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BARRIERS TO WOMEN IN ACCESSING PRINCIPALSHIP IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN RWANDA: A CASE STUDY OF TWO SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE GICUMBI DISTRICT

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Research Report submitted to the School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education.

Johannesburg, February 2011

DECLARATION



I hereby declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university. I have used books, journals and the internet as sources of information that have been carefully referenced through the required referencing conventions.

Julienne UWAMAHORO ……

(Researcher)

February 2011

ABSTRACT

This research was underpinned by a conceptual framework which is based on the theory that women principals are under-represented and play a great role in school development (Coleman, 2001). The study sought to investigate barriers faced by women principals in accessing principalship in secondary schools. The government of RWANDA ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and the Beijing Platform action in 1995, setting regulations to achieve gender equality, gender equity and human rights.

Equality of all Rwandans is a concern of the Government of Rwanda which is making efforts to meeting article 9 of the National Constitution. Following the ratification, the Gender Equity, Gender Empowerment, Gender Equality in Education and Girls' Education Policies were developed. Indeed, Rwanda has made great efforts to remove inequalities and barriers in many areas such as health, social protection, and access to financial services, access to legal and judicial services. However, there is still a challenge in the area of education and employment. In fact, there is the political will. The objectives are to eradicate gender inequalities in education by increasing the number of female students and the number of females in education such as female teachers and female educational leaders.

Female principals are under-represented in secondary schools. Recent statistics on women in educational leadership in RWANDA show a decline in the number of women principals. The low percentage of women in educational leadership in the secondary schools of RWANDA indicates that gender equity in educational leadership is still far from being achieved. As far women's share of managerial positions is concerned, the rate of progress is slow and uneven. Qualitative methods were employed in a case study, in which the experiences of twenty participants (Principals, Heads of Department, Teachers and students) in two secondary schools in the Gicumbi district were interviewed. Two staff member of Department of education also participated in this research. The study used interviews with guide questions and probing questions, inspired by Coleman's questions (2001) which have been effective in various studies.

The data analysis revealed that cultural male domination, stereotypes and socialization, lack of qualification and motivation, few role models and mentors, low self-confidence, lack of support as well as dual role of female are identified as major barriers that prevent women in achieving principalship in Rwandan secondary schools. In Rwanda, the number of women in the workforce is increasing, but they continue to hold few corporate leadership positions. Women are running into the glass ceiling, a ceiling that is thicker for women, in rural areas especially. It is suggested that mentoring as support for aspiring

women leaders would be effective in breaking down the barriers for women and as a tool for leadership development.

The study concluded that although women education leaders still encounter many barriers in accessing principalship in secondary schools, they are working hard to try and cope with them and are more transformational leaders. As managers they are more inclined towards contemporary approaches to management such as participative engagement of those they lead. The researcher recommended that the following seemed to be possible strategies to address the challenges: mentoring, modeling, support for further studies, women's networks as well as training programmes.

The findings from the study will contribute to educational leadership literature in Rwanda, helping to overcome barriers to women in accessing principalship especially in the secondary schools. These barriers, it seems, are the major impediments to women's advancement in educational leadership in Rwandan secondary schools. It may further help to develop women's leadership in secondary schools through recommendations for further research and for gender equity programmes in education.

Key words: Affirmative action, Glass ceiling and glass wall, Gender and Leadership, Leadership

Management, Transformational leadership, Principalship

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DEDICATION

To my husband, and best friend, Théoneste MINANI: I will be forever grateful that through life's toils and challenges you stood beside me. Thank you for your constant inspiration, for your unwavering support, patience, unconditional assistance and love.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AUCA: Adventist University of Central Africa

BPFA: Beijing Platform Action

BSNM: Byumba School of Nursing and Midwifery

CCEAM: Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration and Management

CEDAW: Convention for Elimination Discrimination against Women

CIK: Catholic Institute of Kabgayi

CUR: Catholic University of Rwanda

DCGP: Commissioner General of Police

FAWE: Forum African Educationalists of Education

GoR: Government of Rwanda

HLIs: Higher Learning Institutions

HOD: Head of Department

ILPD: Institute of Legal Practice and Development

INATEK: Institut National d'Agronomie et Technology of Kibungo

INR: Institut National de Ruhengeri

INSR: Institut National de Statistique au Rwanda

ISPG: Institut Supérieur Pédagogique de Gitwe

IPB: Institut Polytechnique de Byumba

ISAE: Institut Supérieur d'Agronomie et d'Elevage

KCE: Kavumu College of Education

KCT: Kicukiro college of Technology

KHI: Kigali Health Institution

KIE: Kigali Institute of Education

KIM: Kigali Institute of Management

KIST: Kigali Institute of Science and Technology

KSNM: Kibungo School of Nursing and Midwifery

JRES: Joint Review of Education Sector

MIGEPROF: Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion

MINEDUC: Ministry of Education

MINECOFIN: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning

MINEPRISEC: Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire

MINESUPRESS: Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique

NSNM: Nyagatare School of Nursing and Midwifery

NUR: National University of Rwanda

PIASS: Protestant Institute of Arts and Social Sciences

RCE: Rukara College of Education

RSNM: Rwamagana School of Nursing and Midwifery

RTUC: Rwanda Tourism University College

SFB: School of Finance and Banking

SNEC: Secrétariat National de l'Enseignement Catholique

TCT: Tumba College of Technology

ULK: Université Libre de Kigali (Independent University of Kigali)

UK: United Kingdom

UNICEF: United Nations of Children Funds

UP: Umutara Polytechnic

USA: United States of America

VSO: Voluntary Service Overseas

VVOB: Vlaamse Vereniging voor Ontwikkelingssamewerking en Technische Bijstantand

WITS: University of the Witwatersrand

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GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Affirmative action: Employing people in the workplace or giving opportunities (studying for example) that were previously disadvantaged or discriminated against.

Glass ceiling: is a hidden or invisible limit in corporations and other organizations, which it is difficult or impossible for women to raise in the ranks. It is *glass* because it's not usually a visible barrier, and a woman may not be aware of its existence until she "hits" the barrier. In other words, it's not an *explicit* practice. The term was popularized in the 1980s (Cubillo and Brown, 2003)

Glass wall: some people are more fortunate than others; some get promoted while others stay at the middle or even the bottom of the positional ladder. This inability to rise in rank may not be a result of inexperience or lack of capabilities, many activists claim, but rather other factors like gender or race (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Leadership: Leadership is a process of influence leading to the achievement of desired purposes. It involves inspiring and supporting others towards the achievement of a vision for the school which is based on clear personal and professional values (Bush and Glover, 2003, p.10).It is the capacity and capability of the principal and his/her leadership team to guide the school and those associated with it in the agreed strategic and developmental direction with regard to context: to ensure a culture of high expectations, continuous improvement and accountability to all stakeholders.

Gender and leadership: in the leadership research, gender has been distinguished with the former viewed as a collection of qualities labeled male and female that created culturally and the latter seen as comprising attributes that are the result of biological characteristics. Male gender qualities are described as aggressive, independent, objective, logical, rational, analytical, decisive, confident, assertive, ambitious, opportunistic and impersonal. Female gender qualities is characterised as emotional, sensitive, warm, tactful, empathetic and submission (Shakeshaft, 1989). Gender and leadership are best explained when there is a connection between them and other socially constructed aspects of identity, such as sexual orientation.

Management: Management is the implementation of school policies and the efficient and effective maintenance of the school's current activities (Bush and Glover, 2003, p.10).Management is the capability and capacity to plan, operationalise and monitor management structures to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of the school in terms of managing cultural diversity.

Principalship: a position of presiding rank, especially the position of the head of an elementary school or high school. In this study it is a position of leadership in high school (Secondary Schools)

Transformational leadership: This form of leadership assumes that the central focus of leadership ought to the commitments and capacities of organisational members. The transformational model is comprehensive in that it provides a normative approach to school leadership which focuses primarily on the process by which leaders seek to influence school outcomes rather than on the nature or direction of those outcomes (Leithwood, Jantzi and Steinbach, 1999)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

1.1.1. Introduction

This study seeks to identify and examine the barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools in Rwanda. The issue of women as managers in various roles has become a topic of special interest and importance in the past two decades. In the Rwandan context, the need for women in leadership and management has become particularly relevant in the post-genocide period, following the formulation of the National Constitution in 2003, which sought to eliminate inequality in Rwandan society. Women, themselves, have taken up the fight against discrimination, calling for their voices to be heard in leadership. They are aware of their rights and look for their own empowerment, but there is still a long way to go: very few women, for example in the secondary schools, have been promoted to principalship.

The under-representation of women in such leadership roles is a common problem for many developing, and even developed, countries (Sperandio & Kagoda, 2006). This raises the issue of social justice and sustainable development because the women cannot, then, fully contribute to social and economic development. Management, as a job category, represents only a small portion of the work force, and, while it has grown over the last few decades due the growth in the service sector, Wirth's recent global statistics (2004) show that women continue to increase their share of managerial positions, the research states that: *"(progress is) uneven and sometimes discouraging for women faced with barriers created by stereotypes in the workplace*" (Wirth 2004, p.14).

This gender imbalance in educational leadership positions has its roots in various factors, amongst which are the societal understanding of leadership, the schooling and career aspirations of girls, the organisational characteristics of the educational system and the expectations and preparation of teachers for leadership positions (Coleman, 2001, p.76; Sperandio & Kagoda, 2008, p.25). In addition, women in Rwanda often gain access to education very late, are under-represented in secondary schools and are even sparser in Higher Education (Huggins & Randell, 2007, p.14). Despite affirmative action, these women face various barriers to education, which result in them being progressively left behind on the promotional ladder, in line with the universal trend.

While there has been considerable research over the past decade on gender imbalance in educational management in countries such as the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK), Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, very little research has been done in developing countries, for example Rwanda. This research gap has led to the desirability of the present study on the more subtle mechanisms impeding the progress of women in management, despite the overt constitutional commitment to ensure that discriminatory practices are discontinued.

1.1.2. Rwandan education during the pre- and post- genocide periods

Rwanda is small and land-locked Sub-Saharan East African country, known as "the land of a thousand hills". It has a total land surface area of 26,340 square kilometers, (Appendix 16) with a population of 11 million (www.gov.rw). Kinyarwanda, English and French are the official languages used in administration and English now is officially the medium of instruction in schools. Swahili is also spoken in urban areas (GoR, 2008). To the north is Uganda, to the east the Republic Democratic of Congo, to the west is Tanzania, and Burundi to the south. Administratively, Rwanda is divided into four provinces: the Northern Province (Appendix 17), Southern Province, Eastern Province, and the Western Province and the city of Kigali. Rwanda has thirty districts. Each district is headed by a Mayor. Gicumbi district (Appendix 18) is one of the five districts in Northern Province (MINALOC, 2006). Although Rwanda is geographically small and formerly quite isolated, it gained the world's attention during the 1994 genocide. It is now committed to the rapid development of social justice following legislation of 2003 and 2008 and discrimination against women is now illegal.

From colonial times, Rwanda's education history has reflected the political interests and agendas of the regime in power, sometimes with disastrous consequences: for example, the ethnic divisions of the Rwandan people were taught extensively in schools, leading to the 1994 genocide in which almost one million Rwandans lost their lives (Obura, 2003). The same educational system encouraged male supremacy (MINEDUC, 2003).

Formal education in Rwanda was introduced within the colonial system by Germany from 1900 till 1919 when Belgium emerged victorious after the Great War and took over. As in most cases in colonial Africa, the first teachers were in a religious order and in Rwanda, mainly Roman Catholic missionaries taught with the goal of preparing young men for a life in the church or training the indigenous administrators to the benefit of the colony. Colonial education was characterized by a mistrust of traditional values and knowledge, and supported by a literature which conveyed ethnical division of the people (ibid) as well as

gender bias. Subjects taught included Ethics and Latin, reading and writing at a primary level until 1929, when the first secondary school was founded (ibid.).This school, called 'school of elite people' (Indatwa) was mostly attended by the children of indigenous chiefs.

Rwanda gained independence from Belgium's colonial rule in 1960. At that time, the education system had been subjected to adjustments and 'reforms', including a notable reform of 1978-1979 introducing eight years of primary education with three cycles (3+3+2, or six years general education followed by two devoted to craft training). Political and geographical factors also played a part as in secondary schools and the university, enrolment was not based on merit but on one's ethnic or geographical origin, according to the whims and interests of the political authorities in place until 1994 (MINEDUC, 2003, p.10).

In 1994, the Education system in Rwanda went through many difficulties. With the onset of the genocide, schooling came to a complete halt (Obura, 2003). Primary and Secondary Schools were re-opened in September and October respectively but under critical conditions (MINEDUC 1999, p. 10)., Female teachers were much affected because many of them had been victims in different ways, and had many responsibilities, often keeping orphans in difficult conditions (their own and relatives' children). Therefore, most female teachers did not involve themselves in school leadership roles because of the extra familial responsibilities they had to assume.

The new education policy, after the tragedy of genocide, targeted national unity and reconciliation (Hayman, 2005, p.12), outlawing any form of discrimination and prohibiting any regional or ethnic identification of learners and teachers. Advancement was to be based solely on merit. All applicants were welcomed and accepted into the school (Obura, 2003). One of the major goals was to achieve gender equality in all sectors, including education.

1.1.3. Women and girls in education in Rwanda

During the pre-genocide period, females in education lagged behind males. While boys were permitted to go to school, the community environment often did not support the education of girls. Girls who were often confined to work in the home, looking after their siblings or were deemed mature enough to marry. Safety was also a factor. As girls reached puberty, parents were reluctant to let them travel long distances to school, especially in insecure rural areas. Fear of the shame of pregnancy outside marriage was a strong reason for keeping daughters at home (MINEDUC, 2008).There were no measures to punish parents who were reluctant to send their girl children to school, and the schools played a part too, by obliging a pregnant girl (in primary or secondary) to leave school permanently.

Historically, females had the first opportunity for an education very late in 1940 compared to the men who started going to school in 1900 (Obura, 2003), but despite access opportunity, few girls enrolled\. Those who did only had post-primary access to domestic courses as clerks, house workers and dressmakers, instructresses in informal female training or in teaching in the lower level of primary school. During colonial times, in Rwanda, there were only the single sex schools (boys and girls schools).Female schools were very limited for the accommodation of female students only (MINEDUC, 2003).

In the post-genocide period, the Government of Rwanda has made enormous strides forward in improving access of boys and girls to education at all levels, and in promoting gender equality within the education system. Yet girl students continue to lag behind in educational access and achievement particularly at the secondary and tertiary levels, where girls' enrolment-, completion- and achievement rates are lower. In addition, girls are more likely to attend more expensive schools rather than those provided by government, which is not necessarily a good thing (Huggins & Randell, 2007, p.7). According to them, most private schools and universities (especially in rural areas) lack sufficiently qualified teachers and appropriate teaching materials.

The Republic of Rwanda has established a series of key policies and programmes that focus on the promotion of girls' and women's education. These include the Rwandan Constitution, with its commitment to affirmative action, 'Vision 2020', the Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy 2008-2015, the 2008 Education Sector Strategic Plan, the Joint Education Sector Support 2006-2010. With this progress, Rwanda has moved from a position near the bottom of regional education performers, to become one of the regional leaders in achieving universal primary education and demonstrating continued improvement in secondary enrolment rates (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: Primary net attendance and Secondary gross enrolment

Country	Primary net attendance ratio 2000-2005		Secondary school gross enrolment rates 2000-2005	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Tanzania	71	75	6	5
Uganda	77	77	18	14
Rwanda	85	85	15	16

Source: UNICEF website, 2007

Rwanda is ahead of other countries in the region in promoting gender equality at both the primary and secondary levels; with gross enrolment ratios far above the average for Sub-Saharan Africa.

TABLE 2: Primary and Secondary Gross Enrolment

Country	Primary (GER 2000-2005)	Secondary (GER 2000-2005)
Kenya	95	92
Tanzania	96	83
Uganda	99	78
Rwanda	102	93

Source: UNICEF website, 2007; United Nations, *the Millennium Development Goals Report, 2005*. New York: United Nations.

Secondary schools admission in Rwanda is largely based on a student's performance in the primary school-leaving exam, in which boys consistently outperform girls[1]. As a result, boys comprise a higher percentage of students in government secondary schools, which tend to be of higher quality (and less expensive) than private schools. An added barrier to gender equality at the secondary school level is the prevalence of seminary schools, which only admit boys, have the highest quality teachers and consistently rank near the top in terms of performance (Huggins & Randell 2007).Thus, the total number of secondary positions available is higher for boys than for girls, and therefore girls are disadvantaged both in terms of numbers and quality of schools.

Huggins & Randell (2007) affirm that accepted social mores still hinder the education of girls and entrench girls' underperformance throughout their schooling. Factors include the problem that parents do not attach the same value in educating their daughters as their sons; that girls are expected to fill traditional gender roles[2], taking responsibility for household tasks from an early age[3], with the effect that they are prevented from attending school, or limited in the time which they can devote to their studies (Obura, 2003). In the school, there are contributing factors: a lack of female teachers as role models[4], a

[1] This applies in examination at all levels

[2] Particularly in rural areas

[3] Fetching water, collecting firewood

[4] The number of female teachers should be increased, which would raise consequent expectations for girls' independence and success. Although there is now support of girls' education and empowerment throughout the whole country through different clubs (MINEDUC, 2009).

masculinized school environment[5] and a need to develop student-centered teaching, a gender equitable learning environment and teaching practices, and to ensure that classes are relevant to girls.

Together, these factors produce a cyclical effect, as low performance in the primary leaving exam results in girls being admitted to lower quality secondary schools, and ultimately into higher education institutions (HLIs) in lower numbers[6]. A recent Women's Competence Profile Report by MIGEPROF in 2007 gave figures on tertiary education outcomes in Rwanda. The National University of Rwanda had enrolled 3,002 women over the last 40 years, ULK: 3,969 in 10 years. There were only 13,119 women with bachelors' degree and at least 30 percent of women failed to finish their degrees (MIGEPROF, 2007). Although total enrolment rates have been steadily increasing over the past five years, women continue to be under-represented in HLIs (MINEDUC, 2008).This difference becomes particularly stark within highly competitive public universities, where education is generally of higher quality, and tuition fees are lower.

In their paper presentation, Randell & Fish (2009) indicate that in most cases, female students choose to remain in Kigali, where they can be assured of secure living environments, thereby shaping their long-term career and life opportunities on extraneous factors. As these examples suggest, any effective initiative to redress the gender imbalance at the level of higher education in Rwanda must take into full consideration the interconnected factors that continue to reinforce widespread gender inequalities within the system.

1.1.4. Specific perspective of females in Rwanda and women into leadership

In the pre-colonial period, the indigenous culture valued women's positions in their families and communities, and allowed women to participate in the country's political and public sphere. Historical examples of women's involvement in decision-making, such as the existence of female chiefs and the Queen Mother, are often cited as the foundation for the value given to women. However, Uwineza & Pearson (2009, p.6) state that: "alongside indigenous practices that emphasized women's equality with

[5] The curriculum, classroom buildings, assessment methods, etc. are all consistently tailored to male students (MINEDUC, 2008).

[6] It should be noted that the Ministry of Education advises that there is no actual pass grade for HLIs entry. The pass grade for each stream is adjusted each year by the Schools Examinations Council so that the numbers 'passing' in each subject meet the number of places in the public HLIs, with a lower limit on grade set by the HLIs themselves.

men and their ability to govern, Rwandan culture also includes aspects of gender relations that were (and often remain) oppressive and patriarchal".

Gender roles in traditional Rwanda were structured around a household division of labor that allowed women substantial autonomy in their roles as child bearers and food producers but preserved male authority over other family affairs. As a result, Rwandan women navigated a cultural space that had the potential to both enhance and suppress their power within the household and family. Uwineza & Pearson (2009) indicate that women were not allowed to participate directly in public deliberations; rather, they were expected to play an indirect role in the customary system of justice, known as *gacaca*. Traditionally, women did not speak publicly, especially in the presence of men. A woman who dared challenge men in public was considered insolent or unusual (Uwineza & Pearson, 2009).

Recent equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation was implemented to redress past imbalances in leadership, hence the attention paid to issues of women's rights and empowerment, pay equity and removal of sexual discrimination (MIGEPROF, 2009) and the centralization of gender in the rebuilding and continued growth of the country. However, it will be long time before the effects are fully felt throughout the education system. Uwineza & Pearson (2009) indicate that the lack of sufficient mentors and role models impact on under-representation of women in leadership. Without role models that are proportional to the number of women in society, the education system continues to uphold male power and authority roles (Randell & Fish, 2009). This is because women in leadership are often loathe mentoring their subordinates or colleagues.

Male and female policymakers are quick to acknowledge that many aspects of traditional Rwandan culture repress women and abrogate their human rights. At the same time, policymakers in Rwanda have used selected aspects of Rwandan culture as positive resources to emphasize the benefits of women's leadership. Women leaders help to define Rwanda's national identity in relation to its history and traditions by linking the contemporary movement for gender equality to cultural precedents

Rwanda's 2003 constitution mandates 30 percent women's representation at all decision-making levels in government. In 2003, Rwanda elected 48.8 percent women to its lower house of parliament, giving it the world's highest percentage of women in a national legislature. Women achieved this dramatic increase, up from 17.1 percent just a decade earlier, in the aftermath of violent conflict (Uwineza & Pearson, 2009). In 2008, Rwanda re-elected women to parliament with a large majority, (56.3%) in the lower chamber of parliament, and became the first country in the world to have so many women in parliament (see appendix 13).

The Government of Rwanda (GoR) is also committed to improving school administration, management and leadership by providing school management training and establishing new education regulations (MINEDUC, 2003). As stipulated in Rwandan education policy, the GoR is engaged in reviewing procedures relating to the management and administration of education for their adaptation and modernization, revising and updating educational legislation, training head teachers in school management and administration, and ensuring that schools regularly undergo other special training. International research shows that state school leadership is an essential element in school improvement and effectiveness (Daresh, 1998; Bush, 2008, p.284). Countries that need to reform and develop their school systems now consider how best to prepare their school leaders to bring about the required changes.

According to Sperandio and Kagoda, (2006), "effective leadership preparation is needed to address the under-representation of women in secondary school administration and leadership in East African countries". Rwanda as an East Africa country member since 2008 has had similar experiences in educational leadership and management. Development entails increasing the proportion of women as principals in relation to the number of female teachers as well as developing the effectiveness of such leadership.

1.2. Conceptual framework

The researcher contends that though female principals are more transformational than male principals in that they tend to pay more attention to the social, emotional and academic development of the children in their schools (Adler, 1993) they are less represented in Rwandan secondary schools (MINEDUC, 2003; 2008). This study investigates the reasons for the paucity of women principals and is based on Coleman's (2001) research which contends that though there are many barriers for women in achieving leadership posts; women who do become principals make a significant contribution to leadership of schools and to achieving the core purpose which is teaching and learning.

Many studies have noted a generally- held negative perception of women as leaders (Schein and Davidson, 1993) cited in Coleman paper (2002, p.122). However, Coleman (2001; 2005) concurs that women are making a significant impact on national economies through their participation in organizational leadership and their ownership of businesses. This evidence is stressed by His Excellence President Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda when he stated that:" *Both historically, during our liberation struggle and even more recently, in reconstructing our country, women have contributed greatly and have been at the forefront of political, economic and reconciliation initiatives". (New Times, 15 May 2010)*

The conceptual framework of this paper is developed in line with critical theories of Coleman (2001; 2002; 2003; 2005; Shakeshaft, 2006; Hall, 1993) who argue that both women and men have the same ability in leading and managing schools. The researcher explored some of the reasons why women were under-represented in educational leadership. Her qualitative research focused on explanations, perceptions and experiences of women principals, who have achieved success against the odds.

Given the seemingly favourable situation of an increasing number of school leadership positions being officially designated for women, it is difficult to explain the continued scarcity of women in these positions. Drawing on the literature analyzing a similar dearth of women in school leadership in the western countries (Kaparou & Bush, 2007; Brown & Irby, 2005; Shakeshaft, 1989), and in developing countries (Sperandio & Kagoda , 2006; Oplatka, 2006;Lumby et al., 2010), three possible explanations for this situation present themselves: few women have the minimum qualifications needed for application for leadership positions; there is a lack of interest by qualified candidates in leadership positions, and there are hidden barriers to women applying for, and being appointed to, leadership positions. These reasons may well also apply in Rwandan secondary schools.

In the Gicumbi district, women principals are outnumbered by the men. The researcher has tried to verify if overt and covert discrimination can be found as barriers to women's advancement. It has been argued that the accepted requirements in management and leadership are modeled on male behaviour, perceptions and values. Women are perceived as incapable of leading and managing (Coleman, 2002, p.98) and researched management and leadership attitudes consider men as efficient in leading and managing secondary schools (Goodman 1996). The researcher also argues that women should overcome gender differences by overcoming patriarchal dominance and the obstacles they face.

The purpose of this research is indicated by the following aims and objectives:

1.3. Aims and objectives

This aim of this research is to explore barriers to women in accessing principalship of secondary schools. The objectives of this study are as follows:

- To identify the factors (extrinsic or intrinsic) of under-representation of women principals in secondary schools.
- To investigate the perceptions of women in educational leadership
- To identify possible strategies to overcome the identified barriers

- To contribute of the body of knowledge on women in education leadership.

