

## **HisStory in the Feminized Teaching Profession in the Philippines**

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*Teaching has become a feminized profession, especially in elementary teaching, in which it is regarded as “women’s work.” Concerns about the “extinction” of men in the field resulted in calls for male teachers. While studies indicate that there is positive discrimination in favor of men (despite the feminization of teaching), it appears that there are also forms of discrimination that work against them. As such this study explored the challenges of being a male in the feminized profession from the perspective of male teacher candidates. Studies in the field of teacher education in the Philippines mainly focus on curriculum and students’ academic achievement, hence an inquiry must be done on the plight of male teachers in a gendered profession. A phenomenological study was employed to look into the realities of six male teacher candidates. Findings show that male teachers are: (1) leadership-destined; (2) conflicted; (3) limited; and (4) devalued. The narrative of male teachers in the Philippine education sector reveals the need to revisit programs and policies in professional development and support. Finally, recommendations are made for teacher education programs to guide teacher candidates' experiences towards a more inclusive profession.*

*Keywords: Male discrimination, male teacher candidates, feminization, heterosexual male teachers*

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## 1. Introduction

Perceptions of teaching as “women’s work” (Kelleher et al., 2011; Martino W. J., 2008) are very much evident in the feminization of teaching. This is especially true at the elementary level where 65.73% of teachers are females as of 2017 according to World Bank data. The same is true in the Philippines where 87.54% of teachers at the primary level are females, as of 2016 (World Bank Data, retrieved August 2019).

More interestingly, the World Bank data shows that the percentage of women in the teaching profession appears to be rising steadily. This phenomenon has evoked much concern as men are being regarded as the “dying breed” in schools (Thomas, 2016). Further, Clifford indicated that from 1885 to World War I, magazines and professional journals noted that feminization is driving men out of teaching (Martino W. J., 2008).

Consequently, there have been efforts to recruit males to the profession, anchored on concerns that include the need for male models, boys’ underperformance, and others. However, studies such as that of Carrington, Tymms, and Merrell (2008), Lahelma (2000), and Driessen (2007) provided empirical data that question role model and boys’ underachievement arguments.

Further, the findings of Rabelo (2013) from Rio de Janeiro indicated that despite the feminization of teaching, there is still “positive discrimination” (p. 920) for men, which provides them ease in access and progression when it comes to their career. Similarly, Bongco and Abenes (2019) argued that men remain advantaged in the profession in as much as career promotion is concerned due to their social conditions. This seems to suggest that throughout the decades, gender status has changed much in the profession. Correspondingly, Grumet claimed in her autobiography “Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching” (1988) that despite women’s overrepresentation in the field, they still lack true control and are governed by a predominantly male system (Wooten, 2011).

However, in the same study, Rabelo (2013) found that teaching has representations that serve to discriminate against men in other ways than positive. These representations include discrimination against the child-care skills of men, suspicions over their sexuality, and of being pedophiles. Most of these representations are rooted in the social constructions of gender, such as that caregiving- especially of young children- is a feminine work (Lee & Lee, 2016), which could be attributed to the “gendering” of individuals into their expected social roles that begins at birth (Dionisio, 1994).

While the presentation of “men as victims” amidst the feminization of teaching is critiqued, with Martino (2008) asserting that this represents “defensive masculinity (p.192)”, our paper argues that genuine efforts towards inclusivity should go both ways, as gender issues could serve to limit both sexes. In concluding their paper, “Man Question in Teaching,” Coulter and

Greig (2008) echo Wells' (1981) assertion that the “whole question” of teaching is not about sex but about ability and character. We argue, however, that this is only the case if the gender issues surrounding the profession for both males and females are sufficiently exposed and recognized.

As such, we undertook this study to explore the challenges of being male in a feminized teaching profession in the Philippines, in the eyes of male teacher candidates. Findings could provide Teacher Education programs with an insight into how to provide male teacher candidates with an inclusive glimpse of their roles in the profession.

### **1.1 Feminization of Teaching**

Numerous studies have affirmed how teaching as a profession has been regarded as feminine work. According to Mim (202), economic factors contribute to “masculine and feminine work experience” and because of this, teaching is viewed with the assumed gender-related characteristics that go with it. Similarly, a majority of women are observed in the teaching sector since “they feel accepted” and the profession provides them tenure (job security) (Wang & Samba, 2019). How socio-cultural factors greatly contribute to the phenomenon is indeed noteworthy. A study has found that this issue has not been discussed even in the context of teacher training (Auvinen, 2020).

