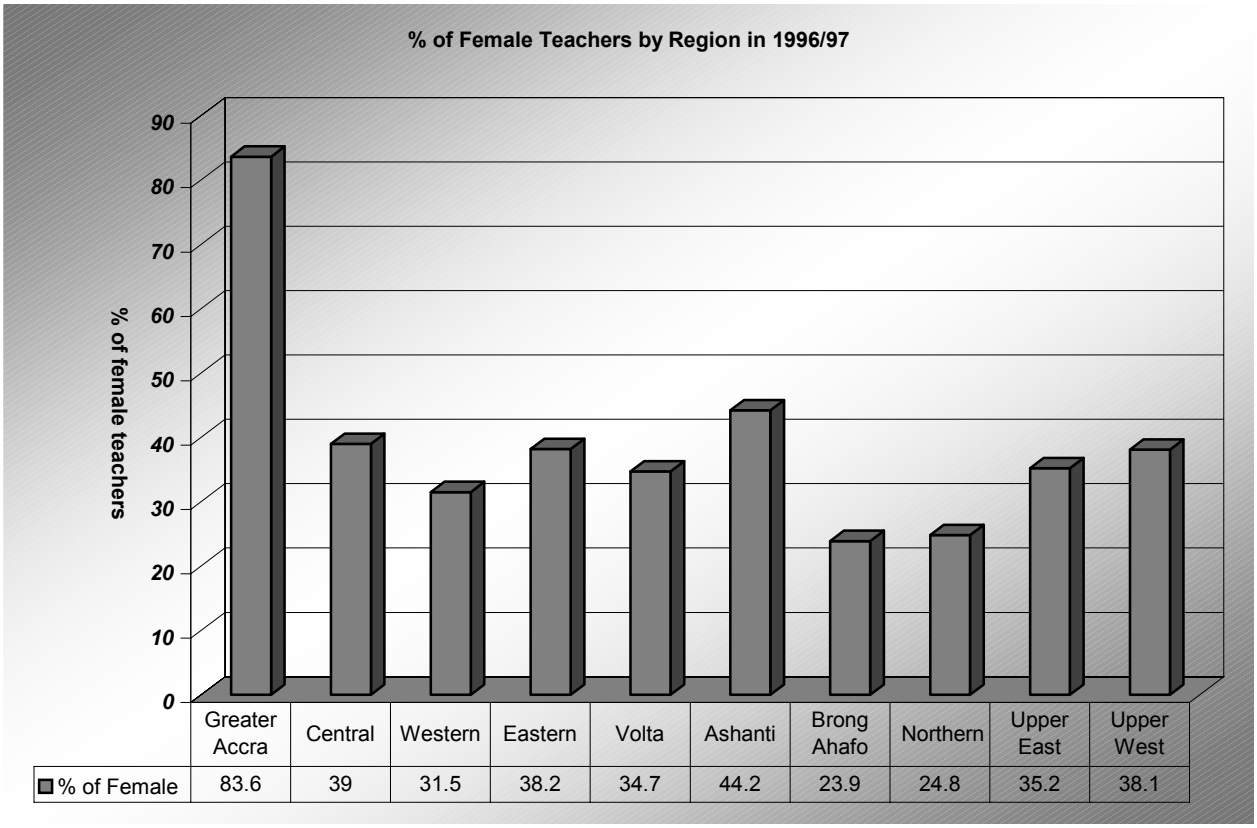


The districts selected for the study fell into 10-20 % range although only one selected district fell in the range of 1-9% (Tolon Kumbungu). In most cases figures below 10% were numerically too small to consider for the study (i.e. Gusheigu Karaga with only 4 females in the entire district).

Figure 1.1 presents the percentage of female teachers across the regions. The analysis of gender-disaggregated data in Ghana reveals a direct relationship between low % of female teachers, and the poverty status/ rural nature of the district (i.e. access to basic services and low income levels). High levels of female teachers are clustered in districts around the regional capitals or in areas where there is a prevalence of economic activity and market centres. The Western region, Brong Ahafo region and Northern region had the lowest percentage of female teachers and were selected for the study. They are also considered the most deprived regions according to poverty indicators and educational status using the Ghana Living Standards Surveys over the last 10 years (GSS, 1995; CWIQ, 1998).

Figure 1.1: Analysis of female teacher participation across the regions

(Source: MOE, 2000)



A social mapping exercise locating the female teachers in the district carried out with each of the six district education offices revealed a high percentage of female teachers concentrated in urban or market centres within the district and region. These trends also follow a higher population distribution within the region. Interviews with newly trained and long serving female teachers in the districts revealed a desire to serve in urban areas due to their close proximity to basic health, education and commercial services for themselves and their families' benefit (i.e. children). Another reason was their desire to engage in commercial activities and obtain 'easy credit' in urban centers in order to supplement income from teaching (this is further explored in Chapter 4). Finally, female teachers, particularly newly trained ones, expressed the desire to upgrade their professional skills through exposure to computer and pre-university courses.

Problems of Supply and Demand of female teachers

The low percentage of female teachers in some deprived rural areas is related to the low percentage of female teachers (30%) in the entire teaching force. Secondly it reflects a preference for serving in urban or more 'developed' areas of Ghana. This study found that there are very few females serving in deprived districts and even fewer in rural areas (see Table 4.3). GES Manpower report for 1996/97 suggests there are a considerable number of vacancies in schools in deprived rural areas. Reports from DDEs suggest that schools in more urbanised districts containing regional capitals have an excess of staff. The report

suggests a redistribution of teachers from the Greater Accra and the Brong Ahafo regions and the "shedding off of 518 and 34 teachers respectively to other region where their services are needed". The GES manpower report (1996) states that there were 14,860 vacancies to be filled with new recruits to the service and at least 7,600 teachers should be transferred to deprived rural areas.

A quick review of the following factors will help to orient the reader to the findings of the entire study. The following were the key findings from the study. Most women were not in the teaching profession due to:

Low percentage of trained female teachers in the formal education system (supply)

- low percentage of females graduating from Senior Secondary School (less than 30% of population)
- lack of interest in the teaching profession by women (based on SSS interviews)
- failure of women to qualify for teacher training college
- strict entrance requirements for teacher training college

Failure to maximise female graduates within the training college

- repetition and drop of females due to promotional exams and failure to successfully complete training colleges

Failure to attract trained female teachers to rural deprived areas (deployment/constraints)

- posting policy and procedures
- deployment problems to rural deprived areas

Low percentage of female teachers serving and retained in rural areas

- low percentage of women being engaged as pupil teachers
- inability of women to meet the basic academic requirements for pupil teacher positions in deprived areas.
- inability to sustain newly trained females in deprived rural areas

The demand for female teachers from both district and community levels was not a significant factor in the study due to the overall need for more teachers, male or female, within these deprived rural areas. DDEs complained of the lack of qualified teachers deployed to their areas. Community members also complained of a lack of teachers rarely pointing to their gender as a factor for consideration. Very few communities interviewed saw any advantage of having female teachers and some said they preferred male teachers because they 'worked harder'. Parents spoke of how they observed females showing up for school late, letting the children play for hours at a time and teaching the same lessons to children. This contrasted sharply with parental perceptions of male teachers preparing lesson notes for class, working harder and considered more competent in the subject matter. Studies from the Multi-site Teacher Education Research Project (MUSTER) reveals that female teachers were perceived as better teachers for young children particularly at the lower primary level.

1.3 Supply trends: input and output of teacher training college

The following section outlines the findings from the analysis of existing gender disaggregated data on supply trends from 38 teacher training colleges.

