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The Perceived Nature and Extent of Gender Discrimination in the Teaching Profession in Botswana

Munya M. Mulinge

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THE PERCEIVED NATURE AND EXTENT OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN BOTSWANA

Abstract: Workplace conditions for male and female teaching professionals in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges were analysed to assess whether the profession favours men over women, whether male and female teachers differ in their affective orientation toward work and whether they differ in their valuation of workplace conditions. The results showed that moderate levels of discrimination in recruitment characterize the teaching profession. Group mean comparisons utilising t-tests showed that, although both men and women reported moderate levels of discrimination, female teachers were significantly higher in reporting discrimination during hiring but equal to men in discrimination in the workplace.

Results for gender differences in workplace conditions showed that female teachers substantially differ from men only in eight of 19 workplace conditions analysed. Female teachers were significantly lower in upward communication and task significance (the intrinsic rewards); in pay (extrinsic reward) and in grievance procedures (social support condition) but substantially higher in the four stresses of work overload, role ambiguity, role conflict and sexual harassment. Women were also higher in participation in decision-making. Concerning affective orientations toward work, female teachers were substantially lower in job satisfaction but higher in organizational commitment and intent to stay in the teaching profession. Overall, both males and females were shown to value workplace conditions highly. It was concluded that, although women teaching professionals do not encounter high levels of disadvantages in their jobs, they are not yet equal partners with their male counterparts.

1. INTRODUCTION

The subject of gender equality, broadly defined, has become a global concern (Bradshaw and Wallace 1996; UNDP 1998). This is clearly indicated by the United Nations Decade (1975-1985), which culminated in the Nairobi Conference of 1985 and the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China. Moreover, in recognition of the persistent gender inequalities in the world, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) on 18 December 1979. Member states, among others, agreed to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment to ensure the same rights, based on equality of men and women. In the developing countries, gender

inequality is now receiving much attention relative to the period predating the Nairobi and the Beijing Conferences (Kibwana 1995). The problem of gender inequality is compounded further by the existence of very limited legal structures that support equality between the sexes (Hughes and Mwiria 1989; Kibwana 1995; Miller and Yeager 1994). There are several concerns at the heart of the gender equality issue in developing countries. For instance, access to and ownership/control of economic resources, the distribution of household duties, participation in decision-making at home and in other important policy making institutions, participation in the labour force and justice in the workplace once women join the labour market, access to education, political involvement, and access to positions of authority are some of these concerns.

1.1 Problem of the Study

The existence of gender-based discrimination in the workplace is as old as women's entry into what was once a male domain - the labour market. Today's workplace is a permutation of a pattern of gender differentiated work experiences, occupations, and rewards that has prevailed much longer than the era of industrial capitalism. Women face a number of disadvantages that include often being paid less than men even where they have comparable education (skills) and experience, having less promotional chances and limited access to positions of authority, and being concentrated in particular types of jobs, usually lower status unskilled or semi-skilled service jobs. According to the 1995 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report, for example, in developing countries, women still constitute less than a seventh of administrative and managerial personnel. Women's capacity to participate equally in the work force in some situations is seriously undermined by a persistent sexual division of labour in the employment sector (Young 1984). According to Young (1984), the family is the basis for gender inequality. Arguably, the family socializes the male and female sexes to assume roles in society that are differentially valued in favour of male roles. However, he argues that the state colludes in the production of a gendered labour force by permitting fundamental inequalities to persist in both the domestic and public spheres.

Gender discrimination in the workplace spans both private sector and public sector labour markets. In Africa, where the public sector remains a dominant employer, for example, the Civil Services are riddled with differential treatment of male and female employees (Blunt and Popoola 1985; Sharma 1993). While Blunt and Papoola (1985) consider the public service to be characterized by gender insensitivity, Sharma (1993) points out that although the ideal public service is supposed to adhere to ethics governed by the principles of rationality, neutrality, equity, justice and accountability, in reality it often falls short of meeting these ideals in many

respects. The Botswana public service, of which the teaching professionals are an integral part, is no exception. Although documentation by the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM) remains silent on gender discrimination in the public sector in the country, what happens here is not different from what happens elsewhere in Africa among what Blunt and Popoola (1985) describe as corrupt civil services. The existent mainly (macro-level) literature points to inequalities that are specific to the labour market. Women, for example, are at a disadvantage in terms of access to employment opportunities. They experience limited career advancement and suffer sexual harassment and intimidation, among others, in the workplace (Botswana Government 1995; Mannathoko 1995; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998; UNDP 1998).

With specific reference to the teaching profession in particular, gender discrimination has been identified in areas such as career advancement (Bhusumane 1993; Mannathoko 1995) and access to positions of governance and decision-making (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). Female teachers are liable to sexual harassment and physical and psychological abuse (Botswana Government 1995). However, despite the documentation of gender discriminations in the teaching profession by mainly macro-level data, there exists no comprehensive study specific to the profession that provides the type of micro-level data that are necessary for an in-depth understanding of this social phenomenon. The existing macro-level data though valuable, they are both sparse and incomplete. This study is designed to circumvent this dilemma by providing micro-level data that are specific to the teaching profession. Such data, it is hoped, will facilitate a more complete understanding of the nature and extent of gender inequalities in the teaching profession and the processes producing them.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This study is designed with three objectives. First, it provides micro-level data that would facilitate a more complete understanding of the nature and extent of gender inequalities and the processes producing them in the modern (formal) workplace in Botswana. More specifically, it focuses on perceived gender discrimination among teaching professionals in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges. The study seeks to answer the question: Does the teaching profession give advantages to males over females? That is, do male and female teachers experience comparable or differential treatment in terms of recruitment, participation in decision-making, promotions, opportunities for professional growth, pay, assignment

of tasks, and cooperation of supervisors, among others? To this end, descriptive data on the perceptions of women and men in the teaching profession were collected and analysed.

A second objective of the study is to test for gender differences in job satisfaction, professional commitment, organizational commitment and intent to stay in the teaching profession by comparing the mean differences with a view to deducing whether perceived levels in gender discrimination may affect the levels of these employee affective orientations. The third and final objective of the study is to answer the question: Do male and female teachers value the same workplace conditions? To do so, the study compares male and female mean scores in the importance attached to the various workplace conditions studied.

1.3 Justification of the Study

Conducting the study is important for two reasons. First, the study is expected to make a theoretical contribution to the study of the educational institution as a labour market. This would go one step toward doing away with the impediment to the understanding of the magnitude of gender inequality in developing countries, which is the lack of '...valid, reliable, timely, culturally relevant and internationally comparable data' (Adhiambo-Odual 1995, ix; Nzomo 1995, 65). Secondly, it has implications for the development of policy to guide employment relations in the teaching profession in particular and in other work organizations in Botswana where gender-based discriminations may exist.

Any form of gender discrimination in the workplace, whether it affects men or women, is problematic and needs attention. It denies officers who qualify opportunities for training, promotion and career development. This, in turn, leads to lack of motivation and low productivity thereby undermining the very goal of the employing firm - to enhance productivity and delivery of services. To eradicate such discrimination calls for a clear understanding of its nature and extent. This study will contribute significant knowledge (ideas or information) that could become quite useful in the formulation and effective implementation of employment relations for the eradication of gender based discriminations in the teaching profession in Botswana. By examining perceptions about gender discrimination in terms of various structural elements of the educational institution, it will be possible to identify those aspects of the teaching profession for which change might be expected to improve working conditions for females. This, in turn, might boost worker satisfaction and commitment to the profession thereby inducing a more effective delivery of services to students. This is particularly important considering that the education system in Botswana has been increasingly criticised for being ineffective and for producing

substandard graduates. In addition, teaching professionals comprise a significant proportion of public sector employees and any improvements in their workplace conditions would constitute a major step forward in the elimination of gender-based discriminations from the sector as a whole.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Several factors point to the existence of gender inequality in Botswana. First, there are the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that create awareness about and fight discrimination against women. These include organizations such as the Botswana Council of Women (BCW), Emang Basadi, Women against Rape (WAR) based in Maun, the Metlhaetsile Information Centre in Mochudi and the Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), among others. Some of these organizations (e.g., BCW) have been participating in activities to promote gender equality since independence. Secondly, there is elevation of gender equality to become an integral part of the agendas of many development discourses especially since the Nairobi Conference of 1985 (Selolwane 1995). A further acknowledgment of the existence of gender inequalities in Botswana is the increased number of workshops, seminars, and conferences that have been organized by both government departments and women's NGOs to articulate the problems confronting women and to identify specific areas of inequality and the strategies required to eliminate them. In addition, the adoption by Parliament of the National Policy on Women and Development in 1995, the Botswana Government's accession to CEDAW in 1996, and the National Gender Programme Framework in 1998 all point to the increased acknowledgement of the existence of gender inequalities. Finally, there exists some macro-level literature (see e.g., Botswana Government 1995; Mannathoko 1995; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998; UNICEF 1989) that documents the existence of various forms of discrimination against women in Botswana.

2.1 The Status of Women in Botswana

In Botswana, governmental departments and efforts of women's NGOs to reduce gender inequalities have not been able to eliminate the gender gap. Here, women, relative to their counterparts in most other African countries, appear to have made considerable strides in sensitising their lot to the need for equality with men. However, they are yet to become equal partners with men in various spheres of life (Bhusumane 1993; BIDPA 1997; Mannathoko 1995; Selolwane 1995; Sharma 1993; The Fourth UN World Conference on Women, 1995; UNDP, 1998). Women remain subordinate to men in different levels of the society such as the household, the community,

institutions/organizations, and the nation (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). They still have unequal access to positions of power and decision-making; they experience limitations on certain rights and freedoms (particularly within the marriage institution), which are not imposed on men and they have limited access to resources in general and thus are much poorer than men (the feminisation of poverty). They have less access to particularly higher educational opportunities and have to content themselves with sexist educational curricula; they suffer escalating violence at the hands of men; they experience unequal employment opportunities, gender stratified careers, and marginalisation in the formal sector; and they suffer male control of their (women's) reproductive choices (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998, 3).

