DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 266 070 SO 016 920

AUTHOR Biraimah, Karen
TITLE Unequal Knowledge Distribution: The Schooling Experience in a Togolese Secondary School. Occasional Papers Series, Number 9.
INSTITUTION State Univ. of New York, Buffalo. Comparative Education Center.
PUB DATE 84
NOTE 60p.; For other occasional papers, see SO 016 921-923. Document contains light type.
AVAILABLE FROM Publications Department, Comparative Education Center, 428 Baldy Hall, State University of New York, Buffalo, NY 14260 ($5.00).
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Colonialism; Developing Nations; Educational Research; Equal Education; Females; Labor Force; Males; Secondary Education; *Sex Bias; Sex Discrimination; *Sex Role; Sex Stereotypes; Social Structure; Social Values; *Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS *Togo

ABSTRACT

A case study of a Togolese secondary school provides the focus for an examination of the impact of Western notions of gender-based role expectations in Third World education. Work on the reproduction of inequality in education suggests that in-school processes direct different knowledge to different groups. However, in the case of Third World schools, this process may not involve the reproduction of societal inequalities, but rather the legitimation of Western notions of sex-role divisions of labor which are not necessarily practiced in the Third World. The present study suggests that when the reproduction argument is extended to the Third World, the schools, as former colonial institutions, may not simply reproduce inequalities within that particular society but may also transmit a new set of sex-role divisions of labor. Togolese schools transmit images of women as unproductive housewives and mothers. These roles are incongruent with Togolese society and labor force participation patterns. This study further reinforces existing arguments that Third World schools may intervene to reverse the effects of modernization on women's declining status. The study suggests that even Third World schools with gender-biased informal curricula can be used by girls to obtain upward social mobility. The study concludes that, in the case of Lome Secondary School, the informal curriculum reproduced a significant pattern of sex-role differentiation even though the school outwardly reflected uniformity and equality. A uniform curriculum and open access policy do not necessarily eliminate discrimination. (LP)

Unequal Knowledge Distribution: The Schooling Experience in a Togolese Secondary School

Karen Biraimah

occasional papers series

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION CENTER

FACULTY OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

INTRODUCTION

This occasional paper, the nineth in our continuing series, stems from a doctoral thesis done by Dr. Karen Biraimah in the comparative education program, Faculty of Educational Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo. The paper reflects several of the foci of the program; women's education and a concern with the content of educational experiences and curricula in a comparative context. The paper provides a detailed analysis of how the various elements of schooling affect women's expectations and its relevance extends far beyond the very interesting case study of Togo.

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Karen Biraimah

Schools are expected to dispense knowledge, yet the content, differentiation and distribution of this knowledge remain problematic. This paradox necessitates a movement away from input-output models of schooling to one which focuses on in-school processes. Research must ask now schools distribute knowledge, and if this knowledge is differentiated among various student populations. It is also essential to analyze the effective transmission of this knowledge by asking what schools purport to teach as well as what students actually learn. It is within the latter framework that this study has been conducted.

Focusing on the distribution of Western notions of gender-based role expectations within a Third World school, this study synthesizes various aspects of in-school processes, knowledge transmission, and the effects of schooling as it builds upon previous scholarship. A brief review of this literature, which follows, will discuss various models for examining the role of the school in social reproduction, as well as the need to expand this research to include greater emphasis on Third World women and the effects of in-school processes on attitude formation and labor force participation.

A Review of Significant Literature

Literature relevant to Third World education has stressed the input-output model of schooling, where factors such as colonialism, dependency, or modernization were viewed as having varying degrees of effectiveness on the formation of student attitudes and role expectations. Significantly absent from many of these works were the inclusion of women or an analysis of in-school processes.[1]

Recently this literature has grown in include more studies on the effects of education on Third World women, or on analyses of in-school processes such as classroom interactions and how they affect student performance. However, to date there are few studies which attempt to link in-school processes to the actual formation of Third World women's attitudes and role expectations.

While research on Third World women's education debates the interplay between educational access, differential patterns of schooling, and labor force participation, it is not clear whether education affects women's participation and status within the labor force, or whether perceived career potentials affect educational aspirations.

Since the 1970's various scholars have argued that modernization and lack of relevant education have lowered women's status by displacing them from the modern work force or assigning them to low status positions.[2]

Though much of this research points to growing inequality in education and the work force, a new set of literature implies

that schools may intervene to reverse the effects of modernization on women's declining status, provided that schools are made accessible, and if women receive substantially the same education as men. Schiefelbein and Farrell studied how education affects women's work force participation in Chile.[3] They found that women, whose education was generally superior to men, were able to overcome disadvantages inherent within the Chilean labor market that discriminated against women.

However a growing body of literature suggests that even if females achieve equal access to educational institutions, they would still experience inequality through various in-school processes responsible for socialization and the inequitable distribution of knowledge. Weitzman and Rizzo posit that the "latent content" of texts provide girls with gender-specific role models and values.[4] Other research, such as Evans' Teachers as Agents of National Development suggest that "next to the content of the curriculum, the teacher is the most important source of socialization in the schools."[5]

Literature on in-school processes suggest various and often conflicting means by which a school's formal and informal curricula may be transmitted to students. Yet in the case of Third World women's education much remains to be done. We now know that education can make a difference in attitude, role expectation and labor force participation of females who have attended school. But it still remains unclear how the school actually affects such change. Research has suggested that the internal workings of the school produce inequalities, but very few studies have actually examined the content and

effect of these processes on Third World women's aspirations.

While various studies have used length of schooling and socio-economic factors in the determination of attitudinal modernization (see Holsinger's study on the Brazilian elementary school), few have made distinctions between male and female students' expectations.[6] Rubin and Zavalloni's study on the aspirations of Trinidad youth, which explores the effects of class, race and gender is an exception.[7]

While Rubin and Zavalloni attribute differences in attitudes more to socio-economic factors than to gender, it remains unclear how the schooling experience has produced different aspirations by gender within similar socio-economic categories. Like Holsinger, Rubin and Zavalloni have suggested various outcomes of schooling on attitude formation, but they have not examined in-school processes which might account for these differences. This paper, which not only examines the curricular content, the distribution of differentiated knowledge, and the socialization process, but also relates these factors to student expectations will attempt to link the processes of schooling to specific attitude formation.

As this paper concentrates on the distribution of knowledge within Third World schools, field research was conducted in the West African city of Lome, Togo. During the Spring and Summer of 1979 research was carried out in one coeducational government secondary school located in the suburbs of Lome (referred to in this study as Lome Secondary School), with some additional data collected from a coeducational government elementary school, also located in Lome. A description of Lome

Secondary School and its student body, as well as the reasons for its selection are discussed below.

Selection and Description of Lome Secondary School

Lome Secondary School was selected for this study because of its open access, which fosters a student body representing a variety of socio-economic and ethnic groups of Togo, and its general program of study which serves both as a point of termination, and as preparation for higher education. The school's organization and curriculum are typical, due to nation-wide standardization by the Ministry of Education, and this representative nature allows this study's findings to be generalized to other secondary schools in Togo.

Though the school was located in the suburbs of Lome in Ewe tribal land, the student body represented a cross-section of the Togolese population. Thirty percent of the students were from non-Ewe tribes, and 53 percent reported leaving the capital during school vacations to return to homes located in rural areas or small towns. Based on an inventory of household items, such as telephones, piped water and television, it appears that the student body also represented various economic backgrounds. Fifty-eight percent came from medium-income families, while the remaining 42 percent were equally divided between low- and high-income brackets. While the school was composed mainly of Ewe students with extended exposure to the urban environment, the student body also had pupils from diverse tribal and economic backgrounds, including a considerable number with roots in rural Togo.

While Lome Secondary School had not fully met the government's guidelines for sexual equality in education, girls did comprise 44 percent of the school's 1,548 students, which is a significant increase over the previous enrollment level of 39.8 percent (1977-1978).

Lome Secondary School is composed of four grades (6ème, 5ème, 4ème and 3ème, from lowest to highest) and freely admits male and female students who successfully complete a six-year elementary school program. This study focuses on the 4ème level, the third year in the four-year secondary school program. The school serves both as a point of termination, and as preparation for the prestigious lycée, or other post-secondary training school, which might be attended after the successful completion of the secondary program, and the brevet examination. With few exceptions, only those students who complete their lycée program and pass the baccalaureate examination can attend the university.