Figure 1.2: Teacher intake in 38 teacher training colleges from 1997-2000
(Source: Teacher Education Department, GES, 2000 Data)

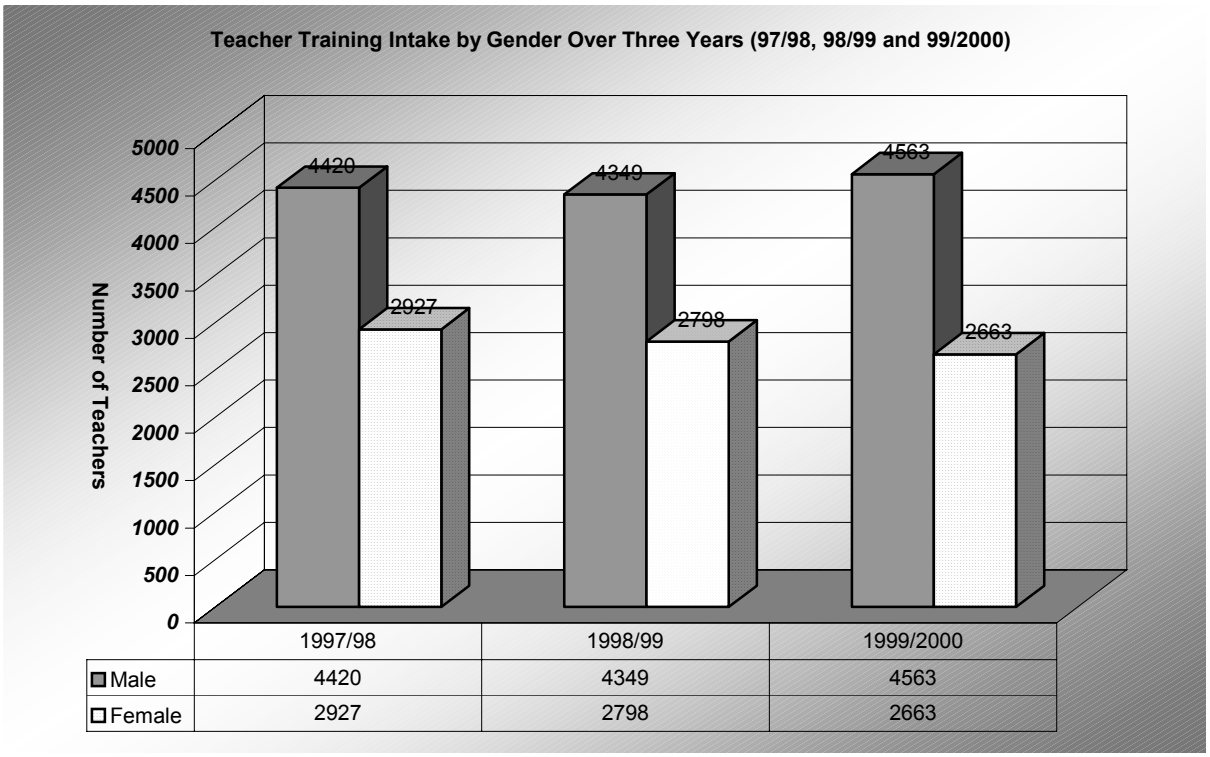


Figure 1.2 above reveals that there were a significantly lower percentage of female teachers than males entering training college in Ghana. The figures reveal that out of a total of teacher education intake in 1997/98 only 39.8 % were women. Out of a total teacher education intake in 1998/98 only 39.1 % were women and in 1999/2000 only 36.9% were women. Female entrants to teacher training colleges declined by 2.9% between 1997/98 and 1999/2000.

The gender disaggregated data on male and female teacher entrance and exit from teacher-training college suggest slight variation between the entrance and exit of female teachers. There were only a few female candidates who did not complete teacher-training college although more research is needed from the training colleges to confirm this.

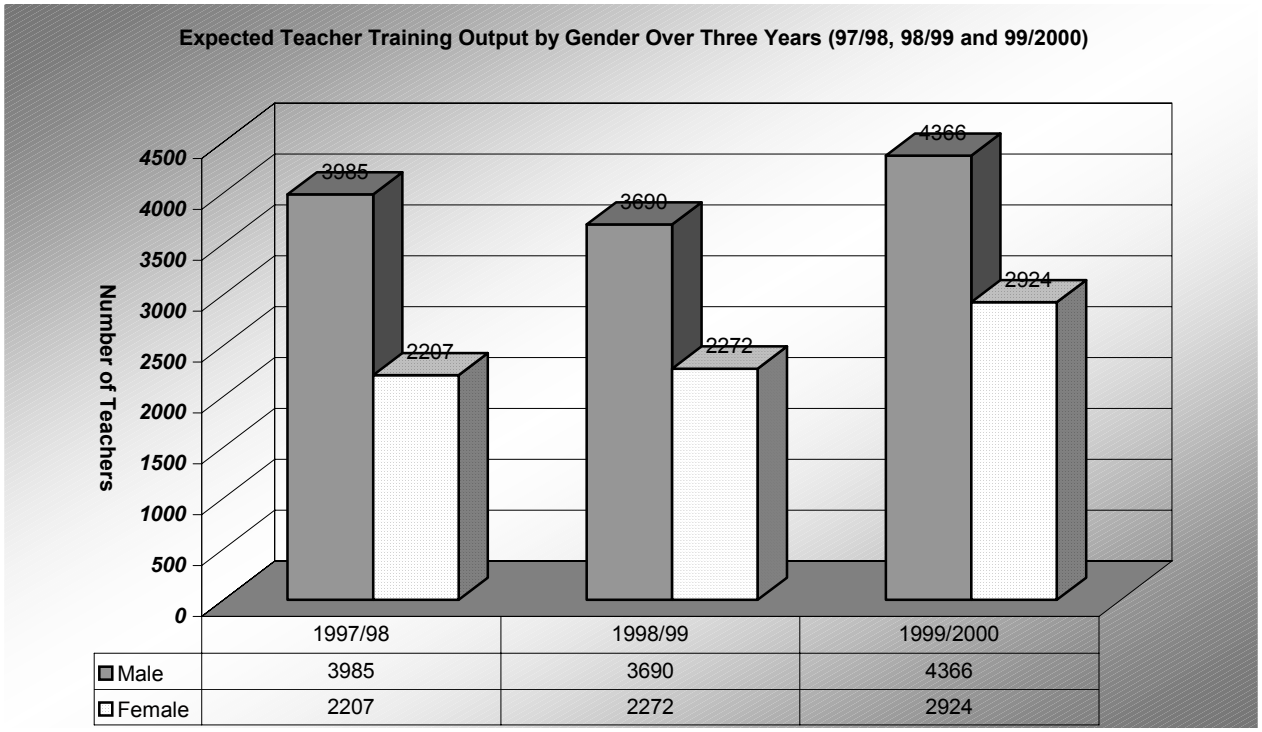
Statistics from the MOE regarding the supply of female teachers to training colleges indicate:

- teacher training intake by gender in 1997/98 compared with 1998/99 and 2000 indicates a slight decline over the period

- out of the total intake over the period an average of 38.6% were women
- female students who graduated (output) from training college over the same period were 35.6% (1997/98), 38.1 % in 1998/99 and 40.1%

Figure 1.3 presents the number of teachers completing training college based on 38 TTCs across the country. Data was obtained from the Manpower and Teacher Education Division of the GES.