1.4. Problem Statement

In the last decade, there has been much research on the under-representation of women in school management positions. The arguments for increasing the number of women in school management were usually limited to the principle of equal opportunities. Arguments referring to specific contributions made by women to school management were hardly brought under discussion, because of insufficient research in this regard. In developing and developed countries, a teaching career is often viewed as a "feminine" profession (Davies, 1996, p.60), and educators are predominantly female while formal school leaders are male and educational administration is still seen as a masculine occupation (Coleman 2001, p.76).

In the Gicumbi district, the situation is similar: there is a disproportion between women teachers and women principals in secondary schools, Rwandan educational leadership posts remaining male dominated. At national level, female teachers in primary schools constitute 52.9% and male teachers 47.1% of the workforce, but, despite the number of females in primary teaching, they are under-represented in leadership. In secondary schools, the proportion is females 26% to74% males (table 4) but the number of male principals is still disproportionate (table 3).

I. Gender in primary and secondary schools at National level

TABLE 3: Teachers at National level

Primary					Secondary				
M	%	F	%	T	M	%	F	%	T
15282	47.1	17225	52.9	32507	7934	74	2781	26	10715

Source: MINEDUC/STATISTICS

TABLE 4: Educational Leaders at National Level

Primary					Secondary				
M	%	F	%	T	M	%	F	%	T
1862	65,5	981	34.5	2843	3100	57.5	2290	42.4	5390

Source: MINEDUC/STATISTICS

The number of leaders in secondary schools includes secretaries, accountants, of whom the majority is female and principals.

II. Gender in Primary and secondary teaching in GICUMBI district

TABLE 5: Primary Teachers in Gicumbi District

primary								
2008			2009			2010		
M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
758	634	1392	879	589	1468	879	589	1468
54.46	45.55	100	59.9	40.1	100	59.9	40.1	100

Source: Gicumbi district/Department of education.

TABLE 6: Secondary Teachers in Gicumbi District

secondary								
2008			2009			2010		
M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
326	112	426	411	135	546	411	135	546
73.5	26.5	100	75.3	24.7	100	75.3	24.8	100

Source: GICUMBI District/Department of Education.

TABLE 7: Primary School Principals in Gicumbi District

2008		2009		2010	
M	F	M	F	M	F
74	17	73	18	71	20
81.3	18.7	80.3	19.7	78.1	21.9

Source: GICUMBI District/Department of Education.

TABLE 8: Secondary School Principals in Gicumbi District

2008		2009		2010	
M	F	M	F	M	F
25	5	44	8	46	8
83.3	16.7	84.6	15.3	85.18	14.82

Source: GICUMBI District/Department of Education.

Table 8 reveals a significant contrast between the number of women leaders and male leaders in Gicumbi secondary schools. Moreover, the figures indicate that while the number of male principals has increased between 2008 and 2010, the number of women principals has declined by two in that period. The downturn in the number of women principals in Rwanda, especially in Gicumbi secondary schools from six in 2008 to four in 2010 (even before 2008) raises questions as to why and what the causes are. Moreover, the decline in the number of women principals does not reflect well on Rwanda, as one of the first that ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (MIGEPROF, 2004) in 1995.

Besides being a hindrance to educational development and the advancement of women in their careers, under-representation affects equality and opportunity for those being taught, regardless of gender (Cubillo and Brown 2003). These issues are of concern in the 180 countries, including Rwanda, which met in 1995 and formed the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), committed to uplift the lives of women and make concrete proposals on mechanisms for achieving gender equality. The BPFA has called on Governments to set up mechanisms and policies that aim to advance women into development activities and leadership positions. To do so, decentralized systems were strengthened in Rwanda to enhance the equitable participation of men and women in the educational sector. There exists a report showing that at least 30% of posts at all levels of education will be occupied by women by 2011 (MIGEPROF, 2009, p.18). However, despite the good will and intent to achieve gender equality goals in all sectors and in the field of education, and the fact that attention has focused on accelerating girls' full and equal participation, retention and performance in school, there is no remarkable progress for women in educational leadership (MINEDUC, 2008, p.16)

However, a number of socially constructed barriers and fixed social practices continue to prevent girls from accessing education and from performing equally well in their national examinations. Identifying

and remedying the sources of girls' continued inequality within this sector is imperative to lifting the status of girls and women within Rwandan society, and to promoting equitable socio-economic development within the country In a statement by Baricako, (executive Director of FEMMES AFRICA SOLIDARITE during their annual meeting in March 2010 which was held in Kigali), she acknowledged Rwandan efforts in promoting gender rights and balance:

" *I would like to congratulate Rwanda upon their promotion of gender rights and balance, something that we at Femmes Africa Solidarité, recognized and rewarded the President for two years age.*" She also said: ". *When we look back at 1996 and where we are today, we have achieved a lot, but though such big steps have been made, there is quite a lot that still needs to be done*". (Daily newspaper, New Times, 15 March 2010).

Under-representation of women in decision-making structures shows that structural gender inequalities remain firmly in Rwandan society. This case study of Gicumbi district presents the paucity of women in secondary schools. Specific measures must be developed to identify and remove barriers to women in accessing decision-making positions in all sectors, especially in principalship in secondary schools. One of the burning issues in education today is the rapid transformation that is taking place in education policy, the conditions of employment and school management. In the context of the Constitution (GOR, 2003: 2008), various legal requirements to accelerate equity and equality in the workplace are endorsed (MIGEPROF, 2008).This has been the result of, inter alia, the rapid transformation that is occurring in the workplace. In Rwanda, the perception that secondary school management is for males, or nuns, only is gradually changing, as is the perceptions of a woman's place, as more women reach the higher echelons of the management sector.

1.5. Research Questions

The study will focus on identifying the barriers to women in leading and managing secondary schools in Rwanda.

1.5.1. Main question

What are the barriers that prevent women from accessing Principalship positions in Rwandan secondary schools?

1.5.2. Sub questions

- What are the perceptions of women leaders on women and principalship?
- What are the perceptions (male and female) of teachers on women principals?
- How do women principals experience leadership in schools?

1.6. Rationale of the Study

There has been relatively little literature and research on women in educational leadership and management, particularly in developing countries. The researcher has conducted this research in order to contribute to the body of knowledge on women in educational leadership and management, and to the existing literature in Rwanda. The inspiration to conduct this research is from experience of education systems gained by the researcher from primary and secondary schools she has attended and worked in. Her involvement in education as a teacher and now an administrator enriched the research.

The researcher has been in schools managed by both male and female principals and she experienced the work of women principals. The researcher has also been motivated by the influence of her current job as a District Education Officer. She worked with principals, and was particularly interested in the issues associated with women, management and leadership emanating from the coursework for this Masters' degree. The researcher has observed statistics in Gicumbi district and at national level and found that women were under-represented. Whilst women should play a crucial role in instructional leadership, act as role models to female teachers and girls students, they are scarce in secondary schools management.

1.7. Limitation of the study

This research was conducted in Gicumbi District in two secondary schools.The research experienced both logistical and financial constraints. The major difficulty was collecting data within the set time framework of one month. The distance to be travelled to the schools was another limitation though the researcher made the necessary arrangements to minimise this problem. It was difficult to fully engage all research participants since some of them were not always willing to cooperate fully due to time constraints. They were occupied by schoolwork and had to follow their time tables.

Although the interviews and questionnaires were in English (one of three official languages), it was possible for some respondents, who are not fluent in English, to obtain French or Kinyarwanda translations from the researcher, but this took extra time for the interviews to be transcribed. The

geographical distribution and isolation of the secondary schools of Gicumbi district caused difficulties in accessing school B. Male respondents were more in number than female respondents, due to the fact that female teachers are very few in secondary schools in Rwanda, especially in remote areas. It would have been useful to interview other stakeholders, such as parents and civil society members. Unfortunately, due to time constraints it was not possible to handle a large sample. First, teachers and students were interviewed individually according to their daily activities to establish their perceptions of women principals. Secondly, they were both interviewed as stakeholders with views on the issue in question. At this time, data on the statistics of women leaders at national level for 2010 were not yet published and therefore, it was difficult to utilize them. Therefore the statistics presented in this study on the number of women leaders in schools at national level in 2010 may not be an accurate representation of the current situation.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter is an introductory overview and presents the motivation for the investigation of barriers to women in accessing principalship in Rwandan secondary schools. It presents also the outline of the research area. The issue of women as managers, and their roles in leadership and management, has become a topic of special interest and importance in the present decade. Despite the growing body of research into women managers and leaders in schools, there is a scarcity of research into the under-representation of women in educational management positions, relative to their numbers in the teaching workforce in most countries. In Rwanda, the limited research in this area encourages the researcher to conduct this study which aims to investigate barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools.

Chapter one consists of the introduction, background, conceptual framework, statement, aims and research questions. It also shows the rationale as well as limitations of the research study. Chapter two defines some key areas and presents pertinent theories from the literature and research on educational leadership, focusing on barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools. Chapter three provides further discussion in methodology underpinning this study. The exposition of data analysis is provided in chapter four. Chapter five is a summary of findings, recommendations and conclusion. Guidelines to develop principalship opportunities for women in secondary schools are based on the findings, and some recommendations for future study are given.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

> *"Empowering women and ensuring gender equality ultimately enriches communities and entire nations. Both historically, during our liberation struggle and even more recently, in reconstructing our country, women have contributed greatly and have been at the forefront of political, economic and reconciliation initiatives," (Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda, May 2010 in New Times, 15 May 2010).*

Much of the literature studied for this research originates in the United States of America, Canada, Britain and Australia, while a few articles come from South Africa and New Zealand. These countries have recognized the need for research into the field of women in education leadership. Despite some systemic differences in approach, there are generic issues that emerge from the literature that provide a framework for this study, which is in five parts. These are: first, the under-representation of women in educational leadership world- wide; secondly, the barriers faced by women leaders in educational leadership; thirdly, leaders' perceptions of school leadership; fourthly, the literature relating to the under-representation of women in education in Rwanda and finally, the need for development of women principals in secondary schools, especially in Rwanda.

2.2. Under-representation of Women in leadership and management

2.2.1. Introduction

Research internationally shows that women face various challenges such as sex-role stereotyping and socialisation, discrimination, lack of confidence, work-life balance and gender (Coleman, 2001) when accessing leadership positions. This is particularly true in the sphere of education, where the under-representation of women in leadership and management positions is evident at all levels: in primary and secondary schools as well as in higher education. Women are seen to teach and men to lead (Bush, 1995; Coleman et al. 2001 Kaparou & Bush, 2007; Lumby et.al, 2010; Lemmer, 1994 3-29)[7].

[7] The exception is where education is separated by gender. However, in systems that are co-educational, women remain under-represented in leadership roles, even in those parts of the system where most of the workforce is female (Lumby et al. 2010).

However, the value of women is increasingly being recognised. As argued by Cubillo & Brown (2003, p.278) the female workforce represents huge potential in increasing a nation's economy:

> *" women now become viable and valuable contributors to the workforce, not only on the sticky floors doing low-paid, menial but often essential jobs, pushing through the glass ceiling and pushing outside glass wall to become leaders in their own right".*

In Rwanda too, women's value is recognised, as can be seen from the opening quote to this chapter.

2.2.2. International context

Although there has been extensive research into educational leadership by women, especially in the United States (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK) and some affiliated countries, women's success is particularly hard to analyse in cases where women teachers are well represented in secondary schools but not adequately in higher levels of authority (e.g. administrators and superintendents), for example, in the United Kingdom and the United States. In both Australia and Israel, the apparent increase in female principals in response to affirmative action policies veils the fact that the real locus of power has changed to almost exclusively male administrators who function outside of the schools.

There are also factors such as religion or a traditional education background that affect the balance. In Ireland (at 29% of women as heads, slightly higher than the U.K.) and France (56% of secondary teachers and 30% of heads), single-sex schools (often Convents) could account for the higher number of women leaders, while in Germany, the technically-oriented Gymnasium culture would have a female head only as an exception. In countries, such as the Netherlands (in 1996, 33% of secondary teachers, 12% deputy heads, 7% of heads) and Greece, men continue to dominate in secondary education (Kaparou & Bush, 2007). In developing countries (in Africa, Central America, India and China), the formal decision-making is the hands of men (Davies, 1990, p.62).The research conducted in China and in Turkey,(Coleman et al., 1998) reveals that there are few women in school leadership[8].

[8] In a wide ranging review of teaching staff in African countries, Central America, India and China, there are few female principals; in Chinese secondary schools in urban areas and virtually in rural areas. Sanal (2008) further shows the gap in Turkey where women principals represent only 4%, yet 67% of teachers are women. While there are provisions for gender equality in Turkish law, they are not made specifically to target the underrepresentation of women in educational leadership. For example, in Trinidad and Tobago, women make up 57.3 % of secondary teachers while representing 46 % of women principals at the secondary level (Morris, 1999).

In South Africa the constitution caters for gender equity, but there are no specific equity policies to target the under-representation of women in educational leadership (Acker, 1994). Lumby et al.(2010, p.3) in conjunction with the Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration and Management (CCEAM) and University of Southampton, are of the opinion that female principals and deputies principals are still significantly under-

2.2.3. Women in educational leadership and management in Rwanda

Comparatively, in Rwanda, the figure stood at 25.3% of teachers, 15.6% of leaders in 2006.[9] In Rwandan secondary schools, women principals now are 22% in the whole country and the average of 15, 1% in the Gicumbi district (Gicumbi, district report, 2009), and are under-represented comparatively to the female population and number of female teachers (Randell & Fish, 2009). However, in the last six years, gender has become a national priority, with equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation (GoR, 2003; 2008), women's rights and empowerment, pay equity and sexual discrimination being addressed.

Factors which play a part (which have been discussed in detail in Chapter 1), are that girls fall behind in secondary and tertiary education levels, that teaching has not been a first-choice career for female aspirants (Sperandio and Kagoda, 2006) and the lack of role models, mentoring and encouragement,[10] and the scarcity of institutions offering the necessary Bachelors degree in Education.

2.3. Barriers to women in accessing principalship

Researchers such as Hall (1993) and Lumby et al (2010) describe the barriers to accessing careers in education management and leadership as 'external' and 'internal'. While individuals can overcome internal barriers when they change their behaviour, external barriers require social and institutional change. It is further argued by different scholars such as Sperandio and Kagoda, 2006; Kaparou & Bush, 2007 that some barriers may be hidden, and that the need for research is critical to uncover those which deal with management abilities and experience (Duff 1990), which can then be addressed. To this end, theories of feminism have been used in this study to highlight how women have faced several barriers and how they became more aware of these barriers.

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[8](cont)represented in comparison to the percentage of women teachers and to the population as a whole. Chabaya, (2009, p.236) reports the females in school leadership are under-represented but policies are intended to increase women's participation in decision making positions generally and in school headships in particular (Chabaya, 2009).

[9] Female principals in secondary schools are also in the minority in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and other African countries (Sawyer, 2008; Sperandio & Kagoda, 2008). Women currently occupy only 12% of the of the headships and deputy headships of secondary schools in Uganda, 20% of the headships in government schools and 10% in government-registered private schools (Sperandio and Kagoda,2008)

[10] In a survey of ten secondary schools across Kigali in 2009, which included all school types and which asked girls to rank jobs, including secondary school teacher and headmistress, in order of popularity (Irechukwu, 2009) female head teachers commanded respect as prominent members of the community at large, were seen as interested and concerned in the well-being of students as they lobbied for resources to improve their schools, and materially better off as reflected in their clothes, houses and cars. These perceptions were strongest in schools with students from middle and upper socio-economic backgrounds

2.3.1. Internal barriers

Intrinsic, internal or personal barriers which influence the lives of women are generally regarded as the so- called "inadequacies" which are within women because of their femaleness (van der Westhuizen, 1991). These barriers are deeply ingrained in the traditional- and stereotyped-attitudes of society about feminine characteristics. Internal barriers can be classified into socialization and sex-role stereotypes and are the attitudes, behaviours and aspirations of women themselves.

2.3.1. 1. Feminism

According to Campbell & Warso (2000), the term ''feminism'' was coined in the 1970s in the USA. Led by Steinem and Friedan, women marched through the streets with signs reading ''Equal Pay for Equal Work'', ''The Personal Is Political,'' and ''Pass the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment]''.These images, however, do not do justice to the complexities of the feminist social movement. Feminism, as an academic focus, continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Campbell &Warso, 2000), its task being to influence research in the humanities and social sciences. As a movement for political, social and economic equality of women and men (Weiner, 1994), there is greater reservation about the label 'feminist' than about the actual goals, values and achievements of feminism. As an active commitment to equality and respect for all forms of life, it is against oppression, seeking for women the same opportunities and privileges that society gives to men and asserting the distinctive value of womanhood against patriarchal denigration.

A feminist is an individual who is focused on women and their rights as well as their promotion in society, and who may actively challenge all forms of discrimination against women. Furthermore, feminist theories seek to redress the unfair and unjust role-prescriptions made by society for men and women. Four main types of feminism are defined by Campbell & Warso (2000, p.776).

A. Liberal feminism

Liberal feminism concerns itself with equal access to resources and opportunity in our society. To Campbell &Warso, (2000), the liberal feminist is ''one who advocates such reforms as legal equality between the sexes, equal pay for equal work, and equal employment opportunities, but who denies that complete equality requires radical alterations in basic social institutions (Warren,1980). Many of the key issues raised in the 1970s women's movement (e.g., the Equal Rights Amendment) were strongly influenced by liberal feminism. The difference between men and women was seen as either non-existent,

the product of a mystique, or must be overcome through various efforts including legal activism. Women could be seen as capable of combining a career with family in equal measure, with a caution against the damage of over-mothering. Liberal feminist manifests itself into three themes namely: equality, stereotyping and discrimination as explained by Wolf (1993, p.195).The disproportion of women in leadership roles can be seen simply as a matter of equity. Liberal feminism would take the view that inequity could and should be eliminated by developing policies of equal opportunities for women.

B. Socialist feminism

This form focuses on the belief that societal economics and class structures (Marxist 'class-ism') lead to multiple forms of oppression, and pays less attention to issues of racism and sexism. In the 1970s, women within the socialist movement were influenced by the liberal feminists' focus on gender, resulting in socialist feminism (Middleton, 1993, p.43): ''socialist feminists are Marxists to our feminist sisters and feminists to our Marxist brothers'' (Kramarae & Treichler, 1985, p. 257). Socialist feminists remain focused on the inequalities created by capitalism more generally rather than male power and privilege and build coalitions with other humanist groups who share their critique of the capitalist system.

Socialist feminism further asserts that class has an impact on gender formation. The combination of notions of the negativism of sexual labour division, including class difference, the oppression of women by men and sexual subordination through education (gender class groupings are formulated within the school (Weiner, 1994, p.68)), indicates that patriarchy and capitalism have to be eroded (Cotter 2004, p.17). Patriarchy emanates from a materialistic and historical foundation, while capitalism emanates from the patriarchal division of labour (Weiner, 1994, p.67). Schools therefore play a critical role in exacerbating gender and class inequalities by sending strong messages, encoded in practice, concerning female inferiority.

C. Radical feminism

Radical feminists acknowledge that class-ism and racism intersect with sexism, but stipulate that the systematic marginalization of women is the fundamental form of inequality. It distinguishes itself from other forms of feminism by drawing central attention to gender oppression and calling for restructured social institutions. In contrast to socialist feminists, who identify capitalism as the primary source of oppression, radical feminists recognize sexism as the fundamental problem. Unlike liberal feminists, who

accept the general social structure of society but not its rules for resource allocation, radical feminists argue that the entire social order must be re-examined and redefined.

Freeman (2002, p.45) argues that radical feminists rely on revolutionary analysis and politics along with high- profile events to call attention to the oppression of women and to demand changes in women's place in society and changes in relationships between women and men. Patriarchy, is short, entails male domination over women in a hierarchical social system, in which women are subjected, in a subordinate position, as compared to men's super-ordinate position. Thus, women may experience difficulties in trying to be accepted as leaders by their subordinates.

D. Cultural feminism

This type of feminism examines the difference between men and women, elevating feminine qualities of personal strength. Underlying cultural feminism is a matriarchal vision of strong women guided by female concerns and values of pacifism, cooperation, non-violence, settlement and the harmonious regulation of public life.

Cotter (2004) argues that women possess qualities superior to men, which are of value in the public world. Hurtado (2001) infers that, despite constraints imposed by systems of domination, women have often resisted their oppressions. Even when they operated within abhorrent systems of domination, such as slavery, women found ways to care for themselves and their families and to contribute to their communities.

E. Womanism

According to Campbell & Warso (2000) and Weiner (1994), womanism has emerged as an explicit race critique of liberal, radical, and socialist feminism. Marginalized within the women's movement, black feminists created womanism to examine the intersections of race, gender, and class oppression. Womanism shares the structural analysis of radical and socialist feminism, but calls for more attention to the differing experiences among women of various classes and racial/ethnic groups.

In common with radical, socialist feminists, womanist feminists advocate for changing the system entirely, while liberal feminism advocates for change within the system, retaining the structure, with modifications, to eliminate sexist discrimination.

F. Post- structuralist feminism

Feminist post-structuralists challenge the opposition of masculinity and femininity. Winter & Wigglesworth (1993, p.88) point out that by using the distinction, preference is laid on masculinity over femininity, but that the meaning of the concept of women and feminism changes as a result of cultural transformation and changes in historical events (Weiner, 1994, p.65).

Post-structuralism thus provides new possibilities for understanding women's socialization in a way that goes beyond viewing girls and women as being disadvantaged. These mechanisms will help women cope with changes, sometimes favourable and sometimes unfavourable. Women have the possibility to decide on priorities and to pursue them in an image of the superwoman, with access to promotion and job security assumed (Jones, 1993, p.157). It seeks to attack hierarchies, fighting against closure and the limiting of options and giving women a greater chance of gaining ground.

2.3.1.2. Lack of confidence

Lack of confidence is often considered to be a barrier to women applying for promotion. However, the subjects of Coleman's (1996) study of UK female state school heads had been confident in applying for senior posts, Cubillo & Brown (2003) cite a survey undertaken in 1980 which shows that, out of 2,800 returns, ``female teachers, both married and single, show a high degree of career orientation, have been confident in applying for senior posts and would welcome the challenge and opportunity of promotion".
Lack of confidence has been identified as another hindrance hampering women aspiring to educational leadership positions in secondary schools (Coleman, 2002; 2005). It is referred to as an internal barrier, that is, self-imposed or self-constrained due to the fear of success or failure (Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Brown & McLeay, 2000) and to the lack of aspiration (Al-Khalifa, 2008). In her research in UK and US, Coleman (1996) reports that most women have doubts when applying for headship. Coleman, in her study in Wales and in England, claims that whilst more than half, (57.2%), did not doubt that they would achieve headship, the 42.8% who did mainly explained their doubts in terms of career planning and lack of confidence.

This type of barrier is made worse in developing countries by the long-standing cultural history of male dominance, stereotyping of roles, and socialisation (Brown & Ralph, 1996; Oplatka, 2006). The socialisation of both men and women into believing that male leadership styles are the norm has resulted in a lack of confidence in women about their ability to lead schools (Brown & McLeay, 2000). Lack of

confidence is also seen to be related to lack of aspiration to educational leadership positions. The belief, by some women, that men's leadership style is superior contributes to their lack of confidence and causes them to postpone their aspirations until later in their careers, while men aspire to leadership positions earlier (Coleman, 2002). Culture and tradition have a big impact on women's lack of confidence. It has been noted that women who are used to being subordinated by men play a supportive role and may not include leadership as part of their career (Coleman, 2004). For women in a male-dominated society, lack of confidence is further aggravated by lack of infrastructure, such as lack of education, and women's status in the society (Oplatka, 2006).

2.3.1.3. Fear of success

Women have been conditioned to avoid success in male-dominated roles. Many feel that, if they were to attain success, they would be in danger of being rejected by men. Fear of social rejection is an internal barrier that is consistent with traditional sex-role stereotyping, (Duff, 1990). Some women even feel that intellectual achievement, which could mean greater all-round accomplishment, is incompatible with the female role (Chabaya, 2009, p.241).Therefore, for a woman to have a self image which incorporates the qualities of leadership, she must come to terms with society's interpretation that she is not feminine.

Fear is not an emotion exclusive to women. Men fear the loss of power, authority, control and identity. They have been socialised into the role of provider, protector and leader. If the ascent of women to positions of power is a threat to men, they will place obstacles in their path in order to retain their dominant positions. Sanal (2008, p.48) &Young (2005, p.27), confirm that sex-role stereotyping assumes that leadership is appropriate to characteristics attributed to men, and opposed to those of femininity. It is argued that a female might fear the loss of femininity if they aspire to male 'sex-typed' roles. However, it can be argued that due to the feminist movement, the fear of the loss of femininity, because of success, has been reduced in women who may now be more confident to aspire to or achieve headship.

Researchers have noted that women sometimes back down in performance of leadership if they think that competition would place them in an unfeminine role. Picker (1989) states that women have a disposition to become anxious about achieving success but this does not imply that women, consciously or subconsciously, want to fail [11] : it means that the will to achieve is impaired by anxiety about the negative consequences they expect from the desired success (ibid, 1989, p58).

[11] That would suggest the expectation of positive consequences in the event of failure.