The school day begins at 6:45 AM with the openi exercises consisting of patriotic songs, a flag raising ceremony, and announcements from teachers, administrators or the school prefects. Five classes are held continuously between 7:00 AM and 12:15 PM, with a 15 minute break at 10:00 AM. No food is prepared by the school, but female vendors do provide a selection of snacks which are purchased by students and staff throughout the morning. All students commute daily, and none board at the school.

Various courses in French, English, mathematics, science, history-geography, sports and music are mandated by the government, and taken by all students. Every student within each

grade level studies the same subjects, and each student assigned to a particular classroom has the same schedule of classes. For example, every 4ème pupil studies physics-chemistry, geology, mathematics, French, English, European history and geography, and sports. The only exception to this pattern is a weekly homemaking class which is only required for girls, though boys are free to remain as observers.

Classrooms were crowded with an average of 90 students each, and had only basic furnishings. Classrooms had 35 to 40 bench-like desks, each seating 3 students, a table and chair for the teacher, a storage cabinet, and chalkboards. A series of verandas connected the classrooms with partially closed walls.

The preceding description of Lome Secondary School not only acquaints the reader with the students and structure of the school, but also points out why it was selected for this study. Located in the capital, Lome Secondary School attracted a broad cross-section of students from varied ethnic and socio-economic groups. The school's open door policy and role as both a preparatory institution and as a point of termination decreased elitism and promoted a student body of varied abilities and goals. Finally, with a standardized system of education, Lome Secondary School's curriculum and structure closely resembled other secondary schools in Togo. The following section will describe how I studied Lome Secondary School and the messages being transmitted through its formal and informal curricula.

Methodology

To tap the dynamics of Lome Secondary School's learning

environment, a variety of research techniques and instruments were employed. Textbooks and the formal curriculum were examined, teachers completed questionnaires reflecting perceptions about their students, and classroom observations were conducted to determine if these values were transmitted through classroom interactions. Observations of the school's authority structure were conducted to determine systems of power and authority used by employees and observed by students. Finally, lengthy mother-tongue interviews were conducted with every third-year female student to ascertain the values and expectations held by these students. A sample of elementary school students was also interviewed to probe whether increased schooling affects expectations.

The Formal Curriculum: Textbooks and Curriculum

Textbook and curriculum analyses have consistently been a major focus of research designed to determine the extent and effects of sex-role differentiation within the school environment.[8] Current literature suggests that significant uneven sex-role differentiation occurs within the content of textbooks and curriculum, and that this biased approach transmits limited role expectations and aspirations to the female students educated within this environment.

To determine if these trends are also present within Lome Secondary School, all 4ème textbooks used in the school were analyzed, with special attention being paid to both the quantity of male versus female representation and the type of activity undertaken by each gender.

The Quantity and Visibility of Male Versus Female Characters.

When the subjects of each reading, illustration and exercise within the five Lème textbooks are catalogued by gender and visibility in a central or background role, two important trends appear. First, the bulk of all human subjects are found within the English, French and history textbooks, while the mathematics and science textbooks are nearly void of humans. Second, when an analysis of human subjects is undertaken, males are found at least twice as often as female characters. When people are present in textbooks, 70 percent of them are males, while only 30 percent are females.

Personal Attributes of Male Versus Female Characters. This marginal role is not limited to numbers however, for when those few female characters are analyzed by type of role and activity, themes of passivity, weakness and wickedness are consistently associated with women involved in frivolous social or home-nurturing activities. For example, the theme that males should be aware of treacherous and self-seeking females is well illustrated in the following excerpt from a chapter within the English textbook entitled "Ask Charity."

> Dear Charity,
>
> I am 16 years old. My girl-friend is taking "A" levels next year. She loves me very much but whenever she writes to me, she asks me for money. Last week she threatened that our love affair would end if I didn't send her any. Should I leave her? I wish you would tell me what to do.
>
> "Worried," Accra, Ghana
>
> CHARITY: You'd better leave her quickly before she gets you into trouble.
>
> 9

Women's stupidity, greediness and inherently wicked nature are also consistent themes used to explain the evils and unhappiness

found within society. For example, a reading from the English text entitled "The Magic Calabash" depicts a female character named Tunde, who is prompted by her poor widowed mother to negotiate with an evil witch for a magic calabash. Her sister Ayo warns her

> not to take a big one. But Tunde was greedy, so she grabbed the largest one she could find and ran home with it.
>
> When she got home, Ayo was afraid. "I begged you not to get a large one," she said. "Oh, don't be so silly, Ayo," said the widow. Tunde cut open the calabash but instead of silk, out jumped snakes and toads, cockroaches and scorpions. Tunde, Ayo and the widow ran for their lives, and they never came back to the house again.
>
> 10

When these same personal characteristics and activities are sorted according to central or background roles, the insignificance of females within the home textbooks is further underscored. Men are not only portrayed in twice as many central roles as females, but the characteristics portrayed in these central roles have pronounced gender-differentiation. For example, females are most often characterized in central roles associated with being "victims," as illustrated in the following excerpt from the students' English book.

> A young married woman went swimming in the river one morning. She didn't notice the crocodiles were watching her. Suddenly one of the crocodiles slipped into the water and caught her leg in its mouth. Another crocodile saw what was happening and attacked the first one, which let go of the girl to fight its attacker. While the two crocodiles were fighting each other, the poor woman swam slowly to the bank. Fortunately some people near the river heard her cries and carried her to hospital. The crocodiles stopped fighting when they saw their victim had gone. But when they went after her, the people threw stones at them.
>
> 11

Women and girls are also portrayed as victims of poverty who are made to suffer greater hardships than their male counterparts. The following excerpt emphasizes that sisters suffer more setbacks in a poor family than do their brothers.

> Once when I was eating in a restaurant in town, a little girl came up to me to give me some water to wash my hands with. When I talked to her, I found that her father had two sons who were in school, but that he hadn't enough money to send his daughter to school as well.
>
> 12

Occupations of Male Versus Female Characters. Though the 4ème textbooks present people in a wide variety of activities ranging from simple patterns of daily existence to more complex human interactions involving attributes of dominance or passivity, I will isolate those human activities directly related to occupations in order to identify patterns of role differentiation transmitted by textbooks. Later in this work I will compare occupational expectations with those held by the girls who study from these books.

Table 1, which summarizes the major job categories presented within the 4ème textbooks, emphasizes two themes; the marginality of females within the world of work, and gender-differentiation of appropriate tasks. Women are found in only 13 percent of all job-related roles, while males are featured in 87 percent of all work-oriented activities. Furthermore, while females are heavily represented in secretarial jobs related to "business, commerce," or as hairdressers or flight attendants within the "trades, transportation, labor" category, they are virtually non-existent in roles such as president or police officer within the categories of "leadership" or "defense, police."

To identify the actual career expectations being transmitted to the female students, it is necessary to break down these general career categories into more specific job classifications. Table 1 indicates that male subjects are well represented in a wide variety of job classifications including "political leader" (100 percent male), "scientist" (95 percent male), "teacher, professor" (97 percent male), "business leader" (95 percent male), "factory worker " (94 percent male), "transportation worker" (91 percent male), "military leader" (100 percent male) and "hunter" (93 percent male).

In contrast to this variety of job allocations, female characters appear in fewer and less diverse roles. Women are frequently present in careers such as "flight attendant" (100 percent female), "nurse" (83 percent female), "cottage industries" (57 percent female), "market worker" (46 percent female), "child care, parenting" (38 percent female), "laborer" (36 percent female), and "skilled trades" (35 percent female), but are present less than 25 percent of the time in the remaining 22 job categories found within the texts.