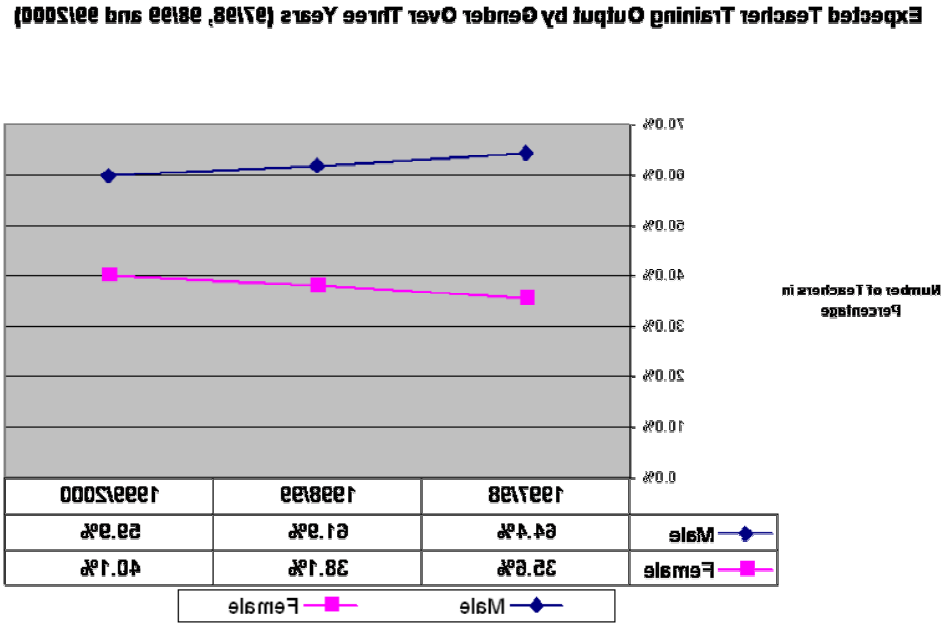
Figure 1.3: Number of Teachers Completing Training from 38 teacher training colleges (1997/98 and 1998/99) (Source: MOE, 2000)



There was a slight rise in the number of female graduates between 1997/98 and 1998/99 in their third year. Female graduates from TTCs between 1997/98 and 1999/2000 increased by 4.5%. There was a slight decrease in the number of male graduates within the same period. Out of a total of teacher education output from teacher training college in 1999/2000 40.1 were women compared to 38.1% in 1998/99 and 35.6 in 1997/98 during the same period. The figures may not reflect the total picture particularly concerning dropouts within the teacher training system. More research is needed to confirm and substantiate issues concerning the failure of some women to complete training college based on poor performance on promotional examinations. According to the University of Cape Coast Institute of Education, which conducts the examinations, 570 students (male and female) were dismissed after failing examinations on basic

subject content knowledge.[7] The following figure presents the overall output trends over the last three years at teacher training colleges in Ghana.

Figure 1.4: Expected teacher training output by gender



While female output over the last three years may have increased the intake has rather declined in teacher training college. In 1997/98 39.8% of women were entering training college while in 1998/99 only 39.1 % were entering training college. In 1999/2000 there was a reduction to 36.9% of females entering training college. The opposite trend is recorded for the intake of men in training college with a slight rise from 60.2% in 1997/1998 to 63.1% in 1999/2000.

Teacher Education division explained that there may be slight differences between the numbers of graduates from teacher training colleges and the number of teachers deployed to the field due to the fact that some teachers fail their examinations in final year and must resit. Teachers are posted to teaching stations despite their examination failure but they are not paid a full salary until they pass the examination. The Assistant Director of Teacher Education division explained that some women are unable to pass the final teacher training examinations particularly in the maths and science subjects. They are now requesting that an entrance examination be taken in order to confirm results of SSS leavers before entrance into training college. See Annex 3 for details. A break down of the vacancies and postings by region is contained in Annex 5.

[7] Once teachers fail their final examinations they must be readmitted to first year. They are examined after first year on their subject content knowledge. Last year 570 students were sacked after having failed in one subject. The institute is aware that some students have been admitted to teacher training college without the basic subject content knowledge; the MOE and GES are attempting to address some of these discrepancies.

Vacancy and Postings

Manpower division provided the most recent data on the vacancies and posting of teachers in Ghana.

Table 1.2: Vacancies and Postings in 1999[8]

	Number of Newly Trained Teachers[9] 1998/99	**Vacancies[10] (1999)**	**Posted[11] (1999)**
Male	3690	------	3752
Female	2272	-------	2174
Total	5962	10670	5926

(Source: Manpower Division, GES, 2000)

These figures reveal very little wastage for females entering training college and eligible for deployment. Bame (1992) documents a high level of wastage within the Ghana Education Service during the mid 1970's when teachers were migrating to neighboring countries and looking for other employment after completion at teacher training college.

Current reports from the Government of Ghana indicate a very high vacancy rate within the teaching profession and a lack of teachers who are qualified to take up posts. The Director General of GES reports in one recent article that GES has over half of its vacancies still remaining unfilled and that over "8,000 to 10,000 teachers are required this year (2000/2001) to make up for the shortfall in the number needed in basic schools annually" (Public Agenda, October 9th, 2000). In the same article Professor Ameyaw - Akumfi, Director General of GES explained that the constraints in expanding the teaching force relate to the fact that about 4,000 teachers leave the service on paid study leave annually. There are also other structural constraints such as the admission capacity of teacher training institutions due to the limited number of vacancies for accommodation particularly for females. Some of the measures being considered by the GES include setting a quota on the number of teachers allowed to proceed on study leave each year.

The Multi-site Teacher Education Research Project (MUSTER) reveals a significant shortfall in the supply of teachers in the basic education system particularly when projections are made over the next ten years.[12] The MUSTER project concludes that to achieve a "GER of 100% in basic schools requires an increase of three to four times current levels" (Akyeampong et al., December 2000). The following table reveals the annual projected demand for teachers in the force over a 10-year period if GER rates remain constant at 72% and 100%.

[8] Total Data was not available for 1998 nor 2000

[9] Based on Teacher Education Division Data, October, 2000

[10] Based on GES, Manpower Data, October, 2000

[11] Based on GES, Manpower Data, October, 2000

[12] MUSTER is a joint project of the University of Cape Coast and University of Sussex, UK. The project has been running for the last three years and involves investigation into several aspects of teacher training, costs and financing of teacher education, and teacher identity.

Table1.3: Future Demand for Teachers at Primary Level

Year	1998	2000	2005	2010
Total annual demand for teachers At constant GER 72%	5722	6189	7530	9161
Additional numbers of teachers needing training if GER 72% to 100%	24083	26048	31692	38558
Numbers of unqualified teachers needing training	12725	------	-------	-------

(Source: Akyeampong, Furlong, and Lewin, December 2000)

Akyeampong et al. (2000) argue that, "levels of demand could not easily be met by expansion of the current (teacher education) system in Ghana. It is not feasible to assume that the 6% of the education budget allocated to teacher education could be raised to the levels necessary. Nor is it plausible that increased internal efficiency could result in gains in output of these magnitudes." (Akyeampong, Furlong and Lewin, December 2000, p.24). The project suggests three strategies: increase the allocation of the resources to teacher education, increase internal efficiency and consider radical alternatives for teacher training. Already the GES has embarked on a new approach to teacher training, which will include two years in college and one year out in the field. This study and the MUSTER project suggest that more radical approaches may be necessary in order to fill the gap of supplying trained teachers and ensure that those untrained can be given basic training in the field. The MUSTER report and projections coming from UNAIDS suggest that the incidence of AIDs in Ghana will also have a considerable effect on the supply of teachers in the coming years (UNAIDS, 2000). Chapter 7 deals with these proposals in more depth.

Constraints within teacher training college

Interviews with newly posted teachers revealed that several women were having difficulty with the course work in the training college. The introduction of the yearly examination process (promotional exams) within the Teacher Training Colleges has also prevented some from reaching their final year. The most pressing challenge in the supply of female teacher to the force appears to be poor performance of female SSS students and their inability of achieve the basic entry requirements to training college. Interviews at both national and district level confirmed that very few females particularly in the rural deprived districts are able to qualify for training college. Female Students in their final year of SSS also reported that they avoided SSS programmes which demand intense course work in maths and sciences therefore opting for business[13] and vocational subjects. This is explored in Chapter 6.