Some researchers have also delved on the concept of teaching primarily involving women in light of professional development, work performance, and other aspects. Teachers were found to be effective teaching girls, thus creating an impact on gender gaps in test scores (Muralidharan & Sheth, 2016). Similarly, Hassen (2016) concluded how action research is seen by female teachers to be an avenue of opportunities, given their sophisticated roles at home and school. To address concerns regarding the presence of women in the teaching profession, Rana, Islam, and Ali (2018) recommended that gender biases should be erased, provision of services be made available to both genders, and that facilities be improved to curb harassment. In so doing, it is expected that the satisfaction and work performance of women will increase.

Undoubtedly, with women taking up the majority of the teaching posts, related issues and concerns are still evident. Cultural, social, and even economic factors have heightened the experience, whether of improvement or worsening. Teaching as a feminized profession is a phenomenon that needs to be scrutinized not just among in-service personnel, but even in the training of future teachers (pre-service) to gauge the gravity of the issue.

### **1.2 Male Teachers in the Profession**

The underrepresentation of male teachers in the profession creates pressing discourse in the teaching realm. According to Scott (2016), who offered commentary in the context of special education programs, one way to address the issue is by providing funding priorities to education

programs to attract male applicants. In Australia, the following steps have been taken to increase the number of male teachers: salary increases, tenure, and incentives (McGrath & Van Bergen, 2017). In the context of black male teachers, social justice and education are two crucial factors to advocate teaching as an attractive career (El-Mekki, 2018). The contribution made by male teachers to the teaching profession provides a crucial narrative for how teaching should be seen as a career where men and women could thrive and co-exist. The invitation to the teaching profession is open to all those who would willingly take the challenge despite the obvious flaws and imperfections of educational system. Looking at reasons why male teachers stay in the profession, Joseph (2015) claimed that this is mainly due to passion and a positive mindset as role model for boys.

Studies cited in this research reflect a pressing concern about the status of the teaching profession. It can be noted that the feminized teaching career is not limited to geographical boundaries and cultural periphery. Despite the particular social and environmental set-up, teaching is seen and accepted as a work for women and men who make up the minority of the workforce that is seen as marginalized and stereotyped. Feminization of the teaching profession goes beyond culture and society and the narrative of male teachers reveals a much more serious concern that needs to be addressed.

## **2. Methodology**

This study employed a phenomenological design which is a qualitative research design that looks into the shared meanings that people have about their common lived experiences. Phenomenology provides not only a description but also an interpretation of these lived experiences (Creswell, 2007). This design is best suited for the study because it seeks to extract the male teacher candidates' shared meanings on their position in the feminized teaching profession in the country. Further, the design permitted the researcher to amplify the voices of male teacher candidates who are underrepresented in the elementary teaching profession.

### **2.1 Participants and Sampling**

Participants were selected for this study using purposive sampling (Padilla- Diaz, 2015). Inclusion criteria that guided the selection of the participants are (1) elementary teacher education candidates who have completed their pre-service teacher education; (2) without formal teaching employment experience; (3) who identify themselves as heterosexual males; and (4) with masculine gender identity. This means that the participants' conceptions about their position in the profession are mainly rooted in their pre-service training which includes theory and concept, methodology, as well as field study courses (which culminate in the student teaching program).

Six participants were selected, who make up 50% of the total male population in their graduating batch of Bachelor in Elementary Education. The table below summarizes the profile of the six participants.

Table 1

*Profile of Participants*

<b>PARTICIPANT NAME (Pseudonym used)</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Civil Status</b>	<b>Grade Level/s assigned to handle during Student Teaching Program</b>
Sir Romeo	24	Single	4 and 5
Sir Mel	36	Single	6
Sir Drek	20	Single	6
Sir Polo	23	Single	4
Sir Tasyo	21	Single	5 and 6
Sir Vee	20	Single	2

## 2.2 Data Gathering and Validation

Data were gathered through individual semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A) in 2019. The research instrument was sent to four experts in the field of education, human resources, educational leadership, and curriculum and instruction. Content and constructs are two particular concerns addressed during the instrument validation phase. The comments raised by the validators were gathered and integrated to come up with the finalized research instrument. Each of the six interviews lasted for an average of 30.24 minutes. Follow-up online interviews were also conducted to verify the data and to give the participants the chance to give further details (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, as cited by Padilla- Diaz, 2015). Questions that explore how the participants experienced the phenomenon under study include the following:

What are the roles of a male teacher in school? What about a female teacher?