2.2 Legally Grounded Discriminations

In Botswana, women still face certain legal and socio-cultural constraints that put them at a disadvantage relative to men. Although the Botswana constitution guarantees certain rights and freedoms to all citizens, there are certain provisions in customary and common laws and cultural practices that infringe on women's rights and freedoms (Botswana Government 1995). These are embodied in statutes such as the Marriage Act, Married Person's Property Act, the Penal Code, Companies Act, Deeds Registry Act, and the Adoption Act. All of these statutes have provisions that discriminate against women and limit their opportunities. More specifically, the Marriage Act, the Married Person's Property Act, the Companies Act, and the Deeds Registry Act restrict the rights of married women to land, to immovable property and to advancing their career chances in the commercial sector. In addition, the Marriage Act and the Married Person's Property Act confer husbands with the discretionary management and control of family estate without the knowledge and consent of the wife. Discriminatory laws also discourage women from using land and property as collateral for business loans.

Women are also put at a disadvantage by traditional and cultural values which ascribe to them a subordinate status thus qualifying them for male protection in relation to the external world and the management and control of property (Botswana Government 1995). Such traditional values deny women independent access and rights to inheritance of assets such as land and cattle, which are important for making a living particularly in the rural areas.

2.3 Unequal Access to Positions of Power and Decision-Making

The sharing of power and, consequently, the participation of women at all levels of decision-making, both public and private, is an important human rights and democratic issue (United Nations and Botswana Government

1998). However, in Botswana, like in most other developing countries, men monopolize power and decision-making positions at all levels of the society. Both the public and the private spheres are characterized by very limited sharing of power between males and females, and women are marginalized in terms of decision-making (Botswana Government 1995; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). Being the heads of households, males dominate decision-making related to family resources. They exercise strong control over women in public institutions such as the national assembly (parliament), the cabinet, and local governments. Women, on the contrary, are under-represented (invisible) and not empowered in the private sphere of the family, at the national (public) level, the workplace, the school, the club, the trade union or any other organisation (Botswana Government 1995; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). For instance, they either are absent or poorly represented in economic decision-making such as the formulation of financial, monetary, commercial and economic policies. Botswana's business management is still predominated by males, and women are conspicuously absent from the boards of directorships of virtually all private and public companies in the country. Indeed, as pointed out in the National Gender Programme Framework, 'even in areas such as education and health where women are the vast majority of professionals, key decision-making positions are still held by men' (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998, 35).

2.4 Marginalization of Women in Education and Skills Training

The Botswana government is in principle committed to education as a human right (Botswana Government 1995). This is evident from both its endorsement of the Basic Education Policy that was adopted in 1990 at the World Conference on Education for All held at Jomptien and the provision of a free primary and secondary education that is supposed to be accessible to all regardless of sex, ethnicity, race, creed, social class or place of origin. However, limited spaces after junior secondary (currently forms 1-3) has led to massive dropouts with the majority of the dropouts being girls (Botswana Government 1995; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998).

Female enrolments tend to decline at those levels of education that are a significant stepping stone into the job market (Botswana Government 1995). For instance, girls are at a disadvantage in terms of attendance to vocational and technical training institutions and other tertiary institutions (Botswana Government 1995; Nyati-Ramahobo 1992; Parsons 1984). In

vocational and technical training institutions, their (girls') numbers have never exceeded 35%. Educational statistics from the Central Statistics Office (CSO) show that the overwhelming majority of students in vocational training institutions are males; in 1994 only about 30% of students enrolled were females (CSO 1994). Those who enrol tend to be concentrated around traditionally female fields such as secretarial, nursing and textile related courses (Botswana Government 1995). The exception may only be at the University of Botswana where a 50% representation was recorded as of 1995 (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998).

It is in the area of academic performance where the bulk of the gender inequality in education in Botswana appears to be concentrated (Botswana Government 1996; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). Boys tend to perform better than girls do especially at Junior Certificate (JC) and Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC) 'O' Level examinations (Nyati-Ramahobo 1992; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). This is particularly true with regard to mathematics, science, design and technology. The underachievement of girls in school examinations lowers their chances of participation in many areas of out-of-school education and training and impacts negatively on their employment chances. There also exists evidence suggesting that female students are discriminated against and that gendered power relations do not empower female students thereby exposing them to sexual, physical and psychological abuse (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998) by their male counterparts and/or male instructors.

2.5 Lack of Economic Empowerment among Women

In Botswana, women in general and female-headed households in particular experience more poverty and economic marginalization relative to men and male-headed households (CSO 1993, 1994). The poorest urban female-headed households, for example, have an average per capita disposable monthly income of about 46% of that earned by the poorest urban male-headed households. The disparities are lower in the rural areas where the poorest female-headed households have a per capita income of about 95% of that earned by the poorest urban male-headed households. The income differential between females and males can be understood in terms of legal, socio-cultural and institutional structures that restrict women's access to and control of productive resources and favour men in terms of the acquisition of human capital (education, skills and information) and produce unequal access to employment opportunities, development programmes and resources. It can also be understood in terms of the increasing burden of children's care on women as men's responsibility towards their offspring declines (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998).

2.6 Violence and Harassment against Women

The limited available data suggests that the incidence of violence against women in Botswana and its consequences are on the rise. Like their counterparts in most other (African) countries, women in Botswana experience physical, sexual, and emotional (psychological) violence at the hands of men (Emang Basadi 1994a, 1994b; Botswana Government 1995; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). Indeed, according to the national Policy on Women in Development (see Botswana Government 1995), women often have inadequate recourse from any coercion or violent abuse due to legally recognized control by males. Marriage laws and customs are illustrative in this regard.

The violence experienced by women in Botswana occurs at the family and community levels. At the family level violence against women includes acts such as spousal and child battering, sexual abuse of female children, and marital rape (Botswana Government 1995; United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). Although in Botswana, like elsewhere, violence against women at the family level is 'a multidimensional issue rooted in the male domination that characterizes all societies', in the not very distant past it was construed to be 'purely a family or personal affair' (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998, 28) that did not warrant intervention by law enforcement agencies. At the community level, violence against women encompasses acts such as rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at places of work. Police statistics and information adduced through studies conducted by Emang Basadi (1994a), for instance, indicate that the period since 1982 has experienced upward trends in rape cases and in the defilement of girls under the age of 16.

2.7 Gender Discrimination at the Workplace

In Botswana, women account for over 50% of the total population but they do not contribute significantly to the formal workforce (Botswana Government 1995). Although the gender gap in employment opportunities is said to have narrowed between 1981 and 1991 (Botswana Government 1995), they remain a major concern in the labour market. By 1991 only about 39% of the workers aged 12 and above were women (CSO 1994). The nature and extent of gender inequalities in the access to employment opportunities and income is clearly reflected in the occupational distribution of the labour force. In 1991, the most important single occupation of females was domestic work. One out of four females in cash employment was a domestic worker (CSO 1994). However, women have the least opportunities in professions: they account only for about a third of all

professional posts in the private and public sectors. Women are overly present in the teaching profession where they occupy about 43% of all positions, Local and Central Government - 33%, and Service Sector - 29% (Botswana Government 1995).

Within the workplace itself, considerable gender inequalities persist in terms of earnings, power, mobility (advancement) chances, task allocation, and access to managerial (or authority) positions, training opportunities. In the public service, for example, considerations other than those of merit are said to influence recruitment, placement and promotions (Sharma 1993). Women tend to have access only to mainly lower level managerial positions in both public and private sector occupations (Fourth UN World Conference on Women 1995). The existing data reveals that even the more pervasive presence of women within a particular occupation does not guarantee them a greater presence in higher level/managerial positions (Mannathoko 1995). The health and education sectors are illustrative. These have been major sources of employment for women, but only a minor source of managerial opportunities for them. This is a clear manifestation of the lack of access to promotional opportunities for female employees.

Although not much research has been done on the education institution as a labour market in Botswana, the limited evidence that is available suggests the existence of various forms of gender-based discriminations that put female teachers at a disadvantage (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). The teaching profession has been identified with gender discrimination in career advancement (Bhusumane 1993; Mannathoko 1995). The career advancement of teachers and lecturers is biased in favour of men, and factors such as age and gender remain major barriers to women's entry to administrative positions. In addition, the gendered power relations that characterize schools and other institutions of higher learning empower male teachers. Such power differentials make female teachers vulnerable to acts such as sexual harassment and physical and psychological abuse (Botswana Government 1995) with their male counterparts and superiors as the perpetrators.

Skewed gender power relations in the educational institutions in Botswana are also reflected through the governance of these institutions and the career patterns of female and male teachers and/or instructors (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). While the hierarchical and bureaucratic structures of the educational institutions in general are not implicitly gendered, they appear to have been colonized by men. As such, women remain under-represented (invisible) in decision-making bodies in schools. The only exception is in primary schools where the majority of school heads are women. Even here, the situation is perhaps the way it is mainly because the majority of primary school teachers are women (United Nations

and Botswana Government 1998). Recent research, however, points to an emerging 'vision of democratic management in which participation, shared decision-making, distribution of power, promotion of social justice, importance of autonomy and academic freedom' among male and female (students and) teachers in secondary schools and higher institutions of learning (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998, 13).

2.8 Institutional Responses to Gender-Based Inequalities

In the Southern African region as a whole, 'women's organizations have played a central role in advancing the causes of women's rights and sharpening national and regional sensitivity towards recognition and promotion of gender equality' (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998, 2). These have joined hands with national governments to amend laws that discriminate against women. In addition, gender issues have been incorporated into the regional organizations and programmes such as those under the umbrella of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which now houses a gender unit at its secretariat. International Donor agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have also made their contribution by requiring governments in the region to mainstream gender into their policies and programmes (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998).