Even in the relatively glamerous job of flight attendant the nurturing and marginal role of women is reinforced. In an excerpt from the English text titled "I Want to be an Air-Hostess" emphasis is placed on the duties of serving food and tending babies, while underscoring the theme that charm is a major reason for being hired, and marriage a definite cause for dismissal.[13]

When important female historical figures are included, they are often described as someone's wife or mother, or emphasis is placed on their negative characteristics. For example, the

TABLE 1

Occupations Presented in Textbooks by Gender

Category	Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%
I. Leadership	9	3	258	97
A. Political Leader	0	0	146	100
B. Royalty, Nobility	9	10	78	90
C. Social, Religious Leader	0	0	27	100
D. Scoutmaster	0	0	7	100
II. Medical/Scientific	7	12	50	88
A. Scientist	2	5	40	95
B. Doctor	0	0	9	100
C. Nurse	5	83	1	17
III. Academic/Arts	25	11	210	89
A. Writer/Reporter	5	5	94	95
B. Artist/Musician	2	13	14	87
C. Teacher/Progessor	1	3	36	97
D. Headmaster	0	0	7	100
E. Student	17	22	59	78
IV. Business/Commerce	39	40	59	60
A. Boss, Dept. Head	1	5	18	95
B. Office Worker	2	18	9	82
C. Cottage Industry	24	57	18	43
D. Market Worker, Trader	12	46	14	54
V. Trades, Transport., Labor	31	34	59	66
A. Skilled Trades	7	35	13	65
B. Factory Worker	2	6	29	94
C. Laborer	4	36	7	64

TABLE 1 (continued)

Category	Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%
D. Transport. Worker	1	9	10	91
E. Flight Attendant	17	100		0
VI. Defense/Police	2	2	131	98
A. Military Leader	0	0	44	100
B. Police/Fire Officer	0	0	5	100
C. Armed Forces (enlisted)	2	3	64	97
D. Police/Fire (enlisted)	0	0	18	100
VII. Less Skilled/Independent Trade	21	16	108	84
A. Famous Explorer	0	0	36	100
B. Farmer/Fisher	7	16	37	84
C. Hunter	1	7	14	93
D. Childcare/Parenting	13	38	21	62
TOTAL	134	13	875	87

caption below a full-length picture of Ranavalona I (a former queen of Madagascar), while mentioning that she was active in politics, also points out that she was the "widow of King Radama I," and that "she is wearing state robes inspired by European design."[14] Later in the same textbook a discussion of the history of China includes a description of Empress Tseu Hi. She is portrayed as using "cruel and treacherous" means while attempting to restore the empire to its former greatness.[15] While this description may indeed be factually correct, emphasis on historical figures such as Tseu Hi distort and limit a student's knowledge regarding the role of women in history and society.

Though some females such as Queen Ranavalona or Empress Tseu Hi are presented in positions of high-status and power, the majority of females depicted in the texts are relegated to low-status occupations. For example females comprise a large portion of "business, commerce" occupations (40 percent female), but when these occupations are grouped according to status, only 5 percent of the high-status positions are held by women. The bulk of the female subjects are involved in low-status jobs such as "cottage industries" (57 percent female), and "market worker" (46 percent female). Likewise, 83 percent of the low-status "medical, scientific" occupations are assigned to women. Overall, when all jobs presented in the 4ème texts are divided into high- and low-status positions, women are cast in only 3 percent of all high-status occupations (20 out of 576 jobs).

The Formal Curriculum. In related literature the notion of differentiated curriculum takes on significance with regard to the type of learning environment to which students are exposed.

Curriculum uniformity within Lome Secondary School makes this argument moot. As discussed earlier, the official Lème class timetable and the observed classroom procedures effectively eliminate differentiation of curriculum according to gender. All Lème students, whether male or female, attend exactly the same classes each day, with the exception of one hour per week reserved for the girls' homemaking class. Even the sports classes were totally integrated, though activities such as shot-put did allow slightly lower levels of achievement for girls.

Outward curriculum uniformity, however, is no guarantee of equal opportunity within the classroom. As exemplified by Lome Secondary School, students may experience equal access to a school's curriculum, yet still be exposed to sex-role differentiation through curricular materials.

The content of Lome Secondary School's textbooks strongly indicates that the school, by recognizing and promoting such materials, is attempting to transmit messages of sex-role differentiation to its students. Though the outward appearance of the formal curriculum suggests uniformity and equality, the materials selected for classroom use are embedded with messages regarding the marginality of females, their weak or wicked nature, and their inability to perform all but the most simplistic jobs and activities.

However, while it is valuable to identify such transmissions through the formal curriculum, it is equally important to ask if these messages are evident in classroom interactions or teacher attitudes, and ultimately, if this reproduction of

sex-roles is actually internalized by the students themselves.

The following discussion will examine the informal curriculum, comprised of the school's authority structure, teacher attitudes, and classroom interactions to determine what messages are being transmitted to the students. I will later compare these messages with the girls' own values and expectations to test for internalization.

The Hidden Curriculum: The School's Authority Structure

While a school's formal curriculum and class texts form an essential portion of the learning environment, a student's exposure to real-life authority models and teacher differentiated values and expectations must also be recognized as important and viable means of transforming goals and allocating students into predetermined roles within society. The following discussion will focus on messages implicit within the school's authority structure by examining the division of labor, as well as the distribution of power and authority among the employees of Lome Secondary School. Particular attention will be paid to implicit messages regarding male and female divisions of labor within society.

The Administration and Office Staff. Lome Secondary School's administration and office staff consisted of eight full-time positions. The work these individuals performed was visible to the student body because, with the exception of the director's office, all non-instructional employees worked in areas to which students had easy access. Though not always in direct interaction with staff members, students often observed the director or

assistant director supervising the office staff or teachers in public areas such as the verandas, courtyards, or in the secretary's outer office. Students could watch staff members carry out administrators' instructions throughout the school compound.

An analysis of the non-instructional authority structure yields two important patterns regarding the division of labor and the distribution of power and authority. First, men hold the majority of all non-instructional positions (5 of 8 jobs, or 63 percent). Second, men possess a disproportionate amount of power and authority.

Men held all three positions which exercised authority over other school personnel. These positions included school director, assistant director and secretary. While women held three of the eight non-teaching posts, none of the positions allowed them to issue commands or make decisions. Students observed females in the roles of assistant secretary or typist, fulfilling male directives, with no visible power of their own. In the area of non-instructional personnel, Lome Secondary School clearly placed males in positions of power and responsibility, while females remained in clerical roles void of authority.

The Teaching Staff. While initially the official teacher roster appears more equally balanced with regard to male versus female participation (16 males versus 14 females) than the administrative and office staff, a similar sex-role division of labor exists. Though women account for 47 percent of the teaching staff, they comprise only 35 percent of the full-time

teaching staff. Six of the 7 part-time or on-leave teachers are female (86 percent).

Further analysis of the female staff reveals a relationship between marital status and teaching positions. Although a majority of the female teachers were married (9 of 14, or 64 percent), important differentiations regarding assignments appeared related to marital status. While all but one of the single female teachers held full-time teaching positions, less than half of the married teachers held similar positions. Of the 5 married teachers in relatively unstable positions, 2 were on maternity leave and 3 held part-time homemaking positions. Messages implicit within the staffing pattern of Lome Secondary School are clear. Marriage is a definite goal for females, but with it comes career instability.

An analysis of teaching assignments by gender suggests that male teachers are over-represented in all academic subjects, though their predominance over females was more obvious in the science than in the arts courses. (A staffing pattern which implies gender-differentiation of subject matter, and the association of males with the more prestigious science courses.) This high male teacher visibility in academic subjects is underscored by the fact that 65 percent of all full-time arts and science subjects are handled by male teachers, while only 35 percent are assigned to female teachers.

When an analysis of non-instructional teacher assignments is made, two important points emerge. First, more male teachers than female teachers are delegated non-instructional responsibilities, (men held 77 of the 125 assignments, or 62 percent).

Second, when those assignments are analyzed by type of activity, males are found to dominate positions assuming relatively high amounts of prestige or power. For example, departmental chair assignments favored men, with only three of the nine assignments being held by female staff. Women teachers, on the other hand, were the only staff members assigned the task of housekeeping monitor, which involved the supervision of female students responsible for cleaning classrooms, verandas and courtyards.

Students at Lome Secondary School not only saw more men than women in authoritative administration and teaching roles, but were also aware that male teachers were delegated non-instructional duties involving policy formation or student management. Conversely, female staff members were not only found in more marginal and unstable positions than men, but were also more likely to be identified with low prestige or maintenance duties.

However, while implicit messages regarding sex-role differentiation may be clear in Lome Secondary School's authority structure, we must ask what effect this informal curriculum has on the formation of student role expectations. Does the differential assignment of power by gender influence the way in which female students view their own lives and future careers? If the informal curriculum does indeed indeed have an effective role within Lome Secondary School, then one would expect female students to internalize expectations which include marriage and the attainment of low-prestige careers void of power or authority.