Interviews with the SSS head teachers in the six districts confirmed that most females are unable to make the basic grades of (D or E) in the core subjects such as Maths, Integrated Science and English. Interviews with the Assistant Director of Admission and Certification in Teacher Education Division confirmed this. A large number of females

[13] Business options are not accepted as entry requirement for teacher training college.

who had applied for entrance into training college were unable to make the basic D or E grades in the core subject areas (English, Maths and Integrated Science). He explained that some training colleges did not have any females to fill their vacancies this year and are filled with only male candidates. The Director of Teacher Education Division also explained that some teacher training colleges do not have adequate infrastructure for womens' accommodation. This will be further explored in Chapter 6.

Posting Constraints: a national perspective

GES Manpower Division reported that there were significant problems in posting teachers to deprived rural areas from a national perspective. These included teachers posted to the Western, Central, Northern and Upper regions of the country. The manpower officers explained that when postings are made, teachers who select these regions are given their first choice. Most teachers opt for easier environments where facilities are more accessible and they can further their education through preparatory courses to improve their grades. The Manpower division explained that females and even males posted to these regions often are found back at head quarters requesting transfers before they have spent one month in the field. A complete description of the posting procedures as described by Manpower division is contained in Annex 3.

Procedures that enhance acceptance and retention of teachers in the rural areas

The new teacher education policy requires that candidates for training college must select and obtain endorsement from the DDE as part of the application procedure for entrance to training college [14].

The pre-selection of districts before training college will have a positive impact in ensuring that some teachers are deployed to deprived rural areas. Another approach, which shows promising signs and is being adopted by most districts, is introduction of sponsorship schemes for SSS students interested in proceeding to teacher training college. Most of the six study districts were also encouraging SSS leavers to enter teacher-training college by paying an allowance (300,000-600,000) to students interested in pursuing training college. This formed part of the district sponsorship schemes for tertiary level education and is part of the poverty alleviation scheme in most districts. All six districts included in the research study were implementing variations of this district sponsorship programme for SSS students interested in teacher training college. Kintampo, Sene and Tolon Kombongo all had district sponsorship programmes operational for youth interested in any pre-tertiary and tertiary programmes. Sene also had a sponsorship programme for SSS students and gave free tuition at the SSS level. Sponsorship programmes particularly for girls at SSS were one of the key ways identified for ensuring higher performance and transition of women into teaching programmes (elaborated in Chapter 7).

[14]The new procedures for entrance into teacher education require that the applicant obtain approval from the District Education Director before teacher education division considers their application. This is to ensure that the potential entrant prepares him or herself for living within a district.

Slight changes in the approach to paying newly trained teachers have made a significant difference in attracting and retaining newly posted teachers to the deprived regions and districts. All newly trained teachers must report to their designated district education offices before collecting their first pay. There were strong signs that efforts were being made to bring discipline into the system and balance the demands of teachers. The main problem remains how to attract and retain female teachers in the rural deprived areas.

The most revolutionary approach to assuring that teachers particularly newly posted teachers, serve in the rural areas for a period of two years was operational in Ga district. The Director of Education (DDE) had made an in-house policy of deploying all newly trained teachers to a rural area for at least two years before allowing them to serve in a

town or urban centre. Although Ga rural was not as remote, rural or deprived as the other areas, it did present some elements, which this study found applicable for ensuring that people serve in the rural communities. The DDE of Ga rural had the advantage of being able to post newly trained teachers in pairs while those in the research districts were receiving far fewer teachers than required.

Other factors affecting the system

Reports from several DDEs and manpower officers revealed a high number of study leave requests particularly in districts where sponsorship schemes for tertiary education were active. For instance Wassa Amenfi reported over 20 teachers having received assistance from the District Assembly to proceed on study leave. The DDE also confirmed that newly deployed teachers were not enough to fill the large number of vacancies created by teachers proceeding on study leave.

Most women serving in the urban areas within the study sites were married and having children. Most women serving in the urban and town centers were in the prime of their reproductive age (25-35). Only one untrained female teacher and six newly trained female teachers in the study were between these ages and serving in the deprived rural areas. These women were untrained females who had married into the community and made the village their home. The large majority of trained female teachers were serving in the urban centers after one or two years in the rural areas. Several factors may account for this trend: need for health care during pregnancy, and husband demands for posting to be in close proximity.

1.4 Deployment Trends: Posting policy, procedures and deployment of female teachers: a national perspective

The investigation of the needs and the constraints of female teachers in accepting posting to rural areas required analysis of the deployment and posting procedures from the national level to district levels. The study found that there were several loopholes in ensuring that female teachers who had made it through the training college would accept or opt for postings to rural areas based on the procedures at both the national, regional and district level.

National level:

Interviews with the Assistant Director of Posting, Manpower Division, GES and the relevant officers within each district identified the following procedures regarding the postings of teachers:

- Districts submit their vacancies to the Regional Education Office and then submit their vacancy list to the Manpower Division, GES. Manpower Division receives the applications from the teacher training colleges and allocates the postings according to the following criteria.

- First choice preference is given to teachers with a medical condition and completed medical forms from a doctor.

- Teachers stating preference to work in Upper East, Upper West, Northern, Western and Central Regions are given first choices.

- The Manpower division, GES uses a formula to allocate the rest of the teaching force according to the regional need. The formula is calculated on a regional basis and includes**: Regional Vacancy / National vacancy x total no of teachers produced**.

- Proportionate allocations are made to all the regions around the country. There is no gender disaggregation during this process. The posting board then considers the findings and the allocation are made to the regions.

- The posting cards are then sent to the regions that further allocate the teachers according to the needs of the various district education offices and religious education units.

- Regional Education Offices allocate teachers to the religious education units and the district education offices for the local authority schools. Once the religious units post teachers to the various schools they must make a copy for the district education office for monitoring purposes in the district.

According to the 26th Regional Allocation of Newly Trained teachers from initial teacher training colleges: guidelines for the year 2000 "Newly posted teachers are often exposed to social hazards it is suggested that as far as possible they should be posted in pairs, especially to the remote areas." Another circular from GES in 1998 states “Female teachers should be sent to urban areas and male teachers who did not choose the region should be sent to towns as an incentive to let them stay on and work” (National Posting Guidelines 1998,Manpower quoted in Cottingham et al, 2000).

The teacher allocation formula seems reasonable but continues to favour some regions, which are not the most needy areas for teachers to serve. Accra and other districts which contain regional capitals are over subscribed and can attract more teachers than necessary; the GES should consider taking a strong proactive approach to future

allocation by putting a freeze on postings to areas such as Accra-Kumasi, Takoradi and Cape Coast, and Sunyani, where over 60% of females teach in these districts. All teachers whether newly trained or long serving should be required to serve a minimum of **two years** in deprived rural areas before proceeding on study leave or to posts in more urban centres.

Overall profile of Ghanaian Teachers in the System

Results from the Ghanaian MUSTER project reveal, "the total number of teachers at primary level has fallen over the last ten years, whilst enrolments have grown by 37%" (Akyeampong et al, December 2000). This has a detrimental effect on the pupil teacher ratio, which has increased from 26:1 to 36:1. According to Akyeampong et al (2000) attrition rates have been more difficult to estimate. The rate of newly trained teachers being posted makes up only 9% of the trained teaching force. The study suggests that study leave, and possibly HIV/AIDS may cause the attrition rates to rise further. The Muster study suggests a declining trend in the percentage of unqualified teachers in the force most likely due to the change of policy in the mid-1990. The current study suggests that this trend is on the increase particularly in deprived rural areas due to the government's decision to continue recruiting untrained teachers.

Table1.4: Numbers of trained and untrained teachers 1988-1998

	Primary			**JSS**		
	1988	**1993**	**1998**	**1988**	**1993**	**1998**
Teachers	65300	67800	63700	32600	33800	37700
Qualified	37500	46400	51000	22200	25500	32600
Number Unqualified	27800	21400	12700	10400	8300	5100
% Unqualified	42.6	31.6	19.9	31.9	24.6	13.5

Based on Akyeampong et al, December 2000.