2.3.1.4. Lack of planning

Some researchers think that, although professional planning usually only emerges after one has entered the work forum, it should be started at an early age and become an integral part of one's life. Goodman (1986) states that people need to assess their career goals and interests in greater depth to establish plans for the future. Hall (1999) found that the career paths of women indicated tension between personal aspirations and family or society's expectations. The fact that women often break their careers to have a family may help to explain the differential achievements in the profession between men and women (Goodman, 1986, p.236).

According to some researchers (Coleman, 1996; Hall, 2000) many women do not plan their lives. Some have as their ultimate goal to be a wife and mother. This is both acceptable and understandable, but some women do not plan beyond this. It would be in a woman's own interest to review her present status and spend time considering what she would like her ultimate position to be. In 2008, Oplatka recommended several steps were needed in the planning of a career. He suggested a woman should perceive herself as an individual and not just as a woman. Women need to take more initiative and should actively seek recognition and status; he also stated that they need to have accessed higher education.

Research indicates that women need to think of a career, not just a job, if they wish to advance in education administration, and they need to pay attention to their field of study. Pigford & Tonnsen (1993) suggest: "take charge of your career by making studied decisions about activities that are valued and enjoyable and by making informed decisions about how your time will be spent". Studies to determine whether women carry out career plans are rare yet this type of study is undoubtedly important because it may through light on why "women's typical educational career path is so short, usually from teaching to an elementary principalship or central office staff position" (Shakeshaft, 1989).

According to much of the research, the very few women who achieve principal status still appear to lack access to ongoing informal training, lack mentors (especially female ones) and have to deal with the male standards upon which access to education management is defined. In the past, it was generally accepted that women were highly motivated, but Betz (1989) claims that a woman needs help and guidance from an authority figure to encourage her to persevere and achieve. To Duff (1990, p76), "personal and professional mentors can help women overcome society's imprints of self-doubt and poor self-esteem. Because there are few women in educational management, a mentor may be male or female. Because there are insufficient women to provide mentorship to aspiring women, the job probably will fall to a

man". Goodman (1998, p.80) claims that the old adage "it's not what you know, but who you know" might be true for women seeking executive positions."

2.3.2. External barriers

According to Fagenson, (1993) extrinsic barriers indicate environmental factors which influence the entry and progress of woman into the management hierarchy of the teaching profession. These are barriers imposed on the individual by various external factors, such as institutional structure practices and patterns that restrict woman's access to administrative positions. These barriers cannot be viewed in isolation since they are linked to the intrinsic barriers already discussed in earlier sections.

2.3.2.1. Sex role stereotyping and socialization

Scholars like Court, 1994; Kaparou & Bush, 2007; Lumby et al., 2010 suggest that one of the reasons women are under-represented in school leadership is due to sex-role stereotyping and socialization. Women have long been associated with child rearing and household chores, and men with earning money and public administration (Cubillo & Brown, 2003). The socialization of women and stereotyping are intertwined. It has been argued that socialization involves a complex set of human relationships within an organization that includes all the people in their relationships to each other and to the outside world. Because of the way the socialization process unfolds, women have developed values and beliefs that translate into specific behaviours, Coleman (2001).Campbell & Warso (2000) and Weiss (2001) suggest that sex stereotyping emanates from the very announcement of the birth of a child, when colours are used to separate girls' from boys' clothes[12]. Differentiation is further extended to schools in which girls are treated differently from boys. Such practices limit girls' careers to gender stereotypes, occupation and family role (Acker, 1993).

As women learn to be school leaders, they may unconsciously silence a part of themselves. However, in her study on women principals, Smulyan (2000) indicated that women may find ways to redefine the authority and power inherent in the leadership role so that their own voices can emerge. Grogan (1996) further shows the importance of emphasizing the positive implications of the voices of women in educational leadership rather than the difficulties they experience. In doing so, there is emphasis on the possibility for resistance and change in a traditionally male-dominated structure and field. Smulyan (2000) argues that as women achieve positions of influence and participate in policy decisions, they have

[12] i.e. Pink and blue.

opportunities to open up access to knowledge and resources to those with less power. Women from all levels of the social hierarchy, not just those with official status positions, have a role in social justice leadership. As social justice leaders, women work to alter the undemocratic culture and structure of institutions and society, improving the lives of those who have been marginalized or oppressed (Curry, 2000).

According to Grogan (1996), the differences in the socialization of men and women may have arisen because of their physical sexual characteristics and the allocation of roles due to gender. The literature suggests that cultural expectations of sex role stereotyping are prevalent, so that, even though women take up educational leadership positions in schools, they are allocated softer roles or pastoral care as deputy principals (McLeay, 2008). For example, Coleman (2007) indicated that women in the position of deputy headteachers in schools in the UK were generally allocated the role of pastoral care, as they were seen as incompetent to carry out roles relating to financial management.

The commonly held view was that women were "passive and gentle while men provided a preferable style of stronger and more decisive leadership" (Shakeshaft, 1989, p.84; Coleman, 2007, p. 386): this clearly stereotypes women as not being fit to lead. Furthermore, a large and growing body of literature suggests that sex role stereotyping for women in developing countries is experienced to a greater extent than women in developed nations, due to the cultural expectations of gendered roles (Oplatka, 2006). The difficulty for women in these developing nations in achieving an educational leadership position is intensified by the high prevalence of patriarchy, constraining women generally and relegating them to their expected traditional roles within the private sphere (Celikten, 2005).

Male domination of senior administrative positions and the appointment and selection process in the past may have created a situation that discouraged, or actively deterred women from aspiring to school leadership. Family commitments, care of extended families, husbands who may feel threatened by a successful and financially independent wife, may cause many women to think twice before taking on the additional responsibilities of running schools in hostile environments (Brown & Ralph, 1996).

2.3.2.2. Discrimination

Many studies have cited discrimination as one form of barrier to women's leadership in schools (Al-Khalifa, 1988; Coleman, 2001). Gender discrimination occurs when there is unequal treatment or favouritism based on sex (Coleman, 2002). Women leaders and aspirants experience discrimination based on their gender in different ways. In her study in 2001, Coleman reports that, in spite of the fact that sex

discrimination is illegal, there is still some evidence that it exists, although mainly in a covert form. Women in general management still report perceiving the existence of bias against them (Davidson and Cooper, 1992) and there is also evidence of similar perceptions in education (Coleman 1996).

Sex discrimination is the third theme within liberalism; embracing aspects of discrimination such as rights, justice and fairness (Acker, 1993, p.45) these categories include acts such as sexual harassment, which is abusive in nature. Some men may want to abuse women sexually in return for a job or a favour (Court, 1994, p.204). Acker (1993) contends that liberal feminists limit individuals to personal rights, instead of societal rights. As a result, oppressive acts and behaviour may remain unnoticed. Discrimination exists in the attitudes and sexist comments of colleagues and peers (Coleman, 2003), and can occur as covert or overt male gate-keeping (Tallerico, 2000), and in the hiring and selection processes (Coleman, 2005).Women who are already in a leadership position may experience sexist attitudes from male colleagues (Al-Khalifa, 2003; Coleman, 2005) but control their emotions and remain silent or deny it (Coleman, 2002; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998).

Coleman's (2000; 2005) respondents stated in the comments made during the interview process, that there were discriminatory attitudes shown towards them, based on their gender. Some of the participants' comments were with regard to their competence, as a woman, in running a school. Similarly, discriminatory comments from male governors and interview panels were made relating to a woman principal not being able to handle her job and family responsibilities at the same time, while some of the women heads were told they were hired because of their attractive appearance. Additionally, those already in leadership positions faced discriminatory behaviour from colleagues, both male and female.

According to Coleman (2000), there was resentment towards women's styles of leadership: males opposed the soft approach practiced by female principals as they were accustomed to the stronger and more decisive male leadership style. In the 1960s and 1970s, bias was overt, women being told that they would not be considered for a particular post simply because of their gender. There is a continuing and high level of discrimination faced by women who aspire to senior management in education, the discrimination being fuelled by stereotypes that include the identification of women with their domestic role.

In the Rwanda context, despite the history of unequal opportunity, recruitment and selection is now based on qualifications in education and merit (having a degree in Education) because the candidates have to pass a written and oral test (interview) as well as a test of computer skills. The District council deploys

successful candidates (at least with an average 70%), ameliorating the patterns of discrimination in hiring school principals in Rwanda. However, in most countries, selection boards are often comprised of male governors and businessmen (Brooking, 2007) who "seem to be bringing in attitudes from the business and the wider world that impact negatively on women in education".

In her study, Barng'etuny (2008), writing about women principals in Kenya, points out that there are negative gendered socio-cultural attitudes facing women principals. She illustrates how they are viewed as 'unsuitable' leaders due to the demands of their domestic chores (Barng'etuny, 2008, p.12). Such a belief implies that the ideal school principal is male. It is therefore not surprising that male teachers have a greater chance of gaining promotion in comparison to their female counterparts. Men are therefore treated as dominant subjects and this is reflected in the leadership system. Blackmore (2006); Coleman, (2004) and Tallerico, (2000) suggest that the selection panels are the gate-keepers to women's advancement. The selection panels have the authority to promote women into educational leadership positions but they neglect to do so (Coleman, 2002; 2004). Gate-keeping is a term widely used in the literature to refer to the way women are impeded from taking up leadership positions by those in positions of authority**.**

2.3.2.3. Glass ceiling and glass wall

The term 'glass ceiling' generally refers to transparent cultural, organisational, and attitudinal barriers that maintain rigid sex segregation in organisations. The politics of the glass ceiling are commonly attributed to the closed-ranks mentality and fraternity of a generalised male bureaucratic and organisational culture (Davidson and Cooper, 1992). Wirth (2004, p.84) outlines the notion of the 'glass ceiling' and 'glass wall' as a metaphorical barrier blocking women (or minority groups) from promotion, or opportunity for promotion.

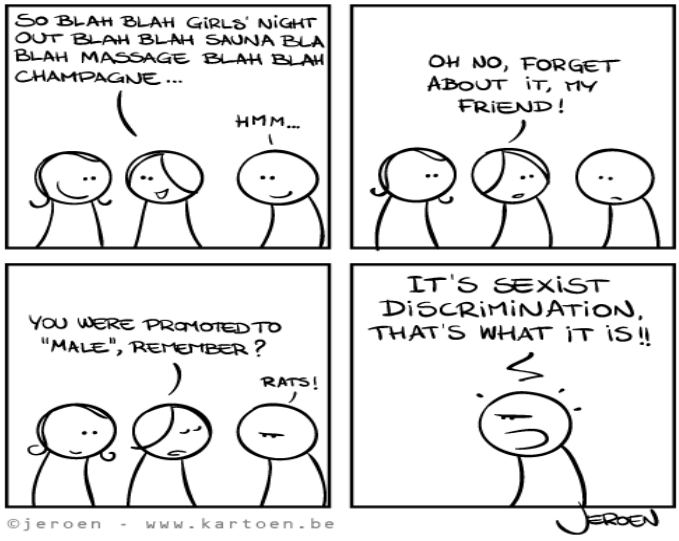
The 'glass wall' represents a barrier preventing a woman or minority from moving to a position that has a promotional ladder attached. In other words, instead of simply blocking a woman or minority's potential rise-the 'glass ceiling', the 'glass wall' effect works laterally, taking away the very opportunity for the said group to be promoted. Davidson and Cooper (1992) claim that it is no secret that in many organizations, some people are more fortunate than others; some get promoted while others stay at the middle or even the bottom of the positional ladder. This inability to rise in rank may not be a result of inexperience or lack of capabilities, many activists claim, but rather other factors like gender or race. This

school of thought deals with what is known as the 'glass wall' effect. This is a relatively new concept, while its parent, the 'glass ceiling' effect, dates from 1979, but both are used in association today.

Figure 1: Illustration of Glass Ceiling



Figure 2: Illustration of Glass Wall



Retrieved from internet in September 2010

Cubillo & Brown (2003) consider that the concept of the 'glass ceiling' has limited explanatory power while Shakeshaft (1993) argues that general notions of 'glass ceiling' politics have been postulated with little regard for cultural differences within institutions, or across socio-cultural, political and economic contexts. This is echoed by Powell, 1994. For the most part, however, 'glass ceilings' are assumed to have a uniform structure across culturally diverse contexts, and to have uniform effects on women. What remains largely ignored, according to these researchers, is analytic attention to the dynamics of local histories dovetailed with cultural discourses that shape local educational structures, processes, and organisational cultures.

2.3.2.4. Family Responsibilities and workload

Research has raised concerns that, given the current context of schooling and its association with considerable stress and workload, work-life balance has become increasingly problematic for school principals (Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; Coleman, 2001). Tensions in the work-life balance has a negative impact particularly on women principals, as they often spend long hours at work and less time with their family (Lacey, 2004) and women principals struggle to find a balance between their careers and their expected roles as mothers and wives: it is clear that women still take primary responsibility for the care of children, elderly relatives, domestic chores and other family commitments (Coleman, 2001, p.81). For

many women, there is a feeling of guilt because they have to put more time into their work than their family (Sachs & Blackmore, 1998).

The point is also raised in the literature that having spousal or relative support is necessary for women leaders' success (Coleman, 2007; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998). Support offered by a spouse and/or other relatives is helpful and aids in lessening workload pressures for women principals (Coleman, 2001; Limerick, 2001). However, the spouse's attitude towards household chores and child care is different in each context, depending greatly on the cultural expectations and traditions (Coleman, 2007; Moorosi, 2007).

In her article, Coleman (2001) states that work-life balance may not be so problematic for women principals in the UK, as household chores may be shared with the spouse and other family relatives. In Turkey, however, women are regarded as unsuited for managerial jobs and so are not supported by their husbands; they are largely relegated to their ascribed traditional roles (Celikten, 2005). Even if they do occupy leadership positions in schools, women principals in other strong patriarchal societies, such as in South Africa, are still expected to carry out their prescribed roles as mothers and wives after work (Moorosi, 2007).Relocation and geographical mobility can be another contributing factor to work-life balance. Women leaders' tendency to relocate when their husbands transfer, or are promoted, contributes further disruption to their careers, while also indicating the superiority of the husband's job and the husband as the main bread-winner in the family (Moreau et al, 2007).

Brown & McLeay, (2000); Coleman, (2007) and Shakeshaft, (1989) review a number of different barriers to women's progress, both overt and covert, as well as constraints from other causes such as taking a career break to have a family. Women, more often than not, experienced demotion on returning to work after a career break, whereas men did not, even when they had worked outside teaching. The women in Coleman's study were all married but all had domestic arrangements which "emphasized partnership, rather than women's place" (p. 327). Despite this, the headteachers with children had experienced role conflict at some time in their careers. It is notable that, if a woman gets a job, she will continue to do the major portion of work inside the house as well, with the result that the difficulties of combining the full share of family responsibility with administrative tasks may just not seem worth it (Shakeshaft, 1989, p.89). Although more women than men believe that women can do both successfully, women principals clearly face many challenges in combining a high level career with domestic commitments.

2.3.2.5. Gender issues

According to Wolpe, Quinlan & Martinez (1997, p.269), gender is understood as the way in which women and men are socially[13], obliged to adopt female and male identities. Coleman & Pounder (2002, p.124) claim that in leadership research, gender has been distinguished from sex, with the former viewed as a collection of qualities labeled male or female that are created culturally, and the latter seen as comprising attributes that are the result of biological characteristics. Gender equity is concerned with promotion and equal opportunity, and fair treatment for men and women in the personal, social, cultural, political and economic arenas.

This entails meeting both the needs of men and women in order for them to compete in the formal and informal labour market, participate fully in civil society and fulfill their familial roles adequately without being discriminated against because of their gender (1997, p.270). Gender equity in schools is a fundamental condition of basic human rights; therefore both females and males in schools should have access to educational privileges (Shakeshaft, 1996). Broadly gender equity in schools means to be fair and just to both men and women, to show no preference to either, but to show concern for both (Court, 2004). This study describes gender equity using a perspective of distributive justice whereby female and male teachers or principals have equal access to educational leadership (Hall, 2000).

2.4. Barriers to women principals in Rwanda

In the Rwandan context, as elsewhere, females face challenges in accessing principalship. There are many barriers which prevent them from achieving leadership positions. The generic barriers cited above could be found in the Rwandan context but the major barriers are patriarchal issues, stereotypes and socialization. The barriers to women in educational leadership were developed in chapter 4.

2.4.1. Women and patriarchy in Rwanda

The term patriarchy has come to mean many different things and much confusion surrounds it. It is used in this study to denote male dominance over women, a social term for a social condition. Despite the constitutional reforms in Rwanda regarding gender discrimination, male dominance remains the norm in Rwanda society (Huggins & Randell, 2008; Randell & Fish, 2009; Uwineza & Powell, 2009). This makes it difficult for Rwandan women to be accepted as leaders in the public sphere as it displaces men as the

[13] In civil society and state.

decision makers in the public sphere and in families. Both men and women seem to have negative attitudes towards women as leaders because of traditional practices.

2.4.2. Sex role stereotyping

The roles of Rwandan men and women are culturally prescribed (Randell & Fish, 2009, Uwineza & Powell, 2009), and traditional views of women's roles are as homemakers, "child bearers and carers", disadvantage women greatly in gaining leadership positions. Randell & Fish (2009) adds that the cultural practices do not allow women to take part in decision-making at the community level at all, although recently there has been progress in women's participation in politics (Brown & McLeay, 2000).

2.5. Perceptions of women and men in leadership and management

Before giving perceptions of women and men in leadership and management, it is important to outline the relationship between management and leadership. The terms leadership and management are distinguishable but, more often than not, they are used interchangeably. Leadership is frequently seen as an aspect of management with "born leaders" being characterized as charismatic individuals with visionary flair and the ability to motivate and inspire others even they lack the managerial skill to plan, organize effectively and control resources (Shakeshaft, 2006). Bush (2008, p.276) argues that leadership has three main characteristics such as influence, values and vision, quoting Yulk (2002, p.3) who claims that leadership involves a social influence process through which power is exerted by one person (or a group) over other people or groups to structure the activities and relationship in a group or organization. According to Bush & Glover,

> "*Leadership is a process of influence leading to the achievement of desired purposes. Successful leaders develop a vision for their schools based on personal and professional values. They articulate this vision at every opportunity and influence their staff and other stakeholders to share the vision. ----------Management is the implementation of school policies and the efficient and effective maintenance of the school's current activities*". Bush & Glover (2003, p. 8)

To Van Deventer & Van der Westhuizen (1997, p.68), the difference between leadership and management is that leadership relates to mission, direction and inspiration whilst management involves planning, getting things done and working effectively with people. Leadership and management at all levels in the school should be judged by their effect on the quality and standards of the school (Bush &

Glover, 2003, p.10). Leadership should provide the drive and direction for raising achievement, while management should make best use of the resources and progress to make this happen. According to these authors, management includes effective evaluation, planning, performance management and staff development, while leadership creates a climate for learning and with a focus on the school as an effective organization.

Leadership styles therefore need to support flexibility, change and transformation. Smulyan, (2000) and Normone & Gaetane (2007), in their research on female secondary school leaders, (p.185) concede that the female leadership styles in education are well suited for this, with school decisions made in the best interests of students and what is right in context and not what is in policies (Williamson & Hudson, 2001) or power. Hall, (1994), identifies women leaders' value as "having influence" more than "having power". The female leadership styles in education are more democratic, participative, inclusive and collaborative (Coleman, 2003). In leading schools, female leaders focus on their primary responsibility which is the care of children and their academic success (Grogan, 1994). Inspiration and motivation is what drives women to adopt this leadership style as their own (Grogan, 1994; Shakeshaft, 1993).Women value close relationships with students, staff, colleagues, parents, and community members as key in school leadership (Hall, 2000).

Normone & Gaetane (2007) have come to the conclusion that, when teaching in classrooms, women have learned to motivate students without the need to use domination. Other researchers (Grogan. 1994) have asserted that women leaders in education incorporate "power with" into the transformational leadership model. Staff empowerment occurs by dispersing knowledge throughout the school. Knowledge is shared for the noble intention of extending participation in collaborative decision-making and problem-solving processes. Power also serves to build an environment of mutual trust and respect, and is linked to the principles of social justice, fairness, and responsible behaviour towards others (Jean-Marie et al. 2003).

Some, like Van Deventer & Van der Westhuisen (1997) think of leadership as a more emotional process than management, but change agency requires being rational (efficiency, planning, paperwork, procedures, regulations, control and consistency), and therefore a process that involves the head instead of the heart. However, with words like risk taking, dynamism, creativity, and change vision attached to notions of leadership, the difference between leaders and managers may be more a function of implicit theories of leaders and managers than of what actually happens in real work settings.

However, Bush (2008) notes that arguably, without managers, the vision of leaders becomes a dream. Leaders require managers to change vision into reality. They both perform the task of assisting and supporting employees to gain knowledge and experience. Douglas (1996, p.3) notes that leaders and managers depend on the ability to adjust personal resources to the job situation as effectively as possible. Sachs & Blackmore (1998) advocate that all managers should ideally be leaders, as there is a mutual interrelationship.

Many scholars claim that women and men are perceived differently in leadership and management, with research from the 1970's and 1980's showing leadership and management viewed as the domain of men, Davies, (1996, p.62). Hence, Mc Tavich & Miller (2006, p.6) in their research state "who think managers, think male". The cultural belief that men are naturally more capable to lead than women is one of the reasons that women are deterred from accessing leadership positions. Unfortunately, as Acker (1994) and Mahlase, (1997) point out, beliefs are the most difficult to change as they may be buried at the level of unconscious assumptions, or internalised (Shakeshaft, 1986; Gaskel, 1992; Chisholm, 2001). Until the beginning of this decade, according to Hall (2000), women's leadership styles were associated with their femininity (empathetic, empowering others), while men's leadership styles were associated with their masculinity (being tough, having power over others). Some authors suggest that some female principals show a democratic or participatory leadership style, while some male principals show autocratic or directive leadership styles and tend to dominate others (Coleman, 2000; Court, 1994).

In their research, Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, (2001, p.783) found that the stereotypical gender roles are manifest in agentic and communal behaviours which are present in the gendered workplace and organizational culture. They concur that males who have agentic behaviours are characterized by assertiveness, control, confidence, aggressiveness, dominance, force and competitiveness while communal behaviours, which are attributed to women, are characterized by affection, kindness, sympathy, interpersonal sensitivity, supportiveness and helpfulness. Despite the appreciation of communal behaviour by most of people in an organizational context and culture, it is often the agentic behaviours which are dominant.

Contrary to the common belief that the place of a woman is the kitchen, the traditional belief of most Africans is that an organization led by a woman will end up in disaster as she is weak both physically and in mind, hence she has to be led (Boler, 1999, p.74). Manamela's study (1995) showed how these perceptions shaped the education hierarchy in South Africa. She has argued that the traditional division of

labour has impacted on the confidence of female teachers as it is assumed that every male teacher is naturally more capable to lead.

Today, with expectations of women being empowered, Oplatka (2006) and Reay & Ball (2000) argue that the leadership styles adapted by women depend on the type of situation and the context and culture of the school. For example, women in developing countries demonstrate similar leadership styles to their counterparts in developed countries, but "due to strong cultural scripts that glorify "masculine" ways of leading, they also adopt authoritative leadership styles and formal relations with staff and students" (Oplatka,2008). However, generally, women demonstrate more of the transformational leadership style because it involves nurturing and empowering. Men demonstrate more of a transactional leadership style where more attention is on performance and management (Pounder & Coleman 2002).

More recently, the literature has suggested a need for an androgynous leader (Hall, 2000; Pounder & Coleman, 2002). An androgynous leader is someone who, regardless of their gender, can demonstrate both feminine and masculine leadership styles for school effectiveness: someone who portrays both the transformational and transactional styles of leadership (Eagly, 2007; Pounder & Coleman, 2002). Pounder & Coleman (2002) suggest that, given today's organizational pressures of workload and stress, an androgynous leader would be better suited to school leadership. Kruger (2008) suggests that combining women's and men's management styles will give a wider range of strategies for effective school leadership.

Wolpe, Quinlan & Martinez (1997) argue that women's ways of leading and managing are influenced by their attributes and various situations in which they find themselves. These attributes have to do with interpersonal skills (Sachs, 1992). Bush (1995) states that female generally have an ethical and caring approach to the leading- managing process, demonstrating qualities such as warmth and empathy and paying special attention to honesty, gentleness, compassion and trust.

Goodman (1996, p.1) claims that women show emotions such as anger at work[14]. This indicates that in their management and leadership roles, they may always have emotional hiding places. However, some scholars (Cubillo & Brown, 2003) claim that some female managers' behaviour devalues other women, because of their lack of support for each other, but in most situations, women look upon each other as

[14] Their anger can be associated with attributes such as being sharp-tongued, persistently annoying, being cruelly nasty and prone to crying. Their tears can be used to manipulatively or, on the other hand, reveal to their employees and inspire excellence.

colleagues, value each other, show mutual respect and share common values. Magudi (2000, p.15) supports these claims by arguing that women have the capacity to build effective management and leadership through attitudes such as confidence, courage and respect for the opinions of others and that women are better listeners, less analytical and less aggressive.

2.6. Perceptions of Rwandan women in leadership

2.6.1. National context

During colonial times, the leadership, administration and management was solely for males, overtly expressed through some analogies[15]. Although there was some support for women as home-makers[16] after the destructive genocide of 1994, there was a great need to guide the population to reconstruct their own lives as well as their communities and country.