To determine the ability of the school's authority structure to influence student role expectations further analyses, including an evaluation of student held values and expectations will be undertaken. However, before this is done, other factors within the nonformal curriculum, including teacher attitudes and classroom interactions, will be examined to determine if they reinforce messages implicit within the school's authority structure.

The Hidden Curriculum: Teacher Attitudes

Teacher perceptions of students' abilities, class behavior and future careers are an integral part of the school's hidden curriculum. This paper will now explore attitudes and expectations held by the teachers of Lome Secondary School to determine if sex-bias occurs.

Methodology. All teachers at Lome Secondary School were asked to complete a questionnaire concerning their attitudes toward their male and female students. The questionnaire attempts to tap the personal attitudes and opinions of the teachers regarding their male versus female students by asking them to compare and/or describe their students in a variety of ways including career potentials, academic ability, and personality traits.

The results which follow, based on frequency counts, simply reflect the percent of teachers voicing a particular attitude or opinion. The discussion begins with an analysis of attitudes regarding male versus female students and concludes by asking if teacher perceptions can be explained by actual student behavior.

Teacher Perceptions of Male Versus Female Students. Teachers at Lome Secondary School perceive their students in a

variety of ways including academic inability, the need to be educated, and the likelihood of becoming teachers, office clerks, or market workers. Germane to the argument concerning the transmission of gender-based role expectations however, is the identification of teacher attitudes which appear to be differentiated on the basis of student gender. In the discussion which follows, I will compare and contrast teacher attitudes and opinions of their male and female students to determine if patterns of gender differentiation and role allocation exist.

Class Behavior. As Table 2 indicates, one-half of the teachers believe both their male and female students display good class behavior, though more teachers feel their girls exhibit negative behavior in the classroom than do their boys. For example, more teachers perceive their female students as "disruptive" and "unable to follow instructions," while believing male students display better attendance patterns. The only area where teachers perceive their female students as far superior to their male students is in the ability to "handle school property carefully."

Academic Performance. Teachers' perceptions of their students' academic abilities and performance are clearly differentiated by gender. Though an equally high percent of the teachers hold the opinion that both male and female students "should obtain as much education as possible," (79 percent of all teachers), for all other indicators of positive academic performance, with the exception of "understands instructions," male students are consistently perceived by more teachers as possessing positive academic abilities and potentials than are their female students.

TABLE 2

Teacher Characterization of

Male Versus Female Student Traits

(Percent of Teachers Selecting)

Trait	Male Students	Female Students
A. POSITIVE TRAITS		
1. Class Behavior	46	50
a. Follows Direction	53	58
b. Obeys Teachers/Staff	63	53
c. Attentive in Class	42	47
d. Handles School Property Carefully	5	47
e. Good Attendance	68	42
2. Academic Performance	51	28
a. Scholarly	47	26
b. Good in Mathematics	68	11
c. Aware of Current Events	53	16
d. Uses French Well	47	11
e. Likely to Succeed at Higher Education	74	37
f. Creative	32	5
g. Understands Instructions	42	58
h. Good Reader	37	21
i. Speaks Well	32	5
j. Independent Learner	53	47
k. Above Average Work	47	16
l. Should Obtain as Much Education as Possible	79	79
3. Social, Personal Characteristics	38	33
a. Responsible	63	11
b. Relates Well to Adults	47	47
c. Family Well Educated	37	53
d. Leadership Qualities	42	5
e. Hardworking	53	21
f. Relates Well to Students	32	42
g. High Education Goals	11	5
h. Neat Appearance	21	74
i. Families Have High Prestige/ Salary	37	42

TABLE 2 (continued)

Trait	Male Students	Female Students
4. Potential Careers	53*	40*
a. High Job Goals	42	32
b. Good Job After Education	63	47
c. Upper-Level/University Education Job	26	8
1. Medical/Scientific	29	11
2. Government/Law	28	8
3. Business	24	5
4. Education/Media	22	8
d. Mid-Level/Secondary Education Job	48	50
1. Nurse/Technician	37	51
2. Service Industry	34	29
3. Clerical/Small Business	43	47
4. Teacher	79	72
B. NEGATIVE TRAITS		
1. Class Behavior	42	51
a. Disruptive	32	47
b. Does not Follow Instructions	53	68
c. Inattentive	42	37
2. Academic Performance	30	55
a. Does not Profit from School	16	53
b. Should not be in School	26	21
c. Below Average Work	37	68
d. Can not Keep up with Class	21	32
e. Not Good in Science, Math.	21	74
f. Not Intelligent or successful in School	21	100
g. Not Expected to do Good Work	26	37
h. Not a Good Student	47	68
i. Not Good in Language, Lit.	58	42
3. Social, Personal Characteristics	21	54
a. Lacks Interest in School	32	63
b. Quiet/Submissive	16	53
c. Very Emotional	16	47

TABLE 2 (continued)

Trait	Male Students	Female Students
4. Potential Careers	44*	34*
a. Skilled Trades	54	26
1. Construction, Mechanical	59	11
2. Service Industries	49	41
b. Unskilled Jobs	34	42
1. Laborer	39	5
2. Market Worker	26	53
3. Household Worker	37	68

*Percent reflects average of items (a) and (b) only.

It is also important to point out the significant margin that separates the number of teachers perceiving these positive academic abilities as belonging to their male versus female students. At least twice (and in some cases 5 or 6 times) the number of teachers believe their male, rather than their female students are best described as "scholarly" "good in mathematics," "good in French," "aware of current events," "likely to succeed at higher education," "creative," and "doing above average work."

An examination of teacher perceptions regarding negative academic performance is just the reverse, with 55 percent of the teachers using negative traits to describe their female students, but only 30 percent of those same teachers describing their male students in similar negative terms. With the exception of "should not be in school" and "not good in language, literature," more teachers believe their female, than male students possess poor academic abilities, with 100 percent of the teachers perceiving their female students as "neither intelligent nor successful in school."

Social, Personal Characteristics. In both classroom behavior and academic performance teachers tend to describe their male students in more positive and productive terms, while perceiving their female students as possessing poorer habits and abilities. These perceptions carry over into a discussion of the teachers' characterization of student social and personal traits.

Reviewing the percent of teachers who perceive their students as having desirable social, personal characteristics, it is apparent that not only more teachers believe their male students display such positive traits, but that these male

students also possess the more substantive characteristics. For example, twice as many teachers perceive their male students as "responsible," "hardworking," "having leadership qualities," and "destined for higher education" as their female students. Those female students, on the other hand, only surpass the male students in items related to good grooming, social relationships or family background.

Negative social, personal characteristics are chosen by 2 to 3 times the number of teachers to describe their female, than male students. At least half of the teachers perceive their female students as "lacking interest in school," being "quiet, submissive," or "very emotional," while only 20 percent perceive their male students as displaying similar behavior.

In conclusion, while teachers perceive their students as possessing a combination of positive and negative personal characteristics, more teachers believe their male students display desirable traits, while their female students display inappropriate and less desirable behavior. In the following section I will ask if these negative teacher perceptions of female students' classroom behavior and academic ability carry over into career expectations.

Potential Careers. A perusal of teacher perceptions regarding their students' career potential underscores lack of teacher confidence in their female students' ability to obtain high-level and rewarding jobs. Not only do more teachers believe their male students possess higher job goals than their female students, but 3 times as many teachers believe their male students, (as compared to their female students), will obtain upper-level careers requiring university education.

While half of the teachers believe both their male and female students will select mid-level careers requiring secondary education, more teachers perceive that unskilled jobs requiring no formal training or education will be selected by female students than male students. Over one-half of these teachers believe their female students will become market workers, while almost 70 percent of these same teachers see their female students in future household careers of maid of wife.

A majority (54 percent) of the teachers believe their male students will join the construction or mechanical skilled trades, or choose jobs in the service industry once they complete their education. Teacher perceptions of skilled trades appropriate for their female students are generally limited to hairdresser and seamstress.

In conclusion, teachers perceive their students' career potential in very definite gender-differentiated patterns. Male students are consistently viewed as having the ability to obtain higher status and more highly skilled jobs, while female students are perceived as nurses, clerks, mothers or market workers.

Can Teacher Attitudes by Explained by Student Behavior?