The current study characterises the teaching system and its needs in many different terms from what is revealed when looking at the national system as a whole. The study reveals a higher percentage of pupil teachers in rural deprived areas (see Chapter 4). It also illumines the diverse needs of female teachers across the educational system in Ghana and the pressing need to differentiate strategies to achieve a higher level of equity and equality within the basic education sector in Ghana.

Conclusions:

The analysis of teacher participation across the country reveals that there are significant differences between the levels of deprivation between regions, districts and within districts. Posting and deployment procedures will have to take into account the levels of deprivation in order to provide extra incentives for those in the 'more deprived districts'. Female teachers were found mainly concentrated in urban based districts and large economic /urban centres (Takoradi, Kumasi, Tamale and Accra). Strategies for attracting and retraining teachers in deprived rural areas will have to take account of these varying

degrees of deprivation. Chapter 4 explores the characteristics and factors, which define levels of deprivation. Several new operational procedures have been introduced within Teacher Education Division and GES to ensure that newly trained teachers are prepared and ready to accept postings to rural areas before they leave training college.

The data on teacher education and deployment reveal that there is little wastage in the teacher training system after posting. More investigation is needed to discern whether female teachers leave the profession after their second year of teaching. There may be more wastage after the teachers are deployed and they leave the system. One phenomenon, which appeared to be having a significant impact on the six study districts, was the high number of teachers who had gone on study leave.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Document Analysis[15]

Several studies on teacher motivation and retention were reviewed during the course of the research. Annex 1 contains a list of the main studies and the following section presents the key findings. A literature audit was carried out at the University of Cape Coast and Sussex University in the UK.

2.1 Female teacher constraints in rural areas

Few studies have been conducted in Ghana regarding the needs, problems and motivational factors of female teachers working in rural and/ or deprived areas. Hedges (2000) suggests that there is a gap in the literature concerning the reasons for the low participation of female teachers in the Ghana education system.

The main factors highlighted during the literature review and pre-fieldwork interviews point to the socio-cultural factors and home life constraints of women in the teaching profession. Studies also point to the complex and multiple roles of Ghanaian women in managing their home and working life (Abu and Oppong, 1987). Few studies have highlighted the particular problems of female teachers from a socio-cultural point of view taking into account their family and professional life. This study found that the multiple roles of Ghanaian women have serious consequences for women's ability to accept postings to rural areas. Other key issues highlighted in the pre-field work phase point to the harsh socio-economic conditions faced by female teachers in rural areas such as lack of water, sanitation, health facilities, transport and food.

Attitudinal issues regarding male perceptions of female teachers are highlighted in several studies and seen as a crosscutting issue affecting female teachers in all spheres of life: the home, the school, and the community. Preliminary interviews at the national level indicate that this is a significant factor in the performance, posting and retention of female teachers in rural areas. One motivational study conducted in Ghana mentioned some of the attitudes of male teachers towards their female colleagues in rural areas. The GES/DAE study found that a significant number of men have negative perceptions and stereotypical reactions regarding the female teacher's attitude to work including: "women came late to school, they were lazy and engaged in unhelpful conversation during school hours (GES/ DAE, 1995)". These findings were confirmed during the fieldwork phase and in some instances deterred females from being posted to basic schools. Male colleagues were quick to point out the poor performance of the females particularly at the kindergarten and day nursery level some saying that the 'female teachers were untrainable.

When asked whom to hire if presented with a man and woman with the same qualifications, all teachers, including women, said they would hire the man. The GES/DAE study (1995) recorded the following views…" Men are more resourceful, they quarrel less, are more helpful, are more energetic, have more leadership qualities, are

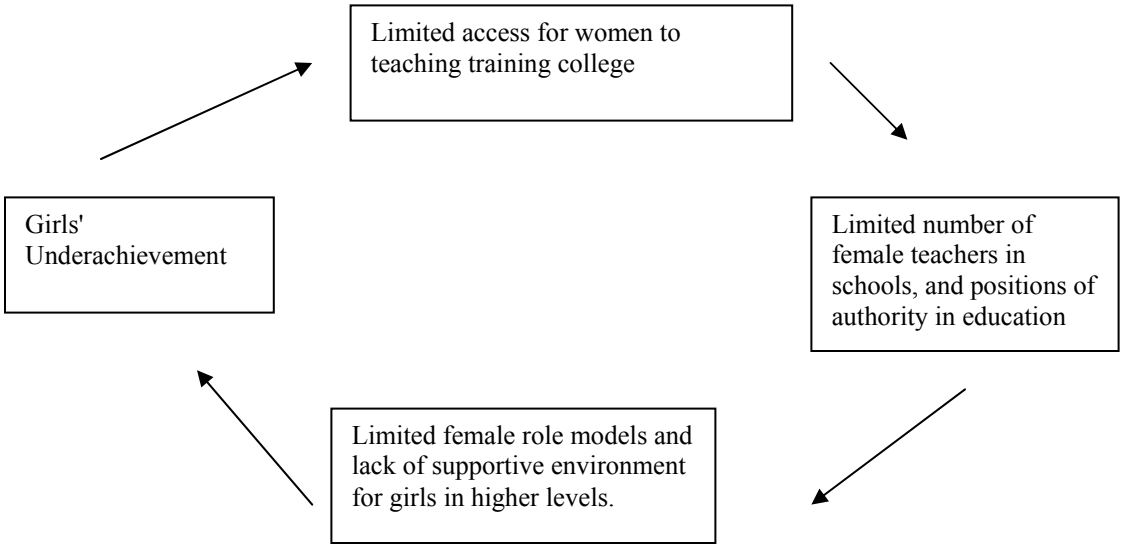
[15] The main discussion of the literature will be contained in relevant section of the report.

smarter; women have mood swings, they are gossips, are bossy, cause confusion because male teachers may express an interest in them (GES/DAE, 1995, p30)".

The GES/DAE study found that both men and women thought that women were absent from work more than men due to child care responsibilities and health problems caused by childbearing and lactation. Both male and female teachers interviewed indicated that childcare responsibilities affect job performance and attendance at school. Community responses regarding who made a better teacher indicated that females were believed to make better teachers since they were more patient, more sensitive, less strict, and more trustworthy particularly concerning financial matters. Women were not perceived as making good inspectors due to the heavy travel demands. MUSTER research conducted in several sites in Ghana reveal similar trends concerning the perceptions toward female teachers in rural areas.

International studies

Several studies indicate the importance of female teachers as a main factor in facilitating girls' access to primary education in developing countries (Brock, and Cammish, 1991; Davies, 1993; King and Hill, 1993). Only a few studies have focussed on the problems of female teachers and the strategies teachers use to overcome constraints. Preliminary findings indicate that the same barriers affecting the education of girls have a direct relationship to the low female enrolment in the training colleges and ultimately the teaching profession.[16] Gaynor's (1997) and Croft's (work in progress) best illustrate this devastating dynamic.



[16] Poor science and maths results of girls, particularly from rural areas were recorded throughout the basic and secondary levels of education (FAWE, STME). High academic requirements for entry into teacher training colleges are a major factor preventing the enrolment of more female candidates (interview teacher education division). Low esteem of girls in these courses should also be investigated.

Figure 2.1: Cycle of girls' underachievement and limited female teacher participation

Work by Croft (work in progress) in Malawi best illustrates the underdevelopment of the female child and the vicious cycle it creates within the teaching profession further deepening the poverty cycle through poor educational performance of girls.

Croft recommends some of the following strategies to break the cycle such as English Language support for student teachers, academic upgrading of teachers and professional development of teachers. Akyeampong et al. (2000) research in Ghana suggests that upgrading teachers once in the training college is very costly in comparison to methods which improve their academic performance at the SSS level.