Currently, more females are now being hired as school administrators than in the past. The assumption of educational administrators and policy makers in Rwanda is that female leaders hired in traditionally male-dominated settings can act as mentors for girls, thus raising girls' achievement levels (Irechukwu, 2009, Randell & Fish, 2009). Whereas policy makers assume females can utilize their natural characters to make a vision for achieving equitable education and improving schools, the extent of cultural expectations embedded in the school culture is not yet clear.

2.6.2. Positive legislation for women

The Government of Rwanda demonstrated its will to give women the trust and responsibility of rebuilding the nation by appointing them to all positions of leadership and responsibility in society[17].

[15] For instance: "*Nta nkokokazi ibika isake ihari*" compares a hen to a cock with regard to their importance and value. According to the analogy, a hen cannot crow in the presence of a cock meaning that a woman can only lead where there are no men.

[16] Many other traditional Rwandan expressions refer to a connection between women's leadership and a strong household (Uwineza and Powell, 2009). They state that "*Ukurusha umugore akurusha urugo* "with a great woman, a great home is assured. Women are called in the Rwandan context:" *Umutima w'urugo*", which means the heart of a home; the term" *mabuja*" or "female boss" is used by husbands when referring to their wives to denote respect for someone consulted before making a decision, also evidence of a woman's traditional role as family manager.

[17] A law that eliminates gender discrimination on inheritance rights was promulgated in late 1999. In 2000, the cabinet adopted a five-year gender action plan, the Comprehensive Action Plan for the Elimination of all Discrimination against Women. Women's political representation has increased significantly, most notably in the Parliament where fifty three percent (53%) in 2003 and fifty six percent (56%)(appendix 2) of the current representatives are women. Rwandan national authorities actively promote women, including through the institution

Women serve in the executive, legislative and judiciary arms of the government and play critical roles in mobilizing women to find common solutions to their own problems and those of their country. Women in cabinet, parliament, the judiciary and police serve as role models and also help to develop confidence among women. Progress in reaching gender equality is assessed in three areas: education, employment and political decision-making. Women are making efforts to step out of their traditionally assigned roles as kitchen managers and human producing machines to that of people who can meaningfully contribute to development in various aspects of life, particularly in educational institutions and the management of human resources.

2.7. Advantages of women as educational leaders

Many countries now acknowledge the importance of having women in leadership positions (e.g. Singapore and Hong Kong) ….as well as Rwanda. For instance, Singapore has been using the woman and the family as an instrument of social change and this has characterised government policy since the ’60s. The Government has used its executive and legislative powers over women and the family to attain general and specific national objectives, though women’s empowerment has hardly been a consideration for policy-makers. (Court, 1994).

There is an emphasis in the literature on the need for women’s leadership development (Bush & Kaparou, 2007; Lumby et al., 2010) to work against the under-representation of women in educational leadership. The need for women’s leadership development is important to their careers and for women’s advancement in educational leadership (Grogan, 2002).

2.7.1. Social justice

The one need in having equal representation of women in educational leadership is to have social justice. Before defining this concept, it is better to mention the distinction between equity and equality. While equity refers to social justice or fairness, it involves a subjective moral or ethical judgment. Equality deals with the actual patterns in which something (e.g. years of schooling) is distributed among members of a particular group (Freeman, 2000). Adams, Bell & Griffin’s (2007, p.2) define social justice as both a process and a goal. According to them, the goal of social justice is full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society

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of the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, which is mandated to spearhead the elimination of gender imbalances in all sectors. In addition, local chapters of the National Women’s Council are operational.

in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure.

Blackmore (2006) states that social justice was understood at the turn of the 20th century as access to mainstream educational institutions on the same terms as men as equals and supposedly gender neutral citizens. Therefore, women teachers could be principals of girls' schools (a feminine domain) but not of co-educational or boys schools. Both approaches effectively positioned women's leadership capacities as complementary to dominant norms.

In his article (2006, p.9), Blackmore argues that the feminist scholars in educational administration focus on the shortage of females in leadership and on issues of leadership (teaching and learning) as well as on context (the cultures of leading and learning). He further argues that feminist scholars have viewed schools as institutions for citizenship formation in social democracies. Social justice addresses issues of inequalities, power, responsibilities and ethics. The same author concurs that focusing on social justice meant understanding relations between education, society and state; education and work; education and family. Social justice focuses on assessing individual and collective strategies and claims for equal needs, interests and rights.

The discourse of social justice and leadership are inextricably linked. According to Marshall & Oliva (2006, p. 5) social justice "has generated a great deal of scholarship over the last decade" which in essence capitalizes on the relevance of such a discourse. According to Brown (2004), discussions about social justice in the field of education have typically framed the concept of social justice around several issues including race, diversity, marginalization, morality, gender, and spirituality. These authors add age, ability and sexual orientation to the discourse. Concerning leadership and social justice, Lee, Smith, & Cioci (1993 assert there is a renewed interest in social justice and many women in leadership can advance its causes:

> "*As women achieve positions of influence and participate in policy decisions, they have opportunities to open up access to knowledge and resources to those with less power. Women from all levels of the social hierarchy, not just those with official status positions... work to alter the undemocratic culture and structure of institutions and society, improving the lives of those who have been marginalized or oppressed."(ibid. 2005, p. 1)*

2.7.2. Communication and networking

It is very important to have a simultaneous flow of information and ideas from the top down and from the bottom up in order to plan a vision, a mission, aims and outcomes and to ensure action to achieve a set of outcomes by identifying values. Marshall & Oliva (1995, p.176) is of the opinion that women are highly effective in communicating with others. He states that they utilize unambiguous communicating styles. This emanates from their strong sense of identity. In their leading of staff, they possess good effective communication that empowers individuals and groups (Wolpe & Martinez, 1997).They stress that women managers utilize informal communication in a way that treats people as individuals whose ideas and opinions matter to the organization and result in the shared governance of the school by being creative and productive. These communication skills create a complex interaction between women managers, followers and certain circumstances in which they find themselves (Murray, 1996, 52).

Networking for women leaders is another supportive mechanism mentioned by the literature to counteract the 'old boys network' (Ehrich, 1994), including formal networking, where members are required to pay fees to receive newsletters, and informal networking between members in a community, for example, principals' associations. The third type of networking is community based. These support networks and professional development programmes mirror those of the Australian Government's affirmative action initiatives to promote women. These development programmes for women include "mentoring, skills development, networking, and shadowing senior staff" (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007, p. 230).

2.7.3. Collaboration with stakeholders

Murray (1996) argues that women's personal communication skills assist them in identifying stakeholders, needs, demands and goals and in adjusting their leading and managing styles accordingly. This means that they are able to consider parents, learners, educators and the community. They care about their satisfaction and meet their needs. Davies' (1992, p.83) findings from the research conducted in Gambia, Nigeria, Uganda, Zambia and Malaysia reveal that women are noticeably more attuned towards cooperation and sharing. They needed to work hand in hand with others through participative management, and involvement. Adler et al. (1993, p.114) concurs that women principals pay more attention to the social, emotional and academic development of the children in their schools.

Shakeshaft (1987) argues that women seem to have more positive interactions with community members because of their collaborative strategies[18]. To Bailey (1997, p.12), women empower stakeholders through ownership to encourage their commitment in sharing the organisation's vision and mission with the purpose of accomplishing organizational goals. Silver (1994, p.4) argues that women managers and leaders are implementers of job satisfaction, in the sense that they apply collective resolution of conflicts, teamwork in planning and action strategizing. Their recognition of stakeholders' autonomy and ownership in the holistic organization could result in curriculum, education; learner and parent centred goal-setting management and the advancement and development of secondary schools (Gordon, 1993). This is supported by Bush (1995), who affirms that women implement a collegial culture that focuses on collaboration while also emphasizing the individual.

Although participation increases stakeholders' willingness and commitment to become involved in efforts focused on development, it does not always build ownership and commitment (Marthur-Helm, 2002). According to him, participation takes time; hence everyone's opinions are honoured and analyzed before consensus is achieved. Even though women's styles are appreciated in the sense that they seek increased involvement to attain successful decision making, this does not mean that bureaucracy, orderly administrative procedures and controls must be ignored. For this, mentoring is a main tool for empowering women and skilling women (Noe, 1988; Lewis & Fagenson, 1995).).

2.7.4. Mentoring

Mentoring involves a protégée and a mentor (Holloway, 2001), usually comprising a more experienced colleague and a new principal or an aspirant (Bush & Coleman, 1995; Daresh, 1995). There are other models of mentoring that include coaching. According to Robertson (2005), coaching is a professional "reciprocal relationship" (p.24) between two leaders who help each other to develop their professional skills in leadership. Holmes (2005) suggests that mentoring involves coaching the protégée into developing professional skills. Mentors provide support and professional development of skills needed for

[18] Furthermore, women are more likely than men to help new teachers and supervise all educators directly. Staffs of women educational managers are more productive and have a higher morale. They are also more aware of and committed to the goals of learning and have more shared professional goals. They are more likely to encourage the empowerment of their educators, to be attentive to the feelings of their educators, to include more facts in the evaluation of their educators, to place emphasise on the technical skills of teaching, to provide information gathered from other sources and to provide immediate feedback on performance and to emphasise curricular programmes. Moreover, parents are more favourable towards schools and districts led by women and are thus more involved in school life (Shakeshaft, 1987).

leadership (Bush & Coleman, 1995) causing both the mentee and mentor to reflect on their own skills and behaviour.

Although mentoring has been traditionally associated with male protégées and male mentors, whereby men get promoted into management positions (Ehrich, 1994), several researchers suggest that mentoring advantages women greatly (Noe, 1988). For example, Ehrich (1994), and Growe & Montgomery (2000) agree that mentoring is one way to counteract the numerous barriers women aspirants and women leaders face in educational leadership, leading to access to leadership positions and salary increases (Ehrich, 1994).Not only does mentoring benefit the woman leader protégée, but also the institution and the mentor (Bush & Coleman, 1995). For mentors, the benefits from mentoring a protégée include being able to reflect on one's own leadership skills, lessening the isolation felt by school principals, and recognition and promotion on the part of the mentor (Bush & Coleman, 1995). Institutions, on the other hand, benefit from the constant supply of a pool of women leaders needed by each institution, and their retention (Ehrich, 1994). Women protégées feel that they are being cared for and feel supported in their career (Bush & Coleman, 1995).

Potential mentors include the school principal and other educational administrators, such as school advisors or school inspectors (Ehrich, 1994). Seeking out of mentors by protégées may be problematic, however, (Ehrich, 1994; Growe & Montgomery, 2000), because "traditionally, mentorship has occurred at the discretion and interest of the mentor, not the protégée" (Ehrich, 1994, p.8) and women aspiring into leadership may lack the confidence to approach the mentor.

2.7.5. Transformational leadership

Coleman & Pounder (2002) consider that transformational leadership is perceived as a charismatic, idealized influence: delegating, responsible, inspirational, motivational, intellectually stimulating, open and communicative; and it identifies the organizational strengths, weakness, treats and opportunities. Women apply transformational styles that allow people to transform their self-interest into goals, and to perform well when they feel good about themselves. For this reason, women principals are really needed in our secondary schools. Women leaders or managers prefer work that involves sharing power and information that encourages involvement. According to Bailey (1997), transformational styles include a shared vision, empowerment of others, and challenge to the status quo, an adoption of a pro-active stance, communication, vision and positive self-regard.

In their study, Normone & Gaetane (2007) found that the socialization experiences of the four women leaders studied included critical reflection about issues of inclusion, social justice, diversity, and expansion of the opportunities for diverse leadership styles. Efforts to increase the capacity of schools by broadening educators' work beyond conventional notions of teaching and administration would be improved by paying attention to how, in concert, social justice and democracy agendas shape and influence possibilities and desires for careers in education and educational leadership. Gross et al. (2005), view these mutually inclusive concepts as indispensable ingredients to improving schools for the benefit of all students and for a democratic society, and in order to achieve social justice and leadership, the shared and instructional leadership is well recommended.

Coleman & Pounder (2002, p.123), Blackmore (2007) claim that, in future, women, might be better than men at managing secondary schools. This idea challenges the notion that school-based management requires traditional masculine attributes. However, these researchers also suggest that although women school principals are claimed to be friendly and collaborative, this also has a negative side, because women tend to take organizational life too seriously and too personally.

2.8. The role played by female principals in Rwandan secondary schools

The term 'quantitative gender inequality' refers to the fact that principals, teachers and students do not work in a gender-neutral environment. The research of Lee, Smith & Cioci, (1993), teaches that female teachers feel empowered when working in schools headed by female principals, while male teachers consider themselves less powerful in those circumstances. In Lee's opinion, the interaction between teachers' and principals' gender contributes to understanding the persistent under-representation of women in the secondary school principalship.

Hiring females in administration as role models for girls in schools is recommended by Coleman (2000) in order to reduce gender inequalities in classroom interaction, protect girls from sexual harassment, and raise girls' achievement level (Brown & Ralph, 1996). Female head teachers hired in male- dominated learning environments are expected to motivate girls to learn by demonstrating good ethical behaviour, effective instructional techniques and professional performance. While these qualities of female head teachers seem to be important to girls, no literature exists that confirms whether these female traits support equitable education (Hall, 2000).

Previously, in Rwandan secondary schools, there were beliefs that female principals should be nuns and only in single -sex schools for girls. Nowadays, a few secular females are hired for school leadership positions in single schools for girls (for example FAWE Girls' School) as well as in coeducational schools, especially in lower secondary schools (nine year basic education).However, despite this willingness and courage of females to access school principalship, nuns still predominate as principals.

Female administrators are especially important to girl students because of their motherly tendencies to love and care for children (Shakeshaft, 1989). However, girls may not accept them as role models. Females are role models if they appear to be in a good financial position because their needs can be a condition that motivates them to work (Sperandio, 2000). Providing good working conditions for females is important, though professional roles can make them overloaded, thus limiting their modelling potential.

According to Shakeshaft (1987), the traditional female approaches to schooling resemble the prescriptions for administrative behaviour in effective schools, as women are focused upon instructional on educational issues and have demonstrated that when in charge, they are likely to build a school community that stresses achievement within a supportive atmosphere. This is evident in the Rwandan context where women principals are highly appreciated for their school's performance. Women demonstrate the kinds of behaviour that promote achievement and learning as well as high morals and commitment. In short, women principals are educators, managers, communicators, evaluators and counsellors.

2.9. Strategies to overcome barriers in accessing principalship in secondary schools

Women in management positions surpass male principals in terms of enhancing learners' academic performance (Coleman & Pounder, 2002, p.127), yet past practices still deter them from being assertive in claiming their capabilities. Seen from this perspective, there is a need to eradicate gender imbalances under the following headings: dealing with prejudice and stereotypes, overcoming patriarchal obstacles, addressing inequalities in defying gender inequalities and empowerment and career development for women.

Mathipa & Tsoka (2000, p.130) define prejudice as an act of forming an opinion about a particular condition without gathering facts, and can be applied in situations where posts are stereotypically offered according to feminine or masculine traits (Al-Khalifa, 1992). The most viable way for women to successfully validate the fact that they are equally as competent as men, is to challenge the stereotypes.

Women should overcome gender differences by overcoming patriarchal obstacles (Bush, 1995). Where females are school leaders, they are often faced with many challenges of resistance such as insubordination and sabotage (Brown & McLeay, 2004). These behaviours, overt or covert, particularly from men, are often about power, and this change in the traditional power balance means that women leaders are sometimes viewed as being deviant from the norm. This is stressed by Randell & Fish (2009, p.4) citing Abbot (2008) who states that when women attain leadership positions, rather than being integrated into a system, that reflects gender imbalance, "they look at you as a special or unusual woman". Such perverse views require female mangers to balance their interests and aspirations (internal factors) with external factors arising from the long reign of domination by men over women (McLeay, 2000). This research states that female principals should plant the seeds of equity and equality in their schools and nurture them into the norms and values of absolute balance between males and females, where neither loses their identity.

Pigford &Tonnsen (1993) contend that women principals are highly renowned for their ability to effectively manage finances, handle disciplinary problems and effectively manage the culture of teaching and learning in their schools. Thus, schools should pursue the notion of equal opportunities so that both men and women alike enjoy the same treatment (Middlewood & Lumby, 1998, p.35). Coleman (2001) and Kaparou & Bush (2007) consider a career path to be important for women's management and leadership development. Women must be pro-active in considering their next appointment and must be able to transform and make changes in their management and leadership performance.

Marshall (1995) states that women should listen to their inner voices in order to choose what they love to do and to try to pursue it with vigour and zest. They should learn continuously by affiliating with higher learning institutions in management and leadership and learning from modeling, peer assessment, projects and events. They should learn by doing and being self-aware (Marshall, 1995, p.319).They need to have clear knowledge of and insight into external and internal barriers that prevent them from attaining their goals. Newly-appointed women managers should be empowered by their mentors on how to manage a senior position with confidence. They must be aware of their thoughts and attitudes, utilizing group interaction to identify their strengths, shortcomings, opportunities and threats in of leading and managing.

2.10. Conclusion

The literature reviewed reveals an under-representation of women in educational leadership positions worldwide. Due to the sweeping social change over the last century in industrialized world, more people

have become aware of the worth of women in leadership positions. The literature suggests that despite passing positive legislation for women, barriers still exist to impede women from progressing into educational leadership, including sex role stereotyping, gender and race discrimination, lack of confidence and work-life imbalance. Although these barriers are prevalent in schools, the literature suggests that women's leadership may be developed if mentoring and networking opportunities are provided for women in educational leadership.

Existing leadership theories based on masculine models are insufficient to describe the patterns of female leadership: new interests shown from a feminist perspective have called for a fresh look at women as leaders. Furthermore, a small amount of literature reviewed on Rwandan women suggests that Rwandan women are under-represented to a greater extent than women in developed nations. Their under-representation in leadership positions is augmented by several influencing factors in society, such as society's cultural views on women's ascribed roles and the educational level and qualifications achieved by women.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The methodology chosen for this research was qualitative and a case study approach was used. According to Golafshani (2003, p.600), qualitative research is defined as "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical or other means of quantification". This case study was conducted in the Gicumbi district, in Rwanda's Northern Province, and required researcher interaction with respondents, understanding their views and their experiences and the meanings they attached to women as secondary school principals.

3.2. The Qualitative research approach

Creswell (2009, p.173) states that qualitative research is exploratory and is useful when the researcher does not know the important variables that need to be examined. Merriam (1998, p.6) defines qualitative research as an effort to understand situations in their exclusivity as part of a particular context and the interactions therein. Qualitative research refers to research that underlines meaning and patterns of relationships and enables one to obtain rich, in-depth information on experience and behavioural perception (Marlow, 1998, p.220).

The researcher chose the qualitative research method because she was interested in understanding the meanings that people have constructed how these people make sense of gender inequalities in school leadership, and women's experiences in their endeavour to access school principalship. The main goal of qualitative research is to have an in-depth understanding of social phenomena from participants' perspectives (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006, p.315). That understanding is achieved by analysing the many contexts of the participants and by narrating participants' meanings for these situations. In this study, in order to gain a multifaceted view, interviews were conducted in two schools as well as with a variety of role-players: students, teachers, and head of departments, deputy and school principals as well as district authorities.

The use of two methods in collecting data allowed the researcher to enhance reliability and validity of the research in terms of methodological triangulation (Golafshani, 2003, p.603). Maxwell (1996, p.75) indicates that triangulation entails collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and settings, using a variety of methods. Gray (2004) emphasises that triangulation reduces sources of error by gathering data from multiple sources, or using a variety of methods or theoretical approaches. Bush

(2007, p.100), in addition to that, stresses that triangulation means comparing many sources of evidence in order to determine the accuracy of information or phenomena.

The researcher interacted with participants in a natural manner (White, 2002, p.14) and was able to add value and insight to the thinking of respondents as they shared their personal experiences and explanations. As a major part in collecting and interpreting data is up to the researcher, not only does his/her work impact on the research participants but participants impact upon the researcher (Merriam, 1998, p. 18).

The focus was on how the 'barriers' to women's advancement were constructed by social interaction within the school environment and the community in general. However, the intent was not to produce a generalization, prediction or causal relationship but to gain clear understanding of different perceptions, as the naturalistic phenomenological approach adopted assumes multiple realities (Macmillan & Schumacher, 2007, p.376).

3.2.1. A case study

Two secondary schools in the Gicumbi district were chosen and used as case studies. To Yin (1994), "case study research is an empirical inquiry in which focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, and boundaries between a phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident". An educational case study is an empirical enquiry which is interested in aspects of an educational activity, or programme, or institution, or system mainly in its natural context (Bassey, 2007:143) and is suited for understanding human relations in a particular context. According to MacMillan & Schumacher (2006, p.316), it is concerned with the selection of cases with the purpose of understanding the phenomenon at hand in-depth: 'detailed, specific accounts of particular circumstances rather than offering broad, generalisable findings'(ibid, p.345) while the number of sites or participants is not an important issue. In a case study, types of qualitative research are often used interchangeably.

Merriam (1998, p.13), Creswell, (2009, p.49) and Cohen et al. (2009, p. 39) state that these include naturalistic enquiry, interpretive research, field study, participant observation, inclusive research, ethnography and case studies. All employ interviews and probing questions. However, Yin (1994) criticizes case studies when he states that they lack rigour and provide very little basis for scientific generalizations, (for example, from a single case to a larger population or universe, that can be generalized to the theoretical propositions). This is not the aim of this research, although other future studies in this area will be recommended.

3.2.2. Population and sampling of the study

Higson-Smith & Bless (1995, p.85) define population as "the entire set of objects and events or group of people which is the object of research and about which the researcher wants to determine some characteristics". The population of this research study consisted of two principals, two deputy principals, four head of departments and eight teachers, two students from two secondary schools as well as two staff from the Gicumbi district education office. Twenty participants in the two secondary schools were chosen and purposive sampling methods were used. Creswell (2009, p.14) indicates that the intention of qualitative research is to purposefully select participants that will best answer the research question.

To Merriam (1998, p.64), purposive sampling methods are based on the judgment of the researcher regarding the characteristics of the represented sample. Thus, interviewees in this study were identified through purposeful sampling to target people who were familiar with the two secondary schools chosen, on the basis that the two principals were the most experienced of the female principals in the Gicumbi district[19]. The Deputy Principals and heads of departments in these schools were particularly valuable sources as they had experience in working with the female principals. The teachers were able to reflect on teaching and learning within the context as well as their own aspirations to leadership. Both pupils were able to add value as participants[20] while the district officials worked closely with all principals in the area and were able to contribute a systemic and critical view.The two secondary schools selected contrasted in their location, status and size. School A is a large, urban, subsidized Catholic (girls') school, managed by experienced nuns[21] [22]. This school has a good track record in both science and socio-humanities. School B is a rural Protestant school[23], led by a civilian woman[24]. It is also large and one the best performing of the nine year basic education (9YBE) schools.

3.2.3. Research instruments

The research instruments used were semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. Although the questions were predetermined, the respondents could use their own words and ways to answer (McMillan

[19] They both have over four years in principalship, while other female principals have 1 and or 2 years.
[20] The female student performed well and achieved an upper level in school A, headed by the female principal in 2010 whereas in 2009 she was below standard in school led by a male principal. A student in school B was chosen because he is still in a lower level and changed his school at the beginning of 2010. He experienced both male and female principalship and he could contribute views on both.
[21] The principal has led a secondary school for sixteen years.
[22] The school has two cycles: ordinary level (lower level) and upper cycle.
[23] It is located forty kilometers from the district; it is next to the border of Rwanda and Uganda.
[24] The principal of this school has four years of experience in leading secondary schools.

& Schumacher, 2007; Cohen et al., 2008, Opie, 2009). This kind of interview demands more sensitivity from the interviewer regarding information about personal and attitudinal matters that will be revealed by participants. Semi-structured interviewing is favoured by feminist researchers for its "latitude" (Cohen et al., 2008, p.143) in allowing participants to express themselves more and allowing time for the researcher to take notes and construct meanings of their lived experiences (Cohen et al., 2008; 0pie, 2009). Cohen et al. (2008, p.19) suggest that semi-structured interviewing allows "researchers access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather in the words of the researcher". Using semi-structured interviewing allowed the researcher to not only obtain good quality information but develop reciprocal relationships. Woman-to-woman research aims to establish trust and respect: "a woman listening with care and caution enables another woman to develop ideas, construct meaning, and use words that say what she means" (Opie 2009).

In-depth interviews and a questionnaire were employed with the same sample. The provisional interview and probing questions were inspired by Coleman's (2001) questionnaire which was administered to women principals in secondary schools in England and Wales, (Coleman, 2001, p.95)[25]. This study used semi-structured interviews which were administered to the Principals, Deputy Principals, and Heads of Departments, teachers and students, as well as staff of the district education department. Tellis (1997) describes interviews as one of the most important sources of case study's information in which, most of the time, key respondents are asked to comment about certain events. Henning et al., (2004: 5) add that adding qualitative research interviews involving participants or respondents provides a more open-ended way of giving the participants' views and demonstrating their actions.