What are the roles that you think would be challenging for you as a male teacher?

Data were transcribed and translated into English before analysis. The structural analysis which is the interpretation of how the data were expressed by the participants (Padilla-Diaz, 2015) was incorporated into the transcript, such as the pauses and even the participants' hilarity at some point in the interview.

To ensure that the information is still fresh in the memories of the participants, the transcript together with its English translation was returned to them three days after the interview for participant validation by returning the verbatim interview transcripts to the participants (Carlson, 2010; Forbat & Henderson, 2005, as cited by Birt, Scott, Cavers, Campbell, & Walter, 2016). Line numbers were used for ease in identifying corrections and modifications. Two participants, Tasyo and Polo, made corrections and alterations in the original transcript which were incorporated into the final data before coding.

### **2.3 Data Analysis**

Data coding was done using QDA Miner Lite. Significant statements were identified, and descriptive codes were employed for initial coding to review the data corpus (Saldana, 2009). Nouns and adjectives were both used as descriptive codes to indicate how the participants describe what male teachers are and what male teachers are not, and what female teachers are and what female teachers are not. This generated a total of 28 codes. Finally, four major themes were generated from the said codes through similarities (Saldana, 2009).

### **2.4 Ethical Issue**

To ensure that the accounts reflect the realities of the participants, member checking was employed which is a validation technique from the lens of participants (Creswell & Miller, 2000). A self-report scheme was employed to identify the participants' gender orientation and sexual identities. Voluntary participation was sought via the consent form. Finally, anonymity was secured via the participants' self-selected pseudonyms.

## **3. Results and Discussions**

This study investigated the challenges of being male in a feminized profession in the eyes of teacher candidates who have completed their pre-service teacher training. From the analysis of the interviews conducted on the six participants, there emerged four major themes: (1) leadership-destined (2) conflicted; (3) limited; and (4) devalued.

### **3.1 Leadership-destined**

Findings from this study reveal that the male participants believe that as senior teachers, they were destined as "leaders" by the school community (the case of Mel). The participants reckon that they are bound to protect and lead even without official designation, as the participants have shared:

(in emergency drills)... Most of our teachers (in school) are females so all you need to do is orient them about what will happen. (Romeo)

... he (male teacher) is better capable of handling “concerns” especially if the rest of the colleagues are females. Even without a position, males have leadership. (Mel)

Having more female teachers but with more male administrators is a common trend in many countries (Wood, 2012). In the Philippines, Bongco and Abenes (2019) attribute this to the condition of men and women in society. Despite equal promotion schemes in educational departments, gender stereotypes that men are better –prepared for “decision making and public life” (p.18) than females still serve as justification for their roles (Dionisio, 1994).

These stereotypes are very much evident in the participants’ experiences as they believed that their leadership roles were “destined” and supported even without formal designations. Much of this, they believe, is because of being male. This kind of leadership identity appears to be co-constructed through the process of “claims” and “grants,” as proposed by DeRue, and Ashford, (2010). The three elements that comprise the identity were also observed, although informal: individual internalization, relational recognition (e.g. through female teachers’ granting of decision-making tasks to the males), and collective endorsement (e.g. principal’s appointment to tasks). Ancho (2019) has recognized the immense impact of the school leaders’ mandate, particularly in the spectrum of human resource development in the school system.

DeRue and Ashford (2010) further explained that the process could begin with a “granting” act, which appears to be the case in the experiences of male teacher candidates. Their “claims” about leadership identity came about as a result of “granting” acts of the school community during their practice teaching. DeRue and Ashford suggested that this grant could be prompted by people’s implicit theories of leadership and followership. People are more likely to grant leadership to individuals who embody the kind of leader that is consistent with their implicit theories. As “destined” leaders, male teacher candidates only seem to indicate that the male teachers embody the “leader” that is consistent with their implicit theories, whether the perceivers are conscious or unconscious about it.

### **3.2 Conflicted**

It was observed that one of the common issues among participants is concern about winning students’ confidence, which is believed to be easier for female teachers (the case of Polo and Drek). It is very apparent however that participants also wish to have the same connection with the students. As Vee has expressed, “...you need to win their (students’) hearts.” On the other hand, Drek did not directly express this idea; his frustration was clear in his lack of ability to get

the students to “approach” him regarding issues inside the classroom, as they would to a female teacher.