Khalid's (1996) research in Pakistan indicates that in many developing countries, school location, basic facilities in schools, supply of physical and teaching materials, improper supervision and lack of teacher orientation concerning working conditions in rural schools discourage female teachers from accepting postings to rural schools (Anderson, 1988; World Bank, 1989; 1990; 1991; 1995). These findings were similar to data collected in the current study and reflect the urgent need to explore rural educational problems within teacher training institutions and in preparing teachers to serve and transform these areas.

A recent study by the Mexican Ministry of Education reveals that female teachers are not willing to be posted or live in rural areas because they have very poor services and lack housing facilities, are isolated and lack professional support. Other constraints, which deter women from accepting postings to rural areas, include lack of proper sanitation facilities and lack or absence of drinking water.

Preliminary interviews with national stakeholders in Ghana indicate **four main areas of concern**:

- Future options of women in finding "appropriate" partners for marriage[17]
- Poor social and economic conditions within rural communities (lack of water, electricity, sanitation etc)
- Insecurity of female teachers living in deprived rural areas (rape and violence)
- Lack of professional development and equal opportunity for advancement in the teaching profession

Khalid (1996) classifies the factors affecting female teachers working in remote and rural areas of Pakistan into three categories:

- Family related
- Community related
- School related

The current research study used these domains of inquiry and found that apart from these main factors, socio-cultural and attitudinal issues cut across all spheres of influence.

[17] Appropriate was defined as men coming from a higher or similar educational and socio-economic class.

Khalid (1996) identifies several events and changes in a female teachers working life that exert constraints on teachers such as marriage, childbearing and child rearing roles. Female teachers must make a range of adjustments in order to meet the demands of their profession while maintaining their family and home life. The coping strategies which women employ are key to their survival and acceptance of postings to difficult areas while managing their family, community and professional roles. The current study found that women were not always willing to accept 'hardship' posts if they had reached a level of comfort, which may not be obtainable in a rural area despite being offered incentives. Younger women with fewer responsibilities were more likely to accept postings to these areas given the proper training, orientation and incentives.

Khalid (1996) indicates that the factors affecting female teachers in rural areas are complex and suggests a need for further investigation into the problems of female teachers in developing countries. This study is a contribution in this area.

2.2 Findings from Teacher Motivation Studies in Ghana:

Bame (1991) conducted a seminal study on teacher motivation in Ghana during the mid 1980's. The study was based on a questionnaire and identified job integration with life roles as one of the key reasons people become teachers. This is particularly relevant to females in a predominantly traditional cultural context where the demands of the home often have to be balanced or take priority over working life. Bame (1991) identifies several determinants of job behavior such as: the options for 'alternative' jobs, issues of job comfort and the socio-economic determinants such as living conditions as key factors in the retention of teachers in the force.

All three of these factors were reflected in findings from the fieldwork and revealed that many female teachers compare their remuneration to other government workers and extension agents particularly nurses and agriculture extension officers. Interviews with female teachers revealed that they compare their remuneration to health sector workers and find that although teachers receive higher salaries that when benefits and extra gratuity are added up, health workers and agriculture extension officers are paid more. Girls interviewed at Senior Secondary schools recognized this monetary difference and opted more for nursing than the teaching profession as a career choice.

Bame (1991) also argues that the low prestige of teachers in Ghana is due to the presence of untrained ‘pupil’ teachers in the system. The current study varies slightly by identifying the poor performance and behavior of trained **and untrained** teachers in the eyes of the community as the key factor in the low status of the Ghanaian teacher. Bame (1991) makes an important contribution to the theoretical analysis of teacher motivation. He differentiates the intrinsic (job related) and extrinsic factors (environmentally conditioned), which relate to the teacher. His study covers only the trained MSLC A4 holders and does not include the pupil teacher. This current study found it necessary to include both categories of teachers since the large majority of female teachers serving in deprived rural communities are untrained 'pupil' teachers.

A more recent study on teacher motivation conducted in Ghana by GES/DAE in 1995 outlines the main teacher motivational factors. The study did not gender disaggregate all findings but did mention that in some cases factors did not vary according to gender and location (i.e. benefits and allowances).

The main motivational factors are listed below in order of importance:

Table 2.1: Main factors to improve teacher motivation

Main Motivational factors for teachers (Responding to questionnaire)	**Percentage of Teachers**
Better salary and allowances	85%
More teaching and learning materials	70%
Regular upgrading of knowledge	63%
More textbooks for students	47%
Availability of means of transport	40%
Opportunity for higher education	32%
Availability of good accommodation	27%
Recognition as a good teacher	25%
Proper supervision and guidance	21%
Better school buildings	17%
Timely promotion	13%
More facilities at the school	12%
Lower class sizes	12%
Positive leadership by head teacher	10%
Posting to place of choice	10%
Posting to own language area	6%
Merit awards	6%

(GES/DAE, 1995)

"Teachers surveyed were also asked to indicate what things were the most important motivational factors for them after salary and allowances. More teaching/ learning materials and regular upgrading of knowledge were consistently selected as the second most important choices followed closely by more textbooks." (GES/DAE, 1995, p 25). This was a consistent finding in the current study, which indicates that job satisfaction in rural areas is related to their access to a better teaching environment. Over half of the teachers posted to semi-urban areas indicated that transport was very important. Surprisingly, accommodation did not factor high on the list of remote and rural teachers--with only 20% of teachers selecting the availability of accommodation as a motivational factor. The study found that more than half of the SSS teachers wanted better accommodation while half of JSS teachers wanted better opportunities for higher learning.

Professional Support Options:

The GES/DAE (1995) study also asked teachers to choose one out of twelve possible options to enhance their teaching in the schools.

- 84% wanted more in-service training
- 50% wanted better and more instructional materials

- 25% wanted better leadership by head teachers
- Approx. 23% wanted more supervision
- Approx. 22% wanted more instructional time
- 21% wanted a formal mechanism for meeting other teachers
- Less than 20% wanted training in multi-grade teaching, and fewer in large class instruction and only 5% wanted more staff meetings.

The current study found that the socio-economic conditions of the teacher and their professional training were key needs of the female teacher living in deprived rural areas of Ghana. The fieldwork also suggested that female teachers were deeply concerned with the poor teaching-learning environment of the school due to the low standard of infrastructure, lack of furniture for both teachers and students and absence of essential books and pupil materials. Fieldwork revealed that the teacher's status was a reflection of his or her working conditions and most newly trained female and male teachers did not want to be associated with "a village school". Being called a village teacher was considered a severe insult to any teacher particularly in the Northern region.

Problems of girls' transition through to teacher training college

The problems of girls' drop out and retention in basic and secondary levels of education have been well documented in Ghana (Avotre et al. 1999; Stephens, 1998; Boackye, 1997; Boakye et al. 1997). These studies suggest the ways teachers, parents and girls themselves can improve their ability to access and remain in the basic education system to completion. Much of the research points to the critical role parents and teachers make in helping girls through the system. Casely-Hayford (2000) also points out the critical knowledge and social capital parents need to 'work the system' and ensure girls are able to transit through to higher levels of educational attainment particularly in deprived and often highly illiterate rural environments in Ghana. The current study points out the problems girls face from both a socio-psychological and physical dimension in attaining entry to senior secondary school. Most girls in the study sites were unable to complete JSS and few had any chance of becoming teachers. Chapter 6 explores the factors, which inhibit girls from attaining their full potential and the critical aspect of mentoring and support needed for girls to attain a higher level of academic achievement throughout the system. Role models are one aspect of the equation but this study found much more significant is the ongoing support needed to provide a safe and secure transition through the system---research on girls' self esteem illumines some of the alternatives for girls in these deprived areas.