"Probing-questions" were presented to women principals and deputy principals. Although they are believed to be the most used and misused method in educational research (Galfo, 1995), they are advantageous because each respondent receives the same set of standardised questions phrased in exactly the same way. Probing-questions are therefore supposed to yield more comparative data than do interviews (Galfo, 1995).

The purpose of the probing follow-up interviews was also to enhance reliability and to establish consistency of the data. The principals, deputy principals, two heads of departments and four teachers and

[25] The research instruments that were used for data collection were interviews, guide questions and probing follow-up interviews. The probing follow-up interviews became useful in investigating further and eliciting clarity on issues highlighted on the questionnaires. The reasons for the use of probing follow-up interviews are because according to Cohen et al. (2008), they allow the interviewer to probe participants' responses almost immediately.

two district authorities also participated in the interviews, which involved descriptions. These lasted approximately 30 minutes; participants were free to use the language they were most comfortable with. All of them preferred French and Kinyarwanda although they would often use them interchangeably with English. The use of two methods in collecting data allowed the researcher to enhance reliability and validity of the research in terms of methodological triangulation (Golafshani, 2003, p.603).

A set of open-ended guiding questions and probing questions were used respectively in this research study (appendix 5 and 7). Using open-ended questions rather than closed questions facilitates the interactions and expressions involved. The perceptions and feelings and beliefs of the participants are captured more effectively (Malasa, 2007). Cohen et al. (2008), however, stress that the introductory question is very important as an 'icebreaker', because it allows the women participants to feel comfortable and acknowledged and allows the conversation to flow. The questions in this study were therefore designed and structured to build a good, relaxing atmosphere prior to the interview (Appendix F).The interviews were conducted based on the interview schedule questions (Appendix 5, 6, 7, and 8)[26.]

Bryman & Bell (2007) suggest that qualitative interviewing can be time consuming, often requiring further interview follow-ups and transcription. In this case, transcribing the interviews was a particularly lengthy process. As before, a preferred language was used, and as a result, the participants felt free in sharing their experiences and responding to the interviews. These were first transcribed in the vernacular (Kinyarwanda or French) and then into English. According to Bryman & Bell (2007), when interviewing non-English speakers it is important to transcribe into the language used first, and then translate back to English; however, they caution that some of the words may differ and may distort the data. This distortion of data could have been a shortcoming of this study and was taken into consideration. The researcher made sure that she translated the data accurately and thoroughly by evaluating and comparing in detail the words and expressions involved, therefore minimizing the distortion of data.

The researcher used a question guide throughout the conversation with the respondents. One of the reasons for this was to get as many direct quotes as possible to present as evidence for data presentation and analysis. The researcher transcribed the interviews from notes made at the time. As McMillan & Schumacher (2006, p.356) state, "in many situations, hand written notes may be the best method of

[26] In all cases, the interview was conducted in either the English language or French or Kinyarwanda, depending on the participant's language preference. The intention of the researcher was to conduct the interview in English but the majority could not to respond in English. Only eight participants were able to respond in English.

recording". Data from the study was analysed qualitatively, in coded segments, a method supported by Macmillan & Schumacher (2006, p.368; 2007, p.343).

3.3. Reliability and validity

In order to ensure reliability and validity of the data from the respondents, it was necessary to revisit the respondents and cross check whether the information provided was well recorded. According to McMillan & Schumacher (2006, p.326), "it is advisable to ask the respondent to review a transcript or synthesis of the data obtained from him/her. In so doing, the participant may be asked to modify any information from the interview data for accuracy. Then, data obtained from each interviewee are analyzed for a comprehensive integration of the findings".

The researcher transcribed the interviews from notes made at the time. Opie (2009, p.68) argues that validity refers to the degree to which a method, a test or a research tool actually measures what it is supposed to measure. Validity is whether your research has described the issue of focus (Bush, 2002; Cohen et al., 2007), and whether your conclusions are valid (McMillan & Schumacher, 2007, p.423). Validity ensures that all possible biases by both researcher and participants have been acknowledged, in order to minimize invalidity (Cohen et al., 2007) and so that analysis by others can be defended (Bush, 2002). In the case of this study, the researcher tried to reduce biases to the study as she had worked in the Gicumbi district and had had similar experiences to that of the respondents.

Reliability is an important quality in research (Opie, 2009, p.65). Reliability "is the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answers however and whenever it is carried out, and validity … the extent to which it gives the correct answers"(Merriam 1998, p, 19) . Maxwell (1996, p.279) highlights that validity and reliability are important elements which every researcher should take into consideration; he warns however, that in qualitative research it is difficult to address this subject in its totality. Merriam (1998, p, 205) agrees: "Reliability is problematic in the social sciences because human behaviour is never static."For research to be accepted or trusted it must show that it can be transferred to other contexts. This does not mean that the same results are produced in different contexts but that similar findings would be produced" (Merriam, 1998). This study also sought to uncover the similarities shared with other research results in the field.

Research must also be able to show that it has credibility, for it to be trusted. This means the findings of the research "must be evaluated from the point of view of the participants" (Lichtman, 2006, p. 194). Therefore, evaluation of the findings of this study was based entirely on the data collected during the field

research in Gicumbi district in the month of October 2010. The research was cautious of what Maxwell (1996, p.293) refers to as "generalisability" , which is "the extent to which one can extend the account of a particular situation or population to other persons, time or settings than those directly studied". For these reasons, it is crucial to highlight in the research that the findings are not applicable to every secondary school in the country.

3.4. Analysis of data

Analysis of data means a search for patterns in data such as recurrent behaviours, objects or bodies of knowledge (Mouton, 1998, p.61). Creswell (2008, p.153) states that data analysis requires that the researcher be comfortable with developing categories and making comparisons and contrasts. It also requires that the researcher takes a voluminous amount of information and reduces it to certain patterns, categories or themes and then interprets the information by using some schema (Creswell, 2005, p.154). There are many modes of data analysis (Cohen et al., 2007). After data is transcribed, it is organised into a format that is easy to manage and analyze normally as a word processed document (Lichtman, 2006). A word processing format enables the researcher to become familiar with the data and to start allocating themes or codes to the data (Lichtman, 2006)[27].

The data analysis strategy used in this study was thematic coding. Thematic coding is commonly used by qualitative researchers (McMillan & Schumacher, 2007). It involves familiarization with the data (Opie, 2009) and allocating themes. Cohen et al., (2008) explains that thematic coding involves hand coding the text, organising data into similar categories and applying themes. In this respect, the researcher read the interview carefully and gave a meaning according to the themes drawn by the questions.

According to Creswell (2008, p.147), interpretation of data is a qualitative researcher's concern. As a result, the researcher's biases, values and judgments were stated in the research report. This is because the researcher and the respondent bring along biases, predispositions, attitudes and physical characteristics that may influence data either positively or negatively (Merriam, 1998, p.87). In this study, the analysis of data followed the suggestions made by various scholars and the researcher herself. It was followed by the interpretation made by the researcher from her knowledge of the literature and the issues regarding the under-representation of women principals.

[27] The data in this study was organised into a Word document

3.5. Ethical considerations

Ethical standards such as the respondents' rights, confidentiality, mutual respect and anonymity are imperative in the qualitative research method (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.20). Ethical guidelines of the research and practice were adhered to throughout the process of the research. Initially, the Gicumbi district officials were approached and permission was granted for the study. All principals concerned were then contacted to gain written permission for their involvement in the study.

The researcher entered the sites of investigation after getting permission from the University of Witwatersrand (Appendix 12). Participants were assured that no actual names would be used in the study. McMillan & Schumacher (2006, p.333) caution that qualitative research is often "personally intrusive", which is why ethical considerations have to be taken into account by the researcher. They argue that "the setting and participants should not be identifiable in print". Ensuring that qualitative research is conducted in an ethical manner is also meant to enhance validity and reliability (Merriam 1998, p.198).

At the research sites, all participants were informed of the nature and purpose of the study and they were required to sign a consent form (appendix 4, 9 and 10) respectively. The participants also acknowledged that their participation in the study was voluntary: they were free to withdraw from participating at any time.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodology, the research design, data analysis, reliability and validity as well as ethics of the research. Data was collected through individual interviews and field notes. The data collection instruments used in this research was interviews with school principals, deputy principals, teachers, students and staff of the district education department. They all participated in the semi-structured interviews. The data collected from the interviews was transcribed and translated by the researcher. The findings are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH DATA

4.1. Introduction

In Chapter 3, the methodology and the rationale for using the qualitative research method were discussed while the research sample, design and protocol of data analysis were clarified. In this chapter, the researcher has analysed the data obtained from interviews. Some researchers (Creswell, 2009; Opie, 2009; Cohen et al., 2008; McMillan & Schumacher, 2007; Merriam, 1998) state the following:

Analysing data is required to find some essential meanings in the raw data, to reduce, organize and combine it.

During these interviews common themes emerged. This chapter presents the data that was generated during the interviews and compares the statements made by the interviewees. By means of a narrative and descriptive approach, each theme which emerges is discussed in detail. It is noteworthy to realize that the findings were supported by international research, in particular that of Coleman (2001) in her study in England and Wales, Kaparou & Bush (2007) in their research in Greece and Lumby et al. (2010) in their research in South Africa

4.2. Data collection

4.2.1. Introduction

The research process started with a formal written request to the principals of the two secondary schools sampled in the Gicumbi District, followed by an appointment to set out the reasons for and conditions of the study. Official letters were handed out to the participants requesting an interview and consent forms were signed. None of the participants objected to being mentioned by name, but for ethical reasons pseudonyms were used for the transcriptions of the interviews, the questions of which were based on Coleman's study (2001). Themes were encoded, feasibility and correctness reviewed, and additional interviews were then conducted to explore certain concepts and behavioural patterns further. The result was a large body of data which supported the focus of the study in the Gicumbi, Rwanda, secondary schools.

The research was conducted at two secondary schools (School A and School B), each group of participants comprising a woman principal, deputy principal, two heads of department, four teachers and one student. Two staff members from the Department of Education were also approached and participated

in this study. The tables 9, 10 and 11 below summarize the identification of participants for School A and School B as well the two district officials.

TABLE 9: Profile of School A

Participants	**Pseudo.**	**Age**	**Gender**	**Qualifications**	**Occupation /Teaching**	**experience**	**Marital status**
Student A	S1	16	Female	-	-	-	single
Teacher A1	TA1	30-39	Male	Bachelor Geo-Economy	Economy, Geography, Civics	4 years	Married
Teacher A2	TA2	Under 30	Female	Bachelor Social Sciences	Psychology, History	1 year	Single
Teacher A3	TA3	30-39	Female	A2 (Matrix)		8 years	Divorced
Teacher A4	TA4	Under 30	Male	Bachelor in Chemistry Engineering	Chemistry	3 years	Single
Head of department A1	HDA1	40-49	Male	Bachelor in French literature	French and English	4 years	Married
Head of department A2	HDA2	40-49	Male	Bachelor in Chemistry Engineering	Chemistry	4 years	Married
Deputy principal A	DPA	40-49	Female	Bachelor in Education	Civics	2 years	Married
Principal A	PA	50-59	Female	Diploma in Education	English	16 years	Nun

TABLE 10: Profile of School B

Participants	Pseudo	Age	Gender	Qualifications	Occupation /Teaching	experience	Marital status
Student 2	S2	14	Male	-	-	-	Single
Teacher B1	TB1	30-39	Male	Bachelor in literature	Language	1 year	Single
Teacher B2	TB2	Under 30	Male	Diploma in English-French	English and French	1 year	Single
Teacher B3	TB3	30-39	Male	Bachelor in Education	Social Science	2 years	Single
Teacher B4	TB4	Under 30	Female	Bachelor in science	Chemistry	3 years	Married
Head of department B1	HDB1	30-39	Male	Bachelor in Science-Education	Science	1year	Married
Head of department B2	HDB2	40-49	Male	Bachelor in Chemistry Engineering	Chemistry	2 years	Single
Deputy principal B	DPB	30-39	Male	Bachelor in Science Education	Sciences	1 year	Married
Principal B	PB	40-49	Female	Bachelor in Education	Education and History	4 years	Married

TABLE 11: Profile of Staff members of Department of Education

Participants	Pseudo	Age	Gender	Qualifications	Experience	Marital status
District officer 1	D1	30-39	Male	Bachelor in Education	6 years	Single
District officer 2	D2	30-39	Male	Bachelor in Education	6 years	Married

4.2.2. Age, marital status and professional experiences of participants

The majority of participants were in their thirties (40%); 25% were in their forties while 20% were under thirty and one was over fifty (5 %). The students were both under twenty years old (10%). The Participants in school A were older than the participants in school B and were more experienced in teaching. The number of females and males interviewed were unequal. School A employed more female teachers than the other school. The female student in school A was chosen because she had studied in a mixed school headed by a male principal but was currently studying in boarding girls' school (school A) led by a female principal. The male student in school B was selected in order to balance male and female views and had previously experienced a different learning style in a school headed by a male principal.

Most participants were married (40%). 35 % were single and not married, 5% were divorced and 5% were nuns. All students were minors and single (10%). A large number of participants had a Bachelor Degree, 40% had a Degree in Education and 50% also had different degrees not related to education but they were needed in teaching some school subjects. 5% had a Diploma in Education and 5% had finished secondary school. These last ones were furthering their higher education as part-time students.

4.3. Data analysis

4.3.1. Under-representation of women principals in Rwandan secondary schools

Respondents in the study reported that women principals were very under-represented in Gicumbi secondary schools. Despite the advocacy of the government of Rwanda which stipulated in the National Constitution (GoR, 2003; 2008) that: "women will be represented at least 30% at all levels and in all sectors in decision-making, all respondents interviewed indicated that female principals were less involved in secondary school leadership and management. They represent 20.2% in 2010 at national level and 14.8% in 2010 in Gicumbi district (table 4 and table 8 respectively).

This was confirmed by the district education officer (D1) interviewed, who revealed that female principals represented 14, 8% (8 female principals out of 46 male principals in 2010). D1 and D2 said:

> "*In our district we have a small number of female principals in secondary schools and we think that this is due to the fact that we have a few qualified female teachers in secondary schools that might advance to principalship. Most female principals (7/8) are in lower level (Ordinary level) called nine year basic education(9YBE) except only one a nun who leads a larger school with lower and upper secondary school levels".*

The under-representation of female principals in secondary schools remains an issue elsewhere:

> *" where women have broken through the glass ceiling, the presence of women in senior positions is a challenge to existing cultures and norms. As men hold the majority of top positions, they are able to control the workforce and maintain masculine values and norms."*

The research found that this was also the case in the Gicumbi District. Women were looked down upon and not encouraged and motivated to further their higher education. Even those who had a certain level of education still thought that principalship was a "men's thing". The culture had also contributed to discouraging females in attending higher learning institutions. However, women had a lot of potential and could own businesses and organizations and contribute significantly to the national economy.

Sperandio & Kagoda, (2006) agree:

> *"Women should be represented in leadership positions in education systems worldwide to provide an equal opportunity and educational change as well as development and ensure social justice through gender equity at leadership and decision making levels".*

Female principals in secondary schools are an asset because they present many advantages as leaders. Lumby et al. (2010), stress that there are many reasons why equal representation of females in educational leadership should be of interest. One of them is that it constitutes employment rights for women. The data showed that in the Gicumbi district, out of 56 principals only 8 were women, representing a huge gap that needed to be adjusted.

4.3.2. Becoming a principal in secondary schools

4.3.2.1. Process in accessing principalship in secondary schools

This question of access to principalship looks at the recruitment process. Young (2005) says that recruitment is a phase which immediately precedes selection and its purpose is to pave the way for selection procedures by producing the smallest number of candidates who appear to be capable of performing the job. The researcher believes that recruitment is a significant area where unfair discrimination should be prohibited, and the talents, skills, attitude and capability should be of first concern. The fact that, in the study, men and not women were involved in choosing principals was significant. This resulted in a sort of gender discrimination, according to D1 and D2:

> "*We started to recruit principals male and female through the test at district level since 2007. Before, principals were appointed by the Provincial Education Department until*

> *2005 and confirmed by the Ministry of Education. In 2006, principals were appointed by the District authority and confirmed by the District Council".*

They further said*:*

> *"Despite the public announcement for vacant posts for everyone who has at least bachelor degree in education for applying to access on secondary school principalship, females candidates are very few and few of them also pass the test."*

In the past, access to principalship was based on appointment and teacher promotion, and, at that time, males were more successful than females in being appointed and promoted because of the influence of the male-dominated culture. The education system of Rwanda from colonial times had had a major impact on the under-representation of females in principalship. Despite the progress in the post-genocide period, women principals were not hired or appointed in a large numbers. PA and PB confirmed this:

> *"we are appointed at the principalship by our church authorities and confirmed by the education department and the Ministry of Education. We did not compete for accessing on principalship; but nowadays, principals (females and males) have to compete and we appreciate it and encourage them"*

Several structures and processes in the education system served to act as major barriers to the participants. These included the appointment processes, policies, and support structures.D1 and D2 revealed:

> *"We do not yet consider the 30% during the recruitment of principals; we take principals according to the merit. We hope to consider this in the next years in order to meet the gender policy in education".*

This was stressed by the district education officer D1:

> "*Regarding the statistics, until 2006, we had one female principal out of 29 male principals. That female principal were appointed by the Catholic Church through the National Secretariat of catholic education (SNEC) and confirmed by the Province department and the Ministry of Education".*

The findings in this study indicated that the system of appointment of school principals in the Gicumbi district was not transparent before 2006 in comparison to the appointment processes of women leaders in other countries (Al-Khalifa, 1992; Coleman, 2000; 2001) as it was sometimes based on the preferences of individual stakeholders including the school council, the department of education and the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC).

As was noted in PA and PB's stories, individuals, such as the church authorities (Catholic Church - SNEC and Anglican Church) had a significant impact on their appointment processes and women had no chance of being appointed to principalship in secondary schools in big numbers (except the two principals, one a nun and one a civilian woman, appointed by their senior religious managers).This may mean that the appointment of these women leaders was premised on the belief that women would still be subjugated to men, and not seen as a threat by them (Strachan, 2007). Shakeshaft (1989, p.98) claims that, in some cases, when a woman or minority person is hired, it is often notably the less competent woman or minority applicant that is chosen, making males feel more comfortable while at the same time providing evidence that women and minorities cannot cope.

This study found that, despite the lack of transparency in the appointment process prior to 2006; the two participants had no difficulty in gaining leadership positions. This is because they had other posts of responsibility, confidence and motivation. Besides, both had the mentors who encourage them to access to leadership position. However, current western literature emphasizes the fact that women face difficulties in accessing leadership and power in secondary schools (Brooking, 2008; Coleman, 2005). Women faced overt and covert discrimination based on gender during the hiring and selection processes (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Since 2007, the recruitment process in the Gicumbi district has become more similar to that of other countries, Coleman, (2001; 2005), Oplatka, (2008), based on competition, and there has been an increase of civilian female leadership and management in Rwandan secondary schools since 1994[28] . Most interviewees argued that this was directly linked to the transformation agenda of the democratic government. Prior to 1994, most female principals were nuns appointed by the Catholic Church in their girls' schools. Since then, in coeducational school or in girls' schools, women are hired as principals in the same way as the male principals. The one exception is the case of the Groupe Scolaire Rambura (single girls' school) in the Nyabihu district (Western Province) which is led by male principal and deputy principal[29.]

The lack of accurate implementation of policies (gender policies) to recruit school principals in the Gicumbi district significantly impacted upon the representation of female in educational leadership, as

[28] In educational leadership, civilian women started becoming principals in secondary schools since 1985 (MINEPRISEC, 1988) but in small numbers.

[29] This exacerbates the existence of male-domination in school leadership. The result is lack of role models, mentors, a feminist empowerment as well as lack of self-confidence to the girl students in that school.

there is a discrepancy between actual opportunities and equal opportunities policies, a very important issue that needs immediate attention by the Gicumbi education authorities. D1 recognize that:

> ”*in the next days, we will consider the gender policy implementation in order to have at least 30% in school principalship”.*

However, there have already been numerous affirmative actions taken by the Government of Rwanda to increase the representation of women in education leadership, such as girl' education in secondary and higher education and a gender analysis for the education sector regarding gender promotion and gender empowerment (MIGEPROF , 2009; MINEDUC, 2008). Further affirmative action could be taken: for example, if the school principal is a male, then the deputy principal should be a female, or vice versa. This strategy is supported in literature (Kruger, 2008), who suggests that combining the leadership styles of both genders leads to effective school development and women's advancement. More specifically, integrating women's leadership styles together with men's leadership styles (Coleman, 2000; Normore and Gaetan 2007) significantly contributes to school development (Kruger, 2008).This could also lead to mentorship for succession.

4.3.2. 2.Education and training

From 2007, both male and female candidates are required to have a degree in education. Several respondents commented that few females with the necessary qualifications applied for principalship and others did not apply because they feared failure in competition or they did not have the ambition to become principals. This is expressed by D2:

> ” *we publicize the vacant posts and are open to both men and women. However, we have always few female candidates and they do not all pass the test .This generates from girls' education because women are less educated than men. Additionally, female do like to study the management, economics, law options, which are not appropriate for accessing principalship in secondary schools. Women are few in higher institution especially in public institutions which have education option.”*

The under-representation of females (43.6%) in higher learning institutions (see Appendix 14) which indicates gender imbalances in these institutions. This table demonstrates how women are scarce in higher education compared to men, especially in education. [In KIE and NUR, they represent 30.3% (MINEDUC, 2010). They are very concentrated in private higher institutions 57.5% in Independent University of Kigali (ULK); 71.1% in High Pedagogic Institute of Gitwe (ISPG), 61.9% in Rwanda Tourism University College(RTUC); 62.6% Kigali Institute of Management (KIM)… and very few in

public such as National University of Rwanda (NUR) where female students represent 28.8%; 31.9% in Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) and 25.6% in Colleges (KCE, RCE, KCT and TCT)].

This disproportion in higher learning institutions originates in secondary schools where girls' performance is lower than boys, especially in science and technology (Randell & Fish, 2009). Additionally, there are fewer girls in secondary schools (especially in public or subsidized secondary schools) because of a low rate of progression and performance from primary school to secondary level and to upper secondary level. This is indicated by interviewed participants and D1 and D2 who mentioned the following:

> "*The fact that female are very few in higher education especially in faculty of education in Rwandan Universities like NUR, KIE and AUCA is because females are more interested in studying Economics, Social Work and Accountant. This is one many reasons why we have under-representation of female principals in our schools"*

Some teachers (TA1, TA3, TA4, HDA1, HDA2, TB1, TB2, TB3 and HDB2) wished to apply for principalship but they could not because of their qualifications, as they had a bachelor degree in another field, not in education. However, their degrees are also useful as specialist teachers in science and humanities. And it is required to principal to have a bachelor degree in education with psychology or pedagogic specialization.HDB2 said:

> *"I would like to become a Head Teacher but I cannot apply because the district requires a Bachelor Degree in education or in Social Sciences. Unfortunately, I am not qualified in education. I would like to become a principal of secondary school if I were to be promoted or appointed. I do not know when and I am not sure".*

In the past in Rwanda, most principals who were hired had no qualifications in school administration. These ones were trained in-service by the Ministry of Education through the Belgium non -government organization called VVOB (Vlaamse Vereniging voor Ontwikkelingssamewerking en Technische Bijstantand). However, nowadays, the recruitment is merely based on qualifications. In a few rare cases, heads of department or deputy principals are promoted to the principalship when urgently needed (for example in mid-year when a principal resigned or demoted). This fact mentioned above was confirmed by D1 and D2.The access to principalship in secondary schools requires a degree in education, so HDA1 wished to continue her studies in Education in order to qualify for principalship. All respondents were very aware of the necessity to obtain degrees as they wished to progress in the field of education leadership.

Lack of qualifications is one factor which limits a woman's mobility, sharing in decision-making and life opportunities (Leach, 1998). She further argues that women will take on prominent roles in community affairs, since leaders are invariably expected to be educated, both for practical reasons and because education grants status and, in that sense, is empowering. Thus, lack of education prevents women in their participation in both the productive and community spheres of activity which conventionally confers status on individuals (Leach, 1998; Davies, 1990). All principals and deputy principals in this study supported the female teachers, inspiring them to build self-confidence, feeling able to do what men do and daring to qualify for leadership posts through education. Principals and Deputy Principals addressed women teachers in the following words: "you are qualified as well as men; you have feminine qualities that could be attributed to leadership". They added: "you have also skills to develop your career". Principals and Deputy Principals gave teachers responsibilities and supported their ideas even if they did not all want to become principals.

4.3.2.3. Motivation

In this study, women principals revealed how they became principals. PA declared:

> *" I had ambition to become a leader because I felt able and liked to do it. I still feel capable to do it and I like it. Another inspiration to become a school principal was from my parents because my father always encouraged me during my studies and during my jobs to apply for leadership. He found that I was able to effectively lead because I assumed properly responsibilities attributed to me at home".*

Six teachers out of eight stated that they were encouraged to apply for promotion but they did not do so because they do not have ambition to do it. Two did. TB2 said:

> *"I have never refused to become a leader, if they want me to become a leader, I will accept because I feel that I am able to do it*".