In Botswana in particular, NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs) have put in place various strategies, programmes and projects to address the different types of gender inequalities suffered by women such as provision of different types of services in the area of education, skills training and income generation activities (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998). Other NGOs, and especially Emang Basadi, Ditshwanelo, and Women and the Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), have developed programmes that sensitise women to their legal rights, political empowerment and domestic violence. The Botswana government, despite its prolonged reluctance to initiate direct policy documents to address the plight of women as a marginalized group and to mainstream gender issues into its sectoral policies (United Nations and Botswana Government 1998), has also been involved in addressing the gender inequality problem. It has set up a Women's Affairs Unit at the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1981 and collaborated with Women's NGOs in the preparatory activities for the September 1995 Beijing UN Fourth World Conference on Women, and elevated six out of 12 of the critical areas of concern in the Beijing Declaration and PFA as priority national issues. The six areas in order of priority are women and poverty, including women's economic

empowerment; women in power and decision-making; education and training of women; women and health; the girl-child; and violence against women, including human rights.

In what one may interpret to be a demonstration of its commitment to the above issues, during 1995 the government of Botswana adopted the National Policy on Women in Development. The policy, whose aim is to address the plight of women in Botswana in an integrated and multi-sectoral manner (see Government of Botswana 1995 for details), had stalled in the drawing boards since 1988. During 1996, the government also penned its commitment at the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. And most recently (in November 1998), the Botswana government, in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), has developed and adopted a National Gender Programme Framework to translate the various policy documents into concrete strategies and actions that will make actual improvements in the lives of women. The framework emphasizes the six critical areas listed earlier.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

To comprehend perceptions of inequality and the differential treatment of males and females in the teaching profession in Botswana, we rely on an extended formulation of Blau's (1964) exchange theory. To do so, we treat employment relationships in the teaching profession as forms of exchange taking place between the employer and the employees. Based on the exchange perspective, individuals enter social relations in anticipation of rewards or benefits in exchange for their inputs/investments in the relationship. The rewards could be both intrinsic and extrinsic factors while inputs/investments include factors such as effort, status, skill, education, experience, seniority and productivity. Although exchange theory has its origin in the works of George Homans (1958, 1961), Blau (1964) extended the theory to cover the kinds of social activities observable in complex organizations. As applied to work organizations, the theory argues that individuals perform for, or contribute to, an organization in exchange for certain rewards or inducements (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982). Prospective members to an organization bring needs and goals, and they agree to supply their skills and energies in exchange for organizational resources (such as rewards or payments from the organization) capable of satisfying those needs and goals. To the extent that there is a favourable balance or match between what the organization provides and the members' expectations (or between inducements and contributions), the members' satisfaction appears to be maximized and performance is maintained.

Central to the broad exchange perspective are three theories, namely, equity theory (Adams 1965), expectancy theory (Lawler 1973; Vroom 1964)) and investment theory. All three theories rely on rewards, costs and/or investments to explain membership and performance in an organization. However, they differ in terms of how these are used. In equity theory, for example, the employee compares reward to inputs relative to those of comparable others to determine the fairness of the exchange. Expectancy theory, on the other hand, uses rewards as expectations that employees bring to the work environment; little attention is paid to the distribution of these among fellow employees. For the investment model, investments have forfeiture implications and this makes them costs to the employee who contemplates leaving. The equity branch of the exchange perspective is considered applicable to this study.

Equity theory, also termed justice theory (see e.g., Blau 1964; Jasso 1983a, 1983b; Markovsky 1985) was originally formulated by Adams (1963, 1965) who stressed equity and inequity as criteria when rewarding or punishing employees. Utilizing the inducement/contribution notion advanced by the exchange perspective, Adams (1963, 1965) considered the process of social exchanges in which individuals' give and take to be central to the concept of equity. Such exchanges involve reciprocity and social comparison processes in which people expect to receive something in return for effort or a favour given. An employee who works hard, for example, expects the employer to recognize this and reward him/her accordingly. The primary proposition of equity theory is that individuals compare their inputs (or contributions) - such as status, seniority skills, experience, task performance, education and effort - and outcomes (or inducements) with those of comparable others to determine what their equitable return should be and, consequently, the fairness of the exchange. The comparable others could be individuals within or outside the same work environment. The rewards are usually valued goods that are obtainable in a social context (Markovsky 1985) and may include material goods such as pay and related monetary benefits, social goods and social opportunities such as promotion opportunities in a work organization, or other working conditions such as autonomy and job variety. Individuals working in situations of inequity experience greater distress (or a feeling of injustice) than those working in equitable situations (Adams 1963; Blau 1964, 1965; Homans 1961).

Attempts have been made to refine Adams's (1963) equity theory. Notable among these are the works of Jasso (1983a, 1983b) and Markovsky (1985). Jasso (1983a, 1983b) presents what amounts to a new justice theory in which she stresses under-reward as opposed to over-reward. She argues that

justice will be perceived by an actor if the amount of reward the actor perceives himself/herself to have, termed the 'actual share' in the theory, and the amount of reward the actor believes to be fair, termed the 'just share' in the theory, are equal. If the actual and just shares differ, injustice will be perceived. Markovsky (1985, 822), on the other hand, presents a formulation of justice theory in which he argues, 'issues of distributive justice or equity arise when money, praise, or pieces of pie do not seem to have been meted properly.' He sees actors as comparing rewards and investments to those of a reference standard to decide what level of reward is fair. The reference standard can be a generalized other, a specific person, or a specific group. The importance that an actor attaches to justice in given situations or comparisons, however, will affect the justice evaluation. Hence, if an actor is indifferent to justice, no or only a minor sense of injustice will ensue; thus, justice-restoring behaviour may not be forthcoming. However, if justice itself is highly valued, the actor is not likely to be indifferent, and any justice-restoring behaviour is likely to be especially vigorous.

Applied to the study of perceived gender discrimination in the workplace, equity theory suggests that, using their male counterparts as comparable others, female employees will experience injustice or discrimination if they consider their rewards to be lower than those of males who have comparable inputs in the organization. In such a case, the ratio of investments to outcomes for females is considered unequal to that of the comparable persons (males). However, to provide a more encompassing comprehension of the differential treatment of males and females in the workplace, we may extend equity theory to capture non-educational status characteristics that employees bring with them to the job environment. Of particular significance are the attitudes learned through socialization process and the ascribed status of being either male or female. It is argued that the exchange process in general and the actual nature of the treatment, in particular, accorded to women employees in the teaching profession could differ from those experienced by their male counterparts simply because of their being female. This is particularly so in societies (such as Botswana) where the system of patriarchy is still strong.

A major characteristic of a male-centred (patriarchal) society is gender-stereotyped socialization. Through it, the boy-child is socialized into roles that prepare him to exercise power over females and to make decisions in private and public spheres of life such as the family and the workplace. The girl-child, on the other hand, is socialized into roles that do not prepare her for the exercising of power and decision-making over other people or resources. The structural differences, inequalities and subordination emanating from such biased socialization may manifest themselves not just

in the domestic front but also in institutional structures such as labour markets and social and political institutions thereby causing the subordination of women. As such, women's contributions in the teaching profession may be both undervalued and less rewarded. In addition, women may be subjected to other non-reward discriminatory practices such sexual harassment, intimidation, and coercion.

2.10 Study Hypotheses

Based on the literature reviewed above, the following hypotheses are derived:

- **H₁.** Relative to males, females in the teaching profession in Botswana perceive greater gender-based discrimination in hiring/recruitment practices and greater global discrimination within the workplace.
- **H₂.** Relative to their male counterparts, females in the teaching profession receive inferior intrinsic and extrinsic rewards.
- **H₃.** Female teaching professionals perceive their work environments to be less supportive in their job performance than do male teachers.
- **H₄.** Relative to their male teaching professional counterparts, female teaching professionals perceive their jobs to be characterized by high levels of workplace stresses.
- **H₅.** Compared to male teachers, women teachers are likely to display lower levels of job satisfaction but are characterized by higher organizational commitment and intention to stay in the teaching profession.

3. DELINEATION OF STUDY VARIABLES

Women and men's equal participation and involvement in the labour market can be measured not only in terms of access to jobs but also in terms of the work conditions experienced on the job. To present a comprehensive overview of the nature and extent of gender discrimination in the teaching profession, this study focuses on a broad range of workplace conditions experienced by employees. There are three possible outcomes when examining gender difference in work conditions: 1) The work conditions are the same for men and women, 2) men experience better work

conditions, or 3) women experience better work conditions. For a society like Botswana, which is still strongly patriarchal, it is highly unlikely that women would experience better workplace conditions than men would. Even in developed societies that are characterized by less patriarchy and considerably stronger measures designed to check gender inequality, women still fare worse than men do in the workplace.

The work conditions examined by this study are grouped into four major groups, namely, intrinsic rewards, extrinsic rewards, workplace support and workplace stresses. The specific conditions analysed under each category are delineated and defined below. The perceived differential experiences of these conditions for males and females constitute gender discrimination in the workplace.

3.1 Intrinsic Rewards

Intrinsic rewards, variously termed task rewards, are benefits inherent to the work itself and fulfil human goals related to the individual workers' internal sense of fulfilment (Kalleberg 1977). Although there exists no commonly agreed upon list of such rewards, they include the freedom to plan work (or self-direction and responsibility), the chance to learn new skills and abilities, opportunities to use one's skills and abilities (challenging work), being informed about the job, creativity, the ability to do the job well, sufficient feedback regarding the effectiveness of one's effort, being fairly rewarded for work accomplished, the chance to see the results of work done, and the chance for self expression through work (Mottaz 1985; Price and Mueller 1986a). In the study, four work conditions - namely, participation in decision-making, autonomy, upward communication and task significance - are analysed as intrinsic rewards.

Participation in decision-making refers to the extent of the employee involvement in the adoption of major policy decisions that affect the organization and its employees. Employees, for example, can be involved in choosing between alternatives in new production or service delivery techniques, promotional procedures, staff promotions, terms of service for workers, and the hiring and firing of core personnel (Blunt and Jones 1992).

Autonomy is the degree to which employees are offered the freedom, independence and discretion to make decisions pertaining to the substantive and procedural aspects of their job such as scheduling and determining the procedure to be used in executing the task (Hackman and Oldham 1975). The highest degree of autonomy exists when the employee has total freedom to make such decisions while the lowest degree exists when the individual has to depend on others in the immediate work environment for such decisions.