While an examination of teacher gender, subject matter taught, or length of experience fails to explain the variance in the ways male versus female students are perceived by their teachers, is it possible that teacher attitudes can be explained by student behavior? To address this issue I will compare 2 measurable student behaviors, attendance rates and achievement levels, to determine if teachers' perceptions can be explained by actual student performance.

According to Table 2, 68 percent of the teachers feel boys have good attendance, while only 42 percent feel girls have equally good attendance. This attitude is not a reflection of actual attendance rates. Based on enrollment, 84.2 percent of the girls and 89.6 percent of the boys attended class. While boys maintained a higher attendance rate, the difference between the girls' and the boys' rates was only 5.4 percentage points, and thus it remains unclear why far more teachers perceive boys, rather than girls, as having good attendance.

If one looks at actual academic performance, and teacher attitudes regarding this performance, acute disparities between perceived and actual academic ability become apparent. For example, data presented in Table 2 reveal strong teacher bias toward the perceived academic superiority of male over female students. Sixty-eight percent of the staff believe male students are "good in mathematics," as opposed to only 11 percent for female students. Similar results were posted for other academic abilities, with far more teachers perceiving their male, rather than female students, as performing "above average work," "using French well," "aware of current events," and "likely to succeed in higher education." On the other hand, teachers are far more likely to perceive their female students as performing "below average work," "not intelligent or successful in school," and "not good in science and mathematics."

The actual academic performance of these students, as documented in official school records, does not support such teacher perceptions. The overall pass rate for female students is 31.4 percent, just 5.7 percentage points lower than the boys'

37.1 percent pass rate. Both girls and boys are essentially tied as 26 percent repeat levels, though slightly more girls than boys were expelled from school (36.4 percent for boys and 41.9 percent for girls).

Teacher perceptions of their students differentiate on the basis of gender. Teachers at Lome Secondary School perceive their female students as incompetent in school, irresponsible, and destined for future careers in teaching, nursing or as market women and domestic workers.

While these messages of female marginality and inability are similar to those embedded within the school's authority structure and textbooks, it is unclear whether these attitudes and perceptions are effectively transmitted in the classroom. The following discussion will focus on classroom interactions between the teachers and Ème students at Lome Secondary School to ascertain the type of messages transmitted by teachers to their students.

The Hidden Curriculum: Classroom Interactions

Lome Secondary School's hidden and formal curricula transmit attitudes and role expectations severly limiting female students' academic abilities and career potential. It is the purpose of this discussion to determine if these attitudes are being transmitted within the classroom through teacher-student interactions.

Methodology. Each period of observation began with notations concerning the subject matter, time and date of observation, teacher gender, and student attendance by gender. With

the teacher's permission, each observed class was taped for later review. As the class proceeded, I noted the frequency of activities, by student gender. During each observation period I also kept a brief journal describing detailed interactions, lesson content, and significant teacher and/or student remarks.

As the 4ème level was composed of four separate classes (A, B, C, and D) in concurrent sessions, my schedule was designed to allow relatively equal exposure to all classes and subjects during 160 hours of in-class observations. Simple frequency counts, based on student attendance, were used to determine the amount and type of student-teacher interactions.

Classroom Interactions of Male Versus Female Students. In the classes I observed, teachers chose a far greater number of male over female students to participate in classroom activities. Table 3 shows that almost twice as many male as female students were involved in classroom interactions (1030 times and 552 times respectively), though the male-female attendance figures were relatively equal (57.9 percent of all students attending were male while 42.1 percent were female). When interaction rates (excluding maintenance duties) are reported as a percent of males versus females attending class, male students were found to be more involved in every type of classroom interaction, with one exception. Based on attendance, both male and female students received equal amounts of negative reinforcement for poor behavior (1.6 percent each).

Nearly 40 percent of all male students attending were involved in some type of class interaction as opposed to 30 percent of the girls. When only positive academic interactions, such as answering

TABLE 3

Male Versus Female 4ème Students' Classroom Interactions

Student Interactions	Male Students			Female Students		
	N	Percent of Total		N	Percent of Total	
		Inter-actions	Attend-ance *		Inter-actions	Attend-ance *
1. Answers a Question	355	34.5	13.4	120	21.7	6.3
2. Reads, Recites in Class	162	15.7	6.1	104	18.8	5.4
3. Initiates a Question	157	15.2	5.9	43	7.8	2.2
4. Receives Positive Academic Response	117	11.4	4.4	56	10.1	2.9
5. Receives Negative Academic Response	150	14.6	5.7	88	15.9	4.6
6. Receives Negative Behavior Response	42	4.1	1.6	30	5.4	1.6
7. Assigned Class Maintenance Duties	47	4.6	1.8	111	20.1	5.8
TOTAL INTERACTIONS (Nos. 1-7)	1030	100.1	38.9	552	99.8	28.8
POSITIVE ACADEMIC INTER. (Nos. 1-4)	791	76.8	29.9	323	58.5	16.8
NEGATIVE INTERACTIONS (Nos. 5-6)	192	18.6	7.3	118	21.4	6.2

*Male attendance = 2,643. Female attendance = 1,921.

questions or working problems at the board are examined, almost twice the percentage of male students, as female students were involved (29.9 percent and 16.8 percent respectively). For example, a French lesson for the 4ème B class, which was attended by 42 males and 35 females, began with a lecture on superlatives and comparatives. After a brief lecture the teacher put several examples on the board which generally put males in positions of strength or intelligence (i.e. "Kofi (boy) was the smartest student in the class.") The teacher then engaged in oral repetition and boardwork, choosing 23 boys and 5 girls from those who volunteered. Two boys who had questions concerning the lesson were allowed to speak, and the entire class ended with a female student appointed to clean the chalkboards.[16]

Based on the number of interactions, female students experienced a higher percent of both negative responses to academic interactions and undesirable behavior than did the male students. Over 21 percent of all interactions for females involved negation of their academic activities and behavior as opposed to 18.6 percent of all similar male interactions.

Patterns of gender-differentiation become even clearer when each type of classroom interaction is presented as a percent of the total number of interactions. A perusal of these figures in Table 3 leads to an important conclusion. Over three-quarters of all male students' interactions pertain to academic activities, while nearly one-half of all female activities are related to maintenance duties or negative interactions. Nearly 77 percent of all interactions experienced by male students within the classroom are directly related to their involvement in scholastic endeavors (i.e. responding to a teacher's question or working a

mathematics problem at the board), while only 58.5 percent of all female students' interactions are of a similar nature. Conversely, 41.5 percent of all female students' interactions (but only 23.2 percent of all male students' interactions) are related to cleaning boards, passing back papers or receiving negative comments from their teachers.

Thus, male and female students may share the same classroom, but they do not necessarily share equal treatment and involvement in classroom interactions. Teachers appear to be transmitting both negative and limited perceptions of their female students' academic abilities and potential by exposing these girls to marginal classroom participation, negative reinforcement, and consistent association with menial maintenance tasks.

Passive Resistance Towards Gender-Differentiated Classroom Messages

Observations of classroom interactions not only reiterate themes of female marginality found within Lome Secondary School's formal and informal curricula, but also uncover a significant pattern of passive resistance by the female students toward these limited role allocations and expectations. This resistance, which takes the form of varied and repeated behavior demonstrating rejection or disinterest will now be discussed.

In the majority of observed classes a low rate of student classroom participation is furthered underscored by daily classroom procedures highlighting teacher-centered activities. In these classrooms, where a large amount of time is allocated to lectures and dictations, students accepted the passive roles of listener and/or notetaker, or demonstrated their disinterest in particular classes by talking or napping.

In particular, large numbers of girls (as compared to relatively few boys) passively rejected teacher-centered classes by openly appearing to sleep at their desks. Though mathematics and science classes proved to be the most popular classes to sleep through, no subject was spared demonstrations of disinterest. For example, classes in geology and history found girls dispatching and receiving airborne pens and pencils while others were engaged in paper wad fights. Nearly every class observed was attended by girls content with combing their hair, reading unrelated materials, writing letters, or doing homework for other courses.