And HD1 confirmed that statement by saying:

> "*I have the ambition to become a principal because my Head Teacher inspires me and I wish to imitate her and to be promoted or to compete for the principalship in secondary schools".*

However, some respondents demonstrated their lack of interest in leadership. For example, TA4 stated as follows:

> "*I refuse leadership responsibility because of my personal motives…*"

In this research study, the two principals possessed a healthy level of esteem. They wanted to make a difference:

> *"Many people especially men say that ladies cannot lead but we can do it. We are able to lead as men do. We have skills, courage, knowledge and motivation to be principals".*

Many of the interviewees showed a level of belief in their own competence and reported that they never doubted they could become principals and deputy principals. They had worked very hard to build qualifications and experience. All women who were interviewed demonstrated their interest and motivation and inspiration in accessing school leadership. Women leaders wanted to be recognized for their talents, abilities, motivation, commitments and knowledge, not only as representatives of the interests of women (Rindfleish, 2000).

However, women with aspirations early in their careers tended to lose their interest at a later stage. This was stressed by HDB2:"

> *My dream was to be a principal when I was 30-35 but I could not. Now I do not desire to be a principal .....Now, I am planning to do something else, no more idea to be a principal*".

The female participants under thirty five years old (TA2, TA3, TB4) were not yet interested in applying for leadership or being promoted for deputy principalship, like TA 2 who declared:

> "N*ow, I do not have an idea to become a principal or a deputy principal, I might want it at a later stage…*"

PB revealed also that she enjoyed collaborating with all stakeholders in her school. About success, PB referred to students' performance and said she felt happy. DPA stated that she succeeded in her responsibility because of sagacity, solidarity, commitment, competence and enlightenment which were her main goals. The data analysis showed that women developed pleasure in who they were and in what they did. A woman who is secure in her feelings about self is able to allow colleagues and subordinates to express their ideas, opinions and feelings more openly and is able to be more accepting of them. Her feelings about herself allow her to be more sensitive to and considerate of the feelings of others. Young (1998, p.29) suggests that, for women principals, work must be well done in order to develop confidence, to take advantage of social opportunities and to attain administrative goals.

Shakeshaft (1987, p.503) implies that women involve themselves more with staff and students, ask for and receive more participation and maintain more closely knit organizations. The staff of female

principals has higher job satisfaction and is more engaged in their work than those of male administrators. Staff members who work under female principals are also more aware of and committed to the goals of learning, and they share more professional goals with one another. In schools and districts with female administrators, teachers receive a great deal of administrative support. These are also districts and schools in which achievement is emphasized. The participants, such as TB2, showed their confidence in themselves:

"*I have the skills and interest to become a successful school leader".*

These teachers explained their reasons for wanting to enter school leadership, like TB1:

> "*I have some talents that I have not been able to exploit, for I have not yet got the opportunity and it is not so easy when I am just a mere teacher"*,

And other teacher (TB4) noted that:

> "*I have the skills and interest. It will make me more useful to the community"* and
> *"Becoming a school leader would allow me to promote the performance of all the learners in schools, especially the girl child*"

The teacher attested that women principals or deputy principals play an important role as role models. DPA noted that:

"*I would be a role model in the education sector especially for the girl child*",

TB3 explained that a school leadership position would give an opportunity to improve the academic performance of some children especially in rural areas so that they could see a better and brighter future.

There is also another motivation: To increase their salary. Regarding this aspect five of them said*:*

" We would be well paid and have other advantages as school principals".

The study found that there were different reasons for female teachers wanting to become principals. While motivation for some was the increased pay and benefits they would receive, a large number of the survey group indicated they were motivated by a desire to improve schools and student outcomes, including those for girls. There was no real desire to aspire to promotion in order to intimidate their subordinates**.** At the policy level, the government supports the promotion of equal opportunities between

men and women in employment, legislation and education. There are no legal constraints on women's employment in Rwanda.

4.3.2.4. Experiences

PA and PB were given experience which prepared them for the job. PA was deputy principal before becoming principal and PB was Chairperson of the Mother's Union in her Anglican church. These experiences helped them to assume their principalship with ease. Both claimed women now had the incentive to aspire for principalship because Rwandan women were empowered and they were being called on to compete equally for leadership positions. Both agreed that:

> *"Women teachers or qualified females (who have degree in education) attempting to aspire for headship because they feel that they are able to do it. We have skills, knowledge and interests to be successful school principals. In other case, we are motivated by their mentors, husbands, friends, partners or superiors."."*

Experience had given them the necessary skills, confidence, attitudes and knowledge of school leadership. Lumby et al. (2010) infer that female principals seem generally confident in their abilities and preparatory experiences, but that the majority has been primarily occupied in stereotypical female areas such as curriculum, staffing and pastoral care, rather than stereotypical masculine areas of premises and finance: the former therefore creating ' glass walls' for women. The data found that experience plays an important role in accessing principalship with confidence.

4.3.2.5. Mentoring

One of several ways in which women principals can grow in their roles is through mentorship programmes. Noe (1988, p.65) states that mentoring provides career guidance and psychological support to employees. Coleman (2002, p.26) refers to the additional support which mentoring provides to men. In this study, the two principals interviewed confirmed that they continued to be supported by their mentors such as senior managers. PB indicated her husband was her mentor, while DPA's principal was hers. However, according to Hite (1996) cited by Ndlela (2007):

> " *many women managers lack both role models and peers, because they are the only representatives of their gender at their levels in organizations.*"

This then poses a barrier to the development of women managers and leaders. PA remarked:

> *"I was also inspired by my superior nun who is still my mentor and my role models in leadership. Now, I develop the ideas which inspired from my headmistress, I use this now for my staff and my students."*

She added that she decided to become a principal when she gained a post of responsibility. PB had been encouraged by her husband and her senior managers at work (the Bishop of Anglican Church) and she had a role model from secondary school, her former principal. She said:

> "*I decided to become school leader when I was at school because I had a good woman principal as my good role model*.

DPA confirmed this:

> "*I had the idea to become a school leader during my studies in higher education when I did administration in education, and I was encouraged by my parents and teachers*".

The importance of having a mentor is explained by Bush & Coleman (1996) who state that having a mentor was important to career advancement, higher pay and greater career satisfaction. Moreover, the mentoring relationship may be critical to the advancement of women in organizations, although demand exceeds supply (Noe, 1988; Kim & Jacobson, 1995). This is particularly true in Rwanda. Mentoring should not end when the aspirant achieves a position in administration, but should continue in order to support the success and advancement of those in administration (Noe, 1988, p. 5). PA, PB, DPA and HDs confirmed that they were still mentored in their posts of responsibility. DPA explained that:

> *"My principal has guided me in new job and she continues to be my mentor and support until now during my duties."*

Without a mentor, women often are unable to understand the reality of the male-dominated business culture. Chabaya et al. (2009) in their study in Zimbabwe cited by Lumby et al. (2010) infer that all women are pushed into principalship by others. Mentors create opportunities to operate outside of organization norms and to set high performance standards that stimulate personal motivation. Further, women who participated in mentorships reported greater self-confidence and an enhanced awareness of and use of skills (Lumby et al., 2010). It is suggested, from this study, that formal mentoring programmes would be invaluable in the secondary schools of the Gicumbi district in the advancement of women leader aspirants. School principals and deputy principals in Gicumbi secondary schools should offer women leadership roles and make themselves available as mentors to aspiring women leaders. This is because

“failure to identify and utilize talented women reduces effectiveness, and it may result in the organisation not being able to meet equal employment opportunity or affirmative action goals” (Noe, 1988).

But this does not suggest that mentorship programmes are the only kind of support that can assist women principals and leaders in their careers and organization. These principals really knew and enjoyed their job. DPA said:

> ” *we educate girl students, so we feel happy to orientate aims, interests, and talents of our learners. Also woman has moral qualities like patience, tolerance which help our learners as model for their future and for good leadership”.*

Some were not yet interested because they lacked information, they are not aware of empowerment and promotion, they lacked mentors or role models or they are not sensitized to building their self confidence and competiveness. A great need for women who do earn positions in management is the opportunity to meet and identify with others in a similar position (Blackmore & Sachs, 1998).

4.3.2.6. Confidence and self-esteem

District education officers confirmed that over the past five years, women in the district had felt increasingly confident in educational leadership. Women principals, as participants in this study, enjoyed the principalship and/or deputy principalship because they had succeeded in obtaining a responsible post. PA revealed that a feeling of confidence and ability made her successful:

> ”*by having courage and confidence, I am able to manage the school and succeed and (be) guided by my talents”.*

By expressing her confidence in principalship, PA indicated that:

> *” being conscientious with the people I work with, being aware of their interests and dislikes, speaking the truth, delegation of responsibilities, support someone’s ideas by coordination,, knowing all learns and staff as well as parents’, enhancing teaching motivation, , meeting teachers (bad and good), recognizing teacher’s performance in front of PTA’S meeting, making students working in groups and harder and helping them to have self-confidence are the one of the things which made to be successful”.*

In other spheres, women in Rwanda have started to build their confidence and access to leadership in large numbers. This is because they have some mentors (women at senior management especially in parliament, President of Supreme Court, President of lower house in parliament and some women

ministers, a female Permanent Secretary General). The data analysis showed that this also occurred with women principals and others.

4.3.2.7. The role of family

The majority of the interviewees were married (61. 2%), 27, 4% were single and one was a nun (5%). Analyses of the data showed the role of family. The family impacted on the career of the principals, often in positive ways, but sometimes also in negative ways. PB, DPA, DPB were all supported, encouraged by their partners while PA was encouraged by her parents and senior manager in church (superior *[Mameya]).* PA emphasized this*:*

> *"I have talents of leading because I practiced leadership from my studies and my jobs. My colleagues, my parents and my senior managers told me that I am talented to lead".*

Early and Evans (2002, p.22) argue that motherhood was the most important aspect of preparation for principalship in understanding children and or/parents (Early and Evans, 2002). All the respondents who were married had children and they were over thirty. PB, DPA, DPB indicated that having children was advantageous to their careers as it prepared them for child care, making them more compassionate and fair towards learners, and more understanding of the nature of children. Lumby et al. (2010, p.22) state that women principals having children enhances their own character and that for some women their children become a source of support and encouragement. PB expressed that:

> "*I feel free at school with my learners because I consider them like my children; I know their do's and their don'ts. I know to manage them. It is the continuity of my family".*

PA (a nun) reported that she was engaged as a religious person and did not have children, but she felt happy with learners as all her own children. She spent more time with them than their parents did:

> " *I really enjoy with my learners, are my kids, I use to have more hours per day to hear them, understand their feelings and follow their learning".*

PA further reported that she was supported by the obedience, wisdom, faith for daily help and strength, values, morals and principles in her religion.

However, the family is also a constraint in accessing principalship. This is discussed in the next point of this chapter.

4.3.3. Barriers

4.3.3.1. Feminism and male domination

The participants in this study, especially the district education officers, reported the existence of male domination in Gicumbi secondary schools: 63% of the respondents agreed that society operated according to male-defined values, whereas 50% totally agreed that there were some constraints in society that discriminated against women on the basis of sex. D1 explained that:

> ” *male teachers even male principals do not like women principals because they still have the Rwandan mentality with the analogy “nta nkokozi ibika isake ihari” which means literally “woman can only lead when there is no more men”.*

This meant women principals are often criticized by male teachers as well as the male principals. When one woman principal made a mistake, most people took the opportunity to criticize and generalize that females were unable to lead. D2 stated that:

> *” when one woman principal make a mistake, they jump up to say women are weak, they can not lead…even the district considers the women are suitable for school leadership”.*

Participants revealed that sometimes women principals were undermined by men and women who were jealous of them. In a few rare instances criticisms are substantiated. Women sometimes disliked being criticized. TB3 and TB 4 explain that:”

> *“Male teachers consider leadership of women principals in the school as harsh and unquestionable because once they are questioned for their mistakes, they consider it as undermining them”.*

TA4 added that, however, women were often seen as too strong:

> “*Women principals sometimes are underestimated by male when women principals control them…”*

According to the participants, Rwandan society operates according to male-defined values, which determine that women have to work much harder for leadership positions than men do. The respondents were of the opinion that it was important that society be educated on issues of gender equity. The culture of male domination existed in Gicumbi secondary schools and, based on this, people tended to criticize women principals. Court (2004) claims that it is often argued that notions of leadership and good management are framed in masculine terms, which can be unappealing to women. Hall (1993, p. 30)

claims that women have traditionally filled subordinate positions in schools, whilst men have occupied positions of administrative power. Male dominance in educational administration is one the hindrances to women in accessing leadership (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Coleman et al. (1998) reports in her study in China that, although there are changes in the legal and social position of women and major changes in attitudes to female managers, the proportion of women who achieve senior posts in schools is unlikely to improve without addressing the underlying values of patriarchy. It is difficult to overcome the male stereotype in educational management while men continue to dominate senior positions. "The 'masculine' organisational culture that results from [male] domination reproduces to women's disadvantage, as employees, the gender relations that characterise the wider society" (Hall, 2000).

The perceptions of leadership as "masculine" makes some women educators think that they are unsuitable for senior positions. Additionally, the lack of ambition serves as an important deterrent to women's advancement, especially for young women. According to Rosener (2002), girls and women experience a number of "internal barriers, personal priorities and decisions" whose emergence gives reason as to why they cannot achieve their potential. Beginning in childhood, girls begin to receive subtle messages through their interactions with others. They learn that ambition is synonymous with selfishness, and that selfishness is not feminine. Girls need to hear a different set of messages if they are not to have their career paths limited, and mentors can provide these messages. In the Gicumbi district, male principals headed most of the secondary schools. What emerged from one of the interviews was that cultural beliefs and practices played a major role in the acceptance of female heads in this particular school. As one of the respondents said:

> "*some of the African males do not see women as the head of an institution, it must be a man. And that caused a bit of a problem and resulted in conflict by speaking"*.

The principals interviewed contested the perception that culture dictates the need to conform to prescribed norms. PA challenged this particular observation where she indicated that*:*

> *"the culture also contributed by saying that preferences must be given to the males as compares to the females. With the culture where I am from, women are just to be seen unsuitable to leadership and no heard….women have been right in the Kitchen".*

The two principal participants in this study commented that they were undermined and criticized because they were women. PB elaborated that:

> ”*I don’t know why but some people in the community were not happy. They did not want to see a woman progress. They marched inside and demanded for me to leave”*.

PB commented that, despite her progress in developing the school, there was still unfavourable treatment shown towards her because of her gender. Males and a few females could prevent women accessing principalships as PB reported*:*

> *“Male and few female did not want me to be appointed at this school, because they wanted a male to be the principal of this school; I was supported by the Director of Education.*

Besides, women principals encountered hindrances from males and females in the workplace. PA shared this opinion with PB and reported:

> ” *women teachers sometimes have negative behaviour and attitudes based on gender, undermine us criticize us strongly. They are jealous of our success and want to discourage me. In most cases, this is made by women who are not conscious at their work. They undermine us when we try to monitor them and give some advice accordingly to their misunderstanding”.*

In addition, most women leaders faced rebellious attitudes from both male and female teachers.

The findings from this study reflected the prevalence of patriarchy in the Rwandan culture and its impact on the participants’ leadership experiences, supported by the literature (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Coleman, 2002; Shakeshaft, 1987; 1993). Much still needs to be done to change the attitudes and mind-sets of men and women towards women in leadership positions. More importantly, the cultural constructs of gender on how different roles are attributed to both men and women in Rwandan society may have created what Shakeshaft (1987, p. 94) defines as the ideology of patriarchy, or androcentrism, as the practice of viewing the world and shaping reality from a male perspective. It is the elevation of the masculine to the level of the universal and the ideal and the honouring of men and the male principle above women and the female. TB2 and TB3 expressed this:

> ”*women show inferiority tendency. In this way, women take themselves to be inferior to men as it is evidenced in some cultures, religion and societies; this prevents them from accepting the responsibilities.”*

This perception creates a belief in male superiority and a masculine value system in which female values, experiences, and behaviours are viewed as inferior. This study revealed that Rwandan women leaders are sometimes prevented from taking up and continuing in leadership roles because of the culture imposed on them by the school community. In the Rwandan context, the analogy “ *nta nkokazi ibika isake ihari*” [*the*

hen cannot crow when there is a cock] means a female cannot lead or can only do so when there is no male. The Rwandan culture stresses that women are ill-fitted for management and leadership (Randell and Fish, 2009). Women who compete like men are considered unfeminine, yet women who emphasize family are considered uncommitted.

Men continue to perceive women as the bearers of their children, so they find it understandable, indeed appropriate, that women should renounce their careers to raise families. This is similar to the position in China where some of the male respondents identified management positions as more suitable for men and consider that the work is too complex for women and beyond their capabilities (Coleman et al., 1998). This was particularly evident in the rural schools. However, the Rwandan Constitution stipulates that all Rwandan citizens are have equal rights and must be treated equally. Thus, the gender equality and women empowerment are in place and in implementation.

4.3.3.2. Lack of confidence and career planning

Some female participants in this study had the confidence to take up a leadership role after being approached. TA2 commented:

> "*The district education officer actually approached me so many times, wanting to apply for principalship and I refused, so many times until the last time he came to see me, I decided to give in and to give it a go*."

Two of the principals (PA and PB) reported they were lacking in confidence at the initial stage of taking up the leadership roles (as reported by others), but that this reduced as they gained experience. Being given extra encouragement when first approached seemed to increase the confidence and self-esteem of some of the women leaders. For some, supportive role models, past experiences of leadership, and having a qualification increased their confidence to take up leadership positions.

Additionally, their lack of confidence could have been related to their assumptions that taking up leadership roles would mean tapping into the male domains of the public sphere, and might be perceived by these women leaders as stepping out of their culturally prescribed roles (Strachan et al., 2007). Previous research has shown that women leaders from a patriarchal society tend to lead and behave like men, in order to assert their authority and for them to be accepted as leaders (Celikten, 2005; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Oplatka, 2006). In this study, the respondents, especially D1 and D2 as well as HDA2 explained that:

> "*Women are discouraged by people in accessing leadership especially in being principals"*.

One district education officer put it like this:

> "*Unfortunately, in Rwandan context, when women lead as men, do as required, many people criticize them as unusual or androgynous. Some become discouraged, others take this opportunity to show people those women all can do as men do*".

4.3.3.3. Lack of aspirations and motivation

In comparing the comments made by the women, it is evident that a lack of confidence was compounded by the lack of qualifications. Brown & McLeay (2000) state that lack of confidence and lack of leadership training is often cited as a barrier to women applying for promotion. This has been noted in previous research (Coleman, 2002; Oplatka, 2006). TA2 and TB4 expressed that:

> "*apart becoming teacher, I do not have the ambition to apply for principalship or any senior posts of responsibility. Teaching is suitable for me".*

The younger female and some male respondents demonstrated that they did not have the ambition to plan their career progress except in teaching.

From the participants' responses, it was also evident that it was often the women's own decision not to apply for promotion in education for a variety of reasons. These reasons might be lack of necessary motivation or aspirations, doubts that they would succeed, gender-based socialization, fear of failure, and lack of competitiveness (Acker, 1993).The researcher found that this was exacerbated in rural areas where women teachers are not interested in applying for promotion or competing for the leadership position.

4.3.3.4. Fear of failure

Almost all participants interviewed attested to the internal barriers which continue to prevent women from becoming principals. The respondents associated the lack of confidence with fear of failure. One attested that women focused on details and performance. TB4 said that:

> "I *do not want to be ashamed when I won't pass the test during the recruitment, if I would be a secondary school principal, I do not want to be undermined by male teachers as I have observed and heart from other women principals".*

The participants, especially female, were of the opinion that women are still under-represented in secondary school principalship because most of them did not plan early in their careers and underestimated their readiness. Coleman (2001, p.85) claims that: "females are more likely to expect to have the majority of qualities required for a job before application, whereas men are confident about applying with only some of the qualifications and experience."

In the context of this study, several reasons other than their fear of success or failure may well justify their lack of confidence. Shakeshaft (1987, p.63) identified that women should not be blamed for their lack of confidence, but "rather the social structure of society that is the root cause of inequities". In her study, Duff (1990) argues that a major stumbling block for women in their aspirations to achieve higher status is their fear of the loss of femininity and subsequent rejection by society. This is, indeed, a barrier to their attaining the management level, but it could also constitute a threat to their position in society, (Shakeshaft, 1989, p.63).

4.3.3.5. Lack of role models, mentors and other support

The fact that women principals are still scarce in these schools (8/56) makes females reluctant to apply to principalship. This is indicated by D1 who stated that:

> "*Some female told me, they are not fit for principalship…and I found that because they lack support either from our office, from other sides or from their female colleagues. Women principals are very few and could not support many female teachers. Women principals could only give support and mentor to their female teachers who consider them as role models.*

Some of the participants in the study indicated their frustrations at the lack of support by the education authorities. Bush & Coleman (1996, p. 65) identified several benefits of mentoring for protégées: "an opportunity to test out ideas or share concerns; a chance to 'let off steam' rather than act in haste; a reduction in the feeling of isolation, increased confidence and self esteem". All interviewees acknowledge the importance of mentoring and support, but it was clear that the women felt the lack of any supportive network.

The district education office tried to rectify gender balance in secondary schools, but it was not easy as some women lacked the necessary self –esteem. D2 refers to a lady whom he asked to apply for a principalship in January 2010 because he felt she was both skilled and able. Unfortunately, that lady refused categorically:

”*I do not want to become principal even deputy principal, It did never comes in my dream”.*

Lack of confidence was more obvious in the younger women. The respondent TA2 (a young lady under thirty years old) says:

> “*For me there was no way, so I said no, I do not yet have an idea to become a principal and I think I cannot do it , but I can think about it but very late. okay, I‘ll think about it”, I went home I thought “no way, I am not taking this up” also because, rightly, we had a deputy principal then, and she is supposed to take up the job whenever the principal is not available”.*

TA2 and TB4 indicated that women were unable to progress because lack of sponsorship.TB4 expressed that:

> ” *I would like to do further studies in education in order to have the opportunity to apply for principalship in secondary school and my male and female colleagues discouraged me when they say it is very hard to assume principalship responsibilities”.*

The researcher found that women need special scholarships for further studies. Furthermore, women needed support from colleagues and parents as well as senior leaders as well as the appropriate university qualifications. Their lack of confidence may in fact relate to what Cubillo & Brown (2003) expressed as the fear of success or failure. The fear of success or failure is an internal barrier (Cubillo & Brown, 2003) that may be due to socialisation and gender role stereotyping (Shakeshaft, 1987).

4.3.3.6. Stereotyping and socialization

It was evident from the participants’ responses that female principals faced stereotypes of women weak, submissive, emotional and unfit for management. A number of writers have attempted to identify and categorize some of the barriers to the progress of women’s careers in educational leadership (Brown & Ralph, 1996; Coleman, 2001; Hall, 1996). TB2 noted that:

> ”*a woman in leadership position is normally challenged by a number of weaknesses. Some of these are of their own making or personal characters and others are as a result of other surrounding factors.”*

TA1 said*:*

> *”barriers that prevent women from taking leadership responsibilities include: fear of political issue, various duties at home and lack of under-estimation by male…”*

Another teacher emphasized that*:*

> *"I just think that people believe that males are stronger that is a perception which I think it is wrong. Women definitely can play an equally, prominent role leading or being leaders of secondary schools, they are looked upon as weaker and the perception is that if there is a strong man right in front, children will tend to be afraid".*

Principal B added that stereotyping in the workplace was 'alive and well' and especially practiced by males in management. She explained*:*

> *"I think that in the past women have been seen as not as strong as what men have been. To run big' schools or to manage problems successfully, etc. And I think women have not been as forceful as what they are now. At work, male teachers often attempt to criticize female in taking decision. For example, during the meeting, male teachers understand later than female teachers the rules and does, they start to question and criticize even is understandable*".

This perception is further emphasized by other studies (Coleman 2001; 2002; 2007; Brown & Ralph, 1996; Brown & McLeay, 2000; Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Blackmore, 1999; Shakeshaft, 1989 and Hall, 1993) suggest that stereotypes based on gender have historically placed women in a nurturing, submissive role while men are seen as the dominant, more aggressive gender (Greyvensten, 2000). DPA contested the submissiveness and weak perceptions that were posited, but added that:

> "*women don't need to portray a certain type of masculinity, but when you walk into the male dominated area, you will have to either speak with authority or say something impressive about the latest circular to make them respect and recognize your presence*".

Stereotypes are often inaccurate and clinging to stereotypes will negatively influence communication. Lumby et al. (2010, p.6), state that female face cultural and social stereotyping allocates them to specific junior roles. For Example TB2 said:

> " *women are naturally weak, they are so weak in leadership but they are good teachers. In most cases they take things for granted, some people quote the Holy Bible that they were created from the rib of the man and therefore unable to stress themselves on hard jobs".*

He adds that it is the belief of many people especially men but he disagreed with them. The cultural and social assumption that women are weaker than men and therefore cannot hold managerial positions is common in many developing countries (Oplatka, 2006, p.612). The researcher found these traditional beliefs do not fit with the reality. From the responses of interviewees, it is evident that change is necessary and people have to adapt to it. Women can also change. They have come a long way and contributed immensely in educational arena, but need to move into management.

The study showed that a stereotype exists in Gicumbi secondary schools and identifies management as 'masculine'. Thus, boys and girls were socialized differently by traditional societal mores (MINEDUC, 2008). These views reflected the beliefs of the larger society where different expectations existed for males and females and where, from birth onwards, a social sex role curriculum was prescribed (Uwineza & Pearson, 2009). Women, as well as men, adopt these beliefs as part of their culture (Cubillo & Brown, 2003). Families, schools, universities, and societies are all cultural products, and their socialization processes are culturally constructed (Court, 2004).