Upward communication refers to the transmission of information up the hierarchy (Mulinge 1994). It represents the degree to which employees can transmit with ease their ideas, feelings, and feedback from their jobs to higher-level administrators and/or managers. The variable manifests the extent of employee feedback to the organization's decision-making machinery. As applied to the teaching profession, it relates to communication between teachers and school administrators and between school administrators and the officers in the relevant departments of the Ministry of Education.

Task significance is the degree to which an individual's role contributes significantly to the overall organizational process (Hackman and Oldham 1980). It exists whenever the employee perceives the role(s) he/she performs to be important to the survival of the work organization.

3.2 Extrinsic Rewards

Extrinsic rewards are benefits that are not inherent to the work itself but instead are the by-products of doing the work (Kalleberg 1977). They are provided by the organization for the sake of motivating the workers to perform their tasks and maintain membership in the organization. For the purpose of the study, the following work conditions are analysed as extrinsic rewards: pay, job security, promotional opportunities, promotional rate, professional growth opportunities and access to managerial positions.

Pay refers to the wages and salaries received by employees for services rendered. **Job security** is the extent to which an employee is guaranteed his/her job as long as he/she is cautious and performs at a minimal level of competence (Leonard 1977). The existence of job security guarantees the employees the opportunity to continue applying the knowledge and skills that are associated with the job. This not only enables them to become better workers, but also helps them to further their career ambitions.

Promotional opportunities refer to the degree of potential vertical mobility within the organization (Price and Mueller 1986a). Promotion along internal job ladders has a bearing on the career development and future monetary and fringe benefits received from the job. **Promotional rate**, on the other hand, refers to the frequency of upward mobility by the employee. It can be calculated by dividing the employee's tenure with the employer by the number of times the employee has been promoted.

Professional growth opportunities refer to the degree of opportunity afforded by the organization for the employee to increase work-related skills and knowledge (Mangelsdorff 1989). The opportunity for employees

to improve their work-related skills and knowledge improves their chances of promotion within the organization and helps them to become more competent. Finally, **access to managerial positions** refers to the perceived chances of promotion to higher-level positions that are associated with the exercise of authority.

3.3 Workplace Support

Grouped under the category workplace support are work conditions that satisfy the employee's needs for assistance in job-related problems (or role-related matters). They include friendly, helpful, and supportive supervisors (Mottaz 1985; Price and Mueller 1986a) and a cohesive work group (Price and Mueller 1986b; Randall and Cote 1991). The support conditions analysed in this study are supervisory support, work group cohesion, grievance procedures and socialization practices. Such support could be received by the individual from members of his/her work group, supervisors and/or managers (Ganster, Fusilier and Mayes 1986; Mottaz 1985).

Supervisory support is the degree to which supervisors are friendly, helpful and supportive to their subordinates (Mottaz 1985). Supervisory support can be said to exist in a workplace where human relations characterized by trust, respect, friendship, and a considerable concern on the part of supervisors for subordinates' needs abound or where the supervisor's task-oriented behaviour is such that both the roles of the supervisor and the subordinate are clearly defined. **Work group cohesion** refers to the degree to which employees of an organization form close informal relations in their immediate work units (Price and Mueller 1986b). It is generally associated with a high degree of interaction and felt responsibility among members of the group (Cartwright 1968), which, in turn, lead to greater social involvement such as employee joint participation in social activities inside and outside of the work environment.

Grievance procedures are the extent to which formal appeal procedures are available to employees to air their complaints (Freeman and Medoff 1984). The existence of grievance procedures lowers employees' disaffection with the employer and tends to impact positively on morale and delivery of services. Finally, **socialization practices** refer to the degree to which work organizations display institutionalised procedures for familiarizing/acquainting (new) employees with their workings. The aim of socialization is to introduce the reality of the organization to especially newcomers by availing to them information about the organization (such the purpose and mission of the firm and the in-depth workings and expectations of the organization) that shapes the way they adjust to the organization (Jones 1986). This reduces the uncertainty and anxiety surrounding the entry process.

3.4 Workplace Stresses

Workplace stresses are those work conditions that undermine the employee's ability to perform his/her tasks efficiently. They include those conditions that provide what Kalleberg (1977, 128) refers to as 'creative comfort, i.e., a 'soft' job' such as convenient travel to and from work, good hours, freedom from ambiguous roles, pleasant surroundings, freedom from role overload (enough time to complete tasks), and freedom from conflicting job demands. Their presence in the work environment brings pressure to bear on the employee thereby undermining his/her abilities to cope with the job requirements (House 1981). The stresses examined by this study include work overload, role ambiguity, role conflict, resource inadequacy and sexual harassment.

Work overload represents the extent to which job performance required in a job is excessive. It is 'the degree to which the various role expectations perceived by the focal person exceed the amount of time and resources available for meeting them (Blunt and Jones 1992, 237).' Work overload occurs whenever role expectations are in excess of the available time and resources (Blunt and Jones 1992). The converse, work under-load, exists whenever the role holder considers the demands of the role to fall short of his/her abilities either in size or in variety (Blunt and Jones 1992) relative to the available time.

Role ambiguity is the degree to which there is a discrepancy between the amount of information a person receives and the amount necessary to perform the role adequately (Kahn, Wolfe and Schoek 1964). A non-ambiguous job is one in which there is adequate job description specifying the precise scope and nature of an employee's responsibilities (Blunt and Jones 1992) and clear and timely information regarding the expectations associated with a particular role, the methods for fulfilling known role expectations and the consequences of role performance.

Role conflict is the degree to which incompatible demands are made upon an individual by two or more persons whose jobs are functionally interdependent with that of the individual (Kahn, Wolfe and Schoek 1964). It may exist when two or more sets of role expectations that are contradictory or incompatible, occur simultaneously such that compliance with one makes compliance with the other more difficult or impossible (Blunt and Jones 1992). **Resource inadequacy** refers to the extent of insufficiency of infrastructural and material resources and equipment that are necessary for the employee to execute his/her duties with the minimum of discomfort (La-Anyane 1985). The assumption underlying this construct

is that employees will wish to have adequate resources with which to do their jobs well (Kalleberg 1977).

Finally, **sexual harassment** refers to any repeated but unwelcome and unsolicited verbal or physical sexual advances or conduct at the workplace that creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment (Petrocelli and Repa 1994; University of Botswana 2000). Among others, it could take the forms of sexually derogatory and discriminatory statements or remarks; sexually suggestive approaches; unnecessary touching and unwanted physical contacts; compromising invitations or presents; actual requests or demands for sexual favours; or the display of suggestive and/or degrading pictures or objects in the workplace (University of Botswana 2000). These, being offending, demeaning, discomforting and humiliating to the recipient, are judged objectionable. Sexual harassment may interfere with the recipient's job performance, undermine his/her job security and prospects and create a threatening or intimidating work environment.

3.5 Other Variables Studied

Several other variables are analysed by the study. These are the discrimination in hiring or recruitment into the teaching profession, global discrimination, job satisfaction, professional commitment, organizational commitment and intent to stay. While the first represents a pre-entry factor, the last four are outcome variables often termed employee affective orientations that may be impacted on by the perceived status of workplace conditions.

While **discrimination in recruitment** represents the degree to which males and females are not afforded equal chances to join the teaching profession, **job satisfaction** is the degree to which an employee likes his/her job (Price and Mueller 1986a; Smith, Kendall and Hulin 1969). The concept of job satisfaction has been used dimensionally to refer to the degree to which employees like different facets of their job (Smith, Kendall and Hulin 1969) such as pay, supervision and promotion. However, the study is interested in its global use (Quinn and Staines 1979; Brayfield and Rothe 1951) or the overall degree to which employees like their jobs.

Professional commitment refers to the degree to which an employee uses the profession as the reference group and is loyal and dedicated to it (Greenham 1971; Mueller et al. 1994). It is established during the initial training stages for the profession. For teachers in particular, they are initiated into acquiring a feeling of commitment to the teaching profession during their stay in Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) and University Colleges.

For the purpose of this study, **organizational commitment** will be defined as the employee's identification with, and involvement in, a particular organization (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982). It depicts an active relationship with the organization such that individuals are willing to give something of themselves to contribute to the organization's well being (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982). Allen and Meyer (1990, 1) call the same concept 'affective commitment' and define it as 'the employee's emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization. **Intent to stay**, on the other hand, refers to the employee's expected likelihood of remaining employed by the same organization rather than seeking employment elsewhere (Halaby 1986; Halaby and Weakliem 1989). It focuses on the employee's intention to stay with or terminate his/her membership in the organization.

The constructs organizational commitment and intent to stay are more specific concepts subsumed under the umbrella concept of organizational attachment, which refers to the degree to which employees are bound to their employing organization (Mueller et al. 1994). Both concepts have the firm as the referent but differ in terms of the type of attachment they represent; whether it is affective or affectively neutral. Whereas organizational commitment is consistently viewed as affective attachment (Allen and Meyer 1990; Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982), intent to stay is typically viewed as affectively neutral (Halaby 1986; Halaby and Weakliem 1989). It represents the employee's more 'realistic' or rationally-determined plan to stay or leave, a decision that is based on calculative or instrumental assessments of the perceived utility of remaining with the organization relative to leaving (Mueller et al. 1994).

4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter is a descriptive presentation of the procedures utilized to collect the data used in the study and to carry out the analysis. It describes the research sites and units of analysis, the study sample, data collection procedures, operational measures of the variables, and the methods of data analysis.

4.1 Research Site and Units of Analysis

The study was carried out in Botswana in Southern Africa. Previously called Bechuanaland, Botswana attained self-government from the British in 1965 and became a republic in 1966. The Republic of South Africa borders the country to the south, the Republic of Zimbabwe to the north and the Republic Namibia to the northwest. Despite being mainly semi-arid,

Botswana has experienced tremendous mineral driven economic growth since independence and today boasts one of the world's fastest growing economies. Although the country attained independence with minimal development in the area of education, it has managed to develop and expand its educational system at all levels. The specific units of analysis were teachers employed in primary and secondary schools and tutors employed in colleges of education located in selected school districts in Botswana.