Building this connection is hindered by the students' perception of them as male teachers who are seen as “strict and intimidating” compared to female teachers, as the participants themselves shared:

...male teachers are seen as representative of the father who is seen as the authority. So, that maybe is what is in the minds of the students. (Vee)

Even when you first enter the classroom and they see that you a male, their impression is, “A male! He looks strict.” Something like that. Unlike females with whom they could joke around even at the first meeting. For males, it is different (with males). It will take them days to get to joke around a male teacher. (Drek)

What is interesting, though, is that even though the participants completely understand the big block in connecting with their students, that they still chose to keep such impressions of themselves, despite the consequences. There appear to be three reasons behind this: first, because they work; second, because they believe it is expected of them; and third, because it is vital to assert their sexual identities.

#### The conflict between student connection and management that works

This decision to stick to their “intimidating masculine identity” despite its consequence in their connection with the students is influenced by their belief that it is vital for the effective management of the classroom. The participants have shared:

...When the class sees that the teacher is a male, they are intimidated. (Mel)

It would be easier for him to manage a chaotic environment. He just has to raise his voice and they would be scared. (Tasyo)

They are convinced that this management style is better at maintaining control over the students, as compared to those employed by women. As Mel has shared, a woman is not an intimidating figure for the kids, and because of that “*even if female teachers yell, it does not have much effect on the kids.*”

#### The conflict between student connection and male duties

Further, it seems that the participants believe that being the disciplinarian and strict are expected of them as male teachers, in contrast to the caring and nurturing that is expected from female teachers.



“...when it comes to classroom management, being disciplinarian to the students, I guess, is more of the duty of a male teacher.” (Drek)

“In my opinion, the manner of a male teacher could make students follow instructions easier because I believe that they are more intimidated with a male teacher.” (Polo)

As shown in the study of Liwag, Dela Cruz, and Macapagal (1997, 1998), there are clear gender roles for males and females in the Philippines (Macapagal et al., 2013). These are the roles in which every individual was socialized to, from the moment of birth (Dionisio, 1994). It is through such a process that men have learned that society expects them to be involved in instilling children’s discipline and obedience as a “figure of authority.” (Macapagal et al., 2013, p. 46). As such, these male teachers are acting on what they believe to be their “natural duties” as males in the teaching profession.

#### The conflict between student connection and the need to assert sexual identity

Finally, with the “limited number of males” in the schools (Tasyo and Mel) and the hovering “suspicions about their sexualities” (Romeo, Mel, and Tasyo), teachers felt the need to maintain some distance from the feminine qualities to assert their sexualities. As such, despite their belief in their capacity to show care (Vee, Drek), they opt to hold back to protect their sexual identities. To cite, two participants shared:

There were many who had doubts. But I could not blame them for thinking that way. That makes me feel ashamed and, sometimes I wish to prove them otherwise. But (how)? (Mel)

I am not saying that men are not capable of love and care. But if the male teacher tries to do so, it leaves a different impression, in such a way that people might wonder if we are men or gay. Why does he care like this for us (students)? It becomes somehow confusing in terms of gender, in the sight of the kids and the environment, isn’t it? (Tasyo)

The statements, particularly the latter from Tasyo, were quite indicative of how the men are wary of showing love and care (which they believed to be associated with women), thinking that it would pose questions about their sexualities. As the findings of a Harvard Business Review (HBR) study indicate, just as women are penalized for showing qualities that are associated with masculinity, men, too are penalized for showing attributes that are considered feminine (Mayer, 2018).

The findings reveal that punishment comes in terms of suspicions and labels. As a “rare commodity (p.411)” in the profession of elementary teaching, there were suspicions that hover

over men's motives, abilities, and sexuality (Coulter & McNay, *Exploring Men's Experiences as Elementary School Teachers*, 1993).

These prejudices, particularly about their sexuality, lead men to assert their masculinity. Scholars and their investigations indicate that men who engage in the professions which are regarded as feminine find it necessary to assert their masculinity by showing that they are "not feminine." One way of such assertion could be through heterosexual relationships (Rabelo, 2013).