4.3.3.7. Education, Training and qualification

Low female participation in higher education is related to the scarcity of girls participation and performance in Rwandan secondary schools (Randell &Fish, 2009), and affects the acquisition of the skills, training and competencies necessary for professional and managerial positions in education on an appropriate scale. D1explained that:

> "*women are under-represented in principalship because of their lack of qualification and training in education option. Few women are graduated in education. This is a common problem because in Rwanda, more male have degrees especially in education than female. Women do not apply for principalship because of lack of qualification and training*".

Oplatka (2006) claims that further education and training programmes for women are essential for achieving equitable representation in educational administration.

D1and D2 indicated that there were few women who had a degree in Education, and, as it was a rural area, women from other districts were not motivated to apply for principalship in the district. Leach claims that the consequences of women and girls' limited access to education are far-reaching. While men also face poverty and economic exploitation, women's lower levels of education and literacy, combined with prevailing discrimination against women's employment means that they cannot compete for the few jobs available. In addition, a lack of education makes access to information and services difficult for women.

McLeay (2008) noted that a higher proportion of women felt that they required no further training. Of the women who did seek training, more were in the younger age groups and more were single. They may see training as an important part of career development in contrast to the older married women for whom family may well have taken precedence.

4.3.3.8. Family responsibility and workload-life balance

Many of the participants found balancing their career with family problematic, because of the traditionally ascribed roles expected of them by their family, more especially their spouse. For some writers, this is the major barrier to women's advancement (Brown & Ralph, 1996; Celikten, 2005; Oplatka, 2006). In traditional societies, women are expected to be responsible for their families, including remaining close to their children, the husband, and the extended family. PB and DPA confirmed this .TB4 said:

> " *some of the barriers preventing women from taking principalship include home commitments such as child caring, house maintenance and husband care"*.

The twin role affects women's career development. And TA4 expressed that:

> " *I refuse to apply for principalship because I consider that it could take me more time at school; I need time to be at home directly after work because I have small children and I also take care of my mother who is seventy age old. I do have time to do overtime hours. To be a teacher is enough for me and after giving course and preparing the next course, I return at home when there is no meeting or other communication"*.

In the study, some women teachers were reluctant to access principalship in secondary schools because they had young children, and said that principals were required to spend more time at school, whereas teachers could go home earlier after work. Kaparou & Bush (2007) have found that most women prioritize motherhood over work and often have to make a choice between their career and children. Those who succeed despite this role conflict usually have other people looking after their families. In her research in England and Wales Coleman, (2001) reports that in the UK, the rest of Europe, the USA and elsewhere, the major responsibility for all domestic duties including childcare and care of other dependants is the responsibility of women. In some cases, although the participants commented on the spouse's support with the domestic chores, the majority of these domestic chores are carried out by the woman, adding to their stress and affecting their work-life balance. DPA explains:

> " *I doubted to accept to be a deputy principal; I have small children (ten, seven, four years and one year old) and other house responsibilities; but my husband encouraged me and promised me to help and support me. He assisted me, but due to his work commitment, he is always busy. If I do not have many issues at hand I can go home early. It depends. If I have much to deal with, I can be late home".*

Even if, as in Rwandan context, it is common to have a paid child care, women still have additional domestic responsibilities and need to monitor and guide the child care. However, men do not usually help

and support their partners (Bush & Coleman, 2000). Women do not feel able to hold senior positions in education because of the dual demands of management and family responsibilities. In Rwanda men still assume that women's main task is caring for children and other domestic responsibilities. Men are occupied with financial issues, discussions with other men and being updated on political and financial information. Women were supported by housemaids who are not educated or even experienced in child care and who worked in an 'informal' way, so it is stressful to constantly guide them.

One principal regretted spending more time at work than with her family. She commented:

> ”*I had say imbalance like I spend so much time especially in first term and third term. I spent most time with school business than in my home, and I could not achieve complete my domestic role”.*

The female principals generally made themselves available to staff and spent a considerable proportion of time in school outside their offices, though PA enjoyed staying all the time with learners because she was a nun and free of family responsibility. However, she expressed some colleagues' problems:

> *” my colleagues (female principals) work very hard and encounter hindrances because they have to balance house responsibilities, family responsibilities and school work. I take care but in distance my parents who are very old and I go to see them only during the holidays. My colleagues are always work loaded at school”.*

It is likely that family responsibility is one of the major factors affecting the differences between male and female's career experiences (Coleman, 2001; 2002). Kaparou & Bush (2007, p.227) claim that the dual role of career and family affect both men and women, but it is women whose career progress is most hindered (Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Coleman & Pounder, 2002; Kaparou & Bush, 2007). As a consequence, women teachers do not apply for senior positions because of their family commitments. Bush & Kaparou state that this issue links to the lack of support for domestic responsibilities. Support and encouragement from their husbands, families and peers influence women's attitudes to promotion.

4.3.4. Perceptions regarding women principals

All the female leaders in this study appeared to have similar leadership styles, which included the ethic of caring and nurturing. All respondents attested that the leadership styles of these female principals were oriented towards students' learning, that they focused on school development, and incorporated collaborative-decision making. For instance PA expressed that:”

> *"My leadership style: …my heart goes out to the children [students] and I give them a lot of opportunities, even those who face financial and psychological problems to pay for their fees, I spend more time with them…"*

PA and PB spoke of how they performed her duties to increase the students' performance, and DPB stressed that:

> "*When I went on to become the deputy, I controlled the teachers' absences and then within that year the report was really good about teachers attending classes faithfully and students were happy with their work. I mean they were doing well in school and in the end their exam results were good. And parents were really happy about that*.

Some participants said that women who wanted to balance their families and their careers were not adequately committed to the organization. However, in the Rwandan context, a woman who was very committed to work and demonstrated vigour in her duties was seen an unfeminine *[ingare]* or androgynous in a negative way *[igishegabo]*. In the literature, women who perform as aggressively and competitively as men are seen as abrasive and unfeminine (Schwartz, 1989).

The students who participated in this study appreciated being led by women principals. S1, who is in upper secondary in school A, had been in a lower secondary led by a male principal. She reported that it was exciting to report on women principals because she appreciated them so much.

> *"it is great to have a female as your school principal especially when you are a girl, I feel free and confident".*

And when comparing the male and female principals she said:

> *"It is easier to express my feelings to my female than to my previous male principal when I was in lower level. I and my colleagues, we feel free to ask advice, express our all problems without shame to our school principal and she responds to us .But , when I was in lower level (all girls), we went to our previous male principal to discuss only issue of financing or to ask permission. And we did never have a talk about girls' education and girls 'behaviour. However, in this school, ever Saturday afternoon, we have these conversations, and we all really enjoy it. All the time, the principal advises us to build self-confidence and give us many examples."*

This sentiment was also expressed by S2, who stated that there was a big difference between female and male principals.

> *"our female principal is like our mother, she knows every student progress and particular problem but my previous principal knew the brilliant student and the students who were sick as well as students who participated in sport activities".*

The interviewees recommend hiring women principals because they acted as role models for girl students and as mentors to female teachers as well as males. Female principals were aware of good teaching and learning: PB indicated that, in order for her to achieve a goal, she concentrated on teaching quality and timeous completion of duties. However, TB3 criticized female vigour in the workplace:

> *"some women in leadership tend to be dictatorial in offices. They are unquestionable even if they make mistakes when someone attempts to question them. They consider it as a tendency of undermining them".*

The principal commented on their vigour in the workplace:

> "*You know…, sometimes, you have to be democratic and sometimes you have to be autocratic. So you cannot just be the one and not the other one. The situation will dictate you leadership style at the moment, you cannot just say I got one leadership style. All the time, I keep following student's performance and teacher's motivation*".

Feminine and masculine stereotypes of leadership are also basic expressions of a dualistic view, but serve to indicate the ways that women and men lead. Whilst the traditional identification of leadership with stereotypical male attributes continues and is influential in public perceptions, these stereotypes are not helpful to women, as they define women's leadership as a deficit model. In addition, the target-driven, competitive environment that is now the norm in education may reinforce the traditional, stereotypical male model of leadership to the disadvantage of women leaders (Blackmore, 1999). TB4 said:

> "*no…both male and female principals are equally powerful in terms of leadership. Weakness or strength in terms of leadership depends upon one's ability and even character as well as talents".*

In this study, many participants attested that women are more transformational leaders than men. They said that women focused more on staff performance and collaboration than male principals. This is supported in the literature by, for example, Coleman & Pounder (2002) who argue that transformational leadership focuses on the nurturance of subordinates and, through a process of socialisation, the nurturing qualities of women are particularly well developed in comparison to those of men, who incline more towards transactional leadership (Coleman & Pounder, 2002, p.124). However, it was felt by many respondents that both men and women could lead if they are able and skilled.

However, the majority concluded that community perceptions as to the fitness of women as principals were difficult to change. PA said:

> *"As far the community is concerned, that was for me an issue. As you know, I was the only female principal in this area, it was a kind of a shock to parents to say a school of a school size, and a school with such good reputation is now given to women*".

In this data analysis, it emerged that the community was reluctant to accept the remarkable change introduced by the female principals, yet communities started to collaborate when they saw the positive strides made by them.

The emphasis of the data on caring, nurturing, and the orientation towards student performance and school development, is consistent with the ethic of care, and women's ways of leading a school are associated with the ethic of care (Al-Khalifa, 1992). Hall (1996, p. 188) suggests the 'androgynous' model of leadership. Davidson &Cooper (1992) come to the same conclusion and state that senior women leaders need to proceed to an androgynous manager style which combines the best female and male attributes. In this way, being a woman will not be of paramount importance, but being a manager will. In order to advance the status of women in Rwandan society, deconstructing male hegemonic inequalities is of great significance. In this regard, women who are in positions of authority in secondary schools require more awareness of how their leadership styles could enable them to achieve parity.

4.3.5. Advantages of female principals in secondary schools

All participants (including 99% of teachers) appreciated the importance and role of women principals in secondary schools. One teacher (TA4) did not see any advantage in having female principals, but to TA2 and TB2:

> "*The importance of having a woman principal in secondary school is to give the example to girl child that woman can also take up responsibilities in the society. These help young girls to know that they share equal responsibilities and rights with boys /men in the community".*

TA1 was of the same opinion and added*:*

> *" yes… There is an advantage …, it improves their income standards, and it eradicates some primitive beliefs of African societies that women are inferior to men*".

TA3 stresses this point:

> ” *female principals can manage better than men, they sometimes take care of hygiene at school, and they cannot combine business because they spend more time at school…*”

This was supported by all respondents.PA, PB, DPA, DPB, all teachers and all HDs as well as D1 and D2 attested that women principals work hard and are more communicative and friendly at School. One explained:

> “*female principals are very serious at work, they put in actions rules given by district authorities and other procedures very quickly and accurately, they follow well their staff, they monitor daily student activities, they are more interested by teaching and learning than male principals; they promote freedom and safe communication at school.”*

D1 was of the same opinion that women principals were appreciated at their posts and he stressed that:

> “*Women principals have vigour at work and they are no corrupted, unfortunately, teachers especially men teachers and lazy teachers (female and male) do not like this character and become opposite or hindrances to women principals. In addition, they are no corrupted because it is very difficult to take out a lady for lunch, dinner or in pub. Even, to give female the money as corruption is very difficult. In their character, they fight against corruption. For them, they have vigour to everyone and they punish or award everyone according to the merit”.*

TB4 and DPA, DPB stressed it in these terms and stated that having women principals in secondary schools was essential for school development, saying:

> “*As it is commonly known, females have been undermined and even neglected for long time. This is crucial moment for them to change such believe by being given enough time and means in order to improve their ways of life.*”

The importance of female principals in secondary schools enhances gender balance in educational leadership.TB3 states:

> ” *they try to prove that they are competent as their brothers/husbands contrary to African culture…*”

PA and PB reported that the equal representation of women in educational leadership was a key element for gender equity and one solution for empowering girls and women.

> ” *They act as role models thus; girls’ students can be fully motivated into future leadership positions*.”

D1 and D2 commented:

> “*Even female are in small number in our district, all are performing well in principalship, we appreciate them, and they work harder than men, all work better than men. We wish to have more female principals in secondary schools*”.

Deji & Makinde (2006) cited by Lumby et al.(2010, p), infer that inequality in leadership positions 'is one reason for the high level of poverty prevailing among the women…which can be alleviated by encouraging more women into leadership positions'. This is seen more in the developing world, where women are often prevented from reaching leadership positions where they can contribute to decisions concerning their welfare and that of others (Lumby et al., 2010). Women can work in the interests of the progress of democratic and radical education as a whole (Davies, 1990), and utilizing more fully the pool of talent in women is essential to developing societies and economies. In Rwanda, women also play an important role in developing the country as elsewhere.

Many respondents felt that women principals spent more time with students and staff, communicated better, cared about individual differences, were concerned with other teachers and with marginal students, and were more excellent motivators than men. They spent more time than men principals at school and followed all school activities. Not surprisingly, the staffs of women administrators were more productive, had higher morale, and rated women higher. Furthermore, parents are more favourably disposed toward schools and districts run by women and are more involved in school life. This is expressed by teachers, heads of department, deputy principals and two principals during the interview and from the narrative of their stories.

In addition, some theorists find women teachers and administrators are more instrumental in instruction than are men, and they exhibit greater knowledge of teaching methods and techniques. Shakeshaft (1986, p.502) states that women administrators not only emphasize achievement, but also coordinate instructional programs and evaluate student progress. Women administrators know their teachers, and they know the academic progress of their students. Women administrators are more likely to help new teachers and to directly supervise all teachers. Women administrators also create a school climate more conducive to learning - one that is more orderly, safer, and quieter.

The female principals were positive about their gender in terms of their approachability. TB3 expresses this:

> " *women principals are flexible, approachable and always confident in what they are doing*."

They felt that people, particularly girls, mothers and female members of staff could approach them more freely than they might a man. In addition, they considered that they had the freedom to empathize with families and be sympathetic in a way that most men could not (Coleman, 2000, p.25).

With changed circumstances, women teachers could increase their interest in leadership, be empowered by the national policies and motivated to be role models to girls and women in general**.** Ellman (2003) emphasizes this aspect, stating that the increase in the number of women to economic life of a country is explained by the many social and economic changes, for example during the last half century**.**

Many respondents thought that being able to resolve 'macho' behaviour (in teachers, parents and students) would be an advantage, although a number of the participants said that female principals quite consciously acted up to the stereotype of femininity and played on the susceptibilities of males, such as governors or local authority personnel, who were likely to perceive them first and foremost as women. Another advantage quoted by the respondents was being noticed: the rarity of female leaders meant that they tended to be offered further opportunities, particularly by the local education authority, although in the future, it is possible that a rise in the number of female principals would lead to a reduction in opportunities, and that this might not be entirely welcome.

Although the general assumption that the leader and manager is male may prove a handicap for the female manager, there is the other side of the coin, namely her freedom to behave in a way that is not constrained by the normal stereotypes associated with leaders (Hall, 1996) which gives the opportunity to the female head teacher to develop in fresh ways that are unencumbered by the perceptions of others. This was supported by the fact that all respondents appreciated the leadership style of women principals in the Gicumbi district and wished to have more female principals in secondary schools.
HDB2 highlighted that:

> "*female principals control school more than male principals in secondary schools. They spend a long time within the school compared to men who spend it out of the school and sometimes doing other business not related to what they are supposed to do. Women are good managers because they fear to be ashamed in front of senior managers while monitoring and control how the property is used. But men are sometimes not aware of such matters; they do not even fear entering in jail when they are found out that they misused the public property. In terms of organisation, schools led by women are more comfortable than those led by males. Women leaders want to see their schools cleaned like their home. The smartness on their body is the one observed in their schools".*

PA attests the importance of having more women principals in girls' schools and in co-educational schools. She indicated that:

> "*most students in secondary schools are adolescent and women principals can be more useful in guiding those teenagers. This is because girls students consider them as mothers*

and in that they apply psychology of mothership to help students to change their behaviour through role modeling and mentoring".

The two principals confirmed this and said that they were interested of students' performance and teachers 'satisfaction.PA stated that:

"*My interest is to have performance of all students by many ways and to motivate teachers in order to enhance good performance.*

PB said*:*

" I feel happy when my students perform well and when I collaborate positively with my staff".

TB2 explained that*:*

"yes… there is importance of having women principals in secondary school system. As it commonly known, females have been undermined and even neglected for a long time. It is crucial moment for them to change such believe by being given enough time and means in order to improve their ways of life….Young female can be inspired by their elder and more skilled as well as more experienced female. This help them growing up in a competitive environment. It brings self-confidence and self-empowerment among young female.

4.3.6. Possible strategies to overcome barriers to women in accessing principalship

The respondents during the interviews hoped that barriers to women in accessing principalship could be sorted out in different ways. The first way was a feminist one, the second was from government's willingness and commitment, the last was from the community. Respondents stated that:

"*First, female must build their self-confidence and empower themselves."*

And male teachers should also encourage female to apply for principalship. TB3 adds:

"*you know, I also encourage women in leadership to develop confidence in their career but not to be intimidated by their male counterparts."*

Some female respondents expressed their need for further training; TA2, DPA, TA3, TB3 in particular pointed out that, although there were leadership positions available, they could not apply for them. They referred to their lack of qualification for the roles by stating that the positions of principal and deputy

principal required management skills and confidence. As already mentioned, they did not have a degree in education and they perceived that their current qualification was insufficient for the positions of principal or deputy principal. This impeded them from applying for the positions.

Women made a number of suggestions and raised issues regarding their leadership, as DPA said:

> ” *to get the post of Principal or Deputy Principal, a teacher must have the academic qualification and teacher training. I cannot take that post as I do not know the job, like supervising teachers in class. I may not be able to know whether they are performing well. I cannot monitor and evaluate them. So, personally, I think that I would not get the post unless I am qualified. It is not easy”*.

Nevertheless, a number of suggestions were made regarding their leadership development. PA commented:

> *“Firstly, is the opportunity to go for further studies to be able to be qualified for the post. Some people talk about experience but do not consider the opportunities that are available to women*”.

PA and DPA suggested that women should be given opportunities for further studies. They further suggested that leaders could assist, for instance, by providing or motivating for scholarships locally rather than overseas. In addition, leaders could identify those with potential and assist them and provide mentorship, developing a culture of having someone there to encourage them (e.g. a head of department). In emphasizing this, HDB2 stated that:

> ”*I had support from my colleagues including moral support (guidance and counseling) and I can learn from them through imitation especially those who are more experienced than me*”.

And TA 1, TA3, TB4:

> ” *women should seek advice first before they make up decision.”*

The respondents also cited that strategies such as an ongoing ‘sensitization’ programme to encourage girls in education should be implemented in all levels: sensitizing parents to the benefits of educating their girl children as well as their boy children; improving the skills and confidence of women and changing the organizations in which they worked; socializing girls and exposing them to new aspirations; exposing them to women leaders in the administration and management of schools and building confidence. Furthermore, the findings indicated that managers were thrown into the deep end with little leadership experience. The literature suggests that mentoring might be one way forward to develop women’s leadership in all sectors in secondary schools (Noe al 1988; Kim & Jacobson, 1995; Ottino, 2009; Daresh,

1995), as mentoring can provide access for women into educational leadership positions in schools, as well as leading to professional growth (Shakeshaft, 1989; Cubillo & Brown, 2003).

More importantly, a change of attitude in Rwandan society was necessary: there should be increased awareness of sexist attitudes, teaching materials, and teaching strategies that limited female students; next, students should be allowed to learn and grow in a non-sexist educational environment. The findings of this study illustrate the barriers in attitude and belief that support gendered roles. These are hard to change. However, if the Rwandan government is committed to ensuring that equality is achieved, as enshrined in its constitution, then change is necessary at the school level. The school curriculum should be reviewed and changed to remove any sexist materials, language or behaviour, and gender awareness should be actively promoted in schools.

4.4. Conclusion

The data analysis showed that there was a mismatch between the existence of equal opportunities policies and their implementation. In addition, cultural and structural barriers were regarded as covert discrimination and inhibited women's career progress. Experiences from this study showed that there were many intrinsic and extrinsic barriers to the progress of women in educational management and that these beliefs and assumptions have cast women into teaching and subservient roles rather than those of educational leadership.

The women whose perspectives are described in this article had used a range of strategies in fortifying the difference and their views provided a key to understanding what it means to be leaders and managers in these times. One challenge that seemed to hold women back were problems with balancing the career and family responsibility in the Gicumbi district, as elsewhere. Most women dealt with dual career dilemmas such as double workloads (waged work and domestic work), childcare concern and maternity (Coleman, 2001). A second challenge seems to be gender stereotypes (Grogan, 1996). Stereotypes of leadership tended to be more towards qualities that are identified as "masculine" and tended to identify men with leadership.

Hall (1993, p.74) stresses that gender continues to be treated as a separate issue rather than a powerful tool for restructuring conceptualizations of school life and leadership. There is a need to develop a new understanding of the role of women in leadership, less reactive and more proactive in showing the values and skills that women bring to the transformation of education and society.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a summary and conclusion as well as recommendations for women's leadership development and further research in the Gicumbi district in Rwanda.

The investigation of barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools in this study suggests that there are many barriers that prevent women from accessing senior posts. However, there are some ways to overcome these hindrances.

5.2. Summary of the research

Chapter one gave the background and rationale of the research. It also stated the research problem, aims of the research, and questions of the research study. It ended by giving its conceptual framework and its limitation. The researcher focused on barriers of under-representation of women principals in Gicumbi secondary schools. It was found that, as elsewhere, women remained in the minority in terms of management positions in education generally and in secondary schools in particular. Chapter two comprised a literature review on women in leadership in secondary schools. Feminist theories were mentioned with the aim of bringing relevance to the research. Chapter three dealt with research design, sampling and qualitative research. Methods included were interviews with principals, deputy principals, head of department and teachers. Reliability, validity and ethics were taken into account. Chapter four dealt with an in-depth analysis and interpretation of data obtained during the interviews in two secondary schools, while this chapter, chapter 5, includes a summary, recommendations and conclusion to the study.

The study used qualitative research methodology. Two secondary schools in the rural district of the northern province of Rwanda were selected because they were led by experienced women principals. In attempting to identify the barriers that impede women's promotion, the study took into consideration the fact that there has been an improvement in attitudes towards women's access to secondary leadership during the last two decades. However, the research study showed that women are still under-represented in senior posts of management and leadership. The study explored the perceptions of women regarding principalship, the importance of having more female principals and the development of women as leaders.

The case of the Gicumbi district is different to other cases in developing and developed countries (or sites) for several reasons, including the general scarcity of qualified women teachers. However, women

also experience barriers that are unique owing to the constraints within the Rwandan culture, which has had a significant impact on the leadership experiences of the participants: for example, powerful forces in the Gicumbi district such as patriarchy and polygamy influence greatly how women in this district lead in the secondary schools. It is hoped that this study adds new knowledge to the debate on school leadership and gender in Rwanda, specifically Rwandan women's educational leadership experiences, and that it will also contribute to the international body of literature in this field.

Women leaders are often impeded to the extent that they give up their leadership roles through poor implementation of gender policies and lack of support from the education department. The findings revealed that women teachers need more role models and mentors. This study also indicated that women leaders in Gicumbi district found it difficult to balance their career with their family as they attempted to access leadership roles. This is because the participants had been socialized into gendered roles and felt obliged to carry out their dual roles in the domestic sphere and work. More importantly, community attitudes impacted on the participants, in the form of hostility from many.

Many different strategies are being used to overcome these barriers. It has been suggested here that the way in which one view the barriers will influence the change strategies which will be found to be most useful, but a range of strategies is needed, including improving the abilities and confidence of women and changing the organizations in which they work. Change strategies need to address the whole context of the life of an individual, the structure of an organization, and the needs, norms and values of a society and culture. The study showed a great need for the support of women's leadership in secondary schools. It is recommended from this study that mentoring and leadership programmes be made available to women.

In the Rwandan educational system, women principals could be considered as crucial in school development. Management by women enhances society through collaboration and communication, power-sharing, professionalism, ethics of care and a sense of motherhood. Respondents in the study supported the notion that women's leadership is imperative to uplifting and advancing the education system. What is encouraging, despite the stereotypes and socialization, male culture domination, lack of confidence, lack of motivation and career planning as well as fear of failure and support is that the female principals, participants in this study, have defied the odds in creating opportunities to climb the leadership ladder. However, it is imperative that the education department creates opportunities to enable more women to have the confidence to apply successfully for principalship, particularly in secondary schools.

However, perceptions that women would never be able to cope in this male-dominated environment and the cultural and sexist prejudices from communities around schools were some of the obstacles to this aim. Women interviewed in this study need to recognize that the skills they have are valuable. There is a tendency for women to devalue their feminine skills because they do not feel that they are important, but these are the skills that help them to manage better, to avoid conflict and to allow them to operate more collegially. The study indicated that women in secondary schools make excellent principals.

5.3. Discussions

In Rwanda, there is no discrimination against women that prevents them from advancing to leadership positions as this was eliminated in 2003 by the National Constitution (GoR). However, they encounter many internal and external barriers that hinder their application.