Botswana is an ideal site for the study because the level of gender awareness is high due to the presence of various advocacy groups such as Emang Basadi and Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA). More specifically, focusing on the teaching profession is ideal because the government of Botswana remains the biggest consumer of labour force in general and of female labour in particular and teachers comprise a significant proportion of public sector employees. As a major employer, the government has to play a leading role in demonstrating how institutions can help advance women's participation in the labour market on an equal footing with men including having access to top level management/administrative positions. Indeed, it is in the public sector where female achievements are critical if gender equality in the workplace is to be realized in most developing countries. In addition, women are overly present in the teaching profession, relative to other employment settings. The profession thus offers us the opportunity to test whether strength in numbers does or does not count with respect to gender-based discriminations. Finally, the profession boasts a considerable population of expatriates, and differences between them and local staff in terms of tenure of service may act to intensify the experience of discrimination in especially areas related to rewards for doing the job.

4.2 Sample and Selection Procedures

This study included 1,123 teaching professionals distributed across primary schools, secondary schools and colleges. The three categories of educational institutions are not equal in terms of the number of teaching professionals they employ. While primary schools consume the bulk of teaching professionals, colleges employ the least number of teachers. Following primary schools in terms of size of teaching staff are junior secondary schools and then senior secondary schools. Because of such variations, differential sample sizes were drawn from each category with primary schools contributing the largest number of professionals studied and colleges contributing the least number of respondents. The aim was to make the sizes of samples studied for each category of educational institutions roughly proportional to the size of the institution. As such, questionnaires were distributed to 566 primary school teachers, 246 junior

secondary school teachers, 181 senior secondary school teachers and 130 college tutors.

To select the desired sample to be studied for each category of educational institution, some form of random sampling was employed. With respect to the primary school sample, a multi-stage stratified sampling technique was utilized. The 24 school districts in the country were stratified into two major blocks; the North comprising 13 school districts and the South comprising 11 school districts. Out of each region, two school districts - one rural and one urban - were selected randomly and studied. These were Selebi-Phikwe Town Council and Central Tutume school districts in the north and Gaborone City Council and Kgatleng school districts in the south. Once the four school districts to be studied had been identified, a random selection of the specific schools was undertaken from a listing of all schools in them. To guarantee the desired sample of at least 500 primary school teachers, the random drawing of school was continued until 566 teachers had been selected. In all, 23 primary schools were selected, distributed across the four school districts as follows: Selebi-Phikwe Town Council district - eight schools, Central Tutume district - five schools, Gaborone City Council district - four schools and Kgatleng district - six schools. Questionnaires were distributed to all teachers in every school selected.

The samples of junior secondary, senior secondary and college categories of institutions used in the study, on the other hand, were selected utilizing simple random sampling. The sampling process started with the construction of a sampling frame for each category listing all institutions in the country. To guarantee the desired sample size of 200 respondents from junior secondary schools, eight institutions were selected and studied. These accommodated 246 teaching professionals. Given a target sample size of 150 teachers for senior secondary schools, two schools made up of 181 teachers were selected for the study. Finally, two colleges accommodating 130 tutors were randomly selected and studied guided by a target sample size of 100 respondents for this category. Again, surveys were distributed to all teachers/tutors in the selected institutions.

4.3 Data Collection Procedures

To collect the bulk of the data utilized in the study, the survey method was used. More specifically, the study utilized self-administered questionnaires. The questionnaires gathered information about the employees' job experiences, work attitudes and personal backgrounds. Respondents were given time to complete the surveys before handing them over to the researcher or his assistant. In order to strengthen accuracy, clarity, and ease

of respondent completion of the questionnaire, the researcher explained the purpose of the study to the respondents before the surveys were distributed to them. Any concerns that the respondents might have had were addressed before their co-operation was enlisted for the study. To guarantee confidentiality, no names were indicated on the surveys and each respondent was provided with an envelope in which to seal the completed questionnaire before turning it to the researcher. Where it was not possible for respondents to complete the questionnaires and hand them over to the researcher or an assistant immediately, a two-day duration was allowed. To quicken the collection of questionnaires that were not be completed immediately, a central collection point where respondents could return their completed surveys sealed in envelopes was established in each school and/or college participating in the study.

To supplement quantitative data realized through surveys, qualitative secondary data was collected from existing documents such the Employment Act, documents detailing the terms of service for teachers, and educational statistics from the Central Statistics Office and the Ministry of Education. In addition, informal interviews were conducted with some education officials at different levels in the Ministry of Education. This was necessary to bring out certain aspects of gender discrimination that are not easily discernible from large surveys. It also provided diversity of opinions concerning certain features of the teaching professionals' workplace and of the profession itself and served as a basis for the cross-validation of some of the opinions provided through the surveys.

4.4 Measurement and Techniques of Data Analysis

To improve reliability and to allow for the use of more powerful statistical techniques, all the workplace conditions in the study were measured using multiple item indices. To avoid response-set bias, the items were distributed randomly throughout the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to rate each item on a likert-type scale with five response points coded from 'strongly agree' [5] to 'strongly disagree' [1]. Most of the scales have been used in previous studies (see e.g., Mulinge 1994; Price and Mueller 1986a) and have been judged to have acceptable validity and reliability.

To measure the value employees attached to job rewards, workplace support and workplace stresses, respondents were asked to rate the importance they attached to various types of workplace conditions regardless of whether or not they prevailed in their current job using the following five point scale: of great importance, quite important, of some importance, of very little importance, and not important at all. The responses were scored from 1 to 5 with a score of 5 representing 'of great importance' and a score of 1 indicating 'not important at all'.

The data realized by the study were analysed in three stages. Stage one involved a presentation describing the study sample using descriptive statistics such as percentages, means and standard deviations. To test for differential treatment in the workplace for men and women and for differences in job satisfaction, professional commitment, organizational commitment and intent to stay, on the other hand, mean scores were used. T-tests were utilized to check for the possible existence of significant differences between group means. T-tests were also utilized to check for mean differences in the values (importance) attached to various workplace rewards by men and women to assess whether men and women value the same rewards.

5. RESULTS

This chapter is organized into four sections. The first section presents a description of the study sample including its socio-economic characteristics. The second section focuses on the nature of workplace conditions for the teaching professionals and their (professionals') affective orientations towards work. The third section zeroes in on the t-tests for mean differences in workplace conditions and in affective work orientations for male and female teachers. The final chapter presents t-tests for group means in the valuation of workplace conditions.

5.1 Sample Description

The sample covered by this study was drawn from 35 educational institutions. Out of this number, 7 (20%) were located in Gaborone City Council, 12 (34.3%) in Selebi-Phikwe Town Council, 3 (8.6%) in Serowe Sub-district, 7 (20%) in Tutume Sub-district and 6 (17.1%) in Kgatleng District. The institutions studied included 23 (65.7%) primary schools, 8 (22.9%) community junior secondary schools, 2 (5.7%) senior secondary schools and 2 (5.7%) colleges. All institutions studied were government maintained.

Out of the 1,123 surveys distributed to respondents, 948 were satisfactorily completed and returned. This represented an overall response rate of 84.4%. The response rate, however, varied across the four categories of educational institutions studied. For the primary schools, 503 out of 566 surveys (88.9%) were fully completed and returned, and 208 satisfactorily completed questionnaires out 246 distributed (84.6%) were obtained from

junior secondary schools. The number of questionnaires completed and returned was 130 out of 181 surveys (71.8%) from the senior secondary schools and 107 out of 130 (82.3%) from the colleges. Based on the response rates for the various categories of institutions studied, therefore, 53.1% of the surveys analysed for the study were from primary school teachers, 21.9% from junior secondary school teachers, 13.7% from senior secondary school teachers and 11.3% from college tutors.

About 31.3% of the total respondents were from educational institutions located in the Selebi-Phikwe Town Council school district while 22.6% were from Central Tutume school district. The rest 20%, 13.2% and 12.9% were drawn from educational institutions housed by the Gaborone City Council, Kgatleng and the Serowe/Palapye educational districts, respectively. About 53.1% of the respondents were working in institutions located in rural areas while the rest 46.9% were urban based. Of the total 948 respondents, 837 (88.3%) were citizen employees and 111 (11.7%) were expatriate workers.

5.2 Respondents' Socio-Economic Characteristics

Those studied included 684 (72.2%) females and 264 (27.8%) males. Their ages ranged from 19 years to 65 years with the mean age being 36.6 years. Table 1 summarizes the age of the respondents using age categories. As evident from the table, the bulk of the respondents were young adults. With respect to marital status, 46.3% were single/never married, 45.7% were married, 3.2% were separated/divorced and 2.4% were widowed.

Table 1. Respondents' age

Age category	Frequency	Percentage
25 years and below	85	9.0
26 to 30 years	177	18.8
31 to 35 years	243	25.9
36 to 40 years	135	14.4
41 to 45 years	143	15.2
46 to 50 years	74	7.9
51 to 55 years	47	5.0
56 + years	36	3.8
Total	940	100.0

The highest level of formal schooling completed by those studied ranged from junior secondary to Masters degree and above. While 8.3% were secondary (junior and senior) school graduates, 46.9% were primary teacher training college graduates, 13.7% had university diplomas, 14.2% held bachelors degree qualifications, 6.4% had postgraduate diploma in education and 10.5% had masters degrees and above. In terms of professional qualifications, only 7.1% were untrained teachers and the rest 92.9% were trained teachers.

Asked about the responsibilities held at school, 66.8% of the respondents indicated that they were class teachers, 9.2% were assistant class teachers and 11.7% were subject coordinators. About 6.8% were departmental heads, 3.2% were deputy principal/deputy head-teacher and 2.3% were principals/head-teachers. About 68.2% of the respondents were not responsible over any workers while 21.7% supervised between one and 10 workers, 6.1% 11 to 30 workers and the rest 4% supervised 31 and above workers. The highest number of workers supervised by a single respondent was 60.