Alternatives to improving girls' self-esteem have been the subject of an action research project carried out by male and female teachers in Ghana. The results indicate that other methods which may also encourage girls' access to school and improve their self-esteem are: girls clubs, role playing, providing local role models, increasing parental awareness and to a lesser extent school policy on sexual harassment and girls education week (WUSC, July, 2000). These approaches have been tested out in schools around Accra and are showing promising results.

Conclusion

The current study attempts to investigate female teachers' lives in deprived rural areas by exploring three key spheres of life: the home, the community and the professional life of the female teacher. The socio-cultural context, attitudes and beliefs of people regarding female teachers are used as the main methodological approach to the study through interviews with a variety of stakeholders who are in direct contact with the female teachers' conditions.

The study places significant emphasis on the constraints and needs within these three main spheres of life. This does not negate the physical and economic needs of the female teacher, but attempts to pay equal attention to some of the attitudinal and socio-cultural barriers women face working in deprived rural areas. The next chapter will elaborate on the methodology and methods used in the study.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Methodology

The research design employed a predominantly qualitative approach in order to explore the needs of female teachers in rural areas and reasons why more girls do not enter the teaching profession. One of the key principles behind the research design was to gain a direct understanding of the problems female teachers face by living and exploring the challenges they faced in the most deprived rural areas. This required that the research team:

1. locate deprived rural areas where female teachers were posted in the districts (using a social mapping exercise)
2. spend time observing and interviewing female teachers using informal semi-structured interviews
3. interview girls and parents from the same communities concerning the reasons why they do not enter the teaching profession

The research team used a variety of different methods at both the community/school and district level to probe the problems and constraints of female teachers by interviewing a variety of community members and stakeholders at the basic level. Taking a more ethnographic approach required a level of endurance since team members had to identify locations to live, in each of the sites in order to access female teacher in the remote rural areas. This brought the team face to face with some of the same problems such as poor roads, inaccessibility, lack of potable water and poor medical care. They also explored potential strategies to support female teachers in rural/deprived areas and encourage more girls to enter the teaching profession by engaging a variety of stakeholder views.

The study was designed to take into account the socio-cultural and ecological variations of female teachers across the country. Three main sites were identified in six districts cutting across three ecological and socio-culturally diverse areas of Ghana (i.e. Northern Region, predominantly Muslim, Western Region and Brong Ahafo Region). A qualitative approach allowed the team to select sites using purposeful sampling techniques based on patterns which emerged within each district case. A sample of female teachers containing a wide cross section of females serving in rural areas (untrained, trained, and newly trained) was attained in each district. The study is therefore a strong reflection of the needs of women serving in deprived rural areas of Ghana.

3.2 Selection of Regions and Districts

Three regions within the three geographic zones were selected for study based on the low % of female teachers (Western Region, Brong Ahafo Region and Northern Region). Two districts were selected in each ecological zone based on the low % of female teacher participation at basic school level. These districts were selected in order to investigate the supply and retention constraints in areas with similar socio-economic characteristics.

Implementation of a comparative study using diverse socio-economic parameters was thoroughly considered but the team concluded that this would require more information concerning the socio-economic variables of each district, which was not available at the time. The Implementation Co-ordination Unit (ICU) of the GES has ranked the districts according to levels of deprivation, possibly through the exercise currently underway. This exercise will assist districts identify deprived rural areas and could be the basis of a comparative study in future.[18]

The research design for this study reflected its main focus "to investigate the needs of female teachers in deprived rural areas of Ghana, particularly at the school/community level". Comparison was made between teachers in rural and urban areas within each district and between the needs of trained and untrained female teachers.

The three geographic zones were grouped according to broad agro-ecological conditions taking into account the Ghana living standard survey work which employs categories such as: coastal, forest and savannah zones but keeping the regions as a holistic geographic unit. The following table identifies the main zones with their corresponding regions.

Table 3.1: Division of Regions by Zone.

Southern Zone	**Western Region** Central Region Greater Accra Region
Middle Zone	**Brong Ahafo Region** Ashanti Region Eastern Region Volta Region
Northern Zone	**Northern Region** Upper West Region Upper East Region

Districts were chosen within the regions with the lowest percentage of female teachers in the entire teaching force. The three regions falling into this category were: Western Region in the Southern Zone, Brong Ahafo Region within the Middle Zone and Northern Region in the Northern Zone.

District Selection

Districts with low female participation also corresponded to districts with low enrolment of girls. Districts with the lowest percentage of female teachers were found to be predominantly rural in nature and relatively deprived in terms of socio-economic

[18] Discussion was held with the Implementation Co-ordination Unit and the Whole School Development (WSD) programme co-ordinators concerning their incentive packages to teachers. These programmes are yet to begin implementation in the districts.

indicators[19]. The following table outlines the districts selected for study in each geographic zone. The team spent five days in each district.

Table 3.2 Districts selected in each geographic/regional zone.

Geographic Agro-ecological zones	Region with lowest average of female teachers	Lowest % female teacher participation (actual number of female teachers in the district)
Southern zone	Western Region[20]	Juabeso-Bia (120) 14.3% Wassa Amenfi (136) 15.5%
Middle zone (Forest)	Brong Ahafo Region	Sene (23) 10.6% Kintampo (71) 13%
Northern Zone	Northern Region[21]	Tolon Kumbungu (31) 7.8% East Gonja (48) 14.3 %

(Based on 1996/97 MOE PBME data on female teachers)

3.3 Selection of the School/ Communities

School communities were selected according to the following criteria in each of the districts. Typical characteristics of sites within each district were determined based on their location to the district capital and the number of female teachers within the district. Identification of deprived areas within each district was based on the Implementation Co-ordination Unit (ICU) definition of deprived rural areas[22]:

- lack of motorable roads
- transportation difficulties
- lack of potable water
- lack of health care facilities
- lack of decent accommodation
- poor school infrastructure
- lack of electricity
- telecommunications and postal services
- predominantly untrained teachers
- poor access to markets and food

[19] Some of the indicators used to define 'rural' is the population concentration proximity to urban centres; deprived was also defined according to the level of social-economic infrastructure, access to urban/major economic centres and access to basic social services within a region.

[20] Western region was selected over the Eastern region due to reports of the Manpower division, which indicated great difficulty in posting teachers to the Central and Western regions.

[21] Gusheigu Karaga was not selected due to the fact the actual number of female teachers in the district was only 4. An interview with the District Director of Education will be carried out in Sunyani.

[22] A circular was sent out in September 2000 providing details of the characteristics of a 'deprived area' as part of the information districts should use to select teachers for the incentive programme.

- proximity of school/community to the district capital, town or major market centre
- communities with a primary school or JSS and at least one female teacher posted to the community.

Other factors such as the number of years a female teacher was posted to the community, the residence and the level of deprivation or isolation of a particular area were all considered. A diversity of sites within each district was selected based on the teacher's experience and a cross section of women were selected using a social mapping exercise with district education officers: newly trained, long serving female trained and untrained.

The sites were selected based on a mapping exercise with key stakeholders at the district education office including the (DDE, Statistics, Manpower, Inspectorate, Planning Officer, Girls Education Officers). These stakeholders helped to describe the female teacher profile for the district. District maps and manpower data were used to identify trained (long standing and newly trained) and untrained females serving in remote rural areas. This exercise followed the categorisation of communities into deprived or non-deprived. A detailed profile of female teachers serving in rural areas then emerged including the following factors:

- Number of female teachers at post in the district and their location (some sites may have one female teacher)
- Variation between urban and rural schools
- Length of time a female teacher was posted
- Location of residence.

An average of 3 school/communities in each of the six districts were selected for study based on their rural and deprived nature. According to the National Planing Development Commission, "rural" was used to describe communities containing not more than 5000 inhabitants and in the north this is reduced to 1000 due to the sparse nature of the population. The 'deprived' nature referred to communities' access to basic social services such as water, health care and electricity.