In terms of internal barriers, some depend on choice: many female teachers choose teaching because they can leave early and have enough time to spend with their families, rather than attending after-hours leadership meetings and workshops. According to Greyvenstein (1996, p.79), the scarcity of women principals may be attributed to the stereotype that they are predominantly home-makers as wives, child-bearers and mothers. 62% of the respondents felt that women did not apply for school leadership positions because they lacked confidence and motivation, and feared the challenges that came with leadership, embracing the myth that women are naturally weak, passive and make good followers. According to Shakeshaft (1989, p.85) “many women have internalized that traditional gender stereotypes to such an extent that they feel inferior and suffer guilt and shame when they apply for a principalship”, or when they have to opt for self-determination beyond the realms of homemaker.

With regard to external barriers, many agreed that women were discriminated against because of their sex. This discrimination was in a hidden or invisible form. 72% of the participants attested that women were not supported and mentored in achieving school leadership and that the Department of Education was not doing enough to address the issue of gender equity, with unclear and poorly monitored gender equity and equality policies prescribed by the district education officer. Concerns for the advancement of women emanated from the gender policy in the broader education sector and the Constitution, which stipulates that at least 30% of women will be, represented at all levels. Women principals interviewed in this study felt that the system had focused on male leaders too much, and women had been left out. Women teachers had to prove that they could assume leadership and had to work much harder to cement their positions in leadership. This study found that women principals are sometimes undermined by male

teachers. Many female teachers and some male teachers were to blame for not insisting on transformation and for not rejecting the persistence of stereotypes that assume women cannot make good leaders. The two (female) principals stated that society does not readily accept that a woman can also lead, although they were living proof that women have strengths that admirably suit such work.

There is also a historical dimension: girls' education has been generally poor in Rwanda, with parents allowing boys to study while girls stayed at home for domestic duties. Consequently, there are fewer girls in secondary schools (where they do not perform as well as boys) and fewer women than men in higher institutions where admissions are based solely on merit, especially in public institutions and particularly in the education faculty. So lack of training and qualifications ultimately hinder women in achieving principalship.

Women should work hard on their self-esteem in order to attain leadership positions. The gender inequity in leadership roles can be attributed to the influence of stereotypes and philosophies that influence and mould various aspects of society, including schools. According to Brown and Cubillo (2003, p.281), society consider women as followers, good in carrying out decisions and following other's initiatives, a view which supports the assumption that male leadership is more acceptable. However, for women to lead effectively in the complex world of the future, they need critical and important skills that involve agreement -building networking.

The most viable strategy for women to successfully validate the fact that they are equally as competent as men is to challenge the stereotypes. This can be done by creating an awareness of such stereotypes. Women managers should conscientise their critics and inform them that they are not tokens representing other women nor should they adopt masculine traits to be successful managers (Greyvenstein, 2000, p.32). Bush (1995, p.22) supports a declaration of career identity, socialization and expectations in women management and leadership positions. Women should overcome gender differences by overcoming patriarchal dominance and obstacles.

All participants in this study concurred with Shakeshaft (1987) and Adler (1993) who believe that women principals focus on the social, emotional, moral and academic development of the children in their schools. As a result of their collaborative strategies, they seem to have positive interaction with community members and are more likely than men are to include and help new teachers, and contribute to the development of the teachers. Most of the respondents confirmed that staff serving with women principals are more productive and contribute to a higher professional morale. The researcher argues that

female principals should plant the seeds of equity and equality in their schools and nurture them into the norms and values of absolute balance between males and females. The employer needs to develop a support structure for female leaders, taking into consideration that many of them are mothers and wives and have families to care for while still trying to improve on their career paths. The participants suggested that women would like to see equal opportunities, implementation of gender policies, organizational programmes that support women's advancement, participative and democratic behaviour and the de-gendering of curricula in the education system.

A strong feminine paradigm should grow out of the critique of leadership, challenging the dominant male-structural functionalist perspective. The principals and teachers in the study suggested that change initiatives in the school and community were needed. It is time that the education system sought ways and means to change society. Schools need to remove all forms of barriers to access leadership positions and vigorously challenge patterns committed to maintaining the status quo that has kept women at the bottom of the leadership pyramid. It should be the responsibility of all departments and policymakers and monitoring agents to make people conscious of the fact that men and women are equals. Gender role stereotypes should also be abolished because they are not consistent with the inclusive ideologies enshrined in the constitution of Rwanda. Society, departments of education and school communities in Rwanda should support women and provide opportunities to experience all aspects of leadership roles which can ultimately accelerate their inclusion into principalship.

5.4. Recommendations

A number of recommendations are suggested from the findings of this study. Since 1994, the Government of Rwanda has established legislations and developed progressive policies to promote gender transformation, protect and promote the rights of the previously disadvantaged and marginalized members of the larger society, particularly women. Macro and micro policies have been established and there is support from other agencies, for example the Convention of Discrimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform Action (BPFA). The recommendations are as follows:

- These policies must monitor the promotion of gender equity in education, thereby reflecting an unprecedented commitment to defending women's rights and providing the framework for the implementation of gender equity in school leadership.

- Appropriate mechanisms should be formulated by the Ministry of Education and the Teaching Service Commission, for the recruitment of school principals. Equal employment opportunity policies which are transparent, objective, fair and closely monitored need to be put in place.

- It is essential that girls, the women leaders of tomorrow, be informed of their human rights. Facilitating women's progression to management and executive positions requires high commitment to change the existing culture.

- The school curriculum should be related to the daily lives of girls and women. Gender-stereotyped images should be eliminated from school curricula and discriminatory practices should be removed from teaching.

- All old assumptions about women, and myths that unnecessarily marginalize women should be exposed and communicated widely in order to eliminate them. Family friendly policies (including working hours, parental leave and child care facilities) should be important elements in any integrated package of measures supporting women at work.

- Support networks for women leaders in secondary schools could be set in place for their assistance. These could involve, for example, a women leaders' newsletter, or using the existing gender desk at the Ministry of Education to support women leaders in secondary schools.

- Training and informing stakeholders on issues of gender.

- Formal mentoring programmes for aspiring women leaders and first-time school principals at school level should be introduced. Developmental programmes are needed to build and increase the presence of female mentors and role models in the educational system.

- Further and in-depth research, country wide, should be conducted on barriers to women in achieving principalship in Rwanda.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX: 1

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

WITS SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Division of Education Leadership and Policy Studies

10 June 2010

Introduction letter addressed Gicumbi District Mayor seeking permission to conduct research

The Mayor of Gicumbi District

Northern Province

RWANDA

RE: Request for research permission

Dear Sir,

My name is Mrs. Julienne UWAMAHORO (Student number 416599), a full-time Master's student in the Division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. I am writing a research report for the degree and the research topic is "Barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools in Rwanda, a case study of Gicumbi District."

I have the honour to request permission to collect data regarding my proposed research in two secondary schools in Gicumbi District.

The research is for the purpose of fulfilling all the requirements for Master's degree in Education. Participants will be the school principal, deputy principal, two heads of departments and five teachers from each school. All names of schools and participants will remain anonymous and all information will be treated confidentially.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

Julienne UWAMAHORO

APPENDIX: 2

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

WITS SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Division of Education Leadership and Policy Studies

10 August 2010

Letter addressed to school principals requesting their participation in the research study

The school Principal of ……..

……

Gicumbi District

RE: Request for research permission

Dear Sister, Mrs. /Ms

My name is Mrs Julienne UWAMAHORO (Student number 416599), a full-time Master's student in the Division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. I am writing a research report for the degree and the research topic is "Barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools in Rwanda: a case study of two secondary schools in Gicumbi district"

I have the honour to request permission to collect data regarding my proposed research in the Secondary School of which you are the Principal.

Questionnaire, interviews will be used as instruments to collect the necessary information. The participants for interview will be the principal, deputy principal, two heads of department and four teachers. Teachers will be selected on the basis of gender: two female teachers and two male teachers in the study. Interviews will take approximately two hours. Data collected from each respondent will be confidentially and anonymously treated; no names will be mentioned in the research findings. The research is for the purpose of fulfilling all the requirements for Master's degree in Education.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

Julienne UWAMAHORO

APPENDIX: 3

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

WITS SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Division of Education Leadership and Policy studies

10 August 2010

Letter addressed to participants seeking their participation in the research study

Participant from Secondary School of

……

Gicumbi District

RE: Request for research participation

Dear Madam/Sir/ Sister

My name is Mrs. Julienne UWAMAHORO (Student number 416599), a full-time Master's student in the Division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. I am requesting your permission to participate in data collection regarding my proposed research, which is required for the degree. The research topic is "Barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools in Rwanda: a case study of two secondary schools in Gicumbi district"

I send this invitation to seek your consent to collecting data for my study. You will be invited to respond to the both general opener questions and interview questions which could take approximately two hours of your time. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can abstain from responding to any point without prejudice to you.

There are no direct benefits to subjects. However, it is hoped that through your participation the researcher will learn more about female barriers to women in accessing principalship, perceptions about women in leadership and strategies to overcome these challenges. The results of the study may contribute to the improvement of schools leadership in Rwanda. All information provided will remain confidential and will only be reported as group data with no identifying information. All data will be kept and only those directly involved with the research will have access to them. After the research is completed, the data will be destroyed. Your participation in this study will be greatly appreciated.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

J**ulienne UWAMAHORO**

APPENDIX: 4

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

WITS SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Division of Education Leadership and Policy studies

Research Topic: "Barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools in Rwanda: a case study of two secondary schools in Gicumbi district"

Consent sheet for participants

INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE TICK AS APPROPRIATE

☐ I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Mrs. Julienne UWAMAHORO about the nature of the study.

☐ I have also received, read and understand the information and consent sheet regarding this research.

☐ I am aware that the information I give regarding my sex, age, teaching experience, training, and qualification will be anonymously processed in this study.

☐ In view of the requirements of the research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.

☐ I may at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation from the study.

☐ I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and I (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study and voluntarily agreed to participate in the same study.

Printed name Signature Date and time

……

APPENDIX: 5

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

WITS SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Division of Education Leadership and Policy studies

Semi-structured interview guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS: [based on Coleman's (2001) research instruments in a UK study]

Interview questions for school principals

A. General information

1. What is your:
   A) Formal Qualifications

   B) Marital status

   C) Age range: 30+ 40+ 50+

2. How many years have you been a principal?

3. Is this your first principalship?

4. What other types of schools have you worked in?

B. Women in leadership and management

1. At what stage of your life did you decide to become a principal?

2. What and/or who was your source of inspiration in your career as a school principal?

3. a. In your opinion, how different is the situation for a woman aspiring to be a school leader now from your time?

   b. What accounts for these differences?

5. What were the factors that made you successful?

6. In your capacity as a principal, how have you helped other female teachers develop their careers?

7. Do you consider that there are any advantages as a female to being a school principal?

8. Why do you think other women will be interested in school principalship?

B. Barriers to women in leadership and management

1. a. Do you have children?

   b. If yes, has this impacted on your career choice and how?

2. a. Have you ever experienced sexist attitudes in your career, job application or promotion?

   b. If yes, did these have an impact on your career and how?

3. a. In you opinion, are women suitable for school leadership?

   b. Why do you think so?

4. What obstacles, if any, did you encounter in your career?

5. In your opinion, are such obstacles unique to females in that position or to all school principals?

C. Perceptions to women principals

There is statement that male principals make better leaders than females. What would your response be to this statement?

E. Possible strategies to overcome the under-representation of women in leadership

How do you deal with the challenges to women in school leadership?

APPENDIX 6

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

WITS SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Semi-structured interview guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS: [based on Coleman's (2001) research instruments in UK study]

Interview questions for Deputy Principals, Heads of Departments and Teachers

1. What is your:
   A) Formal Qualifications

   B) Marital status

   C) Age range: 30+ 40+ 50+

2. a. In your opinion, are women suitable for school leadership?

   b. Why do you think so?

3. There is statement that male principals make better leaders than females. What would your response be to this statement?

4. Do you think female educators aspire to be managers? Why?/ not

5. Have you ever wanted to become a principal?

6. a)What obstacles if any do you think women encounter in a career path to school leadership (principalship)?

   b) Do women principals experience any form of discrimination because they are women?

7. Do you prefer to work with a male or female principal? Why?

8. What is the relationship between female principals and their staff both male and female?

9. How do you believe female principals have been supported in their career?

10. In what ways might women's leadership be developed?

a) How have you supported women colleagues to develop their leadership?

b) What advice would you give to aspiring women principals?

APPENDIX: 7

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

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Division of Education Leadership and Policy studies

PROBING QUESTIONS FOR FOLLOW UP INTERVIEWS WHERE NECESSARY

Probing questions to Women Principals

Depending on answers to questions in the initial interview:

A. Women in school leadership and managemen

1. How did you get a position as principal?
2. Why did you become a school principal?

b. Barriers to women in school leadership and management

How do you balance your personal and professional life?

B. Possible strategies to overcome those barriers

1. In your opinion, how did you overcome these obstacles?
2. In your opinion, how different would the situation be if you were male?
3. How women's leadership could be developed?

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Probing questions to Deputy Principals

Depending on answers to questions in the initial interview:

A. Women in school leadership and management

1. How did you get a position as deputy principal?
2. Why did you become a deputy school principal?

b. Barriers to women in school leadership and management

How do you balance your personal and professional life?

B. Possible strategies to overcome those barriers

1. In your opinion, how did you overcome these obstacles?
2. In your opinion, how different would the situation be if you were male?
3. How women's leadership could be developed

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Semi-structured interview guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS: [based on Coleman's (2001) research instruments in a UK study]

Interview guide for Staff members of Department of Education

Name:

Sex:

Qualification:

Age:

Marital status:

1. How do you proceed to hire school principals?
2. How do women principals access to principalship?
3. What are your perceptions about women principals in secondary schools?
4. Is there any advantage to hire many women principals in your district?
5. What do you suggest for the development of women principals?

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Semi-structured interview guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS: [based on Coleman's (2001) research instruments in a UK study]

Interview guide for Students

Name:

Sex:

Qualification:

Age:

Year:

Marital status:

1. How do you consider your school principal?

2. Is there the difference between women and female principals?

3. What do you suggest about women principals?

4. Are there advantages to be led by a female principal?

5. What do your colleagues think about women principals?

APPENDIX: 11

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Consent letter from Gicumbi District Mayor

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Gicumbi,28 June 2010
Ref: 1632/04.05.07/07

NORTHERN PROVINCE
GICUMBI DISTRICT
B.P 22 BYUMBA

Mayor of Gicumbi District

Dear Julienne UWAMAHORO

RE: Approval for your research request

Referring to your letter of 10 June 2010 requesting for permission to conduct research in three secondary schools in Gicumbi District on the barriers to women in managing and leading secondary schools in Rwanda, a case study of Gicumbi District, GNCDBC, GS Muhondo and GS Mukono. You are however requested to collaborate with the secondary school principals from three schools in order to get relevant information regarding your research.

I am glad to inform you that you are authorised to conduct your research in three secondary schools GSNDBC, GS Muhondo and GS Mukono. You are however requested to collaborate with the secondary school principals from three schools in order to get relevant information regarding your research .

I wish you all the best for you research and I hope that its findings will contribute to improving educational leadership in Rwanda and in Gicumbi District in particular.

NYANGEZI Bonane
Mayor of Gicumbi District

CC:
-Principal of GSNDBC
-Principal of GS Muhondo
-Principal of GS Mukono

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Approval for Ethics clearance

Wits School of Education

27 St Andrews Road, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193 • Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa
Tel: +27 11 717-3007 • Fax: +27 11 717-3009 • E-mail: enquiries@educ.wits.ac.za • Website: www.wits.ac.za

STUDENT NUMBER: 416599
Protocol number: 2010ECE149**C**

10 September 2010

Mrs. Julienne Uwamahoro
Ministry of Education
P O Box 622
KIGALI
RWANDA

Dear Mrs. Uwamahoro

Application for Ethics Clearance: Master of Education

I have a pleasure in advising you that the Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has agreed to approve your application for ethics clearance submitted for your proposal entitled:

Barriers to women in accessing principalship in secondary schools in Rwanda: A case study of two secondary schools in Gicumbi district.

The Protocol Number above should be submitted to the Graduate Studies in Education Committee upon submission of your final research report.

Yours sincerely

M Mabeta

Matsie Mabeta
Wits School of Education

Cc Supervisor: Ms. C Faulkner (via email)

APPENDIX: 13

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Women in Parliament, top ten countries

TOP TEN COUNTRIES IN % IN WORLD CLASSIFICATION

Rank	**Country**	**Lower or Single House**				**Upper House or Senate**			
		Elections	Seats	Women	%W	Elections	Seats	Women	%W
1	Rwanda	92 008	80	45	**56.3%**	102 003	26	9	**34.6%**
2	Sweden	92 006	349	162	**46.4%**	….	…	…	**…**
3	South Africa	42 009	400	178	**44.5%**	42 009	54	16	**29.6%**
4	Cuba	12 008	614	265	**43.2%**	…	…	…	**…**
5	Iceland	42 009	63	27	**42.9%**	…	…	…	**…**
6	Netherlands	62 010	150	61	**40.7%**	52 007	75	26	**34.7%**
7	Finland	32 007	200	80	**40.0%**	…	…	…	**…**
8	Norway	92 009	169	67	**39.6%**	…	…	…	**…**
9	Belgium	62 010	150	59	**39.3%**	62 010	40	17	**42.5%**
10	Mozambique	102 009	250	98	**39.2%**	…	…	…	**…**

Retrieved from internet on 30 August 2010

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Number of student by gender in Higher Learning Institutions (HLI'S) 2009-2010

HLI	2009			2010		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
KSNM	47	27	74	16	55	71
CUR	0	0	0	295	408	703
PLASS	59	8	67	166	115	281
ILPD	51	17	68	46	29	75
RSNM	0	143	143	0	178	178
BSNM	39	78	117	52	97	149
KCE	248	82	330	236	112	348
KHI	606	526	1132	727	672	1399
ISPG	214	524	738	237	581	818
KIE	2898	1492	4390	4242	1935	6177
IPB	391	518	909	728	790	1518
ULK	4896	5894	19790	4823	6515	11338
RCE	238	90	328	358	134	492
CIK	592	555	1147	651	559	1210
INATEK	1666	1718	3384	1532	1610	3142
KCT	185	29	214	238	41	279
KIST	2058	2511	4589	2072	2663	4735
KIM	371	435	806	238	397	635
NSNM	62	84	146	72	85	157
RTUC	439	619	1058	544	859	1403
NUR	7010	2926	9936	7588	3069	10657
INES	1164	946	2210	1135	1390	2525
TCT	120	37	157	96	58	154
SFB	1459	1145	2604	1594	1216	2810
AUCA	1304	1141	2445	1445	1229	2674
UP	800	496	1296	1900	1054	2954
ISAE	1702	658	2360	1773	734	2507
TOTAL	**30697**	**23461**	**54158**	**35158**	**27492**	**62546**

APPENDIX: 15

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School and Participants Profiles

School Profile

Name of School: ……..

Location of school:…….

Level of school:…….

School status:……..

Participants Profile

Position in the school:…….

Sex:……..

Age:…….

Experience as principal/teacher:…….

Years working with the current Principal in the school (for teachers only):……..

Years working as principal/deputy principal or head of department in the school:…….

Participant's training:…….

Qualifications attained:…….

School statistics:

Teachers:……..Male……..Female…….

Learners:……...Boys……..Girls……

APPENDIX: 16

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Map of Rwanda



From MINALOC website: www.minaloc.gov.rw

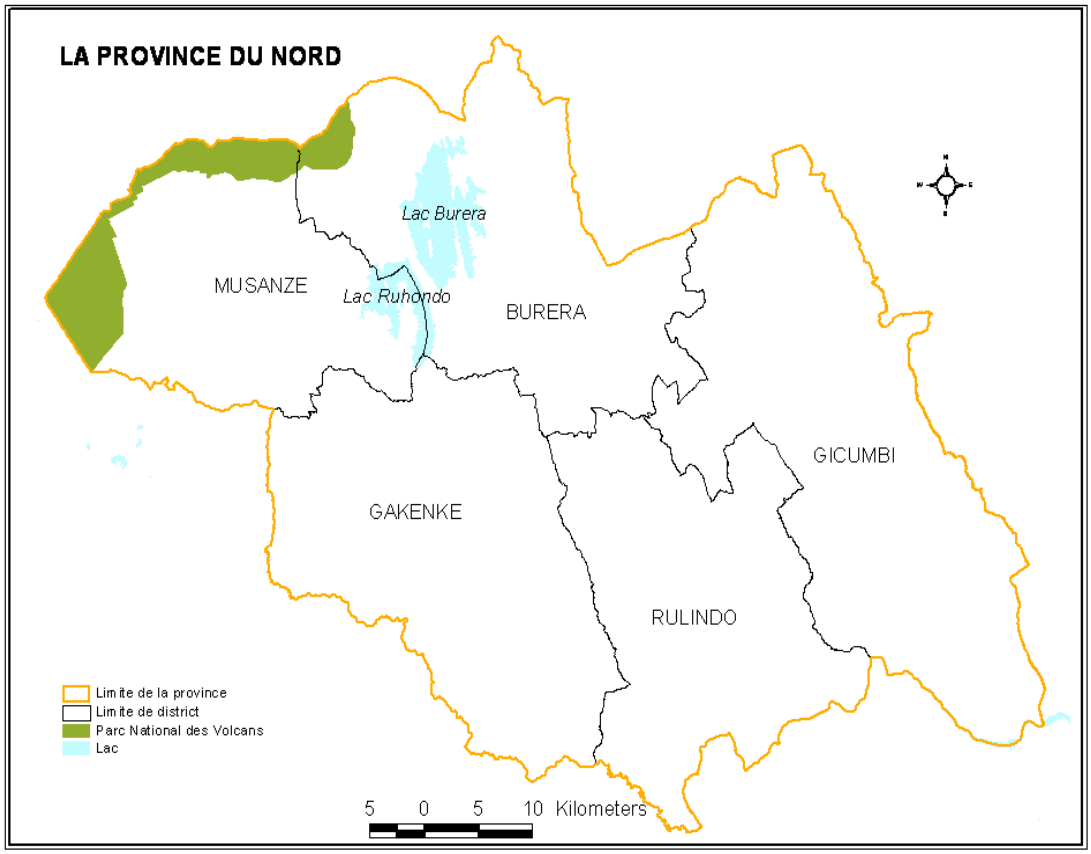
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Map of Northern Province



From MINALOC website: www.minaloc.gov.rw

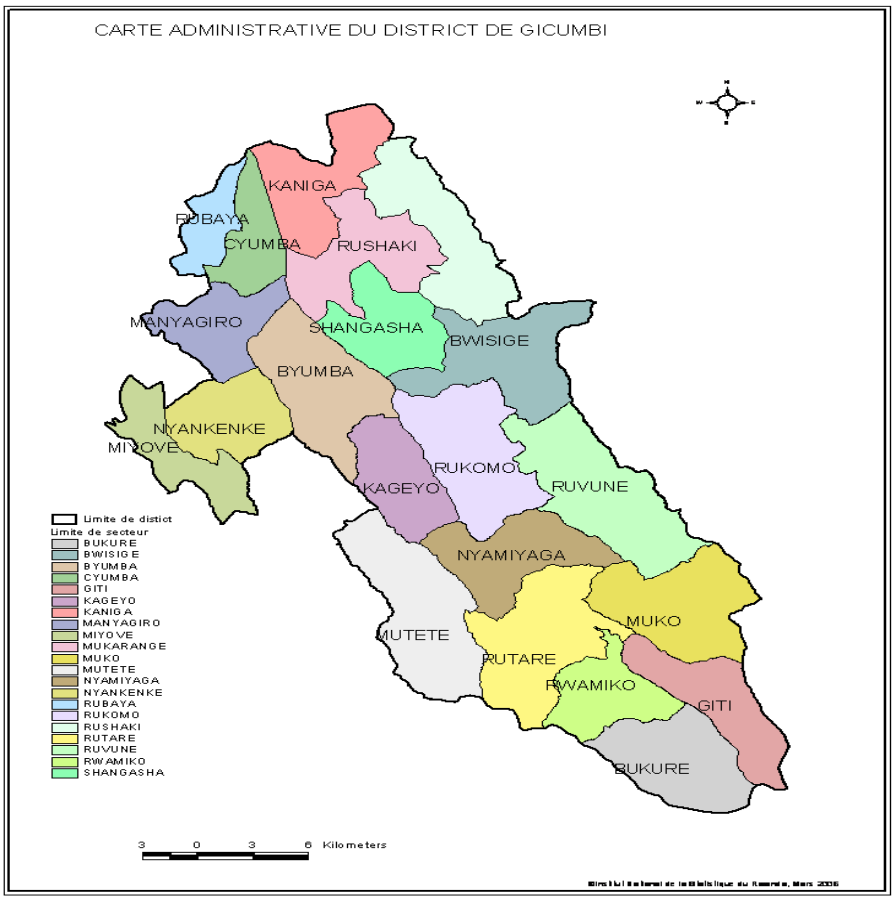
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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

WITS SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Division of Education Leadership and Policy studies

Map of Gicumbi District



From MINALOC website:www.minaloc.gov.rw