The mean gross monthly income earned by the respondents was Pula 2,775.76. The minimum earning recorded was Pula 800 while the maximum was Pula 9,000. Table 2 presents categories of monthly earning for the respondents. As evident from the table, about 64.8% of the respondents' earned gross monthly incomes of below Pula 3,000.

Table 2. Respondents' gross monthly income

Income category	Frequency	Percentage
Below Pula 1,000	45	5.2
Pula 1,000 to 1,499	39	4.5
Pula 1,500 to 1,999	229	26.4
Pula 2,000 to 2,999	248	28.7
Pula 3,000 to 3,999	138	16.0
Pula 4,000 to 4,999	100	11.6
Pula 5,000 +	66	7.6
Total	865	100.0

The mean tenure for those surveyed was 11.69 years. Actual years of service ranged from 1 to 42 years. While 29.6% had served for periods of 1 to 5 years, 24.4% had been working from 6 to 10 years, and 16.5% for 11 to 15 years. The tenure for the rest 13.1%, 8.6% and 7.8% ranged from 16 to 20 years, 21 to 25 years and 26 and above years, respectively. Since joining the teaching profession 51.1% of the teachers had never been promoted, 24.5% had been promoted at least once, 17.6% twice and 6.7% had been promoted three times and above. About 34.9% of the respondents had never been transferred since joining the profession, 21.1% had been transferred at least once, 18% twice 13% three times and the rest 13% had been transferred more than three times.

5.3 Overview of Workplace Conditions

Based on a scale of 1-15 points, overall, the teaching profession in Botswana can be said to be characterized by moderate to high intrinsic rewards, moderate extrinsic rewards and support conditions and by low to moderate levels of workplace stresses. As evident from Table 3, overall mean scores in intrinsic rewards ranged from 7.85 points for participation in decision-making to 11.53 points for task significance. Those interviewed reported moderate participation in decision-making (7.85), upward communication (9.12), professional growth (9.20) and autonomy (10.06), but they were high in task significance (11.53). On the other hand, mean scores for those extrinsic factors measured utilizing scales ranged from 8.58 points for promotional opportunities to 10.22 points for job security. Teachers perceived moderate job security (10.22), promotional opportunities (8.58) and access to managerial positions (8.72).

The scores for workplace support conditions ranged from 8.99 points for grievance procedures to 10.35 points for work group cohesion. The scores recorded for supervisory support (10.33), work group cohesion (10.35), grievance procedures (8.99) and socialization practices (9.22) all fell within the moderate level. Concerning workplace stresses, the results showed that the teaching profession was characterized by low levels of role ambiguity (5.72) and sexual harassment (5.58) and by moderate levels of role conflict (7.79) and resource inadequacy (9.93) and by high levels of work overload. Finally, the teaching profession was found to be moderate in pre-entry discrimination or discrimination in recruitment to the profession (6.61) and in global (overall) gender based discrimination (7.18).

Table 3. Workplace conditions for teaching professionals

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Range ^a
<i>Workplace Conditions</i>			

<u>Intrinsic Factors</u>			
Participation in decision-making	7.85	2.68	1-15
Autonomy	10.06	2.14	1-15
Upward communication	9.12	2.27	1-15
Task significance	11.53	1.76	1-15
Professional growth	9.20	2.80	1-15
<u>Extrinsic Factors</u>			
Pay	2775.76	1350.34	800-9000
Job security	10.22	2.71	1-15
Promotional opportunities	8.58	2.33	1-15
Promotional rate	1.85	1.11	0-7
Access to managerial positions	8.72	2.29	1-15
Table 3. <i>Contd.</i>			
<u>Support Conditions</u>			
Supervisory support	10.33	2.67	1-15
Work group cohesion	10.35	2.01	1-15
Grievance procedures	8.99	2.36	1-15
Socialization practices	9.22	2.70	1-15
<u>Stresses</u>			
Role overload	10.81	2.44	1-15
Role ambiguity	5.72	1.86	1-15
Role conflict	7.79	2.29	1-15
Resource inadequacy	9.93	2.73	1-15
Sexual harassment	5.58	1.98	1-15
<u>Other</u>			
Global Discrimination	7.18	2.50	1-15
Discrimination in Recruitment	6.61	2.08	1-15
<u>Affective Orientations</u>			
Job satisfaction	9.57	2.73	1-15
Professional commitment	10.78	2.27	1-15
Organizational commitment	8.94	2.65	1-15
Intent to stay	9.07	2.57	1-15

^a For all items measured using scales of 1-15, the scores are rated as follows: 1-5 = low; 6-10 = moderate; 11-15 = high.

5.4 Perceived Gender Differences in Workplace Treatment

The basic question underlying the study is whether the teaching profession favours males over females. To address this question, the study commences by testing for gender differences in perceived global (overall)

discrimination and in discrimination during recruitment into the profession. As evident from Table 4, both male and female teaching professionals perceived moderate levels in the former and low levels in the latter. However, means for both forms of discrimination were higher for females relative to males by .22 and .42 points, respectively. The t-test scores for the two variables showed that while perceived levels in global discrimination was equal for both sexes, females were significantly higher ($p < .01$, two-tailed test) in perceived discrimination during recruitment. Table 4 also presents the group mean differences in intrinsic rewards, extrinsic rewards, workplace support, and workplace stresses that female and male employees could differ in. A more detailed discussion of these workplace rewards and conditions is presented below starting with intrinsic rewards.

5.4.1 Intrinsic Rewards

Overall, mean scores for intrinsic rewards for males and females showed that both sexes perceived moderate levels of participation in decision-making, autonomy, upward communication and professional growth opportunities. The perceived levels in task significance were high for both the male and female sub-samples. However, results of t-tests for independent sample means showed that, relative to their male counterparts, women teaching professionals perceived workplace disadvantages in terms of chances for conveying information to higher hierarchies in the administrative bureaucracy, and the importance of the tasks they performed to the survival of the work organization. Women teaching professionals were found to be substantially lower in both upward communication ($p < .001$, two-tailed test) and task significance ($p < .01$, two-tailed test) than males. However, females were significantly higher in participation in decision making ($p < .001$, two-tailed test) compared to their male counterparts. No significant differences were observed for group means in autonomy and professional growth. Nevertheless, women's mean scores were slightly higher than men's by .13 and .03 points, respectively.

Table 4. Mean differences in workplace conditions^a

	Males (N=264)		Females (N= 684)	
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev
<i>Workplace Conditions</i>				
<u>Intrinsic Factors</u>				
Participation in decision-making	7.30	2.67	8.07*** ^b	2.65

Autonomy	9.97	2.44	10.10	2.01
Upward communication	9.70	2.24		2.25
			8.88***	
Task significance	11.77	1.86	11.43**	1.71
Professional growth	9.18	2.81	9.21	2.80
<u>Extrinsic Factors</u>				
Pay	3422.66	1564.33	2524.48**	1165.61
			*	
Job security	10.14	2.58	10.25	2.76
Promotional opportunities	8.61	2.40	8.57	2.29
Promotional rate	1.89	1.20	1.83	1.07
Access to managerial positions	8.75	2.46	8.71	2.22

Table 4. *Contd.*

<i>Support Conditions</i>				
Supervisory support	10.06	2.95	10.44	2.55
Work group cohesion	10.54	1.92	10.27	2.04
Grievance procedures	9.27	2.40	8.88*	2.34
Socialization practices	8.97	2.90	9.32	2.61
<i>Stresses</i>				
Role overload	10.09	2.73		2.26
			11.09***	
Role ambiguity	5.47	1.79	5.82**	1.88
Role conflict	7.49	2.30	7.90**	2.28
Resource inadequacy	9.73	2.84	10.01	2.68
Sexual harassment	5.28	1.82	5.69**	2.02
<i>Other</i>				
Global discrimination	7.02	2.74	7.24	2.40
Discrimination in recruitment	6.30	2.06	6.72**	2.08
<i>Affective Orientations</i>				
Job satisfaction	10.03	2.67		2.74
			9.38***	
Professional commitment	10.71	2.43	10.81	2.21
Organizational commitment	8.26	2.53		2.64
			9.20***	
Intent to stay	8.64	2.86		2.42
			9.25***	

^a Significance tests are for sector mean differences with t-tests.

^b Significant but not in the hypothesized direction.

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***P<.001 (two-tailed tests).

5.4.2 Extrinsic Rewards

With reference to extrinsic rewards, significant gender differences were observed only in pay. Women's monthly incomes were found to be substantially lower than the men's were. On average, women were earning Pula 898.10 less than men were per month. No significant differences were observed for the extrinsic rewards of job security, promotional opportunities, promotional rate and access to managerial positions for males and females. Nevertheless, consistent with expectations, females' mean scores in promotional opportunities, promotional rate and access to managerial positions were slightly lower than the males'. Regarding job security, however, women, relative to men, perceived slightly higher job security.

5.4.3 Workplace Support

The results showed that both male and female teaching professionals perceived their jobs to be characterized by moderate levels of supervisory support, work group cohesion, grievance procedures and socialization practices. No substantial gender differences were found for all workplace support conditions studied save for grievance procedures. As evident from Table 4, women perceived their jobs to be offering substantially fewer avenues for airing their complaints than men did ($p < .05$, two-tailed test). Although no substantial mean differences were observed for work group cohesion, as expected women teachers scored slightly less than men teachers did in this support condition. On the contrary, the insignificant female mean scores in perceived supervisory support and socialization practices were slightly higher than those recorded for males.

5.4.4 Workplace Stresses

The study found that while male teaching professionals considered their jobs to have moderate workloads, their female counterparts perceived high workloads. The sexes, however, considered their jobs to be moderate in role conflict and resource inadequacy and low in role ambiguity, and sexual harassment. Tests for differences of group means showed that, relative to men, women considered themselves to be substantially more overworked ($p < .001$, two-tailed test) and considered their roles to be substantially lacking in clarity ($p < .01$, two-tailed test). In addition, female teachers reported receiving substantially more conflicting job requests ($p < .01$, two-tailed test) and perceived substantially higher levels of sexual harassment in the workplace ($p < .01$, two-tailed test) compared to male teachers. No significant differences were observed in mean scores for resource

inadequacy. However, women reported slightly higher levels in the shortage of role resources.