This assertion could be more complicated, however, in the Philippines where the difference between gender and sexual identity is foreign. As Macapagal, Ofreneo, Montiel, and Nolasco, (2013) clarified, gender and sexual identity are fused in the Filipino word "bakla" (cited from Ofreneo, 2000). It refers both to feminine or effeminate males and crossdressers (cited from Tan, 1995) as well as homosexual males (cited from Tan, 1998). This means that a man's gender expression (which is observed) will signify his sexual orientation (which is implied) (Garcia, 1996).

As such, Filipino male teachers are aware that their gender expressions would be used to signify their sexual orientations. As such, they are wary of showing attributes considered not masculine. These include "nurturing" (Wood, 2012) and "expression of affection" (Dionisio, 1994, p. 18), among others.

### **3.3 Limited**

It was observed that the male teacher candidates' experiences gave them an impression of what male teachers are "not." For instance, most of the participants share the belief that male teachers are "not" for primary grade teaching (Grades I-III). While they agree that they could try teaching in primary grades, five participants indicated the preference to teach intermediate grades. This appears to be due to their belief that they are not patient and caring enough for primary level teaching.

...when the class becomes too chaotic, I would just stop and be quiet. But unlike grade six students, it doesn't work well with lower grades who only become noisier. (Mel)

That (teaching primary levels) would be a big burden for me. Grade one requires intensive attention... I think it would be difficult for me to handle because they would require a lot of patience. (Tasyo)

Teaching as "women's work" (Martino W. J., 2008) has a long history. This is particularly true in the primary levels which is highly associated with caregiving, which, in turn, is believed to a female task (Lee & Lee, 2016). On the other hand, men strongly believe themselves as not caring and nurturing enough for primary grades. As the findings of Rabelo (2013) show, men's teaching abilities in lower grades are distrusted. After all, "he is a man, and therefore he does not have the female characteristics essential to be a good teacher of the lower

grades of primary education (p.916).” Such gender stereotypes serve to justify gender roles (Dionisio, 1994).

It was further observed that even if the participants signify their willingness to give it a try, they are still resigned to the belief that the task would be better accomplished by a woman who is “natural” at it. Romeo, on the other hand, associated it with the long training that women had in childcare as compared to their minimal exposure, thus pointing to gender socialization.

It could be noted, however, that another powerful “turn-off” factor of primary grades teaching among males is the frustration over the failure to make the kids “obey” or “follow them” (Mel, and Romeo). Filipino men have been socialized to their gender roles in instilling discipline and obedience among kids as an authority figure (Macapagal et al., 2013). As such, the difficulty in getting the lower grade kids to “obey and follow” them could be taken as a failure in their “natural” roles as males, and they thus opt to avoid it.

It is interesting to observe that all the participants, except Vee, who expressed a preference for teaching in intermediate grades were also never assigned to work with primary grades during their student teaching program which was intended to give them an authentic experience of the teacher work. Five out of six participants were assigned by the cooperating schools to work with grades four to six classes only, thus limiting their experience in teaching younger learners. Similarly, Rabelo (2013) asserts that the *“prejudices and discourses that circulate in contemporary society are reaffirmed in daily school life. Thus, the male teacher becomes a ‘foreign body’ in the early grades of primary education (p.909).”*

Of the six participants, Vee was the only one who shared preference in teaching primary grade, acknowledging all the challenges. It appears to be due to his previous experience with the said level. This seems to be supportive of the findings of Lee and Lee (2016) on the stay-at-home fathers in the US, that as men are engaged in the work of caring, “they are likely to develop affective and emotional aspects of care (p.10).” In other words, expanding male opportunities in the primary grades could develop the caring masculinities among male teachers.

### **3.4 Devalued**

Findings also reveal that male teacher candidates believe that their style of doing things is judged as of less value, as they hold the female “ways of doing things” as the standard in the profession. For instance, the participants tend to believe that they could not design the classrooms, prepare instructional materials, and motivate students as well as women could. The participants shared:

But for females... we know for a fact that females are better with “kolorete”. (Tasyo)

Most of the time, males could settle with something simpler. But for females, they seem to be more creative with those things. We are very specific. We like things simple. (Vee)

You have to dance (laughs), sing... I am not good at dancing and singing so I guess, that would be a punishment for me. I don't think I would be able to do that. (Mel)

The hilarity of the participants as they shared the “dance and song” challenge was indicative of how absurd it was to imagine themselves doing such things, which they believe to be important in catching the learners’ attention. Festinger, (1954, as cited by Macapagal et al., 2013) indicated that one of the social influences that affect our self-conception is social comparisons that we make with others. This was observed in the data that shows how males judge their “creativity” and their “motivation techniques” with the way female teachers judge them. They appear to regard the “female way of teaching” as the standard of good teaching. Correspondingly, McClanahan (2012) wrote, “the female, motherly, doting, and nurturing elementary school teacher” (p.129) was deeply ingrained in the minds of participants as characteristic of a “quality teacher” (p.129). Comparison with such standards leaves the men to judge their “way of doing things” as inferior rather than part of diversity.