While overall observations show that girls participated to a lesser degree than boys, it may be of their own choosing and not simply an act of exclusion by the classroom teacher. During my observations it was not apparent that the low rate of female participation was a deliberate attempt on the part of the teacher to ignore female students who wished to participate, but rather a habit of most teachers to choose from only those students who volunteered. Since few girls ever volunteered, few were called upon to participate. The teachers were rarely observed attempting to involve students who did not wish to be included. However, this interaction pattern might also be interpreted as a vicious cycle where the girls' apparent disinterest prompts the teacher to ignore them even more.

Yet, whatever the cause of weak participation patterns, when the girls were called upon to participate academically, they were neither shy nor withdrawn, receiving both academic and moral encouragement from the rest of the girls in the class. On occasions when girls worked at the board, other female students came to

their aid with various hints and answers. And though the girls were not always correct, they did not appear to perform any more poorly than their male counterparts, and in some cases, were able to correct a male student's error. For example, during a mathematics class several girls were called to the board to perform square root operations, which they did correctly. Later, when a boy assigned to work out a problem at the board began to make errors, a girl was called on to correct his mistakes, which she did without hesitation.[17]

Based on actual classroom observations, it seems that female students have opted to behave in a particular manner which limits their interaction with the teacher, but when actively engaged in classroom activities, they performed at least as well as, if not better than, their male counterparts. Regardless of teacher opinions and transmitted messages of inequality, the 4ème girls achieved relatively the same results as the 4ème boys in the school's official year-end report, while experiencing a smaller dropout rate than the male students. Based on a 2 year history of the observed 4ème class, male and female students' pass rates were relatively equal, though both declined from year to year.[18] However, what may prove more important is the apparent persistence of the girls to remain in school, instead of "cooling out" as the educational process continues. From official statistics for the 1977-1978 and 1978-1979 school years, the girls' enrollment levels within the observed classes at Lome Secondary School showed a 26 percent increase from 128 to 161 students, while the boys' enrollment decreased 15 percent from 218 down to 186 students.

What we observe at Lome Secondary School is not a rejection of education itself, but rather a process whereby girls "turn off"

much of what goes on in the classroom. Female students appear to ignore notions of inequality being transmitted within Lome Secondary School, while demonstrating determination to remain in that school until their education is complete.

In the discussion which follows I will expand the theme of resistance to include active rejection of teachers and schools as significant role models, and the internalization of expectations contrary to the school's transmitted role allocations.

Do Students Learn What Schools Teach? A Comparison of Student Attitudes and School Messages

As students do not necessarily learn what they are taught, it is unclear whether the 4ème girls have internalized messages transmitted through the hidden and formal curricula of Lome Secondary School. The following discussion will therefore be devoted to the question of whether girls share the attitudes and expectations promoted by Lome Secondary School, and whether schooling affects these attitudes. To do this I will first compare the students' expectations with those messages transmitted through the school to determine congruency with regard to the girls' education goals and career expectations. I will then compare these secondary school girls' values and expectations to a sample of elementary school girls to analyze the impact of schooling on students' attitudes.

Notes on Methodology. I interviewed all female 4ème students at Lome Secondary School (n=137), and a sample of final year elementary school girls (n=25). Students were interviewed in the Ewe language and asked open-ended questions concerning their own

opinions on women, job expectations and future goals. To eliminate all factors except the length of exposure to Western education and age, the Lòme population and elementary school sample were carefully matched. Both schools were coeducational government day schools located in the suburbs of Lome, and both student groups had similar backgrounds with regard to factors such as religion, tribe and urban experience.

Active Resistance

While the previous discussion highlighted various behaviors interpreted as passive resistance to the transmission of inequality and limited role expectations, it does not adequately reflect the entire female students' reactions to such inequality. From lengthy interview sessions, data were gathered which underscores both active rejection of teachers and schools as significant role models, and the expression of expectations contrary to transmitted role allocations.

Based on the results of the secondary and elementary interviews it appears that active rejection of teaching as a potential career increased with exposure to school. When asked if there was any adult in their school that they would want to be like, 44 percent of the elementary school girls, and 65 percent of the secondary school girls replied "no." This growing unpopularity of teaching as a potential career is even more evident from data gathered concerning the jobs most likely to be refused by the girls. The rejection of teaching rose from 8 percent of the elementary sample to 45 percent of the secondary population. The reasons given for their refusal to consider teaching suggest that the students view the career as without status or respect, and plagued by student

harassment. For example, the following are reasons given by the secondary girls for refusing to become teachers:

"It is without thanks or reward."

"Pupils don't respect their teachers."

"Teaching will make you old early."

This negation of teaching as a credible and respected profession seriously questions the ability of teachers to act effectively as positive role models.

Educational and career expectations, which are contrary to perceptions being transmitted through the school environment, assume a second form of active resistance by female students. Through a series of open-ended interview questions an assessment of the 4ème girls' own values and expectations will be compared to the previously discussed messages transmitted through the learning environment to determine if internalization or resistance has occurred.

Educational Expectations. When the female students were asked how much education they actually expected to obtain, 63 percent selected lycée (an approximate equivalent to the American junior college), and 20 percent selected university education as their goal. When asked how much education they desired, 39 percent chose lycée or other post-secondary training, and 60 percent selected university.

Beyond these statistics, however, are a rich blend of goals and reasons for wanting to obtain such high levels of education. From the sample of comments given below it is clear that the girls of Lome Secondary School not only view education as necessary for obtaining a respected, well paying job, and fulfilling family

responsibilities, but also view it as an important tool for achieving equality within Togolese society. The following are replies to the question, "How much education should a woman try to obtain, and why?"

"Lycée. In order to have a good job and a good salary."

"University. To be able to help some poor people in my family.

"University. To be famous and have the same rights as men."

"To go as far as men in school, because we are all humans."

This admirable determination to achieve a high level of education is in remarkable contrast to both their teachers' perceptions and the low rate of reinforcement experienced within the classroom. Reviewing for a moment the data on teacher attitudes (see Table 2), it will be remembered that 100 percent of the teachers perceived their female students as neither intelligent nor successful in school, while only 22 percent of the girls participating in academic activities within the classroom received positive reinforcement from their teachers. With such low rates of class involvement and teacher encouragement it is difficult to explain why 83 percent of the girls exposed to this environment have internalized high educational goals involving the lycée or university.

Secondary Girls' Entry into the Work Force. The 4ème girls of Lome Secondary School displayed both high educational goals and a definite purpose for attending school; attitudes which were not shared by their teachers who expected low levels of achievement and perceived education as superfulous to their female students' future lives. I will now discuss the girls' career expectations to determine if similar discrepancies exist.

The secondary school girls' desire to become an important part of the future work force is reflected in their attitudes concerning women and work. When asked what was the most important thing a woman could do in her lifetime, Table 4 shows that the number one choice was to "obtain a well paying job" (74.1 percent), with "marriage and housework" (18.0 percent), and "education/support children" (3.6 percent) placing a distant second and third respectively.

This desire to become an active part of the work force contrasts markedly with images of women prevalent in the 4ème textbooks. Only 21 percent of all gender-specific activities within the 4ème textbooks featured women, and of them, only 7.6 percent of the women held careers of any type. Thus entry into the work force, while being a primary goal of the secondary school girls, is almost negligible as an expected role for women in the curricula materials at Lome Secondary School.

Over 95 percent of the 4ème girls both desired and expected to become part of Togo's work force after completing their education. Most girls also anticipated entering the modern sector of the work force, with 43.1 percent expecting medical careers, 23.4 percent expecting professional or semi-professional jobs except teaching (i.e. pharmacist, lawyer or journalist), and 18.2 percent anticipating clerical employment. When these data are contrasted with messages transmitted through the learning environment of Lome Secondary School significant incongruencies emerge. For example, while nearly half of the girls expect to enter medical careers, only 11.7 percent of the teachers perceive their female students obtaining such employment, and only 5.6 percent of all employed women portrayed in the texts had medical jobs.