3.4 Methods

The following table summarises the main methods used at National, District and Community/School levels. The following table describes the main methods used at District level.

Table 3.3: Main questions and sources for investigation at district level

Interviewee/ Source	Main Questions/areas of investigation
District Co-ordinating Unit	- Obtained a copy of the District Development Plans - Social map of educational facilities in the district - Identified the characteristics of rural and deprived for the district - Any constraints of teachers in general posted to rural areas and female teachers specifically, District plans for assisting teachers in these areas?
District Directors of Education	- Collected data on teachers posted to the districts, where most female teachers are located in the district - Obtained school disaggregated data on teacher postings and enrolment for all schools in the district - conducted informal interviews regarding main constraints of female teachers in the district and potential solutions - Presence of any projects or programmes, which have had a direct or indirect impact on motivating teachers in rural/ deprived areas to remain at post.
Circuit Supervisors and Girls Education officers[23]	- Conducted informal interviews regarding main constraints of female teachers in the district and potential solutions - Using a map or listing of schools in the district identify the locations of schools and identify locations where female teachers are posted. - Selected three school/community sites in deprived rural areas for investigation within the district where female teachers are posted
Manpower officer	- District policies regarding posting of teachers in the district - Experience of posting female teachers to rural areas (problems/solutions) - Incidence of female teachers in urban and rural areas using a listing of all the schools

Community level interviews

Once selection of the school/communities was made the research team went out to interview and interact with female teachers in the community. Table 3.4 presents the main questions and methods used during the investigation at community level.

[23] Where possible the girls' education officers will be asked to join the research team in conducting the interviews with female teachers, girls and parents in the three localities.

Table 3.4: Interviews at school/community level

Source	Methods and Questions
Head teacher/ other teachers at the school	- Explanation of the research (supply, and retention constraints of teachers in deprived rural areas) - Informal interviews touched on where teachers live in the district, their experience of living in remote areas, what is the particular problems women face?
Female teachers	- Location of residence, educational and socio-economic background, experiences in living in rural areas, posting history, challenges and solutions (informal interview) - Number of years working in the community, relationship with the community and support - Personal issues related to family, husband, parents in working as a female teacher in rural areas - Reasons why more girls/ women do not go into teaching - Solutions/ strategies and recommendations
Parents in the community (Research team was divided into groups to interview men and women separately)	- What experience is the community having with their teachers in rural areas, and more specifically, female teachers (attendance at school, living conditions etc). - Timeline was used to show the history of teachers in the community (particularly female teachers) - Interview parents of SSS female graduates (if any), reasons why girls do not enter teaching profession (do they know the requirements, other problems)
Chief, PTA and Elders	- Experience of teachers working/ living in the community (attendance at school, location of residence, challenges of teachers particularly female teachers)

Informal interviewing using an interview guide was found to be the most useful approach to the research process. Teachers felt at ease and were able to interact freely with the research team. The same approach was used at district and community levels. Field notes were filled out during and after the interviews.

The type of questions explored during the female teacher interviews related to the following areas:

- Profile of the teacher: education, background and motivation for becoming a teacher
- How they became a teacher
- Factors which have assisted them stay in deprived rural areas
- Challenges in serving in rural areas (probe for home, school and professional life)
- Aspirations (preference for future posting)
- Needs of the female teacher
- Strategies and ways to motivate and retain females in rural areas

Untrained teachers, as mentioned, were part of the study sample due to the large presence significant role in deprived rural areas. The inclusion of untrained and trained female teachers served as a good point of comparison for the study. Girls Education officers from all the research districts were asked to join the research team. They helped to facilitate entry into the communities and enable the team to conduct interviews in at least three communities per district. A full outline of the district field guide and tools from the field are contained in Annex 6.

3.5 Defining the Levels of Deprivation

A short half-day workshop was conducted as part of the methodology in each district to review the statistics and data on teachers working in the district. The district education statistics and manpower officers used the 1999/2000 data to group all schools in the district according to four main categories of deprivation: District capitals, circuit centres/major towns, rural deprived and extremely deprived. These categories were discussed and characterised in all six districts. Table 3.5 gives a summary of the main categories of deprivation developed by district education officers.

Table 3.5: Characteristics of Deprivation across the districts

Location of most of these areas	**Characteristics of deprivation**	**Location of areas/ circuits with predominant characteristics (examples are given from Kintampo)**
Less deprived (e.g district capital)	- Urban center - More than 5000 population - Often having access to social and economic services	District Capital and some major town centers/ circuit centres Urbanised is limited - Kintampo - Jema
Towns and Circuit Centers	- Pipe borne water - Some have electricity - Market - Health services (some level) - Cluster of schools - Good accommodation	
Deprived (Rural in nature)	➢ Containing some towns/ villages with more than 5000 people but mainly farming community ➢ **Accessible with most schools along the main road** ➢ Water facilities limited (sometimes teachers also drinking out of streams) ➢ No electricity in some cases ➢ Schools in variable condition	Babatukuma Pramposo BlackVolta **Selected Communities**: Paninamisa and Dwenewoho
Extremely deprived	➢ No potable water ➢ No electricity ➢ Difficulty finding accommodation for teachers	Baniantwe New Longoro Apesika

	➢ **No access roads** ➢ Sometime inaccessibly particularly in rainy season ➢ Markets are far away and food is not easily accessible	**Selected Communities**: Abetasu and Tichera II

This process facilitated discussion with key stakeholders concerning posting procedures and assisted the research team identify the type of areas female teachers were posted. A more detailed profile of each district is contained in Annex 7.

District statistical officers were asked to take the district manpower data for 1999/2000 and categorise all the schools in the district according to the following categories:

- Extremely deprived (often overseas and cut off areas)
- Rural Deprived Areas
- Main circuit centres/ towns
- District Capital

The general trends found in Kintampo district were mirrored in several other districts in the study such as:

- Female teachers in Kintampo were not posted to deprived rural areas outside the main town centers except in circuits with slightly higher levels of social services. For instance in the most deprived circuits teachers were only posted to the main towns along the main roadway (New Longoro, Dawadawa and Benkrom).

- The circuit with the highest concentration of female teachers was Pramposo where the main road and the electricity had made it more attractive for female teachers. The manpower officer explained, "when they are posted to the district, they come and they all want to be in Kintampo---social amenities, hospital, electricity, and better husbands to marry."

Newly trained female teachers were mainly posted along the main roads and where there was a basic level of social amenities, transport and potential suitors.

Conclusions

The research design was predominantly qualitative in nature with some quantitative methods used to collect the data. The methodology was participatory and engaged several of the district educational officers and female teachers. The study took an ethnographic approach in allowing the design to emerge--selection of communities took place following a district mapping exercise to locate female teachers living in remote rural areas using characteristics, which were representative of the district female teaching force. The following criteria were used to select the school/ communities included in the study:

- Presence of female teacher (newly posted, trained and untrained)

- Distance from the district capital
- Falling within the "deprived area" categorisation

Informal interviews were used in the 20 communities selected for the study (a full list is contained in Annex 2). The main people interviewed were:

- District Education Officers particularly DDE, Manpower, Girls Education officer
- Female teachers living in deprived rural areas
- Parents in the community
- Other male colleagues at Basic Schools
- Men and women's focal groups
- SSS 3 girls and head teacher

One major finding of the study was the challenge in attempting to identify the different levels of deprivation within the district and between districts. The team focussed its analysis mainly within the districts using focal group discussions at the district office as a point of departure for categorising all the schools into non-deprived, deprived, and extremely deprived. The criteria developed by the GES Implementation Coordination Unit (ICU) was used as a benchmark for categorisation and as well as a review of the incentive package selection of teachers living in 'deprived rural areas' (bicycles and teacher incentive packages).