5.5 Gender Differences in Affective Orientations

The second objective of this study was to assess gender differences in effective orientations toward work among teaching professionals in Botswana. Generally, the teaching professionals in Botswana are characterized by moderate levels of job satisfaction (9.57), professional commitment (10.7), commitment to the work organization (8.94) and intent to stay with the employing organization (9.07). Results for gender differences in these affective orientations toward work produced a similar pattern for both male and female teacher (see Table 4 for group mean scores).

Although both groups recorded high levels in professional commitment (10.03 for males and 10.81 for females), females were slightly higher in their commitment to the profession by .10 points. In addition, males and females reported moderate levels in organizational commitment and intent to stay but, relative to males, females were higher in both affective orientations by .94 and .61 points, respectively.

Results of t-test, utilizing a .05 or better level of significance (two-tailed test) showed that female teaching professionals were substantially lower in job satisfaction than male professionals were. The female mean score of 9.38 points was .65 points lower than that of the males. In addition, female teachers were shown to be significantly higher in both commitment to the employing organization (the Ministry of Education/Teaching Service Management) and in their intention to remain teachers than their male counterparts were. No substantial differences were observed in professional commitment but the mean score for women was slightly higher than that for men.

5.6 Gender Differences in the Valuation of Workplace Conditions

This section explores the differences that may exist in the importance male and female teaching professionals in Botswana attach to various workplace conditions. The objective is to assess whether male and female teachers operating in the three categories of educational institutions studied place different values on intrinsic rewards, extrinsic rewards, support conditions and a work environment relatively devoid of stresses. Mean scores were computed for each gender group and the t-test was utilized to check for group mean differences. Scoring for each workplace condition analysed

ranged from 1 to 5 with a score of 5 representing 'of great importance' and a score of 1 indicating 'not important at all' as can be seen from table 5.

As evident from table 5, both male and female teaching professionals, generally speaking, highly valued virtually all workplace conditions analysed. With 5.0 points being the highest possible score, mean scores for the sexes were above 4.0 points for all workplace conditions with the exception of workgroup cohesion whose mean scores fell below the level for both males and females. The specific differences in mean scores for males and females are explored below following the order utilized elsewhere in the study starting with intrinsic rewards.

5.6.1 Intrinsic Rewards

The results presented by table 5 show that, overall, both men and women considered intrinsic rewards to be 'quite important' or better. The mean ratings for all intrinsic rewards were above 4.0 points for both sexes and ranged from 4.53 to 4.62 points for males and from 4.35 to 4.55 points for females. Male teachers, nevertheless, were slightly higher than were female teachers in their valuation of all four intrinsic rewards analysed. The mean scores for men in participation in decision making, autonomy, task significance and professional growth were higher than those for women by .03, .15, .18 and .07 points, respectively. Results for t-test, utilizing a .05 or better level of significance (two-tailed test), however, only showed significant sex differences in the valuation of autonomy and task significance with women attaching less importance to both rewards relative to men.

Table 5. Gender differences in valuation of workplace conditions ^a

Variables	Males (N=264)		Females (N= 684)	
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev
<i>Work Conditions</i>				
<u>Intrinsic Factors</u>				
Participation in decision-making	4.57	0.67	4.54	0.76
Autonomy	4.53	0.71	4.38**	0.89
Task significance	4.53	0.72	4.35***	0.83
Professional growth	4.62	0.65	4.55	0.78
<u>Extrinsic Factors</u>				
Pay	4.60	0.73	4.54	0.91
Job security	4.58	0.73	4.58	0.84
Promotional opportunities	4.57	0.74	4.38***	0.93
<i>Support Conditions</i>				

Supervisory support	4.53	0.71	4.53	0.82
Work group cohesion	3.40	1.19	3.34	1.42
Grievance procedures	4.31	0.89	4.12	0.95
Socialization practices	4.57	0.66	4.59	0.78
<i>Stresses^b</i>				
Work overload	4.46	0.65	4.46	0.79
Role ambiguity	4.62	0.61	4.61	0.71
Role conflict	4.35	0.79	4.21*	1.02
Resource inadequacy	4.72	0.60	4.66	0.74
Sexual harassment	4.59	0.81	4.55	1.00

^a Significance tests are for gender mean differences with t-tests.

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***P<.001 (two-tailed tests).

^b The five workplace stresses are analysed in terms of adequate work load, role clarity, lack of conflicting job requests, adequate resources and absence of sexual harassment.

5.6.2 *Extrinsic Rewards*

Results for the importance attached to extrinsic rewards showed a pattern consistent with that observed for intrinsic rewards. Both male and female teaching professionals considered extrinsic rewards very important to both male and female teachers. For both sexes, mean ratings in the valuation the three extrinsic rewards studied ranged from 4.57 to 4.60 for males and from 4.38 to 4.58 for females. Relative to males, female teachers were found to be slightly lower in the importance they attached to pay and promotional opportunities; the differences in mean scores were .06 and .19 points, respectively. The results of the t-test, utilizing a .05 or better level of significance (two-tailed test), showed significant sex differences only in the valuation promotional opportunities with male teachers valuing it more than their female counterparts did. The extrinsic rewards of pay and job security were equally valued by both sexes.

5.6.3 *Workplace Support*

Based on Table 5, all four workplace support conditions, except work group cohesion, were considered quite important by both male and female teachers. The mean scores for supervisory support, grievance procedures and socialization practices were ranged from 4.31 to 4.57 for males and from 4.12 to 4.59 for females. On the contrary, mean scores for work group cohesion were 3.40 and 3.34 for males and females, respectively. The results of the t-test showed that male and female teachers did not differ significantly in terms of the value attached to all support conditions

analysed. That is, they valued these types of workplace conditions equally. However, with the exception of socialization practices, males, relative to females, were slightly higher by .06 and .19 points in their valuation of work group cohesion and grievance procedures, respectively. On the other hand, female teachers were shown to be slightly higher (by .02 points) in their valuation of socialization practices compared to their male counterparts.

5.6.4 Workplace Stresses

Five variables conditions - work overload, role ambiguity, role conflict, resource inadequacy and sexual harassment - were analysed as workplace stresses. They are analysed in terms of adequate workload, role clarity, lack of conflicting job requests, adequate resources and absence of sexual harassment. The results were consistent with those realised for the workplace analysed above. Both male and female teachers highly valued work environments characterized by balanced (or adequate) workloads, clear role expectations, non-conflicting job demands, adequate resources with which to perform assigned roles and absence of sexual harassment. The mean scores in stresses ranged from 4.35 to 4.75 for males and from 4.21 to 4.61 for females.

In addition, the results showed male mean valuations for clear role expectations, non-conflicting job demands, adequate resources and absence of sexual harassment to be (slightly) higher than female male valuations. The mean differences were .01, .06, .14 and .04 points, respectively. Results from the t-test for independent sample means, however, showed no significant differences for male and female teachers in their valuation of all stresses analysed except role conflict. This means that while the sexes valued adequate work loads, clear role expectations, adequate resources and absence of sexual harassment equally, men valued non-conflicting job requests more than women did.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter is organized into three sections. The first section summarizes the major findings of the study, the second section presents a discussion of those findings and the conclusions emanating from the study are presented in the third section.

6.1 Summary of Major Findings

The central focus of the study was to test for similar and/or differential treatment of male and female teaching professionals in Botswana. This was achieved by comparing t-test results for mean workplace experiences for men compared to women. Before this process, however, attempts were made to assess the overall levels in perceived workplace treatment in the

teaching profession as a whole. This was preceded by an assessment of pre-entry discrimination (construed in terms of the recruitment process) and of the global post-entry discrimination.

6.1.1 Gender-Based Inequalities in the Teaching Profession

The results showed that the teaching profession was characterized by moderate levels of gender based discrimination during recruitment. The overall (global) perceived levels in discrimination were also shown to be moderate. In addition, moderate levels of intrinsic rewards were observed in the study. The only exception was the high intrinsic reward task significance. The profession was also characterized by moderate extrinsic rewards (that is, job security, promotional opportunities and access to managerial positions) and social support conditions (supervisory support, work group cohesion, grievance procedures and socialization practices). Concerning workplace stresses, the results revealed that the teaching profession was high in work overload, moderate in role conflict and resource inadequacy but low in role ambiguity and sexual harassment.

T-tests for mean differences in perceptions in discrimination in recruitment to the teaching profession showed that women's perceived discrimination in recruitment was substantially higher than that for men. Both males and females reported moderate and statistically equal levels in global discrimination. The results provide partial support for the study's first hypothesis that, relative to males, female teachers are likely to experience greater discrimination in hiring/recruitment practices and in overall discrimination.

Results for mean differences in intrinsic rewards provided weak support for the study's second hypothesis that the teaching profession afforded inferior intrinsic and extrinsic rewards for female teaching professionals compared to their male counterparts. Female teachers were substantially lower than males only in *three* out of *ten* intrinsic and extrinsic rewards analysed. These were the intrinsic rewards of upward communication and task significance and the extrinsic reward of pay. Contrary to expectations, women teachers reported substantially high levels of participation in decision-making relative to men. Both groups were found to be statistically equal in the intrinsic rewards of autonomy and professional growth opportunities and in the extrinsic reward of promotional opportunities, promotional rate and access to managerial positions.

Male and female teachers were found to differ significantly in only *one* out of *four* workplace support conditions analysed. That is, relative to men,

women reported substantially lower levels in grievance procedures but were statistically equal to men in supervisory support, work group cohesion and socialization practices. This represents very weak support for the study's third hypothesis that women teaching professionals perceive work environments to be less supportive than men do. Although both groups reported moderate levels in perceived stresses, except for work overload, where males were moderate and females high, the results showed that males differed significantly from females in *four* out of *five* stresses analysed. As expected, female teaching professionals were substantially higher in perceived work overload, role ambiguity, role conflict and levels of sexual harassment. This provides very strong support for the fourth hypothesis of the study.