TABLE 4

4ème Students' Occupational Aspirations

I. What is the Most Important Thing a Woman Can Do?

	Activity	% of 4ème Girls	% of Women in Textbooks
1.	Obtain a Well-Paying Job.	74.1	7.6
2.	Marriage & Housework.	18.0	5.2
3.	Educate/Support Children.	3.6	1.0
4.	To be Educated.	2.9	1.2
5.	Have own Home.	1.4	0.0

II. Entry into the Work Force (Selected Careers)

Job	% 4ème Girls		% Teachers' Expectations	% of Roles in Texts
	Expect	Desire		
I. Medical	43.1	44.1	11.7	5.6
II. Professional & Semi-Prof.	23.4	23.1	12.4	15.3
(Teaching)	(3.6)	(3.5)	(14.1)	(14.5)
III. Clerical	18.2	21.0	16.2	1.6
IV. Misc.				
a) Sales/ Service	4.4	5.6	20.0	16.1
b) Market Worker	2.9	0.7	3.4	9.7
c) Skilled Trades	0.7	0.0	13.1	26.6
d) Housewife	0.0	0.0	9.0	10.5
V. Don't Know	3.6	2.1	0.0	0.0

Conversely, entrance into the work force through sales-service, teaching, marketing, or in skilled trades such as hairdresser was emphasized by the teachers and textbooks. These careers were of little interest to the girls. Not one girl selected "housewife" as a career, while approximately 10 percent of the teachers' perceived career expectations and 10 percent of the female career roles within the texts portrayed women as wives and mothers. It should be noted however, that both the teachers and their female students perceived clerical positions as likely future careers for girls. Eighteen percent of the 4ème girls expected to enter the work force in clerical positions, while 16.2 percent of the teachers expected the girls to obtain similar jobs.

In summary, a majority of the 4ème girls expected that education and training would allow them to enter well paying, respectable, professional careers. Their teachers anticipated far more restricted employment opportunities for their female students, and limited advancement into professional and well paying jobs.

Secondary Girls' Specific Career Expectations. The previous analyses concerning female student abilities, educational expectations, and entry into the work force showed significant discrepancies between student opinion and messages transmitted through the school. It is not evident, however, that the girls totally reject education and all values and expectations being transmitted through Lome Secondary School's formal and informal curricula. For example, while students rebuffed messages which perceived them solely as nurturing mothers or maintenance workers, they remained convinced that education was an invaluable tool for achieving their own goals.

This process of sorting through the school's messages, and rejecting those expectations contrary to the girls' predetermined goals is even more evident when specific occupational expectations are discussed. For example, both teachers and girls share the belief that nurse-midwife, cashier, and secretary are likely potential careers. However, when expectations concerning highly skilled careers such as lawyer or doctor are compared, the girls appear to reject the pessimism of their teachers. As Table 5 shows, 16.1 percent of the girls, but only 2.1 percent of the teachers selected doctor, while 7.3 percent of the girls and 1.4 percent of the teachers selected lawyer.

Conversely, students appeared to avoid careers such as teacher, stewardess, typist, small shop owner, and trader which were perceived by their teachers as being potential careers for their female students.

In conclusion, girls attending Lome Secondary School do not reject in totality the messages of the school. Rather, they reject the attempt by the school to allocate them out of particular careers within the modern sector work force. Schools may have impact on students' career expectations, but to understand this function a comparison of attitudes must be made between secondary and elementary school girls.

Exposure to Western Education: Does Schooling Affect Student Attitudes?

The female students of Lome Secondary School do not reject education itself, but do appear to resist messages at odds with their own attitudes and expectations. Yet it remains unclear

TABLE 5

Specific 4ème Girls' Career Expectations

Career	4ème Girls (%)	Teachers Selecting (%)
I. Medical	43.1	26.8
a) Midwife/Nurse	24.8	21.9
b) Doctor	16.1	2.1
c) Hospital Worker	1.5	0.0
d) Lab. Technician	0.7	2.8
II. Professional	14.6	2.8
a) Lawyer	7.3	1.4
b) Engineer	3.6	0.7
c) Architect	1.5	0.0
d) Political Leader	1.5	0.7
e) Pharmacist	0.7	0.0
III. Education	6.6	9.9
a) Secondary Teacher	4.4	8.5
b) University Professor	1.5	0.7
c) Secondary School Dir.	0.7	0.0
IV. Communications/Travel	8.0	12.7
a) Stewardess	4.4	9.2
b) Journalist	2.2	2.1
c) News Broadcaster	1.5	1.4
V. Office/Clerical	19.0	33.8
a) Cashier	8.8	9.2
b) Secretary	6.6	10.6
c) Accountant	2.2	0.7
d) Bookkeeper	0.7	1.4
e) Typist	0.7	12.0
VI. Small Business/Trader	4.4	14.1
a) Own Small Business	2.9	7.0
b) Trader	1.5	7.0
VII. Don't Know	4.4	0.0

whether the school can affect these attitudes. To address this question I will examine a younger group of female students with less education to see how schooling affects students' attitudes and expectations.

Secondary Versus Elementary School Students' Desires to Enter the Work Force. Though Lome Secondary School did little to promote high educational goals among its female students, the school appears to have had little effect on their relatively high expectations. I will now ask if the school affects students' expected entry into the Togolese work force.

Earlier in this paper I discussed how secondary school girls held high expectations regarding their entry into the Togolese work force, though Lome Secondary School did little to encourage them in this regard. I will now ask whether students' desire to enter the work force diminishes as their length of schooling increases. If it does, then the school will appear to be effective in limiting students' career expectations.

As Table 6 indicates, increased schooling has not made girls any less desirous to enter the work force. On the contrary, the more girls attend school, the stronger their resolve to obtain high-status positions within the modern sector of the Togolese work force. When asked "What is the most important thing a woman can do?", the data in Table 6 underscore two important points. First, increased exposure to Western education has increased the perceived importance of becoming an active part of the work force (65.2 percent of the elementary school students and 74.1 percent of the secondary school students replied that "To obtain a well paying job" was the most important thing a woman could do. Second,

TABLE 6

Elementary Versus Secondary Students'

Career Expectations

I. What is the Most Important Thing a Woman Can Do?

	Activity	% of 4ème Girls	% of Elem. Girls
1.	Obtain a Well-Paying Job	74.1	65.2
2.	Marriage & Housework	18.0	26.0
3.	Educate/Support Children	3.6	4.3
4.	Be Educated	2.9	4.3
5.	Have own Home	1.4	0 0

II. Specific 4ème and Elementary School Girls' Career Expectations

	Career	4ème Girls (%)	Elem. Girls (%)
I.	Medical	43.1	64.0
	a) Midwife/Nurse	24.8	56.0
	b) Doctor	16.1	8.0
	c) Hospital Worker	1.5	0.0
	d) Lab. Technician	0.7	0.0
II.	Professional	14.6	4.0
	a) Lawyer	7.3	0.0
	b) Engineer	3.6	0.0
	c) Architect	1.5	4.0
	d) Political Leader	1.5	0.0
	e) Pharmacist	0.7	0.0

TABLE 6 (continued)

	Career	4ème Girls (%)	Elem. Girls (%)
III.	Education	6.6	4.0
	a) Secondary Teacher	4.4	4.0
	b) University Professor	1.5	0.0
	c) Secondary School Dir.	0.7	0.0
IV.	Communications/Travel	8.0	4.0
	a) Stewardess	4.4	0.0
	b) Journalist	2.2	4.0
	c) News Broadcaster	1.5	0.0
V.	Office/Clerical	19.0	12.0
	a) Cashier	8.8	4.0
	b) Secretary	6.6	4.0
	c) Accountant	2.2	0.0
	d) Bookkeeper	0.7	0.0
	e) Typist	0.7	4.0
VI.	Small Business/Trader	4.4	0.0
	a) Own Small Business	2.9	0.0
	b) Trader	1.5	0.0
VII.	Don't Know	4.4	8.0

increased schooling has decreased the importance of women marrying and performing household chores. Only 26.0 percent of the elementary school students and 18.0 percent of the secondary school girls selected these activities as the most important thing a woman can do.

Status and Diversification of Expected Careers. While the school does not appear to affect their female students' desires to become active members of the Togolese work force, it does have the effect of diversifying girls' expectations regarding the type of work they will obtain.

Though secondary school girls who changed their expectations did not necessarily accept lower-status roles within the work force (i.e. housewife or market worker), the data refelect two important trends. First, more secondary girls are more likely to choose from a wider variety of higher-status occupations. As Table 6 shows, a greater percent of secondary school girls than elementary school girls expected to become doctors, pharmacists, lawyers, engineers and political leaders. Second, the data find secondary school girls more likely to accept "female" occupations such as stewardess, cashier, secretary or other clerical jobs.