This is curious, especially considering Griffiths’ (2006) assertion that the feminization of teaching brings increased diversity in the profession. Our paper suggests that if feminization of teaching brought increased diversity in the profession, inclusivity that embraces men and women alike might serve to further this diversity.

After all, true equality is rooted in the recognition and respect of differences. These differences between males and females have been recognized in many brain studies. As Cahill (2014) asserted, “zero evidence supports the view that... humans possess brains that have on average the *same* combination of masculine and feminine traits... We aren’t unisex, and every cell in the brain of every man and every woman knows it” (p.10). This is supported by a recent study of Xin, Zhang, Tang, and Yang (2019) which concluded that there are gender-related differences in the structure of the brain which might be related to differences in cognition, control of emotion, and neurological disorders. Further, in his review of studies in human differences, Zaidi (2010) wrote that brain structure differences are pointed out to be responsible for gender differences in reaction under stress, human relations, and artistic expressiveness. However, Zaidi claimed that this does not show an overall superior advantage of any sex over the other. Both are intelligent, but operate differently. What is required therefore is an equal valuing of their diverse functioning.

### **3.5 Implications of the Study**

The narrative of male teachers in the Philippine education sector reveals the need to revisit programs and policies in professional development and support, particularly for male teachers. A

paradigm shift is crucial and should be identified: that the profession seen as a woman's job is also a man's career.

The provision of support to male teachers could eventually create a synergy between the advancement of the general welfare of the school community and teaching being an attractive profession. The pre-service teacher education programs also play a significant role in advocating pressing concerns in the profession such as identity and gender roles. Recognizing and re-examining the nature of teaching as a feminized profession is one step away from achieving the goal of diversifying the teaching force.

#### **4. Conclusions and recommendations**

While efforts for inclusion usually target “protected groups” (Bolden-Barrett, 2018) like women, this paper asserts that true inclusivity should attend to all, men included. As such, this study investigated the challenge of being a male in the feminized teaching profession. Findings show male teachers who are readily destined with leadership identity by the school community. Despite such positive discrimination, however, it also reveals stories of male teachers who are conflicted between the desire to connect with their students and the need to assert their sexuality by sticking to the expectations of masculinity; of male teachers who are limited from engaging in lower grade teaching on the assumption that they lack the necessary ability to care and nurture; and of male teachers whose differences from females are devalued rather than recognized as part of diversity.

Such a picture of males in the profession could influence teacher candidates in their future decisions on whether or not to pursue teaching as a career. As such, it is recommended that teacher education programs guide teacher candidates, both male and female, towards a more inclusive glimpse of the profession, through the following:

1. Coordinate with cooperating schools for student teaching to provide both male and female students better opportunities to teach primary as well as intermediate grades to challenge the existing assumptions of primary level teaching as “women's work.”
2. Review content and pedagogy to help the male and female students alike see gender differences as part of diversity.
3. Shift from the concept of teaching as either “mothering” or “fathering” to teaching as “parenting.” This seeks to attempt to replace the traditional differentiated tasks in childcare with shared responsibility.

Finally, this paper asserts that such initiatives to make teaching a more inclusive profession should not be based on the role model argument, but on the recognition that both men

and women have equal rights, as well as privilege in taking part in the noblest profession of teaching across all levels.

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## Appendix A. Interview Guide Questions

1. Why did you take up elementary education?
2. What grades/subjects do you prefer to handle? Why?
3. What do you think are the duties of a **MALE** teacher?
4. What do you think are the duties of a **FEMALE** teacher?
5. Do you think there are tasks which are not appropriate for you as a **MALE** teacher? Why is that?
6. What roles would be challenging for you being **MALE**? What is difficult for you? How do you get around it?
7. What are the hurdles of being a **MALE** teacher?



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