6.1.2 Gender Differences in Affective Orientations

Concerning affective orientations toward work, the results showed that substantial gender differences existed for men and women teachers in job satisfaction, organizational commitment and intent to remain in the teaching profession. As expected, female teaching professionals were found to be significantly lower in job satisfaction but higher in organizational commitment and intent to stay. This strongly supported the study's fifth hypothesis that female teaching professionals are likely to be lower in job satisfaction but higher in their commitment to the employing organization and in their intention to stay in the teaching profession. No substantial group differences were observed with regard to commitment to the teaching profession.

6.1.3 Gender Differences in Valuation of Workplace Conditions

The final objective of this study was to assess for gender differences in the valuation of workplace conditions. Overall, mean scores indicated that both male and female teachers in Botswana highly valued all conditions studied. In a scale of 1 to 5, with a 5 indicating that a reward was 'of great importance', mean scores for male and female teaching professionals were 4.0 points and higher in all intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, support condition (save work group cohesion) and workplace stresses. The means for males and females in work group cohesion were 3.40 and 3.34 points. Substantial group differences were only observed in *four* out of *sixteen* conditions analysed. That is, male teachers valued the intrinsic rewards of autonomy and task significance, the extrinsic reward of promotional opportunities, and non-conflicting job requests substantially more than their female counterparts.

6.2 Discussion

Presented under this section of the study is an interpretative discussion of the results summarized above including the degree to which the study hypotheses were supported. For ease of presentation, the discussion is organized utilizing the format adopted for the presentation and summary of the study results starting with the levels of perceived gender-based inequalities in the teaching profession.

6.2.1 Gender Based Inequalities in the Teaching Profession

To reiterate, the core focus of the study was the perceived nature and extent of gender discrimination in the teaching profession. It sought to establish whether the teaching profession favoured men over women in terms of pre-entry discrimination and within the job discriminations. Overall, the study results point to low levels of disadvantage suffered by women in the teaching profession in Botswana.

Out of four hypotheses focusing on various forms of gender-based inequalities in the teaching profession, only one received very strong support. The first hypothesis that the teaching profession puts females at a disadvantage in terms of hiring/recruitment practices and that it discriminates against them was partially supported. That is, female teachers perceived greater discrimination during hiring but were equal to male teachers in their perceived overall discrimination characteristic of the teaching profession. While hypothesis two that the teaching profession afforded inferior intrinsic and extrinsic rewards to women received weak support, the third hypothesis about gender differences in support conditions was very weakly supported. Only the fourth hypothesis reflecting the differences between men and women in workplace stresses received very strong support. Women teachers perceived themselves as being more overworked, experiencing greater lack of role clarity, getting more conflicting job requests and experiencing greater sexual harassment relative to male teachers.

The low levels in gender-based discrimination during recruitment and in the profession recorded by the study could be interpreted variously. First, these can be a reflection of the domination of the teaching profession in Botswana by women. This is particularly true about primary school teaching from which many of those studied were drawn. Because the profession is dominated by women, competition during recruitment is mainly between women themselves rather than between men and women. In addition, the situation could be explained in terms of what has often been termed the 'own-gender referents' hypothesis (see e.g., Crosby 1982; Hodson 1989; Kessler and McRae 1982; Zanna, Crosby and Lowenstein 1987). That is, in

labour markets such as the one associated with the teaching profession where women tend to predominate, women mainly compare themselves to other women rather than to men and the experience/perception of discrimination that may accrue in the process of justice evaluation is diminished.

Low levels of discrimination in recruitment and perceived overall discrimination in the teaching profession may also be attributable to the gains made by women as whole in their struggle for gender equality. That is, it could be an indication that through the efforts of organizations and groups such as Emanga Basadi and WLSA, women have made considerable gains toward becoming equal partners with men in development in general and in the labour market in particular. The existence of clear terms of service that stress qualification as the basis for recruitment and tenure/experience as the major determinant of mobility could also be partly responsible for the lack of significant gender differences in perceived discrimination in recruitment and in general discrimination.

The study results present weak support for the hypothesized gender-based discrimination in workplace rewards and adduce very weak support for inequalities in social support conditions. These results could also be a reflection of the over-representation of women in the teaching profession, which affects justice evaluation and thus feelings of discrimination or the gains made by women as a group, in their quest for similar treatment in the labour market. Certain specific findings need treatment here. First, the gender differences in income may not necessarily indicate that gender discrimination in pay actually exists in the teaching profession. It may be that female primary school teachers dominated the study sample compared to other levels in the profession and these teachers get the lowest in the profession's pay hierarchy. Controlling for employee characteristics such as level in the profession (whether primary, secondary or college of education teacher/tutor), age, tenure and professional qualifications is likely to eliminate the gender gap in income.

The results also showed that, contrary to expectations, women perceived substantially higher chances for participation in decision-making relative to men. This suggests the existence of what amounts to reverse discrimination in the teaching profession with male teachers considering themselves to be at a disadvantage relative to their female counterparts. This finding could be interpreted to indicate either or both of two things. First, as the teaching profession is predominated by women, it obviously entails high levels of participation in decision-making by women. Secondly, males are reeling from the over-representation of women in the profession and this causes them to experience heightened deprivation with respect to decision-making.

Finally, the study found very strong support for the hypothesis of differences in workplace stresses. Two specific issues warrant comment here. First, it was found that women perceive greater work overload compared to men. This could be a manifestation of their (women's) dominance in primary school teaching whereby a teacher is not only responsible for all subjects offered but also has to contend with larger class sizes. In addition, those who teach in primary schools are likely to be more involved in the learning process considering that this level of education represents the formative stage of learning. On the contrary, the number of female teachers tends to decline as we move from primary school to junior secondary school, senior secondary school and colleges. Yet, it is in the upper categories of educational institutions that teaching becomes more specialized, class sizes decline and students/learners assume greater responsibility over their learning. Alternatively, the substantially higher work overloads perceived by female teachers could be explained in terms of the interface between formal employment and domestic responsibilities for women. Women teachers may not necessarily take more classes than men teachers do. However, they withstand the worst of domestic chores and this may make them more prone to perceptions of work overload.

Secondly, the mean scores for both males and females in role ambiguity, role conflict and sexual harassment were moderate. The first two outcomes could be understood in terms of the nature of teaching as a task. To say the least, teaching is a profession in which the task expected of the employee is more often than not very clear. In addition, because of the individualized nature of the task itself, the level of conflicting job requests received from supervisors and co-workers is likely to be minimal. The moderate levels of sexual harassment observed for both males and females could be due to general cultural traditions and patriarchy, which continue to validate practices that constitute sexual harassment. As such, making what are otherwise demeaning (and often uninvited) sexual remarks and gestures may in certain situations be considered as compliments.

6.2.2 Gender Differences in Affective Orientations

The results of the study showed that although women, relative to men, are more discontented with their jobs (are substantially lower in job satisfaction) they are substantially higher in organizational commitment and intent to remain in the teaching profession. The lower job satisfaction among women can be understood in light of the observed differential treatment, though moderate, of men and women in the workplace. Logically, such differential treatment coupled with the lower levels of job

satisfaction should lead to substantially reduced levels of professional commitment, organizational commitment and intent to stay in the teaching profession for women relative to men but they did not. Although male and female teachers were statistically equal in professional commitment, the female mean score in professional commitment was slightly higher than that for males by .10 points. In addition, women reported significantly higher levels of organizational commitment and intent to stay compared to men.

It is possible that female teachers, though lower in job satisfaction, did not differ significantly in professional commitment and recorded significantly higher levels of organizational commitment and intent to stay relative to men because of the limited nature of the broader labour market within which they operated. That is, the lack of alternative employment opportunities for women makes them not to be any less committed to teaching as a profession and even to be higher in their commitment to the employer and in their plans to remain teachers. This is evident from the overall over-representation of women in the teaching profession itself. Also, an examination of mean differences of perceived external opportunities showed that, although both men and women reported moderate alternative employment opportunities that are open to them, the mean score for women (8.73) was substantially lower than that reported by men (9.56) ($p < .000$, two-tailed test).

6.2.3 Gender Differences in the Valuation of Workplace Conditions

The different categories of rewards and workplace conditions were considered quite important by both male and female teachers in Botswana. The findings that women did not experience or perceive substantial levels of discrimination, therefore, cannot be said to indicate that women did not value the rewards and workplace conditions greatly.

6.3 Conclusion

Overall, the results of the study revealed some but not strong support for the view that women in the teaching profession in Botswana experience greater disadvantages relative to men with respect to hiring practices and within the workplace environment itself. Out of 19 workplace rewards and work conditions analysed, only seven had means that were significantly different for males and females and in the expected direction; group means in participation in decision-making were substantially different but not in the hypothesized direction. Though the level of perceived gender-based discrimination is moderate in the teaching profession, female teachers are not guaranteed equal treatment with male teachers. In addition, moderate perceived discrimination obtained by the study may not necessarily suggest the total absence of *de facto* gender discrimination in the teaching profession. Rather, it may suggest a lack of awareness of its presence or that

it is not interpreted as discrimination by some of the female teaching professionals. Alternatively, it may be concluded that female teachers do not construe discrimination in terms of the dimensions emphasized in the study.

To obtain a much clearer picture of the status of women in the teaching profession, further research is necessary to study other factors that may cause variations in perceptions about differential treatment among male and female teachers. In particular, there is need for research that controls the effects of socio-economic and demographic characteristics of those studied to facilitate a comparison of unadjusted and adjusted group means. This will produce and compare the *true* means for males and females in both workplace conditions and affective orientations toward work. Further analysis should also be carried out in which separate (independent) gender comparisons are made for the primary school, secondary school and college sub-samples. This is necessary because the proportion of male teachers tends to rise as one moves from primary to secondary schools and above. As such, female teachers in secondary schools and colleges are more likely to utilize males for comparable others while those in primary schools are forced to rely mainly on other females in the process of justice evaluations. It is possible that outcomes based on the former comparisons are going to differ from those based on the latter comparisons. That is, women who compare themselves to men are likely to experience greater feelings of injustice/discrimination relative to those who use other females as their comparable others.

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