In conclusion, increased exposure to schooling does not limit secondary school girls' career expectations, nor does it lower the status of these future jobs. On the contrary, modifications noted between elementary and secondary school samples suggest that schools affect job expectations by diversifying expected careers to include high-status jobs (i.e. doctor) and more "female" careers (i.e. stewardess). Most elementary school girls expect to be nurse-midwives or to have clerical jobs. In proportion, far fewer secondary girls expect to be nurse-midwives,

choosing rather to become professionals (i.e. doctor or lawyer), or selecting more gender-appropriate jobs such as office clerk, small business owner or airline stewardess.

The preceding discussion has been concerned with the question of whether girls share the attitudes promoted by the school, and if these attitudes are affected by schooling. By analyzing student attitudes and expectations it appears that the girls of Lome Secondary School carefully sort through the messages being transmitted through the educational environment. They reject those attitudes which do not reinforce their own expectations, while remaining supportive of education in general as a valuable tool in obtaining these goals.

While the school remains an indispensable tool for achieving career goals and expectations, it often transmits messages incongruent with known female work force participation. Because of this disparity we can conclude that students do not necessarily learn what they are taught, and that factors outside the school may help predict which messages transmitted through the school will be internalized by the students. Schools appear most effective in shaping attitudes and role expectations which are already reinforced by Togolese society (i.e. women as nurses and secretaries). Conversely, the school is less successful in molding attitudes which find little support in known female work force participation, such as women in the roles of full-time housewives and mothers.

Concluding Remarks

Though this paper is a case study of Togolese secondary education, it speaks to a variety of broader issues regarding

comparative education, women's education, and the role of education in the Third World. In particular my study focuses on themes of reproduction in Third World schools, the role of education in the modernization process, access and content of schooling in the perpetuation of inequality, and the school's effect on Third World women's attitudes.

Apple's work on the reproduction of inequality in education suggests that in-school processes direct different knowledge to different folks.[19] However, in the case of Third World schools, this process may not involve the reproduction of societal inequalities, but rather the legitimation of Western notions of sex-role divisions of labor which are not necessarily practiced in the Third World. My study suggests that when the reproduction argument is extended to the Third World, the schools, as former colonial institutions, may not simply reproduce inequalities within that particular society but may also transmit a new set of sex-role divisions of labor. As an example of this process, my study points to Togolese schools which transmit images of women as unproductive housewives and mothers. These roles are incongruent with Togolese society and labor force participation patterns.

A principal theme in contemporary compartive literature has been the role of schools in the modernization process, and its effect on the status of women. One argument, advanced by Van Allen, Boserup, Nash and Safa and others suggests that women's status has steadily declined as they are displaced from the modern work force and denied modern technical education.[20] Another interpretation suggests that schools may intervene to reverse the effects of modernization on women's declining status, provided

schools offer equal access and curriculum content.[21]

This study reinforces the argument that Third World schools may intervene to reverse the effects of modernization on women's declining status, provided schools offer equal opportunity to all students. In addition, the study suggests that even Third World schools with gender-biased informal curricula can be used by girls to obtain upward social mobility, provided such sex-role divisions of labor are not reinforced by society.

As literature on women's education and Third World education grow, themes regarding inequality, its causes, and its outcomes reoccur. At the core of these issues is the debate over the role of access and curricular content in the attainment of equal educational opportunities for girls. Scholars such as Eliou, Robertson and others suggest that equality is not simply an issue of access, but of curricular content as well.[22] Their research indicates that Third World girls are not only discriminated against in selection and access, but once admitted into school, girls are also exposed to an unequal distribution of knowledge.

My research expands this issue by examining the unequal distribution of knowledge in Third World schools which appear to offer both equal access and a uniform curriculum for all students. In the case of Lome Secondary School, the informal curriculum reproduced a significant pattern of sex-role differentiation, even when the school outwardly reflected uniformity and equality. These findings urge researchers to look beyond the issues of equal access to the school and its curriculum when determining if equal educational opportunity exists for all students. My study shows that a uniform curriculum and open access policy do not necessarily

eliminate discrimination, and that careful analysis of the differential distribution of knowledge to various groups of students must also be undertaken.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this study, however, is its focus on the actual effect of gender-based knowledge on female student attitude formation. While studies by Masemann, Mbilinyi and others have examined the attitudes of students exposed to Western schooling, none have emphasized the relationship between in-school processes, the hidden curriculum, and the formation of student attitudes.[23] This research makes a major contribution by not only identifying what constitutes the hidden curriculum, but by focusing on how this curriculum actually affects female attitudes.

This case study of Lome Secondary School has shown a significant amount of Western sex-role expectations being transmitted through various in-school processes. It has also focused on the girls' determination to remain in school and to use the school to obtain relatively high-status careers not necessarily reinforced by the school's hidden curriculum. While there is still a great need to determine the longitudinal effectiveness of the schooling experience, my research suggests that the ability of the school's hidden curriculum to modify female students' attitudes appears related to its congruence with established roles for women within society.

NOTES

[1]See: Judith Van Allen, "Modernization Means More Dependency," The Center Magazine, Vol. 7, No. 3, May/June 1974,pp. 60-67. Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, Becoming Modern, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). W.G. Bowens, "Assessing the Economic Contributions of Education," in M. Blaug (editor), Economics of Education, (New York: Pergamen Press, 1970), pp. 67-100.

[2]See: Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973). Kenneth Little, African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973). June Nash and Helen Safa (editors), Sex and Class in Latin America, (New York: Praeger, 1976).

[3]Ernesto Schiefelbein and Joseph P. Farrell, "Women, Schooling, and Work in Chile: Evidence from a Longitudinal Study," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 24, No. 2, Part 2, June 1980, pp. S 160- S 179.

[4]Lenore J. Weitzman and Diana Rizzo, "Sex Bias in Textbooks," Today's Education, Vol. 64, Jan/Feb. 1975, pp. 49+.

[5]David R. Evans, Teachers as Agents of National Development: A Study of Uganda, (New York: Praeger, 1971).

[6]Donald Holsinger, "The Elementary School as Modernizer, A Brazilian Case Study," in Inkeles and Holsinger, (editors), Education and Individual Modernity in Developing Countries, (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 24-46.

[7]Vera Rubin and Marisa Zavalloni, We Wish to be Looked Upon: A Study of the Aspirations of Youth in a Developing Society-Trinidad, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969).

[8]See: Susan L. Wiik, "The Sexual Bias in Textbook Literature," English Journal, Vol. 62, (February 1973), pp. 224-8, and Lenore J. Weitzman, "Sex-Role Socialization in Picture Books for Preschool Children," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 77, No. 6, (May 1972), pp. 1125-50.

[9]David Mills, Boniface Zodéougan, Tim Doust and Barry Tomalin, English for French-Speaking Africa, (Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, 1974), p. 87.

[10]Mills, English for French-Speaking Africa, p. 47.

[11]Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[12]Ibid., p. 105.

[13]Ibid., p. 19.

[14]Institut Pédagogique Africain et Malgache, Histoire: Le Monde Contemporain de Début du 19e Siècle à Nos Jours (Paris: EDICEF, 1973), p. 157.

[15]Ibid., p. 220.

[16]Field Notes/Tapes: Lome Secondary School, 4B French Class, 14 May, 1979.

[17]Field Notes/Tapes: Lome Secondary School, 4A Mathematics Class, 10 May, 1979.

[18]Fifty-five percent of the male and female students passed in 1977-1978, with 39 percent of the males and 32 percent of the females passing in 1978-1979. The 1977-1978 figures reflect the 4ème students when they were in the preceding 5ème class.

[19]Michael W. Apple, Ideology and Curriculum, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

[20]Judith Van Allen, "Sitting on a Man: Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of Igbo Women," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1972, pp. 165-182. Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development. Nash and Safa, Sex and Class in Latin America.

[21]See: Schiefelbein and Farrell, "Women, Schooling, and Work in Chile."

[22]Marie Eliou, "Scolarisation et Promotion Feminines en Afrique Francophone," International Review of Education, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1973, pp. 30-46. Jeremy D. Finn, Janet Reis and Loretta Dolberg, "Sex Differences in Educational Attainment: The Process," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 24, No. 2, Part 2, June 1980, pp. S33-S52. Claire C. Robertson, "The Nature and Effects of Differential Access to Education in Ga Society," Africa, Journal of the International Institute, London, Vol. 47, No. 2, 1977, pp. 208-219.

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